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WORKERS' POWER

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JOBS - NOT PROMISES!

You can't eat Carter's pledges



"JOBS - NOT PROMISES!"
That was the slogan of Full Employment Week.

But the labor and civil rights leaders who sponsored Full Employment Week didn't even get promises.

Beginning on Labor Day, rallies, meetings, and hearings were held to dramatize the plight of the jobless. The events of Full Employment Week were one part of a pressure effort by Black organizations like the Urban League and the NAACP and by the leaders of the AFL-CIO and United Auto Workers.

They are trying to get the Carter Administration to act on the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill.

This bill, sponsored by Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative Augustus Hawkins, calls for a reduction of unemployment to 3% over a four year period.

In a meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus, however,

Carter made it clear that he did not intend to be tied to such a specific goal.

Carter also said that while he agreed with the general principles of the bill, "I've got to have some flexibility as President to consider inflation at the same time as unemployment."

This was an indication that Carter does not plan to abandon his current emphasis on holding down the money available for jobs—an emphasis which has already contributed to the rising unemployment rate.

GENERALIZATION

Carter talked generally about urban development and about making jobs for youth a priority. But the only thing he really even promised was to negotiate with Congress about future unemployment legislation.

Months ago Carter promised jobs for youth. He told the nation that there would be hundreds of

thousands of new jobs available by summer.

But that promise yielded only greater unemployment among youth and adults alike.

It is clear that Carter is not even taking his own goal seriously—his campaign promise to reduce unemployment to 4.7% in four years. And it is clear that his goal isn't good enough to start.

Unless labor and the Black community begin to use the enormous power of the American working class, Black and white, there will be no reduction of unemployment.

Speeches, hearings, and pressure in the halls of Congress are not enough to counteract the control of business over the politicians who run things.

Mass demonstrations and even political strikes are what can move the rulers of America to create jobs.

Left to himself, the only job opening Jimmy Carter will create is a replacement for Bert Lance. □

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**"TIME TO PACK MY BAGS
AND
MAKE MY GETAWAY."**



BERT LANCE, Jimmy Carter's closest political friend and advisor, is about to be dumped. Find out what's behind the Bert Lance scandal and what it means for the Carter Administration.

See pages 2 and 3.

ACQUISITIONS SECTION
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
916 STATE ST.
MADISON WI 53706

Jimmy Carter's best friend has to go...

by Karen Kaye

THE DEFENDERS of Bert Lance have, in the last week, made a sudden headlong rush to whisk him out of office. And out he will go. The investigation was getting too close to Carter.

So we may never find out for sure how big the skeleton in Mr. Carter's closet is. We already know that Carter accepted illegal campaign contributions from Lance in the form of free rides in the Lance bank's airplane.

But what else is Carter implicated in that makes the Senators so eager for a hasty conclusion to the scandal?

POLITICAL BANK

Lance's crime now is not so much sloppy banking practices in general, but the fact that he converted "the Calhoun bank into a political machine" for his 1974 campaign for governor of Georgia.

The quote is from Representative Fernand J. St. Germain (D-RI), who has been investigating Lance from the House Banking subcommittee.

St. Germain also said, "The evidence I have seen to date leads me to believe that Bert Lance, his family and friends, regarded the Calhoun First National Bank as their playpen, to be used as they pleased."

In Lance's 1974 campaign for governor, the bank donated paper and supplies, was used to mail computerized campaign letters, let the Lance family run up huge campaign overdrafts, and transferred bank employees to the campaign.

That's Lance's campaign. But what about these "friends"? Carter and Lance have been buddies and political cronies since 1966.

In that year, Lance supported Carter in his unsuccessful bid for Governor of Georgia. Lance had been president of Calhoun First National since 1963.

ROAD MONEY

Lance supported Carter again in 1970. When Carter became governor of Georgia, he made Bert Lance the head of Georgia's Highway Commission.

Road construction was booming. Banks could make big profits by buying highway bonds.

Both Calhoun National Bank and Fulton National Bank are reported to have bought highway bonds.

[Fulton National had a "correspondent" relationship with Lance's bank. That means that it was one of the banks where Lance took out the large loans on flimsy credit. Another important "correspondent" is Citizen's and Southern.]

Lance's ill-fated 1974 campaign for governor of Georgia has received a lot of attention in the investigations because he financed it with these large and suspicious loans.

But not so often mentioned is that the campaign was part of Carter and Lance's plan for Carter eventually to become president.

Lance would hold onto Georgia while Carter built up support for '76.

CARTER'S LOANS

Carter financed his presidential campaign largely with loans from Fulton National Bank and Citizens' and Southern National Bank—the two that are "correspondent" extensions of Lance's and friends' banking "playpen."

Carter also got substantial loans from adman Gerald Rafshoon, who is still Carter's media advisor. And Rafshoon in turn owed money to Lance's National Bank of Georgia!

By the end of May, 1976, the Carter campaign was over \$2 million in debt.

The campaign was owed money by the Secret Service, the press, and the Federal Election Commission.

But the campaign was owed a total of only \$650,000. So what was he borrowing on?

Carter got his loans at the right time, too.

In the 1976 campaign, candidates were supposed to get funds from the federal government's Federal Election Commission that matched contributions. But in March, a Supreme Court ruling stopped the payments for two months.

It was the time of the crucial Pennsylvania primary. Carter's rivals, Scoop Jackson and Stuart Udall, were broke without the matching funds.

BORROWED

Carter borrowed \$100,000 from Fulton National "on the strength of Jimmy Carter's personal financial statement," according to Martin Schram's book "Running For President."

Why the hurry to get the Lance business over with? Why not find out if he's guilty or innocent?

The nation's bankers and businessmen are telling Carter "get rid of Lance before you end up like Nixon."

Clean Jimmy was supposed to heal our wounds, and restore faith in this system. The capitalist class cannot afford to lose another President to disgrace.



Scoop Jackson's campaign manager, Robert O'Keefe, said that "Bankers and our finance people were very skittish about the bankability of the FEC due money, whether it could be used as collateral."

"No one was sure for weeks whether there was ever going to be any FEC money."

Carter was able to pay back all these debts—because he won the election.

The Bert Lance for Governor Committee is still today paying back loans from his unsuccessful 1974 campaign.

It's clear that clean Jimmy Carter is part of a Georgia business and banking network that greases its wheels.

But businessmen and bankers of national and international scope don't want any of Carter's possible peanut size crimes to come to light and grow. They are having enough trouble finding good help in the White House lately.

Any more toppled Presidents, and they will have a lot of trouble carrying out their own grand larceny of ripping off the entire world.

Other Democrats Caught In The Act

For the two major parties, Republicans and Democrats, all you need to start a scandal is to win an election and take office. Bert Lance's mini-Watergate is only one of many Democratic Party scandals to come out in recent weeks.

Two dozen leading Democratic and Republican Senators and Congressmen are cited for receiving booty from Korean multi-millionaire Tongsun Park.

To mention only a few Democrats: Presidential aspirant Morris Udall; House Democratic Whip John Brademas; former House Whip John McFall; Frank Thompson of New Jersey; and Stuart Symington of Missouri.

"TIP" OF THE ICEBERG

Not mentioned in the formal indictment of Park was Democratic speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill. He is a leading figure in his party and in Congress.

O'Neill was also a favorite of Tongsun Park. According to Suzi Park Thompson, an associate of Park and suspected agent of the Korean CIA, O'Neill was the guest of honor at a number of big parties thrown by Tongsun Park.

Moving from Congress to the Governor's mansion...
• The current Democratic

governor of Louisiana was also listed as receiving illegal campaign contributions from Park.

• Marvin Mandel, liberal Democratic governor of Maryland, and five of his friends, were found guilty on 111 counts of fraud and racketeering.

It seems that his friends gave him gifts and cash worth about \$300,000 in return for legislative favors.

PARTY TIME

The Chicago Democratic machine, never suspected of honesty, got caught using Federal job money to pad its patronage operation.

Nearly \$1 million that was supposed to be used to hire unemployed workers, was used to pay the salaries of political cronies who already worked for the city.

The Labor Department reports that similar misuses of public service job money have been discovered in New York and Gary, Indiana. For corrupt Democratic Party loyalists, unemployment is not a problem—at least not until they get caught.

It might almost be funny...if these people didn't run the country and decide the fate of millions of working and unemployed people.

Workers' Power 222

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...But the crisis won't go with him

by Kim Moody

It wasn't the radical reporters from *Workers' Power* or the *Village Voice* that blew the whistle on Lance.

And it wasn't double-crossed Black community leaders or disgruntled labor officials who demanded Lance's resignation as Budget Director.

It was a team of reporters from the *New York Times*—the voice of Big Business liberalism and the Eastern Establishment—that dug up the dirty details.

And it was the Wall Street

Journal, *Business Week* magazine, and Democratic Party leaders who called for Lance's resignation.

Why did these guardians of political stability and the economic status quo risk a mini-Watergate?

Why are they allowing and aiding the exposure of facts that could further discredit such sacred institutions as the "American political process" and "The Presidency"?

SICK SYSTEM

Bluntly put, the rulers of America—political and economic—are squabbling over what to do about a sick economy, a sick system.

The Carter Administration has pursued a basically conservative economic policy. It has attempted more than anything to hold down inflation by holding down government spending.

For a while, this conservative policy was winning Carter the trust of Big Business.

But the results of Carter's policy are now showing up in slow growth and even the threat of another recession sooner than anyone thought.

With the economy wobbling, even traditionally conservative businessmen wonder about the wisdom of trying to balance the budget.

CARTER'S GEORGIA CLIQUE

The pressure for one or another kind of policy that would stimulate the economy has grown on all sides.

Within the administration, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Blumenthal, Charles Schultz of the Council of Economic Advisors, and Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall all openly advocate more government spending to get the economy moving.

But Carter has frozen out Blumenthal, Schultze and Marshall. He has beaten back many of the demands of Congress.

Bert Lance, and the scores of staffers Carter brought with him from Georgia, have had the last say on economic policy.

WHO CONTROLS CARTER?

The business liberals in the Democratic administration and in Congress have now moved to break up the control that Carter's Georgia clique has over policy.

Most likely, these liberal elements, often speaking through the pages of the *New York Times*, have no intention of bringing down Jimmy Carter himself.

All they want is the right to make policy, and to have some control over Carter.

And so, a counter-offensive has come. And it is Lance, the primary economic advisor to Carter, that they have moved on.

Not only has the *Times* revealed a number of Lance's political and financial shell games, but they have attacked him for not doing his job as Budget Director.

In a September 7 article, Clyde Farnsworth of the *Times* says that

Lance does nothing about preparing the 1979 budget, while his deputy director, formerly Budget Director in Georgia, is "a little over his head."

This theme was echoed by Sen. William Proxmire (Dem., Wisc.) who said that Lance lacked the skills to run the Budget office.

CORPORATION LIBERALS

In the view of corporation liberals like Blumenthal, Establishment papers like the *Times*, and many big city Democrats, the penny-wise policies of the Carter-Lance White House clique are indeed foolish—perhaps even dangerous.

What is needed, they feel, is enough spending, fast enough, to stimulate the economy before it's too late.

Today, the U.S. economy is in a recovery from the drastic recession of 1974-75. But this recovery is a weak one.

Unemployment remains explosively high. Inflation hangs on. And the whole recovery is threatened by the sagging economies of Europe.

In the last few weeks, more and more economists, from business and government alike, have begun to question the future of this recovery.

The figures coming from the Labor and Commerce Departments point to a general slowdown in the economy.

Leading Congressional Democrats advocate spending more on job creation than Carter favors. Some support the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill which calls for greater spending to reduce unemployment.

The Republican National Committee calls for an across-the-board tax cut—which is just another way of unbalancing the budget.

BALANCED BUDGET

But Lance continued to claim that he would balance the 1979 budget, which is to be presented to the President and Congress in January, 1978.

Just as Watergate grew out of a political squabble—the Republicans spying on the Democrats—so the Lance affair has mushroomed from a family quarrel.

The Republicans, for their part, are thrilled by the whole show. They would like to see Carter take a tumble in the hope that if the Democrats look bad enough, the Republican Party might look a little better.

But as with Watergate, the Lance affair is beginning to bring the slime and filth of the real workings of the capitalist system oozing out of the cracks.

And for capitalists of both parties, the real problem still lies in the economic crisis that has afflicted the western capitalist economies for nearly ten years.

When Lance is gone, how long can government spending soften the cycle of slumps, high unemployment and persistent inflation that are felt in every major capitalist country?



CARTER'S COVERUP - COMING UNRAVELLED?

RICHARD M. NIXON once observed that it's not the "small" crimes like the Watergate break-in that hurt.

It's the cover-up that kills you, he said.

An honest man Richard Nixon wasn't, but the man understood politics. Now Jimmy Carter may be learning the same lesson—the hard way.

Carter began trying to cover up the Bert Lance affair even before Lance was nominated to become Budget Director.

Why did Nixon launch a huge cover-up conspiracy to protect the men who planned the Watergate break-in? Simple. Those men were an important part of his political machine.

Similarly, Bert Lance's banks, now famous for his overdrafts, shady loans and double-collateral deals, were an important part of Jimmy Carter's Georgia political machine—and his election to the Presidency.

In other words, a full accounting of those bank records will undoubtedly point to campaign law violations by Carter himself.

COVER-UP BEGINS

In late November 1976, the Acting Comptroller of the Currency was approached by the FBI in its routine investigation of Lance, who was about to be nominated as Budget Director.

The Acting Comptroller, Robert Bloom, had in his possession an "enforcement agreement" issued by the government to Lance's Calhoun First National Bank.

The enforcement agreement was issued because of the bank's irregularities. It specifically prohibited overdrafts by Lance, his wife, and a number of their relatives, who regularly helped themselves to hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Lance's attorney asked the Acting Comptroller not to release the text of that agreement to the FBI. He did not want the details of Lance's banking activities to be submitted to the Senate committee

which would discuss Lance's confirmation.

Robert Bloom told the FBI that Lance preferred the text of the agreement to remain private. The FBI did not press its request. The cover-up was taking shape, stage one.

But that's not all. Two weeks before Lance was nominated, on November 22, that enforcement agreement was actually lifted by a regional Comptroller official in Atlanta.

The official, Donald Tarleton, took this action the same day that Lance personally met with him and confidentially revealed he was going to be nominated Budget Director.

They were trying to cover up the fact that the enforcement agreement had ever existed.

STAGE TWO

Stage two of the cover-up involved more prestigious people: to be precise, the distinguished Senator Abraham Ribicoff.

Ribicoff was the politician who issued a decisive endorsement of Carter back in spring 1976 to help him sew up the nomination.

Now, Ribicoff chairs the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee which confirmed Lance with such enthusiasm in January. More important, Ribicoff's Committee questioned Lance again in July, after the first charges against him.

Those hearings were deliberately staged to re-confirm Lance and bury the investigation. The next day Jimmy Carter issued his "Bert, I'm proud of you" speech. Clearly, the game plan was to lay it on thick.

Ribicoff put his whole prestige behind Lance when he told him on national TV: "You have been smeared from one end of the country to the other, in my opinion unjustly."

This is the same Abraham Ribicoff who, on Monday, told Jimmy Carter in unequivocal terms that Bert Lance must go.

Now that the cover-up has unravelled, Ribicoff is not a man to

be left holding the bag.

STAGE THREE?

There's another reason why Ribicoff and other leading Democrats want to get rid of Jimmy's great and good friend Bert Lance as quickly as possible.

Like the man said, it's the cover-up that kills you.

If this case drags on, it's only a matter of time before the inquiry shifts to a whole new set of intriguing questions.

- Who, aside from Lance's lawyers, told Comptroller officials in Georgia and Washington not to release the content of the Calhoun bank enforcement agreement?

- Who tipped off the FBI not to press the issue?

- Who lined up Abe Ribicoff to cover up for Lance just a month ago?

The answers to these questions are bound to make Jimmy look even worse than he already does.

The very survival of the Carter Administration itself just might depend on getting rid of Bert Lance soon enough, before the investigation gets that far.



Chile's mass murderer comes to dinner...

by Marilyn Danton

September 11, 1973—exactly four years ago this week—is a day few of the people of Chile will forget.

That was the day of the coup that overthrew the elected government of Salvador Allende. All power was seized by the army, acting as front men for the employers in the U.S. and Chile.

The leader of that coup, Augusto Pinochet, celebrated his anniversary in power as the dinner guest of Jimmy Carter. He was one of the dignitaries who visited the U.S. to witness the signing of the new Panama Canal treaty.

Pinochet carries out Washington's economic policy and protects American corporate profits in Chile.

TORTURED COUNTRY

The cornerstone of that policy is the most savage attack on the Chilean working class.

In six months over 80,000 persons were imprisoned, thousands killed.

Two hundred thousand workers lost their jobs, 20,000 students were kicked out of school.

Pinochet's men burned books, had friends spy on friends and set up a reign of terror that still exists today.

Many prisoners received unbelievable torture at the hands of Pinochet's butchers.

Here's one account smuggled out of the main prison in Santiago, capital of Chile, in 1974:

"My turn came. They tied me to a table... They passed cables over my naked body. They wet me and began to apply currents to all parts of my body... I denied the monstrosities and the blows began to my abdomen, ribs, chest, testicles, etc.

"They were laughing, but assured me they were not kidding and threw acid on my toes. I was numb."

At the women's prison, pregnant women had electric shock on their

uteruses that made them abort. Young girls had their hair pulled out and their nipples and genitals badly burned.

MADE IN U.S.A.

It took Pinochet's men only a few hours to "bomb" the Presidential palace and murder the elected president, Salvador Allende. It took only a few days to drop bombs on factories and neighborhoods where workers were trying to resist.

But the Chilean coup itself was three years in the making. From the day the mild left-winger Allende was elected in 1970 the American ruling class used every means to destroy the Chilean economy.

Chile was boycotted by developmental agencies and international banks.

American corporations and the CIA helped organize and finance two "bosses' strikes" which disrupted production and food supplies inside Chile.

Allende desperately tried to contain the growing rebellion of Chile's workers, hoping this would put him back in good graces with the U.S. He appointed General Augusto Pinochet Army Chief of Staff to restore U.S. confidence.

Pinochet was the man that American imperialism had already chosen to carry out a fascist military coup.

COLONIALISM TODAY

The Chilean coup was made with U.S. arms, logistical support from the U.S. embassy and the promise of full support from Washington.

That's why thousands of school children in Chile today have so little to eat they literally faint away during the school day.

And last Wednesday, at a sumptuous state dinner with Pinochet and his other guests, Jimmy Carter toasted the new Panama Canal treaty, saying it means the end of U.S. colonialism in Latin America. □



Chilean dictator General Pinochet reviews his troops.



Chile 1973: The junta's soldiers guard prisoners. The crime? Being trade unionists.

...To celebrate the new U.S. ripoff of Panama

by Karen Kaye

PRESIDENT CARTER SUMMONED a large collection of presidents, prime ministers and other dignitaries for the signing of the Panama Canal treaty.

Heads of state or high officials from 27 Latin American governments were on hand.

Most of them are dictators, many of whom gained power through CIA-engineered coups.

They were brought together to hail the treaty as a milestone in the history of cooperation between the U.S. and its neighbors to the south.

Through the treaty, Panama will gradually gain more control over the canal that cuts its country in half.

Yet the U.S. will maintain the right to protect the canal militarily.

Is this give and take, the stuff of which peaceful diplomacy is made, an example of a rich nation helping a poor one?

No, it is part of the continuing history of how the U.S. leeches off Latin America.

TAKE, TAKE, TAKE

Basic U.S. policy towards Latin America has changed little since 1823 when President Monroe dis-

covered that the U.S. was stronger than Spain.

His "Monroe Doctrine" said that European nations must keep their hands off Latin America.

Latin America then became a giant pool of raw materials and labor for growing U.S. industry to exploit, always taking and leaving little for the people who lived and worked there.

Panama itself was created by the U.S. for the sole purpose of building the canal there.

Because Columbia didn't want the U.S. to cut a canal through it, the U.S. arranged a secession in September 1903. By November, the first canal treaty was signed.

The canal was built right through the middle of the new nation to improve U.S. shipping trade. A U.S.-controlled Canal Zone was established on either side. Panamanians were not allowed into the Zone.

The Panamanian people have never liked this arrangement.

In 1964 at least 21 Panamanians died in a rebellion against the U.S. presence.

As the time for the signing of this treaty grew closer, Panamanian students held rallies demanding that the U.S. get out of their

country now. Graffiti echoing this demand was scrawled on walls.

But most Latin American governments depend on the U.S. for their existence. They stay in power by protecting U.S. interests against their own people and enforcing U.S.-created poverty.

So the dictators of South America did not mind coming to applaud the new treaty.

THE GUESTS

Chile sent its President Augusto Pinochet, who came to power in 1973 when the CIA helped topple the liberal elected government (see accompanying article).

Pinochet isn't the only police-state dictator who came to the treaty-signing.

Take Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay, who runs a police state that makes Pinochet look like an amateur. Stroessner, once a friend of Adolph Hitler, seized power in a 1954 coup. He's been doing for 23 years what the Chilean junta's been doing for just four.

Or consider Aparicio Mendez of Uruguay. Like Chile, Uruguay was considered a showpiece of parliamentary democracy until the military took effective control of the country and the Presidency in 1972.

The Uruguayan coup was the test run for Chile, a year later. Mendez, the current puppet of the officers, was put in office a year ago.

Joaquin Balaguer, of the Dominican Republic, was installed by American marines when Lyndon Johnson decided to invade the Dominican Republic in 1965.

President Jorge Videla of Argentina took power after a military coup, patterned on Chile, in March 1976. In his country, scores of trade unionists have been found dumped in ditches after being mutilated by right-wing terror squads composed of off-duty policemen.

All in all, a fine cast of characters to celebrate the continuing U.S. occupation of Panama till the year 2000. □

ANDREW YOUNG'S NEW FRIEND

"Oh, Ian Smith wasn't nearly as bad as folks have painted him."

"Folks paint him as a very difficult, almost impossible man and I can imagine people having trouble with him throughout the years."

"But I found him amenable." That was Ambassador Andrew Young, speaking to reporters after he and British Foreign Secretary David Owen met with the ultra-racist Prime Minister of Rhodesia, last week.

They were discussing a British-American plan for ending the ten-year liberation war for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe (the country called Rhodesia by the privileged white rulers).

The Black freedom fighters don't go around call Ian Smith "amenable" (friendly). That's because his government is trying to exterminate anyone in Zimbabwe who supports the struggle for liberation.

SALESMAN

Andrew Young had a good reason to find Smith "amenable" and easy to deal with. Young is selling American policy in Africa—a policy which wants to keep a secure position for the white settlers as property owners and employers in Rhodesia. His credentials as a Black

Democrat, and supposedly an outspoken supporter of African freedom, make him a good salesman for that policy.

What's he selling? A program that would create an American neo-colony, dependent on a proposed \$2 billion western trust fund, run by Black puppet politicians in the name of "majority rule."

Rhodesian officials have rejected the plan so far. Since it calls for one man-one vote it would mean the end of Ian Smith's political career.

He doesn't want to sacrifice himself—even though the plan's other features would guarantee the

continuation of white power and privilege in Rhodesia.

He feels that the British, who originally founded the racist colony 90 years ago, are selling him out. But for Young, the white Rhodesians had the highest praise.

Following the meeting, one official said, "In the discussions, we found Mr. Young immensely reasonable."

"Reasonable" to the racists and an enemy to the freedom fighters. Does Andrew Young, traveling salesman for American imperialism, really have to go out of his way to make friends with the racist mass murderer Ian Smith? Well, it comes with the territory. □

HUMPHREY-HAWKINS BILL

A Few Jobs In A Few Years



Three years ago labor leaders called for the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. At the giant April 28, 1974 AFL-CIO rally for jobs, rank and file workers booed Hubert Humphrey off the stage.

THREE YEARS AGO, Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative Augustus Hawkins introduced bills in the Senate and House of Representatives.

Their goal was to establish what they called a full employment policy.

The bill was regarded as unpassable under a Republican administration. But with the election of Jimmy Carter the hopes of the liberals rose. The bill was reintroduced in January 1977.

It is a 56-page clutter of all of the old liberal ideas on how to reduce unemployment: encourage private industry to hire through incentives or governmental spending of various sorts.

Failing that, the bill mandates the federal government to create public service and public works jobs.

TWO THINGS NEW

There are only two new things in the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. The first is that it sets an actual goal: the reduction of unemployment to no more than 3% within four years.

The second is that it requires the President to come up with an annual plan of how to fulfill this goal.

The first problem with the bill is the goal itself. By 1981, 3% unemployment will still mean over 3 million jobsless.

The second is with how the bill proposes to achieve its goal. While the President is mandated to draw up a plan, there is nothing requiring success.

A conservative administration like Ford's or Carter's can meet all the planning requirements and never actually achieve the 3% goal.

The specifics of the annual plan are left to the President in consultation with scores of agencies and two bodies of economic advisors. Congress may review the plan and make suggestions.

But there is no way that the people, organized labor, or the unemployed can enforce this bill if it becomes law.

FUNDAMENTAL FLAW

The fundamental flaw of the bill, however, is its complete acceptance of the economic status quo.

That is, private industry is assumed to be the first and best supplier of jobs. And the prerogatives of private industry are sacred.

But the reason there is high unemployment in the first place is precisely that private industry is unwilling to provide jobs. Private industry provides jobs only when it can make a profit off the workers it hires.

To make creating new jobs attractive to private industry, the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill advocates the liberals' usual methods of

pumping money into the economy to stimulate business.

But these methods produce high inflation rates, which eventually raise production costs to the point where profits disappear. Then business starts laying workers off again.

This has been the history of the past ten years in every capitalist nation, including the U.S. The old methods have failed.

PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS

The most positive feature of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is that it does mandate the use of public service jobs when and if private industry won't hire.

But even here, the needs of profit and Big Business come before those of the unemployed. The bill states that publicly operated employment projects shall not be designed to compete with private employment.

In case you can't guess what that means, the bill tells you: "Such jobs shall be mainly in the lower ranges of skill and pay."

In other words, the government will only create low-paying, dead-end jobs. And it will only do that when its last hopes in private industry prove false.

Naturally, a 3% unemployment rate is better than 7%. And likewise a job is generally better than unemployment benefits, welfare, or starvation.

But there is a more effective way to solve the unemployment problem.

DECENT JOBS, DECENT WAGES

That is for the government to put people to work at decent, union wages making things that people need to live and prosper.

One of the reasons unemployment has grown and remained high in the past few years, particularly for Blacks, is that business has been leaving the major cities or closing down facilities—like the steel industry.

Most liberals propose to deal with this problem with flashy projects, like Detroit's Renaissance Center, and tax breaks that are supposed to attract business back to the cities.

But business is not coming back, because it is seeking lower wage, non-union areas in the South, or fleeing the potential militancy of the Black working class.

A few tax breaks and some tall hotels and office buildings will not change this.

NOTHING TO SAY

The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill has nothing to say about this that hasn't already been tried—except to provide those low-paying dead-end jobs.

But the government could easily take over these abandoned factories and businesses and subsidize their operation. The workers could manage things themselves.

This way, jobs would be saved or created, products would be produced, and needs would be met.

In Portugal, workers proved it could be done. They took over their factories when many of their employers fled the country after the fall of fascism.

But this approach violates the holy writ of capitalism, the sanctity of private property. It takes the outrageous step of putting human needs before those of industry's profit machine.

Organized Labor Shrinks

A FLOP. A FAILURE. There's no other way to describe the AFL-CIO under George Meany's leadership.

The thing he's been most successful at is blaming someone else for the labor movement's lack of growth. That and sunning himself on the beach.

Fact #1: In 1955, when the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) merged, total union membership was 17.4 million out of 67 million workers in the United States. That's 26%.

Fact #2: Today, union membership has grown to all of 19.4 million out of a labor force of 95 million. That's 20%.

Despite this continuing drop in the percentage of union members, labor leaders have always pointed out new organizing victories, crowing that union membership in absolute numbers was growing.

Twenty-six: mosquito control workers in Middlesex County, New Jersey vote to join the Communications Workers—stuff like that.

Fact #3: Union membership in absolute numbers is now shrinking. Statistics released September 2 by the Labor Department show that union membership dropped from 20.2 million in 1974 to 19.4 million at the end of 1976.

EXCUSES

OK. Everyone's got an excuse. What's yours, George?

"Many employers are using today's high unemployment rates to frighten workers interested in unionization... Union-busting and high unemployment have always gone hand-in-hand," Meany said in his annual Labor Day speech.

"Businesses that are bent on the highest possible profits no matter what the cost in human terms always seek to keep wages as low as possible." They engage in "economic terrorism," he added.

Meany also blamed the drop in union membership on the fact that more employers are locating in areas such as the south, where unions have always been weak.

There's no denying these factors are problems. The job of a labor leader, we would think, is to meet these problems head on and solve them.

A union leader who, in 25 years as head of the American labor

movement, has not produced any growth must be classified as nothing but... a failure.

WHAT, ME WORRY?

For a long time, Meany's stock answer to such charges was indifference. When asked several years ago why the labor movement was not growing, he said:

"I don't know. I don't care. Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not appear to want to be organized?"

That sort of thinking has been so disastrous to the labor movement that now even crusty old George is



George Meany suns himself during the AFL-CIO Convention in Miami Beach.

in favor of organizing. That's why the AFL-CIO is pushing labor law reform in Congress.

They want to end some of the most flagrant pro-business bias in the present law, such as the delaying tactics that enable J.P. Stevens to ignore union election victories and court orders year after year.

But Meany could well end up a failure in the legislative arena as well.

Although the AFL-CIO has played a key role in electing hundreds of Congressmen and three Presidents since Meany took over, the federation's accomplishments—particularly in recent years—are meager.

The federation has never been able to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows states to ban the union shop.

In the current labor reform bill, Meany has already compromised away repeal of 14b. And it's not at all sure that he'll get what's left passed.

This year the AFL-CIO has already failed to get from the Carter Administration: the big boost in the minimum wage it demanded; the common situs picketing bill for the construction industry; and an economic program which concentrated on job creation.

We can top Meany's 25-year record off by noting that American workers' wages, once the highest in the world, have now slipped behind wages in Switzerland and Sweden, and are only slightly higher than German wages.

With a record like this, you'd wonder why the old Bronx plumber isn't the laughing stock of the labor movement. About the only thing he's got going for him is his \$90,000 salary.

David Katz



BLACK AMERICA'S D

Unemployment was up last month to 7.1%. The entire increase took place among Black workers; unemployment levels for whites stayed the same.

Black unemployment is now at an astronomical 14.5%. And if you're young and Black, the rate is 40.4%!

Here *Workers' Power* examines the problem of unemployment among Blacks. Why is the rate so high? And what will Carter's programs do for Blacks?

by Kate Stacy
It's official. There has been no economic recovery for Black workers.

Depression conditions continue to devastate the Black community. And government action over the next four years will do little if anything to change those conditions.

Those are the inescapable conclusions found in recently released government statistics and analysis.

It suddenly sounds very out of date to hear politicians and Black leaders saying that Blacks don't need to march and fight for equal opportunity and non-racist treatment.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Black unemployment shot up last month to 14.5%. The 1.3% jump was mammoth. If that rate of jobs lost continued over the year, official Black unemployment would more than double.

The Black unemployment rate now matches the highest post World War II jobless levels. The increase was enough to boost overall unemployment up 0.2% to 7.1%—even though jobless rates for white workers remained stable at 6.1%.

The ratio of Black to white jobless rates climbed to 2.4 to 1.

The politicians are issuing statements like this one from a Wisconsin Democrat: "What we

are allowing to happen in our central cities is social dynamite..."

And, like President Carter, they are calling for new reports to be prepared on the problem.

Now, the facts, the figures, the reports and statistics are already on hand. If the politicians checked the record, this is what they would find:

Despite economic recovery, both the number of Black unemployed and the rate of Black unemployment are higher than a year ago.

This is true in every separate category breakdown—total, adult men, adult women, and teenage unemployment. Most of that over-the-year increase occurred among adult men.

YOUTH

But additionally, joblessness reached a record high among Black youths—even though there was a small summer hiring rise for white youths.

Black youth unemployment increased 3.8% over the year to 34.8%. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall described the situation as "critical."

And when the figures are narrowed down to teenagers alone, the official rate shoots up to an incredible 40.4%.

In the same period white youth unemployment declined slightly to 12.6%.

In the cities unemployment is

like a plague: federal officials estimate that in New York City, 86% of Black and Latin teenagers ate out of work. Seventy-four percent of white teenagers are also unemployed.

CARTER'S "SOLUTION"

The Carter government has promised to deal with the unemployment problem. That's how he got elected.

Here is what his program's effect will be on central city employment if his goal of 4.7% official unemployment rate by 1981 is achieved:

The subemployment rate in the 50 largest cities will still be at least 30%. (Subemployment rates include those earning below minimum wage.)

For every unemployed person in the 50 largest cities there will be three more people earning below minimum wage.

Official Black teenage unemployment will still exceed 40%.

Carter has two main thrusts to his jobs creation plan—his public service program and his public works program.

Together those programs will lower minority unemployment 0.3% over the next two years. In August alone Black unemployment rose 1.3%.

In other words, in one month four times more minority jobs were lost than the Democrats' two major

programs will create in two full years.

Hard to believe? Here are the facts:

The public service program is designed to create 200,000 jobs this year and 400,000 in 1978. The maximum reduction in overall unemployment will be 0.5%. The maximum reduction in Black unemployment will be 0.2%.

Then there is Carter's public works program. Four billion dollars will be spent to generate 300,000 jobs. At best 60,000 of those jobs will go to disadvantaged workers.

The public works program will reduce Black unemployment a maximum of 0.1%.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Hold on, the skeptics may say. Carter never promised to do the job alone. The private sector—big business and industry—has to lead the way in creating new jobs.

The facts, again, show that there is little hope for inner city folks from that quarter.

In the 15 largest metropolitan areas, the central cities' share of urban jobs has dropped dramatically.

In 1960, the central cities had 63% of the metropolitan-area jobs. In 1977 that share has dropped to almost 45%.

Chicago is an example. Chicago lost 212,000 jobs since 1969. Its suburbs gained 220,000 in the same period.

New York City lost 650,000 jobs. Detroit lost 248 manufacturing plants from 1970 to 1975.

That flight of businesses out of the cities is firmly grounded in racism. And racism keeps Black workers from going where those jobs go.

Then these same business leaders turn around and tell the lie that the problem is that "these people just don't want to work."

Last July a South Side Chicago supermarket chain had 300 jobs to fill—and over 2000 Black applicants out front.

CITIES

The August increase in Black unemployment came from workers laid off from their jobs—not from new entrants in the labor market. By and large those were not temporary layoffs—those were jobs lost as industry continues to flee

the Black labor market. The economic system is abandoning the cities.

What is more, every politician in Washington—from Carter down—knows that the system is abandoning the cities...and the Black

AN O BLAN

by Dan Posen and Paul Broz

There are poor people and there are rich people. It's easy to explain how most of the rich got that way. In most cases they inherited their wealth—they had the good sense to be born to well-off parents.

It's more complicated to explain how the poor got where they are. But the wealthy—the tiny minority who own and control this society—always have an explanation ready.

They tell us what they want us to hear through the magazines, newspapers and television stations that they own.

From their plush offices in the Rockefeller Center in New York City they send teams of reporters and cameramen into the ghettos of the South Bronx or Chicago or St. Louis to gather material with which to construct their arguments.

This is the way "public opinion" is created in this society.

THE UNDERCLASS

A good recent example is the August 29 TIME Magazine cover story, "The Underclass."

If you haven't read it, you've probably seen it on the newsstands, sullen Black faces staring out at you from the cover.

It portrays a picture of a decaying America—decaying and dangerous because of hordes of Black criminals, dope peddlers, pimps, junkies, and looters.

This is some of what they say: • Racial discrimination is a thing of the past. What remains is "the heritage of slavery and discrimination."

• They tell us that most Blacks in America have made it into the "middle class." 44% of Black



DEPRESSION OF 1977

communities that lie inside their boundaries.

Capitalism is never a healthy system. One symptom of its disease is that it cannot provide everyone with a job. The Carter Administration is dedicated to

spending very little on social programs like creating jobs.

The little that is spent will be aimed at white working people for two reasons.

One reason is that Carter feels that it's more important to court

white working class votes and support. The other reason is that Black unemployment is much easier to blame on those without jobs.

Racism is a very useful tool for capitalism. Carter and his Washington cronies do not know and do

not care how bad things get in the Black community.

But a more serious problem is that the Black leaders don't really seem to know what to do either. They are yelling for something—anything—out of an Administration

committed to giving up nothing.

It's clear that even the weakest effort by Carter will shut them up. And it's equally clear that even massive measures will just begin to get at the roots of racism and unemployment. □

LD CON GAME — IE POVERTY ON THE POOR

families earn \$10,000 or more a year. (This means that 56% do not.) 45% of Black high school graduates go on to college.

• They say that the "underclass" is those who were left behind by the great rising of the Black middle class, Irish, Italians and Poles.

• They try to pretend that much of the problem is that members of the "underclass" simply do not have the incentive to "better" themselves.

• They claim that more jobs would open up if the minimum wage were lowered and union rules relaxed. A lower minimum wage, they say, would allow many families to hire maids.

• They say that we need more cops in the ghetto "to drive a wedge between the poor who are struggling to get ahead and those who are preying on them."

UNDERCLASS?

When TIME pretends to be talking about the "underclass" they are really talking about the working class as a whole.

In this country there are tens of millions of people who can sink into poverty, into the "underclass" within the space of one day.

An accident, illness, or loss of a job can plunge a family into despair. More than three-quarters of all poor people, according to one study, actually go back and forth across the poverty line.

In other words, for every American living in poverty today, there are three others who aren't poor—for the moment.

Tomorrow, or next month, when the new statistics come out, many

of these will be.

Most workers are poor at one time or another, Black, Latino, or white.

One of TIME's strategies for

combatting poverty is to pay people less, by reducing the minimum wage.

Lowering the minimum wage would do little to create jobs. It

would just reduce the earnings of those who now work at McDonald's or Burger King or similar places, and reduce costs for business.

CRIME

Everyone agrees that crime is a serious problem in our cities. Many of the victims are Black. But adding more cops to the ghetto has never driven any "wedges" between the poor and "those who are preying on them."

There's a much better solution. Getting rid of poverty would go a long way towards eliminating crime (except for the Richard Nixons and Bert Lances).

What about the argument that poverty is poor people's own fault?

Every time job openings are announced many more people apply than are needed.

In Detroit, 5000 people showed up at an auto plant at 5 o'clock in the morning lured by the rumor of jobs. It turned out that the company was just building up its file of applications.

In Harlem and the South Bronx thousands came to apply for jobs that didn't exist.

The only incentive poor people need is poverty.

WHAT THEY MEAN

TIME's basic argument is racist.

First, they claim that immigrant groups made it in this society and that Blacks didn't because of discrimination.

But then they say that discrimination now has largely disappeared, that many Blacks have improved their living conditions, and that this proves that others can do it if they want to.

They point to the millions of dollars spent in the ghettos without major effect.

They imply that Blacks in the "underclass" can do what they say the immigrant groups did, that the way up is open for them. If they don't there's no excuse—it's because they're inferior.

The truth of the matter is the system is in crisis. The economic "boom" was not a boom for most of us. The unemployment rate has not fallen significantly, and now it is rising again. People of all races are being thrown out of work, with Blacks most hard hit.

When things get shaky, the rich fight to keep their privileged positions. They use the power of the media and the state to defend themselves.

Instead of blaming the system, they blame the victims—specifically the victims who are Black.

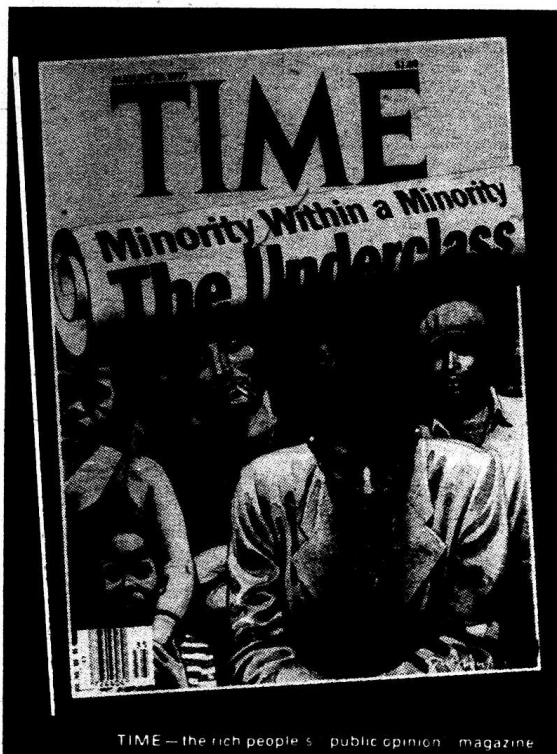
The "underclass" is built into capitalism. It has always been there—Black, Pole, Jew, Irish, or whoever. The system cannot provide for all, and those with dark colored skins or different ethnic backgrounds are relegated to the bottom of the heap.

Because of the racist nature and history of this society Blacks are a large portion of the "underclass."

If they rebel, the rich send cops in to keep them down.

Unemployment, poverty, and crime make no sense—they don't have to exist—but they are part and parcel of this system. Ordinary people, not the rich, are their victims.

And ordinary people have the power to change things, to create a socialist society with no "underclass" or ruling class. A society ruled by all for the benefit of all. □



SEXIST JUDGE BOOTED OUT IN RECALL ELECTION

IF YOU GET RAPED, IT'S YOUR OWN FAULT.



by Elissa Clarke

Judge Archie Simonson, sexist and proud, is unemployed. The Madison, Wisconsin judge lost his job to a feminist woman lawyer in a recall election September 7.

Madison women fought to recall Simonson after the judge made outrageous remarks in defense of rape.

The judge said that a 15-year-old boy convicted of rape was "reacting normally to a sexually permissive" community. The judge gave the boy a light sentence: live at home under court supervision for a year.

Simonson: "Even in open court we have people appearing—women appearing—without bras and with the nipples fully exposed, and they think it is smart, and they sit here on the witness stand with their dresses up over the cheeks of their butts, and we have this type of thing in the schools..."

"Are we supposed to adopt a double standard?... It is really wide open and we are supposed to take an impressionable person 15 or 16 years of age who can respond to something like that, and punish that person severely because they react to it normally?"

Manhardt (the prosecutor): "Your honor, with all due respect, I find your remarks about women's clothing particularly sexist."

Simonson: "You bet it is. I can't go around walking exposing my genitals like they can the mammary glands."

Manhardt: "You are reflecting the general theory that a woman provokes an assault and I cannot accept that idea."

Simonson: "It sure raises a lot of interest in my mind from time to time."

They don't feel quite the same way if they are mugged and lose \$50...

During one famous rape trial in California, Inez Garcia was on trial for murdering her rapist. One of the jurors told the press that he voted guilty because the rapist was only "trying to show her a good time." (Garcia's conviction was later appealed and overturned.)

The only time rape has ever been treated as a serious crime is when white racists wanted an excuse to lynch Black men.

TRIVIAL CRIME?

Madison women were outraged. The courts are all law and order until it comes to rape. Then they give rapists the go-ahead.

The Madison case is not an isolated incident. Recent court cases have treated rape as a minor crime, often the fault of the victim.

In fact, if a few more judges come out in defense of rape, it is going to seem as trivial a crime as going through a red light.

• On the west coast, Judge Lynn Compton set a convicted rapist free because the woman he raped was hitch-hiking! Any woman who hitch-hikes is asking for it, the judge reasoned.

If a male driver picks up a woman hitch-hiker "it would not be unreasonable for a man in the position of the defendant here to believe that the female would consent to sexual relations."

• In Newark, New Jersey a judge ruled that a man cannot be charged with raping his wife under any circumstances.

The case involved a couple who were separated. The man broke into the woman's home, beat her and raped her in front of their two children. Not guilty.

Twenty-five states have similar laws about rape between married couples.

ATTITUDE

Simonson's remarks reflect the attitude about rape in this society. Some men think that women who are raped provoke the attack, that women enjoy it, and it's not really such a terrible crime anyway.

COULD THIS BE WHERE YOU WORK?



counts so low as to make conception extremely unlikely.

COMPANY KNEW

So now you will never have your own children. You're pissed off that the company didn't protect you from the effects of the chemicals.

Why couldn't they or the government have done some tests to find out if the DBCP was harmful?

It turns out that they did do tests, only they didn't tell you about them, and didn't do anything about it.

About a month after you're found to be sterile, government and company officials are forced to admit that the dangers of DBCP had been identified as early as 1961.

Your employer made you sterile.

It really happened. Recently it was revealed that workers at Dow Chemical, Shell Oil, and Occidental Petroleum became sterile after exposure to low doses of DBCP.

Its dangers had been known for 16 years. How many other chemical hazards have also been ignored?

Dr. Kenneth Bridbord of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health said of the incidents, "This can only increase the general awareness of the need to look more closely at reproductive effects."

Ironically, for years women workers have had to fight hard to get anyone to look closely at the reproductive effects of chemicals and radiation. They have gotten almost nowhere.

Now that men have come into the picture, maybe the men in government, business, and science will take the subject more seriously. □

DANGER!

Say you're a guy who gets out of high school, gets married and goes to work in the mill.

The mill is a Dow Chemical plant that produces DBCP, a pesticide.

Things go along alright—you save some money, buy a car, start making payments on a house.

In a few years you and your wife decide to start a family.

After a year or more, she's still not pregnant. You talk at work—what's wrong?

Around the lunch table you discover that others are having the same problem. Suspicions are

aroused and so some of you get together and go to the union.

The union does tests to see if working around the pesticide has anything to do with it.

It does. You and six of your friends are found to be completely sterile. Another 15 have sperm

IN BAKKE CASE

Justice Department Moves To Destroy Affirmative Action

by Paul Ryan

SAN FRANCISCO, SEPT. 8.—The U.S. Justice Department launched an unexpected sneak attack Wednesday on the movements for minority and women's rights.

The Justice Department released a proposed brief on the upcoming landmark Supreme Court case of Allan Bakke versus the University of California. It argues that a quota system of admissions deprives whites of their civil rights.

This move came as a shock. For weeks the Justice Department was reported to be considering filing a brief in this tremendously critical case.

But it was supposed to be preparing to intervene in favor of the minority admissions program, not against it!

WHOSE RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK?

Allan Bakke was denied admission to the University of California at Davis Medical School in 1973 and 1974. He now claims that "less qualified" students were admitted

under a special minority admissions program.

The program allots 16 out of 100 medical school positions to minority applicants.

The Carter Administration has been under fire from moderate Black leaders in recent weeks. He stands to lose even more credibility if he endorses the Justice Department stand.

Whether Carter now endorses the outrageous Justice Department position is a purely political decision on his part, depending on how much public protest he hears.

But the main fact is that Jimmy Carter, the candidate who swore to the Black community he would never betray its trust, has totally double-crossed Black people on this issue.

Carter is now reported to be "undecided" about whether to go along with Attorney General Griffin Bell's position. This is just more of the same double-cross.

INTEGRATION AT STAKE

All major civil rights organizations have defended the University

of California special admissions program in this landmark case.

A Supreme Court ruling for Bakke could be the beginning of the end for every effective integration program in higher education, professional training and skilled jobs in this country.

Workers Power spoke today with Heidi Thompson, a San Francisco member of the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke decision.

"The Justice Department claims that Bakke was denied his civil rights. But the University of California has been discriminating—against Blacks and women—for years," she pointed out.

"In the two years before the special admission program, only two Blacks and one Chicano were admitted to the University of California at Davis Medical School.

"This is the real violation of the Civil Rights Act.

"We haven't been counting on support from the Carter Administration, in any case. What we're interested in is building a mass movement to fight sexism and racism in this country."



Demonstrators defend minorities' rights to special admissions programs.

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

We're glad to see that Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has denounced the "cab-under" tractor, developed by the Strick Corporation, as a safety hazard to truck drivers. Well, better late than never, Frank. Workers' Power readers may remember our article on the "cab-under" tractor six months ago. That article pointed out that this tiny cab, designed to fit underneath the trailer, is a full two inches shorter than an MG sports car.



Members of United Steel Workers Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago voted unanimously to extend support to the striking USW iron ore miners in Minnesota and upper Michigan. Local 65 will donate \$1000 to the strikers, plus \$500 a month as long as the strike continues. This is a fine example, which should be followed by other USW locals, coming as it does from a local which has been hit by many layoffs recently.

Fifteen percent more Americans are reported to be moonlighting now, as compared with a year ago. The main reason, apparently, is that wages have not gone up as fast as prices. Nearly 40% of those holding two or more jobs said they needed the extra income either to pay off bills or just to meet regular expenses.

The J.P. Stevens Company, target of a union organizing drive by the Clothing and Textile Workers, has again been found in contempt of court. A federal appeals court labeled Stevens the "most notorious recidivist" of all labor law violators. A recidivist is someone who repeats his crime. If the recidivist is an ordinary citizen—particularly if he is poor or Black—great howls of protest will be heard emanating from politicians and solid citizens. Lock them up! Throw away the key! Bring back the death penalty! Down with lenient judges! Recidivist J.P. Stevens, however, has usually been told to go and sin no more. In this instance, penalties for the company's "contumacious conduct" have not yet been set.

Under the headline "Get Up & Go," the United Auto Workers' newspaper "Solidarity" reports that members of UAW Local 471 in Imlay City, Michigan defeated a company demand that they raise their hands and get a supervisor's permission any time they needed to go to the bathroom. How did they do it? According to "Solidarity," workers at Hamill Manufacturing Co. just "walked off their jobs on the day shift June 17, the afternoon shift refused to enter the plant, and the local's bargaining committee joined with International Rep. Jerry Koskie in taking the issue to the negotiating table." The union not only reversed the bathroom policy, but also got back pay for those suspended and warning notices removed from everyone's files.

Now that's a small but significant story, we think. The UAW can boast about this victory because it involved a humorous story (they called it the "potty policy") at an obscure company in an out-of-the-way town. What they don't boast about is their role in smashing wildcat strikes throughout Chrysler this summer because of the intolerable heat which killed at least one worker. The workers took the same action—walking out in protest—but at Chrysler the top union leadership didn't back them up.

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

"NEW DETROIT"—THE CAPITALISTS LOVE IT

DETROIT—Most people in this city didn't eat anything all that fancy Wednesday night.

Not with 43,600 officially unemployed (Mayor Coleman Young estimates the real figure at 100,000).

But there were some exceptions. To be precise, the 250 dinner guests at the opening of the 1977 National Governors' Conference.

The reception and dinner were hosted by the city's leading family of capitalists, the Fords, and held at the Edsel Ford mansion on Lake St. Clair.

The Detroit newspapers gushed over the dinner menu:

"The evening will begin with hors d'oeuvres... three pounds of Beluga Caviar at \$22 an ounce, the finest Russian Stolichnaya vodka, wines, cheese, pate and mousse.

"Supper will begin with a salad of Belgian endive vinaigrette followed by stuffed Dover sole, filet of beef Richelieu in Madeira wine sauce, tomato ratatouille, sauteed potato balls Parisienne, and fresh strawberries folded into ice cream.

"A white Michigan wine, Vidal Blanc, will be served with the fish; Haut Brion 1966, a \$35 a bottle Bordeaux will be served with the beef; Koebel champagne will be served with the dessert, and Directors Bin Port will be served after dinner."

The report did not specify whether the governors would be eating Michigan beef, thereby sharing with Michigan residents the risk of PBB poisoning.

HOSTS

The list of official hosts for the dinner included the usual execu-

tives from Detroit banks, the Chamber of Commerce and so forth.

However, auto workers and Teamsters will be pleased to read that the hosts also included UAW International President Doug Fraser; Bobby Holmes, senior Vice-President of the Teamsters, and the top Detroit officers of the AFL-CIO and Building Trades.

While the governors and their special guests were feeding their faces with the cuisine of three continents, they were getting ready

for their hard-working conference.

Michigan Governor Milliken said the conference would "use Detroit, with all its warts, as a workshop... an urban laboratory."

Some warts were removed so as not to offend the special guests, however. Highway crews spent weeks re-painting freeway overpasses to cover up the obscenities scrawled there.

And the dinner was held 14 miles from downtown Detroit, in suburban Grosse Pointe Shores.

It is also unlikely the governors will see many warts at the luxury Detroit Plaza Hotel in the Renaissance Center, where some of their rooms will cost over \$250 a day.

The real purpose of holding the conference in Detroit is not so the governors can study urban problems. It is planned to put another feather in the cap of Mayor Coleman Young, who is running for re-election.

Young, along with Henry Ford II and the other capitalists who rule the city, wants to cover up Detroit's real problems by pushing "New Detroit."

The key to this plan is the luxury Renaissance Center hotel, shopping complex and office building downtown—a place fit for governors to confer.

Making Detroit attractive to the capitalists—not livable for the people who live there—is the heart of Young's strategy.

No doubt the govts will be very impressed with the "New Detroit." They will praise Coleman Young and he will polish his image as the savior of the city.

But the old Detroit will still be there—for all the people who aren't governors to live in.

Hors d'oeuvres:

- Beluga caviar
- Russian vodka
- Wines
- Cheeses
- Pate
- Mousse

Dinner:

- Belgian endive
- Dover sole
- Beef Richelieu
- Potato ratatouille
- Potatoes Parisienne

Dessert:

- Fresh strawberries in ice cream

Wines:

- Vidal Blanc
- Haut Brion
- Bordeaux
- Korbel champagne
- Directors Bin Port

SOCIALISM- WHAT'S IN IT FOR YOU?

by Mike Kelly

What would socialism mean to working people? Let's use a Teamster barn of 100 workers as an example. The barn has drivers, dockmen, OS and D clerks, rate clerks, billing clerks, secretaries, and a couple of terminal managers, dispatchers and foremen. What would happen to this barn in a socialist society?

THE RIGHT TO A JOB

The first step would be to give everyone a job.

Right now more than 10% of our society is idle. This 10% could be given jobs. Where would they come from? From the ghetto, the barrio, the poor white neighborhoods. Socialism would give jobs to those who are not allowed to work under capitalism.

Socialism would also give jobs to those who refuse to work under capitalism. These people come mainly from the wealthy neighborhoods, from the mansions of the rich, from the highrises and condominiums of the well off.

And when the profit system is ended, many people doing work that is not really productive labor can be given new jobs.

In a socialist society, thousands of jobs in insurance, banking, accounting, advertising, sales, etc. could be eliminated—and those people would be given something more productive to do than handle paper or sell shoddy products.

If, say, 30% more people were doing productive work, then enough could be produced so everyone could live decently. No more dog food for senior citizens. In addition, the work day could be cut an hour or so almost at once.

END WASTE

Socialism also means planning. Right now capitalism is wasteful. Many trucking companies compete with each other to make the same points.

There are half-empty trucks running side by side to the same city with the same freight. There are terminals on opposite sides of the street handling freight bound for the same place. This is ridiculous and wasteful.

One full truck could carry that freight from Chicago to Milwaukee, instead of two half empties.

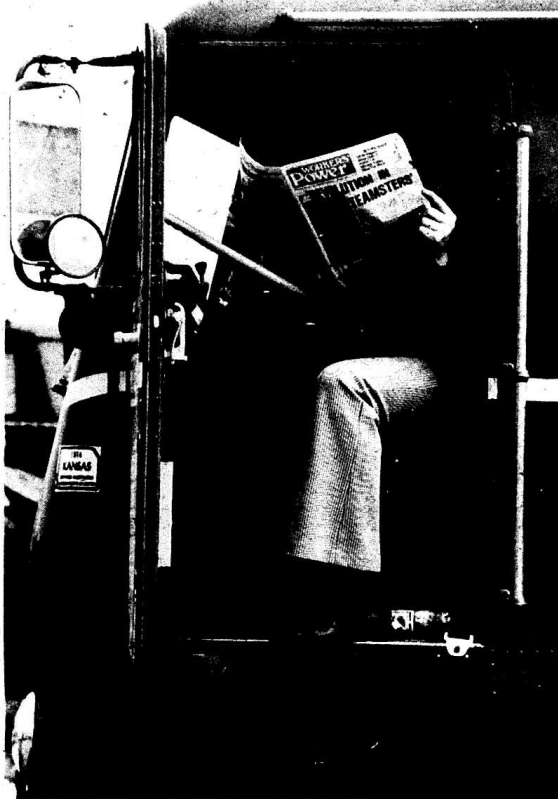
Workers in the trucking industry have the knowledge to reorganize the shipment of freight and save time, energy and money. The society would produce more with less effort if competition and duplication were eliminated.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Socialism stands for the end to the division of labor. Right now, in most truck terminals or barns, one person is an office worker, another works on the dock, another drives the truck.

Usually office workers look down on drivers, and both look down on the dock worker. The dock worker has the most arduous and dangerous job and is usually paid the least.

The driver may have more freedom, but can also have a hard and dangerous job. The office worker has a job that is less physically exhausting, less dirty and dangerous—but one that is more boring and irritating.



The most important division of labor, however, is the one between the workers and the bosses.

Right now drivers, dockworkers and clerks do what they're told by the terminal managers, the dispatchers, the foremen and the supervisors. The office heads are divided from the working hands.

Socialism means eliminating the division between mental and manual labor. In a socialist society, the barn would belong to all of the workers of the country.

The decisions about how the barn is organized, what freight is shipped and how, what equipment is used would be made by a plan elaborated by workers elected from all over the country.

How that plan is implemented locally would be decided in meetings of the workers in that barn.

Supervisors and managers would be elected by the workers on the basis of their competence in managing the workers' property. A man who is a driver today might be elected terminal manager; a woman who is a clerk today might be elected to be company head.

NEW CRAFTS AND SKILLS

But even in this system there would be mistakes and abuses. So workers, even though they were now the bosses, would keep their unions to defend themselves against their own management. Workers would have the right to go on strike against the workers' government and the workers' enterprise.

Any system without real unions and without the right to strike can degenerate into a police state, given the right circumstances.

The first division of labor to be eliminated, then, is the division between the heads and the hands, between the bosses and the workers. The second division of labor to be eliminated is that between particular crafts and skills.

In a socialist society, drivers would have an opportunity to learn the skills of clerks. Clerks would have a chance to get out of the office and drive a truck.

As all of the different workers

learned the different jobs, their understanding of how to make things run more easily and efficiently would increase.

The end to the division of labor would mean a tremendous unleashing of productive power. Think right now of all the time and energy that is wasted by managers and workers fighting each other.

The driver tries to figure out where he can cut corners and steal time because he correctly feels the manager is pushing him too hard. The manager tries to figure out where the driver is stealing time. He hires spotters to follow the driver and catch him sleeping.

If we owned the companies, and if we elected the managers and set the rules, there would be no need for all this wasted effort fighting each other. The point would be to make work safe, easy and efficient, to supply the needs of other working people like ourselves.

We'd want to get the job done and go out and play with our friends, our family. We'd go home and make love and listen to music, go to the park and have a picnic, have a party.

Society could be organized for our interests, for our pleasure and recreation.

BEYOND THE BARN

But this process wouldn't just be going on in one barn of 100 workers. It would be going on in the society as a whole. Auto workers would get the hell out of the factory and make it over to the freight company. The truck driver might decide to go back to school to become a doctor.

Schools and colleges would flourish to teach people about art and literature. The resources of the country would be used to build parks and museums, theaters and clubs. All of the divisions between work and play, between work and education would be broken down.

A society can be built for people. That is the goal of socialism. That is why you should be a socialist. And that is why you should join the workers' power group, the International Socialists.

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, Americans and 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 against nations fighting for independence from foreign rulers. We support every struggle for freedom—from the people of southern Africa against racism and western colonialism, to the struggle against bureaucratic rule and Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe. We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule.
- **REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**
The most class conscious members of the working class have the responsibility to lead the struggle toward socialist revolution. To do this they must build an organization to put their consciousness into action and make their leadership effective.
- **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**
The I.S. is an organization of revolutionary socialist workers. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member to achieve them. Join with us to build the I.S. into a revolutionary party, to build the movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world.

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, Mich. 48203.

Name

Address

I.S. BRANCHES

National Office: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
 Atlanta: P.O. Box 11016, Atlanta, GA 30310
 Austin: P.O. Box 8492, Austin, TX 78712
 Bay Area: P.O. Box 132, Oakland, CA 94604
 Boston: P.O. Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114
 Chicago: P.O. Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611
 Cleveland: P.O. Box 03336, Station B, Cleveland, OH 44103
 Detroit: 16155 Meyers, Detroit, MI 48235
 Gary: P.O. Box 426, Gary, IN 46402
 Los Angeles: P.O. Box 1545, Lynwood, CA 90262
 New Jersey: P.O. Box 897, Chestnut Station, Union, NJ 07083
 New York: 30 E. 20th St., Room 207, New York, NY 10003
 Pittsburgh: P.O. Box 466, Homestead, PA 15120
 Portland: P.O. Box 4662, Portland, OR 97208

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VIEW FROM THE BLEACHERS

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SOCCER

... FINDS FUN AND PROFITS

by Doug Warren

Soccer has finally arrived in the U.S. For fifty years the world has been playing soccer while we indulged in baseball and football. We could never persuade anyone else to play these games.

However, at the end of a world war we could occasionally force our enemy into further humiliation.

It is a little known fact that the creation of major league baseball in Japan was a condition of their surrender.

But if we could not spread our own sports passions, we always had the consolation of knowing that the world-wide epidemic of soccer had stopped at our shores.

This summer even that consolation was taken from us. Soccer made it big.

In New York attendance at North American Soccer League (NASL) matches was consistently better than the same day's baseball crowd. 70,000-plus attended two play-off matches.

Well, New York is one thing, you will say, but what about real America? The Minnesota Kicks averaged almost 30,000 per game. The Seattle Sounders became the city's premier professional team with first call on the massive Kingdome.



Pelé (left) and Beckenbauer—two of soccer's greatest players.

In Los Angeles soccer has become so popular that there will probably be two NASL franchises in that city next season. Is that American enough for you?

Soccer is the sports success story of the decade, and it isn't just true

of the professional game. The long-term health of soccer is based on the amazing growth in the number of kids playing the sport.

SUCCESS STORY

In 1970, 8000 played in the California junior leagues. This year it was 160,000. In Texas the growth was even more phenomenal, from 500 to 98,000.

The reasons for soccer's popularity are not hard to find. As a participatory sport it has the edge on every other game. Players don't need any expensive equipment, just a ball and a couple of bricks for goal-posts.

They don't have to be seven foot high or six foot wide to be an expert either. Everyone on the field, all 22 players, get an equal piece of the action.

And best of all for many youngsters, there are no time-outs or other stoppages that allow adult "coaches" to stick their noses in.

With all these players, soccer has become big business and the NASL has become the main promoter and protector of soccer profits. The NASL has made its effort in the white suburbs, because that's where the money is.

NEW RULES

It is a crying shame that a game which belongs to the working class and oppressed people in every other country should become the victim of the "profits-first" capitalist sporting philosophy.



game of equal performances, the short over-time resulting in a "victor" is as sensible as flipping a coin.

These excesses mistrain American players and will delay the appearance of American soccer on the international stage. (The international dimension is an extremely important component of the game.)

For all its success American soccer at the professional level still has one weakness that could yet destroy it. It is not American.

The New York Cosmos have three of the best half dozen players in the history of the game—Pelé, Alberto and Beckenbauer. Two Brazilians and one German.

The commissioner of the league, the majority of coaches and 40% of the players are British. Only 30% of the registered professionals are American and the percentage that gets off the bench is much, much smaller.

If this situation is not turned around in the very near future, soccer may yet fall back into oblivion. If that happens the losers will be the sports fans of America who now suffer the national isolation of football and baseball.

To us a game between New York and Cincinnati can be called a World Series. In soccer the World Cup starts with over one hundred national "all-star" teams, and requires over a thousand games and two years to come up with a champion.

Now that really is a world series, and we should be part of it. □

And the NASL has victimized the game in other ways. Its effort to ensure goals and excitement for the growing crowds has resulted in several new "America-only" rules.

For example, in every other country ties are allowed, but the NASL regards a tie as an un-American activity. So their games often end in the sickening spectacle of "sudden-death" overtime or a so-called "shoot-out" which has nothing to do with the game of soccer at all.

In sudden death, after an entire

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W.VA. MINERS BACK TO WORK

THE LAST of West Virginia's striking coal miners went back to work last week, leaving only a few Kentucky miners on the picket lines.

But even as the ten-week-old wildcat strike was winding down, the UMWA Health and Retirement Funds were threatening a new crisis.

In a statement issued September 6, the Funds said that October pension checks to 81,500 retired miners may have to be reduced or delayed.

The statement added that further cuts might be made in health benefits for 811,000 miners and

their dependents later this month.

TRIGGER

It was health benefit cuts which originally triggered this summer's wildcat strikes, which at their peak involved 85,000 coal miners. In mid-June, the Funds announced that beneficiaries would have to pay up to \$500 a year of their own medical bills. For many—particularly retired miners—that put health care out of reach.

Now the Funds trustees are threatening a second blow against the retirees—a cut in their \$250 a month pension.

The trustees' statement says

they were able to pay September pensions only by arranging a short-term \$3.5 million loan. After paying the loan back, they expect to be \$8 million short of the \$20 million necessary for October pension checks.

Despite these dire warnings, it is far from certain that these cuts will be made.

When the original health benefits cuts were made July 1, the United Mine Workers asked the coal operators to agree to reallocate some income from the healthy 1974 Pension Trust to the three other financially troubled Funds.

The employers refused to do it because they wanted a confrontation with the miners. But with the wildcats over the original cuts finally ended—after considerable difficulty—the operators might not want to reopen the issue right away. Cuts in pensions would certainly fuel a quick resumption of the wildcats.

CONFRONTATION

The Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette reported that "industry sources" say the coal operators "might be more cooperative in making financial arrangements to avoid disrupting miners' pensions."

These "financial arrangements" would probably involve either an agreement on reallocation of funds or, more likely, arrangement of some long-term financing to take the pension funds through the remainder of the current contract, which expires December 6.

If the coal operators do make such arrangements for the pension funds, it would raise the question of why they wouldn't make such arrangements when the health funds were threatened in June.

And the answer, clear for everyone to see, would be that they are playing politics with the miners' health care... and with their lives.

Workers' Power

ORGANIZE TO STOP CHICAGO RACISTS



CHICAGO—Carrying signs that said things like: "Integration, Public Enemy Number One," "Our White Fight is Right," and "Integration, Unfair to Teachers and Students," 110 racists from Chicago's Bogan area marched from the Board of Education chambers to City Hall, and back again. This was during the Board's regular meeting, Wednesday, August 31.

They were protesting the fact that this September a handful of Black elementary school children will be transferring from their present critically overcrowded schools to two less crowded white schools on the Southwest side.

In response to recent state and federal threats to withhold funds unless desegregation plans were implemented, the Chicago Board of Education has come up with the most minimal token plan possible that will still get them their money.

Under the "permissive transfer plan" students would be allowed to transfer from 14 critically overcrowded Black and Latin schools to 28 less used white schools.

Although the plan involves only one half of one percent of all students in the Chicago schools, even this token stab at integration was held off for years by the powerful Daley machine.

NOT PREPARED

The Bogan demonstrators may not have been prepared for the kind of welcome they got when they brought their march, dubbed "Operation Resist," back to the Board meeting. Racist groups, among them the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party, have been busy organizing these past few weeks, but so have anti-racist groups.

A Bogan speaker declared that integration was against God's law and tried to lead people in the singing of "God Bless America." They were drowned out by chants of "We say no, we say no, we say no to racism!" by counterdemonstrators.

The racists left soon after, amidst chants of "Go, get out!" The Board heard over 40

speakers, Black, Latin, and white, most condemning the racist violence Chicago has seen these past few weeks and throughout the year.

It's not just the schools either. Black and Latin people are not safe anywhere in their own city.

RISK ATTACK

They risk attack just trying to get to their jobs in or past the white Marquette Park area.

If you're Black, even sitting at home and minding your own business is not safe. Recently, the homes of Black people who have moved into white areas have been bombed.

The morning paper you pick up on your doorstep may explode in your face when you open it up. In just this way, young Arthur Hall, coming home off the night shift, lost a hand, and possibly the sight in one or both eyes.

Groups like P.U.S.H. (People United to Save Humanity), the Chicago Parents Against Racist Violence, the Chicago Committee for Equal Rights and the Chicago Urban League are organizing in response to the growth of racist terror.

They have announced plans to insure the safety of transferring Black and Latin teachers and students by accompanying them to school.

Some plans call for self-defense squads made up of parents and community residents to insure that children will not come to harm.

MAJERCZEK

A policeman, A.J. Majerczek, got up in a public Board of Education meeting and announced that he and other white cops will call for an "epidemic of blue flu" if they have to protect Black children.

It is time for people to take the defense of their children into their own hands.

With an eye to preventing more bombings, the Urban League has also started to organize Black residents into patrols on the

Southwest Side.

We must show the racists, by force, if necessary, that the streets and schools of Chicago belong to all the people—not just to a group of terrorists and murderers.

A strong show of force can stop

these racists cold. Drive them back into the holes where they come from.

Organize. Be prepared. Chicago must not become another Boston.

Karl Werner



Black and white counter-demonstrators organized against the racists at the Board of Education meeting.