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WORKERS' POWER

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS MAY 30, 1977 #209 25c

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Carter's Welfare Plan Means:

SLAVE LABOR - AND BUSTING UNIONS, TOO

by Kim Moody

The Carter Administration intends to force hundreds of thousands of welfare recipients into minimum wage jobs, or cut off all their benefits. Particularly targeted are single mothers of teen-age children.

Last week Joseph Califano, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, announced the outlines of the Carter Administration's welfare proposals.

Under this plan, those judged able to work would be required to take a minimum wage job or go without any benefits.

Those who took such a job in private industry would get a supplementary benefit of \$1600 a year.

Those who work for the minimum wage in public jobs could get \$650 a year.

A similar plan, operating for the past 19 years in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has been attacked by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees there.

It works as a scheme to replace union public workers with low-paid welfare recipients who are forced to take the jobs or go hungry.

BONUS FOR BUSINESS

As this plan turns single mothers and other current welfare recipients off the rolls, private employers will also be encouraged to pay no more than the minimum wage, while the government supplies some extra benefits.

Future federal benefits for those without the jobs but still eligible will be about the same overall.

That means a miserable \$4200 a year for a family of four with small children. Food stamps will be abolished.

Califano stated that Carter was "firm" that the program for 1978 should cost no more than the current level of \$25 billion, no matter how much the cost of living rises.

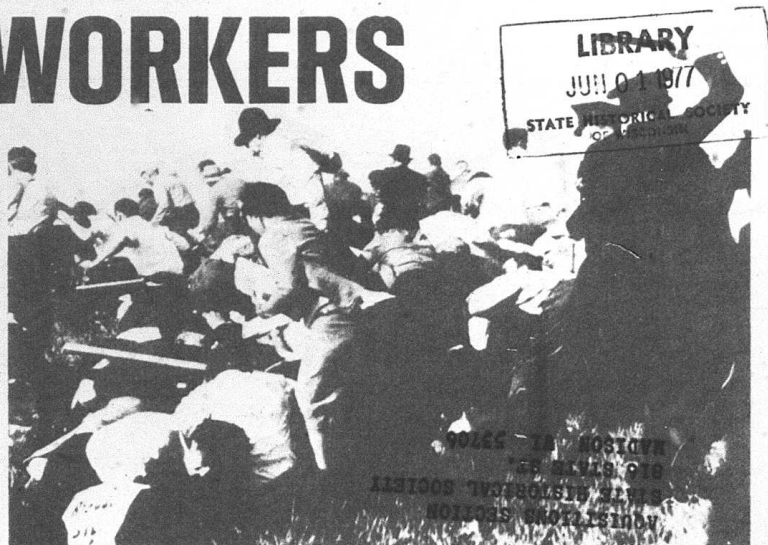
While unemployment remains high for years to come, this so-called reform will directly encourage employers to kick out better-paid union workers and hire welfare recipients who must accept the minimum wage.

There is no way American capitalism is going to create the jobs to really end unemployment and welfare. Instead, workers with union jobs will be thrown or the scrap heap—and even onto welfare themselves. □

UNITED STEELWORKERS

Their fight for a union 1937-1977

see pages 6-7



Carter Thanks UAW For Ride to White House—With Hot Air

Jimmy Carter spoke at the 25th Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers on May 17. He mentioned that it was probably the only union convention he would visit during 1977.

This fact underlines two things: Carter's relations with most of the labor movement are extremely poor. And Carter is well aware that without the UAW's pre-election support he would be back in Plains raising peanuts right now.

DELIVERED

It was the UAW through its retirees chapters which delivered the Florida primary to Carter. At that stage in his campaign he had to win in order to survive.

Through its early endorsement, the UAW lined up various prominent Black politicians to support what had previously been a white, Southern candidacy.

The UAW delivered enough of the key Midwest industrial vote in the Democratic primaries to enable Carter to kill of his labor-backed rivals.

In short, it was the UAW which put Carter in the White House.

His appearance at the Convention, then, should have been the day of the big pay-off. It wasn't. And there isn't going to be one.

Carter's speech was billed as a major statement of domestic policy. Many delegates' reaction: "It sounds just like one of his campaign speeches."

AMBASSADOR

What did Carter deliver for UAW members?

- "I will soon submit [Woodcock's] name to the Senate to be chief of the US Liaison Office in China, with the rank of Ambassador." (Thank you, Jimmy, the job security of UAW members will increase ten-fold.)

- "I have worked out legislation that would let people register at the polls on the day of a federal election."

- "I will make "major initiatives to put our young people into productive jobs in our cities and national parks."

- "Most of us will be able to compute our taxes in one step next April."

(It is testimony to the emptiness of the speech that this observation brought Carter his first applause after 15 minutes—before an extremely sympathetic audience.)

- Proposals to prevent the



President Carter and ex-President Woodcock: kissing good-bye.

bankruptcy of the Social Security System "will correct most of the problems for the next 75 years." (It wasn't clear whether he intended to remain in office for that whole period.)

HELP

Carter asked the delegates "for your help" in getting his plans through Congress.

This was an endorsement of the whole strategy of the UAW leadership.

Following the 1976 contract disaster, they spent a good proportion of the Convention explaining that their aims could not be won at the bargaining table but only through legislative action.

The one flaw in the UAW leadership's strategy is that Carter

has come through on none of his promises to them—in particular a national health insurance plan. National health insurance has been a UAW legislative goal for almost two decades.

Carter's goal for national health insurance is "phasing in a workable" scheme. Given what he has already said about health costs, it is clear that he will find no scheme that is "workable;" they will all cost too much and upset the bosses.

"Phasing in" means, "I want this program to be established during my time in office." By 1985?

NO CRITICISM

That is the sum total of what Carter had to offer workers in

general and auto workers in particular.

In return for this generous package, the UAW has refrained from raising a word of criticism of Carter. The only exception is on auto emissions and fuel economy, when the auto corporations pulled the strings.

The UAW has attacked AFL-CIO President George Meany when he publicly questioned Carter's devotion to the working class.

Now that Fraser, who is not trying to land an ambassador's job, is in charge, we can expect the UAW stance to come more into line with the AFL-CIO.

But it won't make much difference. As long as labor puts its hopes in the Democratic Party it is going to be shafted. □

Oil Companies Highest On Magazine's Rich List

EVERY YEAR, Fortune magazine prints a directory of the 500 largest US industrial corporations.

Fortune is a well-named magazine for businessmen. It rates the top 500 by sales. The directory gives some insights into the giant corporations that get rich by exploiting many of us and much of the world.

For instance, Fortune reports that profits were up 30.4% over 1975 for the 500.

In this year of energy crisis and sacrifice, the oil companies did very nicely for themselves.

Crude oil retained the place it has shared for the past 12 years with mining as the industry group with the highest "median return" on sales.

EXXON FIRST

Exxon was first on Fortune's list, with Texaco in the number 4 spot, Mobil at 5, Standard Oil of California sixth, Gulf Oil at 7, and Standard Indiana twelfth.

Eight other oil companies appeared in positions 13-43.

With the exception of American Motors, the auto industry did quite well for their owners too.

In profits, "motor vehicles" increased their profits by 138.5% in the last year.

(Big Three workers got one cent new money in their three-year contracts negotiated last fall.)

The Big Three were right up at the top of the 500.

GM is number 2, but number one in profits, ripping \$2,903,800,000 off from the labors of its 748,000 employees. GM was also the number one employer on the list.

Ford was ranked 3, and in profits 4. Chrysler has the 10 spot in sales, 16 in profits.

International Harvester was number 27 and made \$174,088,000 in profits, giving it 42nd rank in that division.

STEEL

The first steel company to appear on the list is the giant U.S. Steel, number 14, 21st in profits, with \$410,300,000.

Bethlehem Steel was 33, and made profits of \$168,000,000. Armco was 63. Profits were \$123,726,000.

National Steel, number 76, came in 133rd in the profit race with \$85,737,000.

Republic Steel was 86 and profited by \$65,869,000, while Inland Steel, number 92, pulled in a profit of \$104,045,000.

And how was your year? □

Workers' Power 209

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Union Power Shuts Down France For A Day

French unions got together this week for a one-day show of strength that stopped industry, manufacturing, transportation and mass communications throughout the country.

The strike was a demonstration against the government of Presi-

dent Giscard d'Estaing, and a show of strength for the Socialist and Communist Party slate in next year's election.

It was also the largest single act of working class unity in France since 1968. On many other

occasions, rival union federations have ignored each other's strike calls.

Unfortunately, this strike had none of the militancy of the huge general strike of 1968, which nearly created a revolutionary explosion.

It was more like a national holiday.

However, things will soon get more serious. The workers' show of strength has led the government and right-wing businessmen to start campaigning to defeat the left in the election, no matter how much it costs them to do it.. □

ALL IN THE FAMILY

DICKIE FITZ TO RUN NEW TEAMSTER LOCAL

by Dan La Botz

DETROIT, Mich.—Dick Fitzsimmons is getting a charter for his own local from his dad, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons.

The new local will be carved out of Local 299. It will be made up of 4-5000 steel and special commodity haulers and warehousemen.

The new local is sure to be a cesspool of corruption.

Dick Fitzsimmons is now under indictment for stealing \$5000 from the Local 299 Severance Trust Fund.

Recently a Senate committee reported that the young Fitzsimmons was responsible for help to steal about \$125,000 by having Local 299 invest in the phony insurance plan of Louis Ostrer and Alan Dorfman.

There is speculation that the new local is a way for reputed mobster and thug Rolland McMaster, a Teamster organizer, to get back a base of operation in the Detroit area.

When Fitzsimmons gets the charter he may bring McMaster in with him.

McMaster used to be administrator of Local 299. He spent 18 months in jail for taking payments from the head of Youngstown Cartage.

Between 1971 and 1973 McMaster got together a "task force" to organize steel workers. He spent several million dollars—and only organized a few hundred workers. And most of them were recruited by violence and forced under substandard contracts.

Fitzsimmons will also bring along Robey Smith, formerly a 299 Business Agent and now a B.A. in Grand Rapids, Local 406.



Steelhaulers in Local 299 at Ambassador Steel in Detroit are now making \$5.50 an hour, about a buck and a half below scale. What will they get when the gangsters really take over their union?

Smith was recently indicted for forcing steelhaulers to pay an 11% service charge to their employers. The service charge paid their own health and welfare benefits.

Also likely to go to the new local is Proctor, a 299 B.A. who is thought to be a front man for McMaster.

WAR

Since Jimmy Hoffa went to prison in 1967 a factional war has waged in the local between Hoffa and Fitzsimmons forces in the administration—and between the

administration and a militant rank and file.

This move may mean the Fitzsimmons crowd is giving up the battle for 299. They will fight for control of Detroit Teamsters from this new base.

Some steelhaulers may be attracted by the idea of having their own local.

Steelhaulers face many special problems. A large number are owner-operators who feel they get little for their union dues.

But they should have no illusions about what it means to have Fitzsimmons, McMaster, Smith

and Proctor for Business Agents.

It will mean they will be gouged and gored. It will mean extortion, intimidation, and violence.

The rank and file of 299 must demand that the steelhaulers have the opportunity to make a decision about whether or not they want their own local.

And if they do, then they should have a leadership elected from the rank and file—not appointed by the International. The leaders should be made up of working steel and special haulers and warehousemen who know the problems of the industry. □

NEW UPS HUB TO WIPE OUT FULL-TIMERS

PITTSBURGH—United Parcel Service's New Stanton, Pa. hub will begin full operations August 1.

The company claims the building will be their most highly computerized facility in the country.

It is supposed to be able to process 33,000 packages per hour, as compared to the 10,000 per hour now processed in the Pittsburgh hub, 45 miles away.

Technological improvements account for only part of the difference.

Management's long-term goal is to have 100% part time workers inside the hub. UPS has discovered they can work part-timers cheaper and faster.

They also want new part-timers, who they can brainwash in the UPS mold.

The New Stanton facility will replace most of the operations of the Pittsburgh and DuBois hubs, as well as several others in the outlying areas.

JOBS THREAT

All this adds up to a carefully organized threat to full time inside UPS jobs.

While no present employee will

lose their job, the number of full-time inside jobs at New Stanton will be smaller from the start, although the volume of production will increase.

For instance, approximately 70 full time driving jobs in Pittsburgh, New Stanton and other outlying centers are being offered to 150 present full time inside workers.

UPS workers in the area struck for 13 weeks last winter in order to protect full time positions.

The contract, ratified in December, has a job security clause that states that the number of full time jobs cannot be reduced.

But there are so many qualifiers, that this clause, baby of the union's negotiating committee, will eventually permit the successful elimination of full time inside jobs with this move.

The agreement also places no limits on hiring part-timers and no guidelines requiring the company to hire any full-time inside workers.

UNSIGNED

Because the contract remains unsigned by the International, interpretation of key clauses affecting the move is up for grabs.

Dave Dineen, alternate union

representative for the part-timers, spoke about the move at a recent union meeting.

"As long as the Union just protects the individual employees and not the jobs themselves, then there will be no full time inside jobs in New Stanton before long," Dineen said.

Although UPS has been planning to move to New Stanton for at least five years, the company has been extremely slow in informing employees about it.

Finally, the union set an April 4 deadline for all details to be in writing from the company. Extension upon extension was granted.

Under pressure from members of the stewards' committee, a few items of information were received in writing May 20.

TRANSFER VS. LAYOFF

Current part time workers must choose between a transfer and a layoff.

But the company is discouraging transfers by part timers with the promise of a three hour shift.

Part time workers at Pittsburgh now work five hours a day, five days a week. For DuBois employees, a job at New Stanton will mean

a two-hour drive each way—for a three-hour shift!

On May 12, the company and the union agreed that all employees would have to make binding commitments as to following the work versus a layoff on May 23.

The first meeting of all workers involved in the move was held May 22.

Question after question was unanswered or answered only tentatively.

COMPANY FIRST

Many workers wanted the deadline pushed back until the company put everything in writing. Some asked for a two-week extension, so they could check out the outlying areas where jobs were being offered.

But the Union's position—the same as the company's—was that the company needs answers from the workers first. Who is UPS kidding? This company knows what it's doing years in advance.

A driver put people's frustration into words.

"This is ridiculous. We're making a mockery of what we spent 13 weeks on strike for." □

UAW Delegate Speaks Out For Fleetwood 10 ...And The Mike Goes Dead

by Glenn Wolfe

Of innumerable leaflets handed to delegates to the UAW Convention in Los Angeles May 15-19, one stood out.

It asked the delegates to support 10 UAW members who were fired from GM's Fleetwood plant in Detroit.

Two of the fired members were elected by their local's membership to be delegates to the Convention.

The ten were scapegoated for a wildcat strike called by local officials. Their grievances were taken over and immediately dropped by the International.

The local passed a resolution to the Convention—unanimously, according to the leaflet—to reinstate the grievances of the ten fired members.

Five of the fired members came to the Convention to try to get this resolution on the floor.

HUSHED

One delegate from Local 15 was prepared to move that the resolution come out of committee. But when word of his intentions leaked out, he was immediately set upon by International Reps.

The Regional Director himself sat down across the table. Word was sent to the chairman of the session not to call upon anyone at Local 15's mike.

Why was the Administration so afraid to let this resolution come onto the floor? Why was it afraid of open discussion of the Fleetwood case?

The case had attracted a good deal of sympathy among the delegates. Half a dozen pledged to speak when it came to the floor. Many signed a petition to the International Executive Board.

Most of them local officials themselves, they were shocked that Local 15's officials would allow the International to treat them with such contempt.

One Canadian delegate said, "I became Plant Chairman 25 years ago, and the first thing I did was kick the International out of the plant."

When delegates tried to ask Local 15 officers for their side of the story, they got the cold shoulder.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Finally, under a discussion of "human rights," a Local 900 delegate seized his chance.

"Brother Chairman," he said, "I want to bring up the human rights which are being violated of the fired Fleetwood workers." The mike went dead.

Vice-President Irving Bluestone, head of the GM Department, was very uptight. "We're not here to discuss the grievances or the situation or the firings of anyone," he said, "I declare you out of order."

The Convention as a whole was not allowed to hear and discuss the royal screwing which the International union gave 10 of its brothers and sisters.

The Fleetwood 10 now await a decision on their appeal to the International Executive Board—which will almost certainly be negative.

To protect its operatives, the International Reps, and to avoid admitting a mistake are far more important to the Executive Board than the indignation felt by many convention delegates. □



Unarmed Africans demonstrating in Cape Town, South Africa, meet police shooting to kill. Andrew Young calls on Blacks in southern Africa to rely on peaceful civil rights protests for change.

ANDREW YOUNG TELLS AFRICA: STOP FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

by Dan Posen

"Ten years ago, in Atlanta, I would have found Andrew Young's speech interesting. Today, in Africa, I just find it irritating."

That was how a leading delegate from Nigeria responded to Andrew Young when he brought the Carter Administration's policy on southern Africa to a United Nations conference last week.

At the conference, which was held in Mozambique's capital city Maputo, Young told representa-

tives of African governments and southern African liberation movements that he knows all about using "economic power" to win Black equality.

According to Young, economic pressure will be more effective than any Black armed struggle in ending white minority rule in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

PEACEFUL BOYCOTT?

Part of Young's message was that Black people in these

white-ruled states should work for political change instead of revolution, by organizing boycotts of white business establishments and stores.

The same peaceful methods that won jobs for Blacks in Atlanta department stores, he argued, will force white governments and big business to grant similar concessions in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

If you think about it for a minute, it takes a hell of a lot of nerve for an American official, even if he is

Andrew Young, to give Black Africans advice like this.

And the leaders of southern Africa liberation movements were even more blunt than the Nigerian representative in rejecting it. According to the weekly AFRICA NEWS:

"The American delegate's endorsement of 'negotiated settlement' and his repeated references to the civil rights campaign in this country raised the anger of Robert Mugabe, from the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front.

"Mugabe said Africans have turned to armed struggle because years of passive resistance failed."

History shows that Mugabe's statement is 100% correct. In South Africa, Blacks have carried out longer, and more bitter boycotts than most of those organized by the American Black civil rights movement.

• Many times, whole townships have walked 20 miles to work every day, rather than using buses when the companies raised the fares.

• Last year, following the Soweto rebellions a massive boycott of all white merchants was organized during the Christmas season, deeply cutting into sales. In many cases, such boycotts and protests have been met with police bullets.

• In South Africa, calling upon American corporations to withdraw their investments is considered an "act of terrorism," and may be punished by death.

PARTNERS

Andrew Young, who told the Africans at the UN Conference to use their economic power to influence South Africa, represents the United States—one of South Africa's biggest economic partners.

Acting on behalf of his government, he refused to sign the official conference declaration calling for military and economic sanctions against the minority government of South Africa!

Young also stated that, as a matter of principle, he and the American government are against the Zimbabwe and Namibia liberation movements stepping up their armed struggles for freedom.

But while it tells Black Africans to lay down their arms, the Carter Administration does nothing to stop its closest European allies, France and West Germany, from shipping huge amounts of weapons (some American-made) to the South African racist police state.

Andrew Young did not go to Maputo to give an ounce of real support to the revolution in southern Africa. He went to help his friend, Jimmy Carter, put more obstacles in its way.

It is no wonder that the verdict of most Africans who heard him speak seems to be: the Carter Administration is all talk, no action.

A Knock At The Door... And South Africa's Police State Swallows Another Victim

One day last week, South African police arrived at Winnie Mandela's home in Soweto.

Winnie Mandela is one of the best known adult political leaders in the township of Soweto. Her husband, Nelson Mandela, is the leader of the outlawed African National Congress.

Nelson Mandela has been serving a life term in Robben's Island prison since 1964.

The Mandelas, along with Robert Sobukwe and other Blacks who have been jailed or forced to flee, are the real leaders of the 20-million Black nation of South Africa.

The police who came to her door had an order signed by the South African Interior Minister, James Kruger.

This order did not charge Winnie Mandela with any crime, required no court approval or hearing, and is not subject to any appeal.

BANNED

It simply ordered that she be removed to a barren village hundreds of miles away.

In South Africa, this kind of order is called "banning."

The police threw all of Winnie Mandela's furniture and belongings into the street. They loaded her and a daughter onto a truck, drove them about 200 miles into the countryside, and dumped them off at their new residence.

It is a shack without electricity or running water. Their nearest friends or relatives are hundreds of miles away. They are not allowed to meet with more than one person at a time, to make public statements, to go anywhere outside the village, or to go more than 24 hours without reporting to local police.

This has happened to hundreds of people in South Africa. But why did it happen to Willie Mandela, now?

This banning took place one day before South African Prime Minister Vorster met with U.S. Vice-President Walter Mondale in Vienna, and the week before Andrew Young made a one-day visit to South Africa.

Banning Winnie Mandela was Vorster's way of telling the Carter Administration what to do with its public gestures calling for racial reform in South Africa.

It was a statement that the white rulers of South Africa will never give an inch to appeals for Black political freedom or human rights.

The South African government also timed the move to prove another point. No matter how brutal its policies are, American officials will not break off their close political ties to the South African state.

□ □ □

Despite the banning of Winnie Mandela, the Vorster-Mondale talks went off without a hitch.

The Carter Administration would like the world to believe that Mondale warned Vorster that U.S. economic and political ties might be broken over the issue of South African apartheid.

The facts are the opposite. The governments of South Africa and the U.S. actually established closer co-operation on the issues facing southern Africa.

The main point on the Vorster-Mondale agenda was the American sponsored proposal to stop the war of liberation in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The two leaders announced they had "perfect agreement" on how to proceed.

According to the proposal, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters and the white Rhodesian government would agree to let the U.S. and Britain write a Constitution for Zimbabwe.

The result would be a Black-led government in Zimbabwe. But it would be forced to guarantee the property rights of the 4% white minority. That would make it a puppet government acceptable to American and South African interests—not an independent Zimbabwean government.

That is the key issue that Mondale and Vorster actually discussed. The rest is public relations and rhetoric.

□ □ □

The South African government has announced new prison policies which it claims will eliminate the danger of prison suicides.

Several dozen Black prisoners have died in detention in the last year. Official reports claim they killed themselves by hanging in their cells, jumping out of high windows and down stairwells.

To prevent this, prisoners who are considered suicide risks will be confined in leg irons, often naked, in their cells.

What's At Stake In Miners' Union Election

Meet Harry Patrick, Arnold Miller, and Lee Roy Patterson. On December 6, one of these men will probably lead the biggest and toughest strike in all of 1977. And probably in all of 1978 as well.

These three men are running for president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Whichever one wins the June 14 election will lead the union in bargaining for a new contract covering 155,000 coal miners.

Although there are major differences among the candidates, none of them could avoid the contract confrontation which is coming. The reason is that the situation in the UMWA is different from that in any other American union today.

Coal miners have far more control over their jobs and over their union than other American workers. They have accomplished this in two ways: through taking matters into their own hands, mainly through wildcat strikes; and by the victory of the Miners For Democracy (MFD) slate in the 1972 union elections and the reforms that followed.

WILDCATS

The amount of time miners spend in wildcat strikes, all of which are illegal, is amazing. According to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the employers' group, two million man-days were lost to wildcats last year.

That's up 43% over the year before. The amount of coal lost to wildcats last year was reported to be 3% of total production.

Leaders of other unions sometimes portray the UMWA as being in a state of anarchy. They say that miners are destroying their union because they strike so often for no reason.

The fact is that the miners are fighting on the critically important issues that most other unions let slide.

Safety is at the root of it, since mining is much more dangerous than most other jobs.

But the miners also fight against the things that employers in other industries get away with—firings and other discipline, abusive foremen, and violations of the contract.

And they are winning. The situation is very different from, say, the auto workers or teamsters unions, where wildcat strikes are usually crushed by company-union collaboration.

The miners don't win everything they go on strike for, but they win enough to stay on the offensive against the coal operators.

MINERS FOR DEMOCRACY

The other factor which sets the stage for the June elections is the Miners For Democracy.

It's now almost five years since the MFD reformers, headed by Arnold Miller, won the top union offices over President Tony Boyle. Boyle was as corrupt as they come.



Harry Patrick

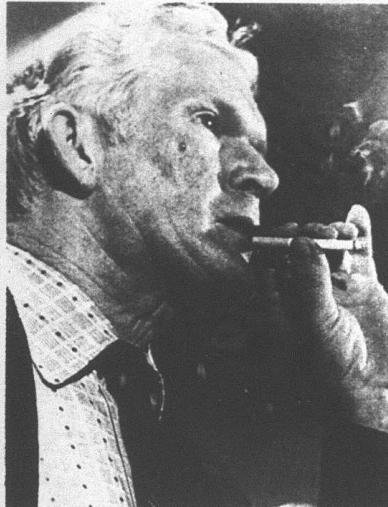
Since his defeat he has been convicted of ordering the murder of an opponent, Jock Yablonski.

The MFD victory meant significant changes in the union. Boyle had about half the union's districts in trusteeship. These trusteeships were dissolved and the miners regained the right to vote for district-level officials.

At a convention in 1973, the union's constitution was completely rewritten, giving miners the right to ratify contracts and instituting other democratic reforms.

But democracy in the union was only part of the problem. The other half was dealing with the coal operators. On this President Miller proved himself incapable and unwilling to lead.

In 1974, Miller negotiated a contract with a 54% gain in wages



Arnold Miller

and benefits. The militants denounced it because more could have been won, and because Miller ignored their demand to write the right to strike into the contract.

Similarly with the wave of wildcat strikes, Miller found himself caught between the demands of the rank and file on one side, and the coal operators, courts and government on the other.

He ended up either hiding from the problem or outright opposing the wildcats and trying to end them. After several years of this, the MFD leaders had become thoroughly alienated from their rank and file.

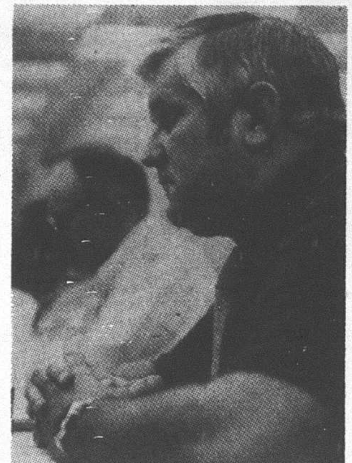
This situation enabled the old Boyle forces to regroup and go on the offensive under the leadership of Lee Roy Patterson, an International Executive Board member

and clearly the candidate of the operators.

He is the candidate most likely to try to end the wildcats, as he has done in his own district in eastern Kentucky.

Patterson has won support by making "district autonomy" his issue. The Miller administration had tried to centralize the union by centralizing dues collection and by making safety, political action and organizing officers appointive, rather than elected.

These moves were rightly resented by the rank and file, who no longer had any trust in their central leadership. By campaigning against this centralization in the name of democracy, Patterson has gained the backing of many miners, even though he is a follower of Boyle, one of the most



Lee Roy Patterson

undemocratic union leaders who ever existed.

For example, District 6 in Ohio has become a Patterson stronghold, even though miners there are among the most militant in the country. Patterson has gained a wide lead over his two opponents—and he is not likely to lose it.

PRESIDENT MILLER

Arnold Miller long ago stopped representing the reform movement in the UMWA. He has been personally and politically destroyed. He has fired or been deserted by his own campaign staff.

His instinctive reaction has been to crack down on any opposition, oppose any strike, and bureaucratically isolate himself.

Harry Patrick is the only candidate who represents the gains of the past few years.

Patrick is the UMWA's Secretary-Treasurer, and comes out of the MFD and the Miller administration. He broke with Miller several months ago over Miller's bureaucratic methods.

From the vantage point of the rank and file, Patrick is far from perfect. He was associated with Miller's attempt to centralize the UMWA structure, particularly dues collection. He represents both the weaknesses and the gains of the MFD.

But Patrick's position is essentially defensive. That is, while a victory for Patterson, or even Miller, would move the UMWA backward, a Patrick victory would do little more than defend the reforms of the MFD.

The tragedy of this election, and possibly of the coming contract fight, is that rank and file miners have not turned their militancy and solidarity into organization.

There is no national or even regional rank and file organization that could field its own candidate, one that could turn miners' proven willingness to fight into real gains.

Under these circumstances a vote for Patrick is the best option. If the militants do not support Patrick, Patterson is likely to be the victor. And that will mean the first step toward retreat.

The Right To Strike Is Key Issue

In discussing this year's miners' contract, BCOA President Joseph Brennan said, "We must come to grips with the cancer of the wildcat strike. . . . To do this, BCOA must stand as a monolith in the upcoming negotiations."

That sets the stage for a major confrontation, since all three UMWA candidates have the same position—on paper, at least—towards the right to strike.

Following a UMWA Convention decision last fall, they all favor the right of locals to strike by majority vote.

Winning this right in the contract would mean the strikes were no longer illegal—but not that the operators would be any less opposed to them.

In practice, Miller comes off worst on wildcats. For years he has tried to stop them.

Recently he sabotaged the possibility of a national strike over the operators' contract violations on absenteeism. The International Executive Board had voted to demand immediate



reopening of contract negotiations on this question. Miller simply ignored the decision. Both Patrick and Patterson voted with the IEB majority.

Patrick was an ally of Miller until recently, though he has been somewhat more sympathe-

tic to the problems of wildcat strikers. When miners in southern West Virginia struck for one day last month to demand federal flood relief, Patrick was the only candidate to support them.

Patterson is clearly the operators' favorite. During the national wildcat strike last summer, miners in Patterson's District 23 struck for only one day until he returned from Washington and got them back to work. That's his real position on wildcats, though he is talking out of the other side of his mouth during the campaign.

The operators hope that if Patterson is elected, he will be able to discipline the entire union as he has done in District 23.

The operators are bound to be disappointed, however. District 23 is mostly surface miners, who are quite different from the underground miners in most of the rest of the union. Patterson will not be able to work a miracle and stop the massive wave of wildcats.

Memorial Day Massacre

IN 1937, STEEL WORKERS BUILT THEIR UNION

by Ken Morgan

The United Steelworkers of America was built out of blood and suffering. It was built by men and women who wanted a better life, who would no longer tolerate the misery that the steel barons turned into profits.

The union for which they fought was not some dead machine for collecting dues. It was alive! It

Chicago, Memorial Day, May 30, 1937—forty years ago.

About 2500 people, striking steelworkers and their families, many in their holiday clothes, are walking across a flat, empty field, towards the Republic Steel mill, two blocks away.

They intend to exercise their rights—to peacefully picket the mill.

"The head of the parade is halted at the police lines. The flag bearers are in front. Behind them is the marchers' spokesman, a muscular young man in shirt sleeves, with a CIO button on the band of his felt hat."

The day's events were recorded on a newsreel. The description comes from a viewer quoted in

Sidney Lins' book, Labor Wars.

"Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots, and men in the front ranks of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe. Approximately a dozen fall simultaneously in a heap. The massive sustained roar of the pistol shots lasts perhaps two or three seconds.

"Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flying. At the same time tear-gas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators, and clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight..."

BUSINESSLIKE

"In a manner which is appalling-

was something they had made, a weapon they had forged out of their own lives.

Today, the corporations try ever harder to push us back to the old misery. But they will succeed only in re-awakening that earlier spirit.

Our union "leaders" are now the bosses' best

ly businesslike, groups of policemen close in on these isolated individuals, and go to work on them with their clubs.

"In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using the club as he would a baseball bat.

"Another crashes it down on top of his head and still another is whipping him across the back..."

"A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist.

"Two policemen try to make him stand up, to get him into the patrol wagon, but when they let go of him his legs crumble, and he falls with his face in the dirt, almost under the rear step of the wagon.

"He moves his head and arms,

but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle, and claws the ground..."

"There is a continuous talking but...out of the babble there rises this clear and distinct ejaculation: "God Almighty!"

"A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat wide open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired.

"He says something indistinguishable. Then his face breaks out into a sudden grin, he makes a motion of dusting off his hands, and strides away."

This was the Memorial Day Massacre—10 dead (seven shot from behind, three from the side). Thirty others shot, including a woman and three children, several of these permanently disabled, dozens more savagely beaten...

This was the answer of the steel owners—in lead and blood—to the demand for union recognition.

LONG BATTLE

The long battle to win a union in the steel mills had seemed almost won.

Only three months earlier, on February 11, the auto workers of Flint, Michigan had won their great sit-down strike.

They had beaten General Motors, their union had been recognized. And the rallying cries of CIO! and Sit-down! were on the lips of American workers.

Millions of workers in the great mass-production industries were part of the movement, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), seemed to be sweeping away all that stood before it.

Thousands and thousands seized their plants, as sit-downs swept through the automobile industry, as well as the electrical and furniture manufacturing.

Western Union messengers and department store clerks sat down, as did sanitation men and glass blowers.

In the one month after Flint, there were 247 sit-downs, involving 193,000 workers.

The steel industry was the great fortress of the "open shops," with a long history of bloody union-busting, of killings and beatings, of company spies and Pinkertons.

But now, the United States Steel Corporation—Big Steel, it was called—saw the handwriting on the wall.

On March 2, 1937, U.S. Steel recognized the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO.

The auto workers in Flint had shown the steel bosses that it might be better to sign a contract now, than to be faced with a sit-down.

allies. As they try to destroy movement, they will succeed retaking our union. The re be stopped, any more than the CIO.

Out of our anger, out of our own future.

Better to "give" the workers a union, rather than have them take it. So U.S. Steel decided to be "generous."

"LITTLE STEEL"

But for the other big steel companies—they were called "Little Steel," but they were "little" only compared to U.S. Steel—the fight was not over. They swore never to recognize a union.

Tom Girdler, the boss at Republic Steel, said he would rather dig potatoes than have a union.

Girdler was described by John L. Lewis, the head of the CIO, as a "heavily armed mono-maniac, with murderous tendencies, who has gone berserk." These words proved all too accurate.

The Little Steel companies, led by Republic, prepared for a strike.

They hired public-relations companies and fed stories to their well-paid newspapers. They made sure the various mayors had been freshly bribed. And they armed.

By May 25, Republic's police force of 370 men had 552 pistols, 64 rifles, 245 shotguns, 143 gas guns, 58 gas billys, 2707 gas grenades, etc., etc.

They also had the full co-operation of the Chicago police.

George Patterson was the picket



"They didn't stop shooting till an hour and a half later," said one striker. Ten were dead; thirty wounded.

"He put the paper down, and all hell broke loose. They began to shoot us, club us, gas us.

"I saw a boy run by, and his foot was bleeding.

"Then it dawned on me. They were shooting real bullets. This was for keeps."

George Patterson, picket captain

...Fo
own

by Eric Redson

PITTSBURGH — "I've heard Linden Hall is beautiful. I wouldn't know. It's hard to see the beauty of Linden Hall when you're looking at 50 goons—oops! Excuse me—union officials."

That is what one steelworker from Clairton Coke Works said about the picnic that was held at the United Steel Workers of America's (USWA) lavish country club on May 22. Linden Hall was supposedly purchased for the enjoyment of the members.

The picnic was sponsored by Steelworkers Stand Up (SSU), a rank and file newspaper put out by members of Local 1557 at U.S. Steel's Clairton Coke Works.

' BLOOD ON...

oy the new rank and file
eed only in delaying us in
ebirth of struggle cannot
n the bosses could stop

our hope, we will make

captain on Memorial Day. He tells
what happened:

"I went down with the front
group, right by the flag, and there
we met about 650 cops lined up. It
was getting to be kind of familiar. I
was always ill at ease. I didn't like
it. Don't ever think that anybody's
that brave.

"But I was an organizer in
charge of the picket line, so I
walked along and saw my familiar
old friends Mooney, the comman-
der of the police, and Kilroy.

"They stood about six feet, six
inches tall. They were big fellows,
and I'm not very big.

"And I looked up and said,
'Well here we are. We'd like to go
through. Would you escort us?
We'd like to picket.'

"Well, he was standing there—
Kilroy was the man—and he was
reading a very official document
asking us in the name of the people
of Illinois to disperse.

"As soon as he said that, he put
the paper down and all hell broke
loose.

"They began to shoot us, club
us, and gas us. It really was hell on
that field.

"I ran back with the rest of them
and I got mad. I could see the cops
were shooting away with their
guns.

"At first I thought they were
blanks—I really did. I could smell



Police attack striking steelworkers. May 30, 1937. "There is a tremendous roar of pistol shots... the marchers go down like grass before a scythe."

the gunpowder—I'll never forget
it—and then I began to see people
fall.

"I saw a boy run by, and his foot
was bleeding. Then it dawned on
me. They were shooting real
bullets. This was for keeps.

"They didn't stop shooting and
killing till an hour and a half later.
They were chasing people and
picking people up."

SAW PEOPLE DROP

This was the scene that Jesse
Reese, a Black steelworker, saw
that warm spring day: "I heard
guns, and I thought, 'Oh-oh,

they're shooting blanks.'

"I said, 'Keep moving, folks.
They ain't doing a thing but
shooting blanks. File up, march!'

"But then I began to see people
drop. There was a Mexican on my
side, and he fell; and there was a
Black man on my side and he fell.

"Down I went. I crawled around
in the grass and saw that people
were getting beat.

"I'd never seen police beat
women, not white women. I'd seen
them beat Black women, but this
was the first time in my life I'd seen
them beat white women—with
sticks.

"There was this woman carrying

a flag in her hand, and they took
the flag away from her and began
beating her with the flagpole."

Forty years ago, men and women
were willing to die to build the
Steelworkers Union.

The dead in South Chicago that
Memorial Day were not the first,
nor the last.

The Little Steel strike was
defeated. But out of that defeat,
steelworkers created a new power.

"A tremendous surge took
place," one of them remembers.
"We talk of a rank and file
movement; the beginning of union
organization was the best kind of
rank and file movement you could
think of."

"We stood up and we organized
the steelworkers all over the
country," George Patterson says.

"Some people ask, 'Was it worth
it?' Of course it was worth it. We
got a contract at Republic Steel."

All of us today—and not just
steelworkers—owe a debt to the
victims of the Memorial Day
Massacre.

We owe them respect—not to
put flowers on their graves, but
respect for the cause they fought
for.

They wanted to build a union,
their union, our union. It is time we
took those unions back to the
members. □

erty years later, their officials stand in the way

But these union members never
got to enjoy the grounds that their
blood, sweat and union dues had
paid for.

They were greeted by a gang of
hoods led by Joe Odercich, the
in-coming USWA International
Vice-President.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Odercich told the picnicking
steelworkers, "You have no right
to be here. This is private
property." He said there would be
no picnic by "young punks and
protestors."

Odercich attacked the group
because of SSU's strong criticism
of the recently negotiated industry-

wide basic steel agreement, and
the sellout "no-strike" policy of the
USWA leaders. SSU was also
solidly in support of Ed Sadlowski
in his unsuccessful bid to overturn
the hand-me-down Abel-to-Mc-
Bride union leadership.

The goons grabbed, intimidated,
and man-handled the picnicking
steelworkers. One of their cars was
blockaded and the keys were taken.

Rocks were thrown at them.
Their cans of pop were smashed
and thrown at their cars.

One of the steelworkers was so
badly beaten that he required
emergency hospital treatment.

Permission for using the grounds
had been secured two weeks in
advance.

Steffi Domike, of Local 1557, was
an eyewitness. She was quoted in a
special bulletin put out by SSU:

"When we got there people said
we needed to have a receipt, so I
went and picked up the receipt.
And then they grabbed it out of my
hand when I brought it back.

"Then I realized these bastards
were serious about throwing us
out.

"I got out my camera to take
pictures. They were pushing us
around saying they were going to
smash my camera and wrap it
around my neck.

"After we moved our cars to
another picnic grove, Joe Odercich
started throwing rocks at our car.
There were children in those cars.
"As we were leaving, they

blockaded the car, jumped on it,
dragged out the driver, took the
keys, and started coming after me
for the film. I was forced to give it
to them.

"At the same time, they were
beating my friend up. Three big
guys had him pinned on the ground
and were kicking and punching
him, and pounding his face in the
ground."

NO DISSENT

Joe Odercich was quoted in the
May 22 edition of the Pittsburgh
Press calling Linden Hall a place
where union members could learn
"what we went through to get this
union" and "to get out of the dust
of the mills for a while."

And now Joe Odercich, once a
part of the bloody struggle that
built the United Steel Workers, is
reduced to throwing rocks at
children to prevent freedom of
dissent in the USWA.

A resolution demanding the
resignation of Odercich is being
prepared.

Broad support has already begun
to develop. The resolution will be
presented at locals all over the
country.

The steelworkers and friends
who attended the "picnic" are
considering pressing charges both
in the courts and inside the union.

One steelworker commented:
"It's amazing how men who can't
or won't fight the company can be
very brave against a few men and
women." □



HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORKERS' POWER

Talking About Socialism

A fight for human rights is going on today in Russia and in Eastern Europe.

It is a fight for democratic rights—to speak your mind, to print your ideas, to organize in your self-interest.

It is a fight for democracy and freedom. It is a fight for political power.

In Czechoslovakia it's called Charter 77. In Poland, the Workers Defense Committee. Each country says the word freedom a little different. But it is a word which will be spoken.

Jimmy Carter has promised to "speak out strongly and forcefully whenever human rights are threatened—not in every instance, but when I think it's advisable."

Carter will think it advisable when it serves his political purposes—not when it advances the cause of freedom.

EXPLOITED

Why are there no human rights in Russia? Because it is a society where one class lives off and exploits another.

That same class rules an empire where racial minorities, Slavic, Asian and Jewish are discriminated against and oppressed.

Carter dares not pursue the question of human rights too far—because of the fear of a telling similarity to his own country.

Carter is not the hope for human rights in Eastern Europe.

But there is hope—in the working class of those countries.

The people of Russia once had "human rights" because they had political power. In 1917 a rank and file movement of Russian workers organized and overthrew their king, the Czar, and the big businessmen he fronted for.

They organized committees, called "soviets," and they ran the factories for themselves, the cities for themselves, and the nation for themselves.

As they took the factories, their cousins in the country took the farms. Together they created a new workers' government. That revolution was led by the Communist Party.

STRANGLER

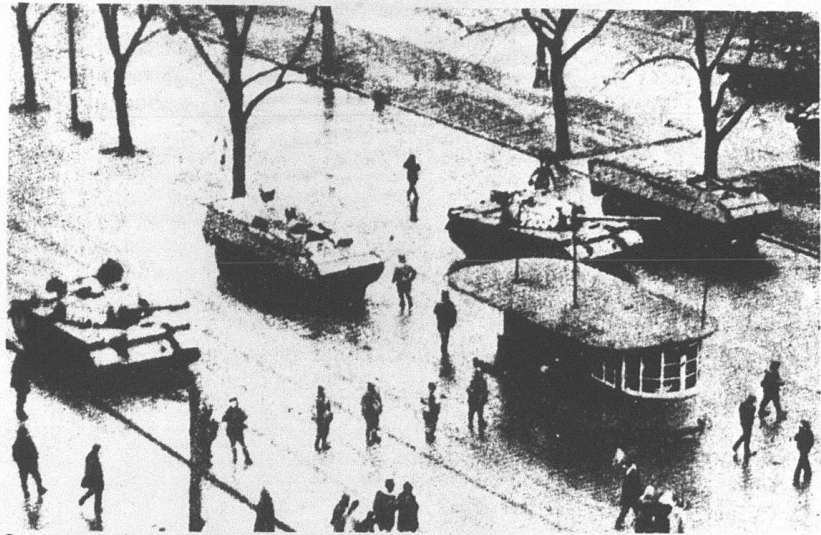
But the infant workers' government was strangled in its cradle by the hostile giants of big business.

The businessmen of Germany and Japan, England and France, and the United States turned their armies loose on the Russian workers—just as they turn them loose today in Africa.

With the war, the economy collapsed. The railroads stopped. The factories closed.

Years of war and mass unemployment left the Russian working class exhausted and its organizations—unions, committees, parties—weak.

As a result of this collapse it was possible to organize a counter-revolution. Joseph Stalin led that counter-revolution to destroy the workers' government and the workers' movement in a blood bath.



Government tanks crushed the Polish workers' uprising in 1970—but they can't kill the struggle for workers' power.

Under Stalin the political rights, the truly "human rights" that the workers had won, were destroyed.

A police state was created that controlled industry—but the workers no longer controlled that state.

Stalin and his group killed the militant workers in the Communist Party and turned it into the Party of the new ruling class.

Workers were forced to carry passports even in their own country, like Black workers in South Africa today.

The government kept political files on the workers and put secret

police in every major factory.

DEATH FOR STRIKERS

In 1930 the Communist Party of Stalin passed the following motion:

"The problem of the trade unions is the organization of Socialist competition and the shock brigades. The trade unions must organize fraternal trials between the best shock brigadiers in order to make the necessary impression on persons who violate labor discipline."

The workers' movement usually

fighters through cooperation and solidarity to lessen the load of the workers. Stalin used "discipline" to force them, "competition" to divide them, and "shock brigades" to speed them up. The unions became company unions.

Russian workers, treated like criminals and forced to bust rates and speed up, went on strike. So laws had to be passed to stop the strikes. In 1927 Stalin's government passed this law:

"Counter-revolutionary sabotage, i.e., knowingly omitting to discharge a given duty or discharge

ing with deliberate carelessness, with the specific object of weakening the authority of the government or the operation of the government machine, entails—deprivations of liberty for a period of not less than one year and confiscation of property in whole or in part, provided that where there are aggravating circumstances of a particularly serious nature the penalty shall be increased to the supreme measure of social defense: death by shooting, with confiscation of property."

That meant, strike and the state will murder you.

During World War II, Russian armies carried this police state system into Eastern Europe.

These laws have not changed fundamentally since Stalin.

It is because of this class society that there are no political rights, no democratic rights, no human rights in Russia or Eastern Europe.

NEW REVOLUTIONS

The fight for human rights in Eastern Europe won't be waged by Jimmy Carter—any more than it was waged by Nixon, Kennedy, Johnson or Eisenhower.

It will be waged by the exploited and oppressed workers there themselves. They have shown this in East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1970.

In each of these movements the workers organized their committees, took their factories, and fought for a government of the working people.

When the workers take power in Russia and Hungary, in Czechoslovakia and Poland, in Albania and Yugoslavia—then "human rights" will become a reality.

Arrests, Protests And Repression Still On The Rise In Eastern Europe

STANISLAW PYJAS, an activist in the Workers Defense Committee was apparently murdered by the secret police in Krakow, Poland.

A mass protest of his murder resulted in several other members of the committee being jailed in Warsaw. Among them were Jan Josef Lipski, a literary critic, and Jacek Kuron, one of the group's spokesmen. Six other committee members were also arrested.

Over 5000 mourners in Krakow had participated in a demonstration to protest Pyjas' murder, marching from the central market to Wawel Castel.

Student leaders who spoke at the demonstration announced that they are resigning from the official Socialist Union of Polish Students and said they were forming a new Student Solidarity Committee.

Like all institutions in Poland, including the trade unions and the political parties, the official student group is totally controlled by the Communist Party of Poland and its police.

The new student group will face the same sort of repression that the Workers' Defense Committee has faced.

The workers and students in the Workers' Defense Committee, the strike movements and groups like the Student Solidarity Committee, are waging the real struggle for socialism in Poland.

They are fighting for socialist democracy, against the dictatorship of the bureaucratic ruling class and the Communist Party.

FRAMED UP

Police claimed that Pyjas had been drinking and fell down the stairs and died of resulting head injuries. But the Polish students and workers know better.

There has been a police campaign of harassment against the Workers' Defense Committee since it was formed a year ago.

Members of the Committee have been arrested and held on various charges such as "slandering Poland" and "illegally collecting money."

The Workers' Defense Committee was created to defend the workers who participated in a strike wave that began in June of 1976 and became a near-insurrection in the cities of Radom, Ursus and Plock.

Workers in those cities walked out in massive strikes, burned down Communist Party headquarters, and tore up railway tracks. All of this was a protest against price rises of 50 to 100%.

As a result of the strike many workers were killed and others today are serving prison sentences of up to 10 years for their role in the strikes.

The revolutionary movement in Poland is suppressed. But underground, Poland is seething and swelling. New eruptions are inevitable.



COMMUNIST CZECHOSLOVAKIA continues to jail many of the activists in the Charter 77 movement.

The Charter 77 demands that the Czech government lived up to the Helsinki agreement, signed in 1970. Both capitalist and Communist governments signed the pact saying they would respect human rights. So far neither side has shown any signs of complying. Over 400 Czechs have risked

their jobs, and possibly their lives by signing the Charter.

Over 250 people have been either arrested or held for interrogation. Two months ago one of the signers, Professor Jan Patochka, died under interrogation.

Other Charter 77 activists have been harassed in other ways. Pavel Kohout and his wife Jelena, both writers, have lost their home in Prague after a four month fight. Earlier Pavel Kohout had been detained and interrogated by police.

Hundreds of workers remain in the Communist prisons for their fight against the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 following a massive strike wave.

Among political prisoners arrested for supporting the workers are:

- Vaclav Havel, spokesman of the Charter 77 group.
- Ota Ornest, film director and charter signer.
- Jiri Lederer, journalist, playwright and director.
- Petr Uhl, a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, jailed in 1970; today a supporter from jail of the Charter 77 movement.

MEET A REAL, LIVE MIDDLE EAST TERRORIST

Who is Menahem Begin, the leader of the Likud Party which won last week's general election in Israel?

During the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948, the war that resulted in setting up the State of Israel, Begin was the leader of an unofficial army called the Irgun.

The Irgun was dedicated to the idea of driving as many Arabs as possible out of their homes in Palestine. They called this process "liberating" territory to expand the area where only Jews would be allowed to live.

Most of the official Zionist movement denounced Begin as a terrorist, an outlaw, and refused to take any responsibility for his acts. But the official Israeli army, the Zionist settlement agencies and many Israeli villages ("Kibbutzim") carried out almost identical activities.

blue-collar, poorly paid, and discriminated-against non-European Jewish workers who voted heavily for Begin's Likud Party.

If those workers ever broke with Begin's hard-line racism to fight for their own needs, they would

have to look to the other oppressed people, the Israeli and Palestinian Arabs, as possible allies.

That could create revolutionary possibilities in the Middle East that most people have never even thought possible. □



Liberation News Service



(Left) Palestinians in Ramallah, on the occupied West Bank, protested the murder of two people by Israeli troops last year. Menahem Begin (above), Israel's next Prime Minister, says none of the occupied land will be returned. Camp Kadum (map, right) is one of 77 illegal settlements by right-wing Zionists on Palestinian Arab land.



OUT FRONT

Begin's greatest secret of success in the recent election may simply be the fact that he stands openly and out front, for the same racist and expansionist policies the Israeli Labor Party pursued for 29 years.

Those policies have meant seizing more chunks of Arab land. For the past ten years, they have meant keeping and settling on the territories Israel took over in the 1967 war. Begin simply promises to do the same thing better, faster, and never to give an inch of land back.

Begin is the symbolic father figure for right-wing Israeli settlers who have seized Arab lands in the West Bank territory, even against official orders of the Israeli government itself.

But the Israeli government has done nothing to stop over 70 such illegal settlements in the past few years. Begin's first act as Prime Minister will probably be to officially legalize them, and encourage more.

Begin's policies, if carried out, would mean a new and devastating Middle East war. But his election is also going to stimulate struggles inside Israel.

- Palestinian and Israeli Arab communities, who have increasingly fought back with strikes and boycotts, will be even more determined to resist new land seizures.

- Begin is committed to a sharp attack on the living standard of Israeli workers. These include the

Israel's My Lai — The Day Menahem Begin's Killers Struck A Quiet Village

APRIL 9, 1948 was a turning point in the war that created the State of Israel.

That was the day that Menahem Begin's terrorist gang, the Irgun, destroyed the peaceful Arab village of Deir Yassin, on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway.

"The International Red Cross representative who visited the scene of the outrage, Jacques de Reynier, reported that the bodies of some 150 men, women and children had been thrown down a cistern, while some 90 other bodies were scattered about.

"The houses were destroyed. The few villagers who were not slaughtered were paraded by the Irgun through the streets of Jerusalem—in triumph."

That brief account is from Hal

Draper's article, "Israel's Arab Minority: The Beginning of a Tragedy."

□ □ □
WAS DEIR YASSIN an isolated incident? For 29 years, that has been the official pro-Israeli line.

But that is also the same way the American government tried to explain the My Lai massacre in Vietnam. Calling it an "isolated incident," the American military passed off the My Lai massacre as the unauthorized act of one junior officer, William Calley. He supposedly exceeded his orders by lining up hundreds of civilians in a ditch and machine-gunning them.

But it was the U.S. Army that gave Calley his orders to occupy My Lai in the first place.

Similarly, the official Zionist

army, the Haganah, claimed that the Irgun was an illegal band of irregulars, who were no responsibility of the official army.

Menahem Begin, the Irgun leader, disproved this by simply publishing a letter from the regional Haganah command, ordering and approving the raid on Deir Yassin.

□ □ □
WAS DEIR YASSIN raided because it was harboring anti-Israeli Arab soldiers?

Exactly the opposite. Deir Yassin was raided, in fact, because it was known to be a quiet village which had remained peaceful during all the months of fighting between Jews and Palestinian Arabs.

This village was chosen for the raid for publicity reasons. It was to

warn all Arabs living in areas claimed by Israel, that they had better flee or be killed.

Most of them fled. The Irgun, the Haganah, and even the neighboring Arab kingdoms who wanted to seize Palestine for themselves, all publicized the Deir Yassin massacre so that other villagers would run away.

Later, the new State of Israel created the story that over half a million Arabs had left their land and homes "willingly."

All their properties, fields and homes were declared "vacant" and turned over to Zionist settlers.

Is it any wonder that the Palestinian people view Menahem Begin, and the state he helped set up, just about the same way that the Jews of Europe viewed Nazi Germany? □

Coalition Gains In Health Care Fight At Grady Hospital

ATLANTA—Thirty members of the Coalition to Save Grady Hospital went to the hospital's regular Board of Trustees meeting Monday.

They went to keep up the pressure against the hospital's new cash-in-advance plan and its higher fees.

The Board kept the Coalition waiting until the end of the agenda. While we waited we watched them allocate thousands of dollars. Meanwhile, they're keeping thousands of dollars away from medical care for the poor.

When it was finally our turn we presented the Coalition's demands:

- Abolish the cash-in-advance plan; change the signs in the outpatient clinic to make it clear no one would be turned away.

- Guarantee emergency medical treatment to all.

- Public hearings on the impact of the changes on those who use the hospital.

NO MONEY?

The trustees responded by saying that they had already changed the signs—a win for us.

But the cash-in-advance plan they called "necessary because of the financial situation of the hospital."

Meanwhile Grady is overburdened with administrators and supervisors (almost one for every Grady worker). Administrators get high salaries and frills like free cars and gas.

An elderly woman tearfully told how she had spent several hours in the emergency clinic. She had to use her last two dollars to get her prescription filled.

Another woman said that her brother had been turned away because he had no money and was not an emergency case.

OUTCRY

At this time the trustees tried to adjourn the meeting. But an outcry went up and the anger, combined with the presence of the press and television, forced the directors to continue.

Doctor Yancy, the only doctor on the Board of Trustees, said that no emergency cases would be refused

treatment. He said that anyone with any problems should come to his office.

But emergency cases come twenty-four hours a day. What if Dr. Yancy is not there?

One of the Grady workers present, who works in receiving, said she was not qualified to make such a judgement and did not want the responsibility.

Hospital Director Pinkston's answer: The supervisor would make decisions. But the Supervisors are not doctors and are not trained to make such life and death decisions.

STRUGGLE GOES ON

By Tuesday the hospital stated a physician would decide on emer-

gency cases—another win for us.

The Coalition also pointed out that many patients were not even coming to the hospital because they had no money and thought they would be turned away.

The Coalition therefore demanded that a press release be prepared making it known that no emergency patients would be refused treatments. The Board agreed.

The main point left in the Coalition's program is the demand for hearings. Because the hearings will cast the hospital in a bad light, showing its callousness, the trustees are resisting them.

The Coalition will continue its struggle to keep adequate health care available to the poor.

Where We Stand

WE OPPOSE

- **CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION**
We live under the capitalist system. The wealth produced by working people is stolen from us by private employers. They prosper from our labor.
- **CAPITALIST CONTROL**
Capitalists use their profits only to make more profits. When they need fewer workers, they create unemployment. When they need more money, they speed up work, downgrade safety conditions, and raise prices. The capitalist system spends little on health care, a clean environment, or social services, because these things make no profit.
- **OPPRESSION**
Capitalism needs inequality. Because it needs profits, it can't provide enough for all. So it gives some groups of people worse jobs and lower pay, and labels them inferior. In particular, capitalism locks black people into the bottom of society, and spreads racist ideas to keep them there. Capitalism keeps women responsible for taking care of the work force when it is not at work, including children, who are too young to work. Women who work for wages have two jobs.
- **CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT**
The government serves the capitalist class. Its only purpose is to protect the private profit system. It protects its interests abroad through economic control of other countries, spying and wars.
- **BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNISM**
Russia, China and other countries with economies like theirs are also oppressive class societies, run by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats. They are not socialist and must be overthrown by the working class of those countries.

WE SUPPORT

- **THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**
The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace, not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.
- **LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION**
Black people are an oppressed national minority in the United States. They have the right to self-determination—to decide their own future. The struggle of every oppressed group for equality is a just struggle—Blacks, women, gays, Latinos, American Indians. We are for the independent organization of oppressed peoples to fight for their freedom. Support from the entire working class movement will make the struggles of both—the oppressed and the working class movement—stronger.
- **SOCIALISM**
Society should be run by the working class. The wealth produced by those who work should go to fill people's needs, not to private gain.
- **WORKERS' REVOLUTION**
But the capitalist class will not give up their rule and profits voluntarily. Socialism can be created only when the working class seizes control of the factories and makes their own government. The working class will rule democratically because it can own society's wealth only together.
- **INTERNATIONALISM**
The struggle for socialism is world-wide. We support every fight of the working class against exploitation, and every struggle by nations fighting for independence from foreign rulers. We support every struggle for freedom—from the people of southern Africa against racism and western colonialism, to the struggle against bureaucratic rule and Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe. We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule.
- **REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**
The most class conscious members of the working class have the responsibility to lead the struggle toward socialist revolution. To do this they must build an organization to put their consciousness into action and make their leadership effective.
- **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**
The U.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. We invite you to build the U.S. into a revolutionary party, to build the movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world.

PITTSBURGH WORKING WOMEN'S WORKSHOP

"If we can't get equality on the job, freedom is just a word..."

PITTSBURGH—"My boss offered me \$900 not to take a job in the warehouse. I took the money but I'm going to go for the job too!" That was the spirit of the women's workshop sponsored by Workers' Power here on May 21. Twenty-five working women shared their experiences in tackling sexism on the job. Steelworkers, teachers, social workers, teamsters and hospital workers were represented.

Women earn only 59% as much as men. Our unemployment rate is increasing way above men's, and we come home to a second job at night.

One out of eight families are headed by women and the number of these families below the poverty level has risen 21% since 1970. One out of every two households headed by a Black woman is below the poverty level.

BOSSSES' GAMES

Women talked about the sexist games the employers use. One steelworker said, "They give women easier work, then the bosses say to the guys—'Look at those broads, they're loafing, not pulling their share.'"

The point was made that "we have more in common with each other than with the employer." That means that women have to build a working women's movement within the rank and file movement.

The women discussed the example of a woman miner who was accused of hitting a foreman and fired. She got her job back after a two-day strike by her fellow miners—all male.

As much as men miners resent women for "invading" the mines, they saw her first as a fellow worker when it involved the war against the bosses.

Another successful example was brought up by women steelworkers. "There were individual gripes women had, but women's washhouses was one thing we all shared. We told the men if they helped us fight to improve women's lockers and washrooms, any gains we made would help to improve their conditions."

The women passed out leaflets at mill gates, held press conferences, raised a ruckus at union meetings, got men's support and achieved their goal.

TACTICS

The workshop discussed the tactics of organizing—how to select the issues that people are most willing to fight on, tools like petitions, leaflets, newsletters and press conferences—and more unusual methods like picking locks on supervisors' desks to get information.



Twenty-five women attended a Workers' Power women's workshop in Pittsburgh.

Organizing at work, however, was seen as only a part of putting an end to oppressive conditions for women. One woman commented, "You have to talk about a different kind of economy, a different

system, if you're going to talk about real freedom for women. If we can't get equality on the job, paid childcare and equal pay, freedom is just a word...."

"The very fact that this present

system needs guns, courts, jails to make it work proves how unnatural this system is. Once you realize that it's a machine you're fighting, you realize you need to be as well organized as they are." □

Portland Pickets Shut Down Propaganda for Apartheid

by David Spencer

PORTLAND—"Jeremy Shearer, there ain't no doubt, South African people gonna kick you out!"

With chants like these, 150 demonstrators prevented South Africa's acting Ambassador to the U.S. from addressing an "International Affairs" symposium at Lewis and Clark College on Tuesday May 24. Shearer is a high-ranking official in the South African government.

Also invited to speak at the three-day meeting were a vice president of General Motors, the president of Lockheed-Georgia, and an official of the U.S. State Department.

PROPAGANDA

The event at Lewis and Clark College was part of the massive propaganda campaign by US corporations to justify the support they give the white racist regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Namibia.

Under cover of phony attempts to "reform" apartheid, US capitalists are doing everything in their power to crush the Black liberation

movements in those countries.

By preventing Shearer from speaking, the demonstrators, including members of the International Socialists, insured that Lewis and Clark, and anyone else in the Portland area, will think three times before they invite propagandists for apartheid to speak again.

Before chanting and heckling in the lecture hall, 200-300 demonstrators maintained a spirited picket line outside and heard speakers.

These included a representative

of the Pan-African Congress, an underground revolutionary organization of South African Blacks.

BEGINNING

Demonstrations like these are just a beginning.

Before the Black workers of South Africa finally take back their country, we in the US will have to build a movement that can take on white South Africa's biggest supporters: US corporations and the US government. □

Ohio Community's Pressure Stops Ku Klux Klan Rally

Steelworkers and other union and community groups forced the Ku Klux Klan to cancel a rally in Steubenville, Ohio on Memorial Day.

Opposition to the KKK grew steadily in the two months that the hate group's plans were public.

United Steelworkers Local 1190 unanimously passed a resolution opposing the march. The local is the largest in the region.

The resolution denounced the Klan as racist and anti-labor. It called for the USW local and the entire labor movement to "take joint action with all responsible community elements to stop the march."

A group of ministers had called for a counter-demonstration and public officials had voiced opposition as well.

Far-right groups like the Klan are testing public opinion by organizing openly and recruiting publicly to their vicious racist philosophy.

TESTING

Ohio is just one recent example of public pressure halting the Klan. There have been outraged responses to Klan activity in Indiana, New York, and Florida as well.

In all three cases this has driven the scum back into the woodwork. Fighting the Klan is a fine tradition for working people and the working class movement. We have to protect ourselves and each other.

And, as the steelworkers showed, it can work. □

[Information from LNS.]

JOIN US!

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

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VIEW FROM THE AUDIENCE

BOOKS MUSIC TELEVISION ADS MOVIES TRENDS BOOKS MUSIC TELEVISION ADS MOVIES TRENDS BOOKS MUS

HE'S 'THE GREATEST'

"The Greatest" starring Muhammad Ali. Produced by John Marshall, directed by Tom Gries.

by Kate Stacy

The champ is the champ. He always was and to many he always will be. A champ as a boxer and a champ as a person.

And to top it off, he really can act.

Muhammad Ali is starring in "The Greatest," a vivid account of his own fight to become world heavyweight champion. The film covers the theft of his title by boxing officials and the eight year battle it took to regain it.

In between is woven the story of Ali's conversion to the Muslim religion, his controversial friendship with Malcolm X, his principled refusal to join the US Army at war in Vietnam, and final victory when the US Supreme Court overturns his five year sentence for refusing that military induction.

A fine supporting cast includes James Earl Jones, Paul Winfield and Ben Johnson. And there's some good songs by George Benson.

ROME

When Cassius Clay came back from the 1960 Rome Olympics he had the light heavyweight gold medal around his neck. Nothing but fine words for the USA came out of his mouth.

Already he was the supremely confident, cocky young poet. But that self-confidence ran smack up against the racism of his well-to-do financial backers.

Clay refused to be part of anyone's kennel or stable.

Because of his enormous boxing skill and his strong personal convictions, Cassius Clay won out. Throughout his career he remained his own man.

In the process Clay became Muhammad Ali, and those fine words for the US dropped by the wayside.

HIGHLIGHTS

There are four highlights in Ali's

adult life according to this film.

Two are fights—his bout against Sonny Liston when he won the title, and his 1974 match up against George Foreman in Zaire when he reclaimed it.

The pre-trial promotional stunts with Sonny Liston are the most revealing—as well as funny.

Besides being a superb boxer, Ali has a monumental talent for psyching out his opponent, turning their weaknesses into strengths for Ali in the fight.

But it took a major battle with his own promoters to get into the ring with Liston.

Just prior to the championship bout, hysterical press reports began circulating. Cassius Clay was far too close to the Nation of Islam, the Muslims.

Malcolm X—the most "dangerous man in America"—and his family were Clay's guests at his Miami training camp. And Clay was on the verge of joining the Islamic faith.

FURIOUS

Clay's promoter was furious. He told the fighter to dump the Muslims, send Malcolm packing, publicly embrace Christianity—or the fight was cancelled.

Clay called the bluff and that's all it turned out to be—bluff. He fought and beat Liston. The following day he announced his new religion.

It was not too much longer before Ali was reclassified to be eligible for active service in the military.

His petition for a religious deferment was turned down. In probably the most controversial act of his controversial career, he refused induction into the Army. This is probably the most powerful scene in the entire movie.

Ali does not see why Black people should fight in Asia to save the system that oppresses them back home.

GRAVY

Two officers try to talk him into induction, holding out the promise of no combat duty, only exhibition

bouts and general gravy.

All fixes the two with a cool stare. Instead of Ali himself going to Vietnam to kill Asians for the government, the Army would use him to convince other young Black men that they should go to Vietnam?

"I'd rather just go to jail," says Ali.

He soon is convicted, gets the

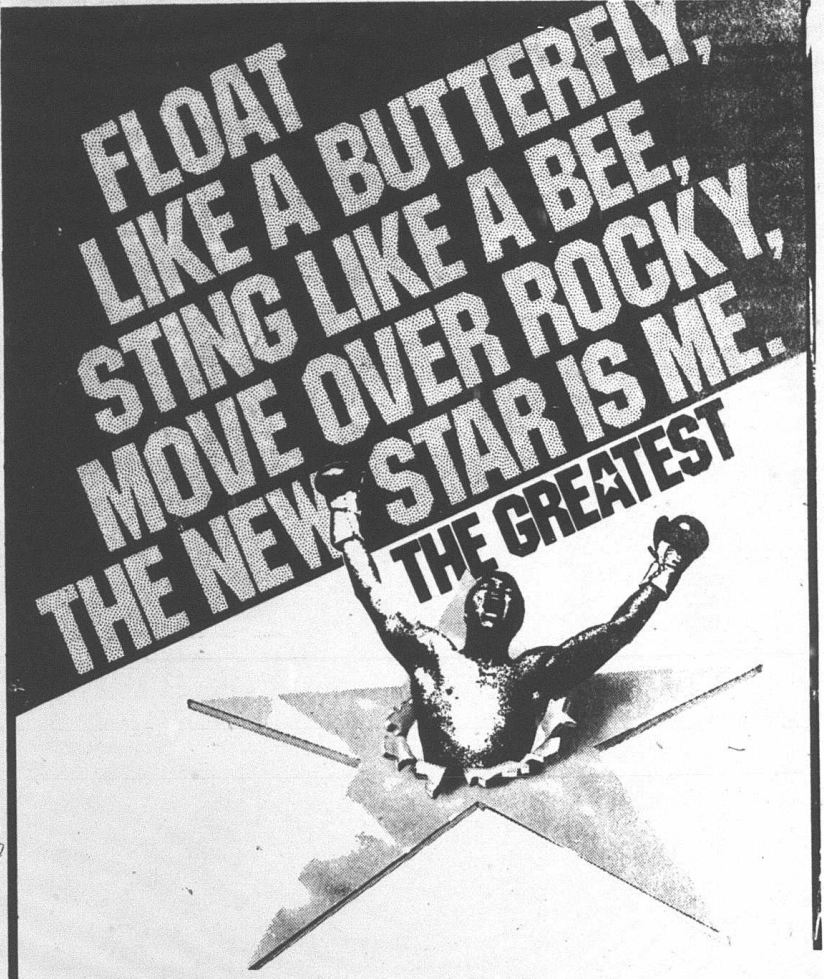
stiffest sentence. His title is stolen. His passport is lifted so that he cannot get foreign matches. In the US he is refused a license for any bout.

It's three and a half years before the US Supreme Court overturns the illegal conviction. And almost five more years—and many rumors of "washed up" and "destroyed"

—before his triumphal African bout.

Film buffs may be critical of this movie. The plot is thin. Many characters simply disappear without being properly disposed of. It isn't going to win any Oscars.

But interesting subject matter and a warm and talented portrayal by Ali make up for the film's shortcomings.



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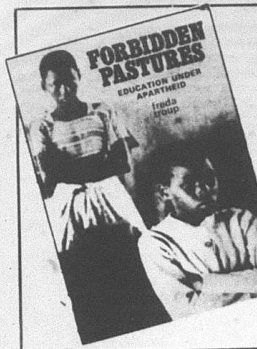
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Workers' Power

NEW YORK UPS PACT FALLS SHORT ON JOBS

About 4000 United Parcel workers in New York City and Long Island are voting on their contract. The company's final offer got a unanimous recommendation from Teamsters Local 804 Executive Board.

Ron Carey, President of 804

stated, "The two most important issues that had to be dealt with were inflation and job security. We don't know how we could have possibly won any further increases or more job security as a result of the negotiations."

The money won by strikes in

earlier freight and UPS contracts signed in April and May of 76 went easily into the UPS offer to 804.

And full-timers seem to have made some gains in job security. But the contracts seems to have little to offer part-timers and hub workers.

It's clear that only the threat of a

strike made the company go this far and the union could have pushed them more. Biggest gain may be the expiration date—April 30, 1979.

The 804 contract will expire with the East, the Midwest and the South, meaning the end of isolated bargaining. It raises the possibility

of a massive strike in 1979.

MONEY

The only new money negotiated by 804 was 20 cents per hour retroactive to when the 15 Eastern states ratified in December. The company held this money on a stick with the promise of an early settlement to avoid a strike.

Some money was actually lost. The night sort 10% differential is frozen at 10% of last contract's wages. Hub workers lost 15 minute pay after 8½ hours.

But, money's the easiest thing to get out of UPS. It's conditions they fight on. Major issue here is job security. Full-timers won some gains, while hub and part-timers seem to have lost.

JOB SECURITY

Full-time sort and load workers in the night package operation must be replaced with another full-timer before the number of part-timers is increased. But there could be a loophole. Could that person's work just get divided up among co-workers as long as part-timers aren't increased?

An improvement was made with the winning of company seniority. Previously when an employee transferred from inside to driving, the date of transfer was his seniority date for purposes of layoffs and bidding. This meant a worker with 11 years total or company seniority could be laid off before a man with only two years.

For full-time hub workers, there's less security. While they can't be bumped or forced out because of part-timers they can be replaced by part-timers if they quit or die—meaning fewer full-time jobs under the mis-named "job security clause". All such jobs could be eliminated this way. The union should fight against this attrition plan.

NEW CENTERS

Both clauses omit any mention of job protection in new centers. It's because of this that the number of full-time inside jobs is being threatened in the current move of the Pittsburgh, Pa. hub.

Hub workers may only bump those in their classification in their own location—while all other workers may bump throughout the jurisdiction. But it's in the hub that this has been an issue in the past.

Part-timers got the short end. They got a bigger wage increase than full-timers—but one that still leaves a big gap between pay rates.

On the most important issue—the promotion to full-time jobs—the offer is worse than that negotiated in the 15 states and central states. It does not require the company to give full-time openings to part-timers.

Instead it states that they "may be considered" for these jobs first if they've got a year's seniority or more. And there's no language stipulating such promotions must be made by seniority. So UPS will pick it's "yes-men."

WILMINGTON TEN STILL BEHIND BARS

bid for new trial denied



Mob violence against Black high school march led to frame-up of Wilmington 10.

by Kate Stacy

Over six years ago Mike's Grocery in Wilmington, North Carolina burned to the ground. The city had been the scene of mob violence against Black people following court-ordered desegregation.

Black high school students peacefully demonstrated against some discriminatory aspects of the integration plan.

Soon armed whites roamed the city. Black people began arming themselves in return. Two people were killed. The National Guard moved in.

Out of the disorder Ben Chavis, eight other young Blacks and a white anti-poverty worker were charged with arson and conspiracy to assault authorities.

NO NEW TRIAL

The Wilmington 10 were framed from the beginning. That incredible frame-up continued last week when a North Carolina state judge refused them a new trial.

The first trial was set for June,

1972. The jury held ten Blacks and two whites.

The assistant prosecutor didn't like those odds. He complained of stomach pains. The judge agreeably declared a mistrial!

The second trial began in September. The judge would not allow Ku Klux Klan membership to be cause for rejecting jurors.

The second jury consisted of ten whites and two Blacks.

Ben Chavis says from prison: "The jury that heard our case was looking for blood. We were denied a jury of our peers."

BRIBED

A witness bribed by the prosecution testified against The Ten. He said that Chavis had bought him and others to make Molotov cocktails. He claimed Chavis ordered him to fire-bomb the grocery store.

After a five week trial in which two other prosecution witnesses lied on the stand the Wilmington 10 were convicted.

Their combined sentences were 282 years—the stiffest sentences in

North Carolina history for the crime.

In 1976 the appeals ended at the US Supreme Court. It refused to hear the case, and the Wilmington 10 were jailed.

But afterwards, one by one, the prosecution witnesses began to admit they had lied.

The key witness now claims that the prosecutor, James Stroud, told him he'd spend life in prison if he didn't testify against The Ten.

Stroud himself admits that he found a second witness, 13-years-old at the time, a job and bought him a mini-bike.

GOT A CONVICTION

Stroud claims that he did it because of "real strong personal feelings of a positive nature"—rather than to get the conviction, as the witness now claims.

In addition a New Jersey couple maintain they were intimidated out of testifying for the Wilmington 10 at the original trial.

All five appeared as defense witnesses in a hearing ordered to decide whether or not to re-try the