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WORKERS' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS SEPTEMBER 26, 1977 #224 25c

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5000 STEELWORKERS OUT OF WORK

"They Play With Their Business Like We Play With Checkers."

by Terri Ferguson

Two entire communities in Ohio's Mahoning Valley are about to be destroyed.

Five thousand steelworkers' jobs are being wiped out. Just like that.

The Lykes Corporation, which owns the Youngstown Sheet and Tube steel works, announced last week that it is all but shutting down operations in Campbell, Ohio, and in the little town of Struthers just across the river.

In Struthers alone, where 1200 of the 5000 jobs will be lost, one out of every four families will have a father or single mother who's out of work.

"I don't feel the industrialists look at us as people. In fact, they don't even really see us as numbers. We don't even exist to them."

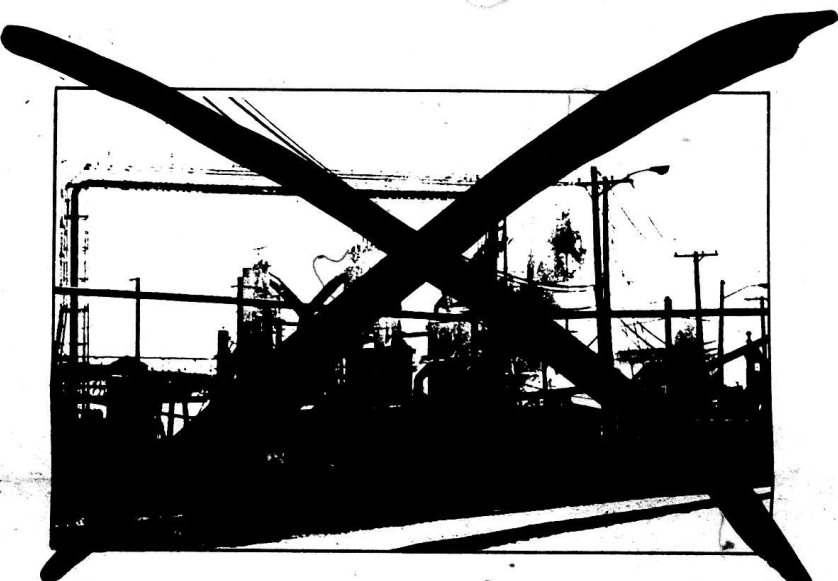
That's how Michael J. Katula put it. He is the mayor of Campbell, the town that will be snuffed out like an ant underfoot.

"The Lykes Corporation is a very multi-conglomerate corporation," Katula explained to us. "Basically, the way I see it, they play with their

industry such as you and I might just mess around with some checkers.

"There is no getting around it. Lykes milked Sheet & Tube dry ever since it bought it nine years ago. Now that she's empty they are getting rid of the cow." Lykes'

decision to move industry out to its more profitable Indiana Harbor Works near Chicago will devastate the small towns in the valley that



includes Campbell, Struthers, and Youngstown.

Already, families who have spent years building a life for themselves are making plans to pull up stakes. They will lose everything they have fought and sweated for.

Joe Simms, who works at the Campbell Works, told us, "It will really be a disaster for the city... and for several cities around here. I was talking to an independent trucker from Youngstown, and he's lost nearly 50% of his business since the news came out.

"People are really frightened and shaken," Simms said. "In some areas they're quite angry. They feel that this showed a callous disregard for human beings and the suffering it's going to cause."

Another steelworker from the area, John Barbero, talked about the towns he grew up in. "Campbell, and Struthers too, both of them, went through quite a shock several years ago when the companies got away with declaring blast furnaces as personal property instead of industrial property.

"This cut their taxes by about 50% and set the towns, their school

systems, into something they still haven't recovered from yet. The downtown areas are already devastated—heck, everything will be worse yet."

The Lykes conglomerate milked these small towns dry, cheated their school systems, and took the best years of several thousand steelworkers' lives.

But Lykes Corporation won't notice the slow death in Struthers and Campbell, Ohio. They will be off looking for greener pastures to destroy.

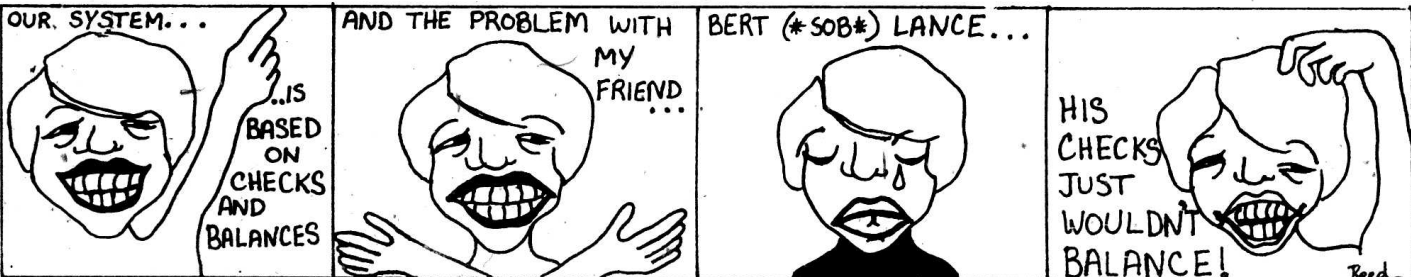
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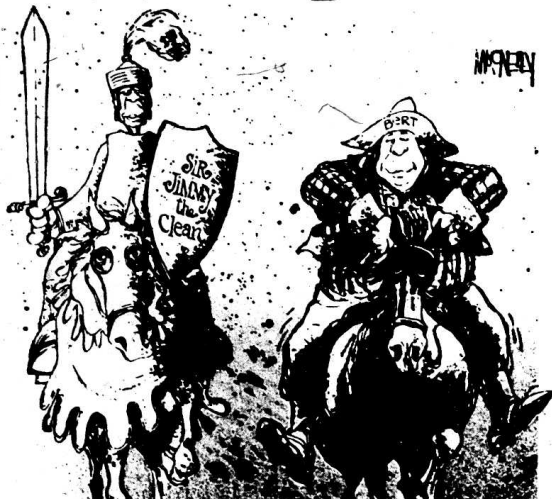
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GO, BERT, GO!



by Kim-Moody

Bert Lance is gone, resigned. But the crisis lingers on. No doubt, the Carter administration let Bert Lance go to avoid some ugly questions.

- Like, did Bert use his bank's airplane illegally for his and Jimmy's political campaigns?

- Did Bert, and possibly Jimmy himself, get Donald Tarleton, regional head of the office of Comptroller of the Currency, to hush up Bert's history of overdrafts?

- Did Bert Lance lie, not once, but twice, to the Senate Government Affairs Committee?

- And not least among these questions, did Jimmy Carter know about most of this all long?

The answer to these and dozens of other questions about Bert Lance could lead to more embarrassment, more tarnishing of Jimmy's fading image.



Kim Moody, Editor, Workers' Power

The resignation of Lance is only the first step in a cover-up.

To avoid a further "crisis in confidence," Carter will have to bury the Justice Department re-

view of Lance's affairs, the Internal Revenue Service investigation, and the investigations of a number of other Congressional Committees.

We have no doubt Carter will try to cover these up. The question is, will he get caught?

BUT CRISIS REMAINS

However, Carter cannot cover up the social and economic mess he now presides over.

The end of the Bert Lance affair will not restore the slumping confidence in his policies.

Carter cannot hide the fact that the economy is slowing down. That unemployment is on the rise. That Black unemployment is twice what it was ten years ago.

Nor can Carter cover up the fact that he does not plan to do anything serious about these problems.

The Carter administration, like most Democratic administrations, will, of course, make some noises in the direction of the groups that put it in office—notably labor and the Black community.

Under pressure, Carter has granted lukewarm support to some of the labor law reforms sought by the top trade union leaders.

Faced with sharp criticism from Black community leaders, Carter backed off his support for skuttling affirmative action and rode the fence in the Bakke case (see page 9).

Lobbied and leaned on by a coalition of labor and civil rights groups, Carter uttered some pious words about jobs—but promised only what he had already promised months before unemployment went up.

The fact is, there is more ceremony than cold cash in Carter's concessions to the working people, Black or white.

BUSINESS RUNS IT

Those who dreamed that Carter would provide moral, economic, or social leadership that would benefit the majority of the American people, have been disappointed on all fronts.

Morally, Jimmy turns out to be just another politician in the company of con-men, political operators, and high-paid image peddlers.

So far as economic and social matters go, there was never a chance Carter would lead, or lead in favor of the working people, the unemployed, the poor.

For Carter is not the Master, but the servant. He is the servant of Big Business and its system.

When the interests of Southern bankers collide with those of the "Eastern Establishment," he may choose sides with his Southern cronies.

But even in the Bert Lance affair, Jimmy Carter wasn't able to protect the job of his old Georgia crony, once the powerful Eastern bankers decided Bert wasn't worth keeping around.

And it gets even clearer when the interests of any section of Big Business clash with those of any section of the working class.

The Carter administration and, indeed, the Democratic Party, high, middle, and low, must do the bidding of its real master, the Big Business system of capitalism. □

DID STEEL IMPORTS KILL THESE JOBS?

\$1.7 million Goes A Long Way

by Terri Ferguson

AT A COST OF 5000 jobs, the destruction of two steel valley communities, and horrible suffering, the Lykes Corporation is moving most of its Youngstown Sheet & Tube operation from Ohio to Indiana Harbor near Chicago.

The company is raising a hue and cry to blame the move on "low-priced foreign imports."

But Joe Simms, a steelworker at the Sheet & Tube mill, doesn't quite see it that way.

Workers' Power spoke with Simms, who either sits currently or has been active in several union committees, including Job Descriptions, Civil Rights, Incentives, and Consent Decree Implementation.

"I think imported steel has very little to do with it. The imported steel market has been minimal for the last 30 years.

"It might have crept up a couple of percentage points but it's because of the large market, not because they make better steel or something like that. Overall, it's grown in comparison with our steel.

"If they talk about raising tariffs or putting more quotas on Japanese steel or foreign steel, it's gonna have a negative effect because somebody else is gonna do the same thing to us, and we'll suffer in another area of the economy."

But the union has swallowed the imports line from hook to sinker.

PETITION

The area local presidents all went to Washington last week along with District 26 Director Frank Leseganich, and a petition asking for import controls and relaxed pollution standards.

John Barbero, who works at the Campbell works' sister mill in

Youngstown, Ohio, is a long-standing member of the Rank and File Team (RAFT), an opposition network in the union.

According to Barbero, "So far the union has really become nothing more than a company lobby.

"You know, do away with pollution controls, allow 'em a price increase, and some other thing about massive federal help, like Lockheed sort of stuff.

"All the local presidents, as far as I can see, are just in a state of shock, panic. The petitions are really calling for the company's demands. Nothing specific about the plant itself."

The question for steelworkers isn't tariff agreements. It's jobs.

And on that score, the union has done plenty. It's taken pride in its productivity and speed-up drives.

It gave up the right to strike,

supposedly to end layoffs and to decrease foreign steel orders. It ended up accomplishing neither. Its members ended up with more unemployment—minus the right to strike.

The union's response to the current Ohio crisis has been pitiful. Its petition calling for import controls is a waste of time. In fact, they are fools for falling for the company's propaganda.

Business Week reports that "Even with a protected market or a rise in worldwide demand, the U.S. steel industry is overdue for consolidation and rationalization."

In plain language, that means that even if they get import controls, the steel companies will continue drastic cut-backs like the one at Youngstown Sheet & Tube.

Lykes isn't moving out because of imports. They themselves admit that they just aren't making enough profit with the old plant equipment in the valley. The Indiana Harbor Works are more modern and more profitable. It's as simple as that.

They made a conscious decision long ago to run the Campbell Works into the ground.

"One of the reasons this has happened," said Mayor Katula, "is that they did not take the profits coming from Sheet & Tube—which was profitable when they bought it—and re-invest them into the mills down here, which would have modernized them, brought them up to date and put them on a competitive basis with the more modernized steel corporations in Japan or Germany.

"From what I can gather on hearsay, they have a shipping interest somewhere and this is where the profit went."

But where will the thousands of steelworkers and their families go? □

And while they cry 'imports!'

THE NEW YORK TIMES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1977

Youngstown Cites Foreign Purchases

EAST CHICAGO, Ind., Sept. 21 (AP)—The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company has been buying industrial equipment from Japan and West Germany while criticizing the increasing use of imported steel.

The company attributed a cutback in production that will mean some 5,000 layoffs to a sagging financial situation caused by the inroads that foreign steel-makers have made in the American market.

Last week a shipment of Japanese-made work-rolls was delivered to Youngstown's Indiana Harbor plant—in crates painted over to disguise their nation of origin, according to a source at the plant.

The rolls are steel cylinders used in making sheet steel. A source said the shipment involved more than a dozen rolls weighing more than 350,000 pounds.

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Auto Maker Pleads Poverty; Workers Foot The Bill

by Jenny Singer

TEN THOUSAND United Auto Workers members in Wisconsin and Ontario ratified a "new" one-year agreement with American Motors last weekend.

Both the short contract and its shortfall in wages and benefits were attributed to AMC's poor financial condition.

The agreement leaves AMC workers worse off than their brothers and sisters in the Big Three, who got new contracts a year ago. The pay raise was limited to the traditional 3% Annual Improvement Factor, 11c less than Big Three workers received.

AMC workers will not get the new Paid Personal Holiday Plan either, which goes into effect next month at the Big Three. It provides for 12 additional days off over the next two years.

Yet Harold Templin, chief union negotiator, declared, "It is more than I ever hoped or dreamed I'd achieve."

AMC Pacers, Matadors and Gremlins have not been selling well. The company lost \$73.8 million during 1975 and 1976.

This year AMC's fortunes improved. They made a \$5.3 million profit during the first nine months of this year.

SAME ARGUMENTS

The UAW and AMC have the same arguments for going easy on the company.

Last February, when the 1973 contract was extended for seven months, UAW Vice-President Pat Greathouse said, "It's a very difficult situation."

"We have to find a way to get equity for union members without putting the company out of business."

What about this argument? Do workers have to simply accept the choice between a job at, lower wages or no job at all?

Thirty years ago, Walter Reuther demanded that the auto companies "open the books." The union dared them to prove that they couldn't afford the gains the workers needed.

To no one's surprise, the companies refused. But they were forced to give in to some of the union's demands.

Today, the union has stopped asking to open the books. They take the company's word for it when they come begging and poor-mouthing.

When its members are faced with threats of unemployment, the UAW does not demand concessions from the company or from the government. The only ones it asks to sacrifice are its own members.

According to the UAW, the members should work harder and accept lower wages, to bail out the company which is ready to throw them on the scrap heap.

In 1975 UAW President Leonard Woodcock publicly commiserated with the auto companies for their "paper-thin profits."

COMPANY-MINDED

The UAW doesn't apply this line

of reasoning only to ailing companies, however. They are equally concerned about the profits of General Motors (which with their help made nearly \$1 billion profits last year).

This company-minded policy has meant allowing the auto companies

to drive the workforce harder and harder over the last 20 years, in exchange for the benefits and wages that were granted.

It has meant always putting the needs of the companies first and the needs of the workers a distant third (after the needs of the union

officials themselves).

In the 1958 recession, for example, Chrysler was doing the worst of the Big Three. To help Chrysler out, the UAW did away with its system of "blue button stewards"—a steward for every foreman.

Taking away this first line of

defense made it much easier for Chrysler to squeeze more work—and more profits—out of each worker.

But even when a company is operating in the red, that doesn't mean it's about to disappear.

AMC, for example, was almost bankrupt in 1956 and 57, again in 1966 and 67, and again in 1970 and 71. In between the lean years, it had upturns.

In 1975 and 76 AMC lost \$74 million. This year it is making a profit again, on the strength of its Jeep and bus divisions.

The best-known auto industry analyst, Arvid Jouppi, says of AMC, "The company is economically sound. Their debt is under control and other companies like Chrysler have come back in the past." Chrysler lost \$312 million in two years—and then made \$423 million the next.

The companies' health reflects the health of the general economy.

WHOSE NEEDS?

The real question is, whose needs should workers and their union fight for—their own or the stockholders'?

In Britain, when a plant threatens to close, the workers have demanded to run it themselves, with a government subsidy if necessary. They will sit in and occupy the plant to keep the company from shutting down.

One unprofitable car plant belonging to British Leyland, maker of Jaguars and MG's, was taken over by the government under pressure from Leyland auto workers. They kept their jobs.

If the UAW were to start acting tough now, AMC would probably fail.

But if the union stood its ground, the company would have to come up with other ways of staying in business—which didn't include taking it out of its workers' hides.



Criminal Charges In Trenton Heat Walkout

Chrysler Calls Solidarity A Crime

DETROIT—A hundred and fifty people came down to the Federal Court building here September 19. They came to support seven Chrysler workers, fired from the Trenton Engine Plant, who are now on trial for criminal contempt of court.

The real crime of these seven union members is refusing to let Chrysler treat its workers like animals during this summer's heat wave.

They are charged with picketing in violation of a court order, during a week-long wildcat strike at Trenton Engine.

STRIKE WON JOBS

That strike won back the jobs of six other workers who had been fired earlier. Chrysler brought federal charges against the seven

on trial now, in retaliation for this act of solidarity.

The members of UAW Local 372 have responded magnificently to defend the seven on trial. The same cannot be said of the local officials.

At the last local meeting, an incredible 400 members turned up to demand support for the case. The local had ordered stewards to go up and down the lines, urging people not to come to the meeting.

A motion that the local subsidize the defense effort, put forward from the floor with overwhelming support, was ruled out of order by the President.

The Court itself operates like a wholly owned subsidiary of Chrysler Corporation.

Judge Feikens, presiding over the trial, refused to either disqualify

himself or allow a jury trial.

Feikens' old law firm works for Chrysler, and his son is currently handling a case for Chrysler.

According to the defense committee, the judge himself is a former owner of Chrysler stock.

ORCHESTRATED

Chrysler has orchestrated the entire prosecution case, even providing a map of the plant. The plant personnel director testified for the prosecution.

During the picketing, Chrysler's law firm hired a private detective agency to serve subpoenas. Plant management sent foremen and supervisors along to point out workers on the line.

But the court order the workers are accused of violating didn't even prohibit picketing in the first place!

The order prohibited "blocking people from entering or leaving the plant." At no time during the trial has the prosecution produced the name of any person allegedly blocked from entering.

Two of the defendants, Hart and Kemp, received letters from the Trenton police chief thanking them for helping keep the peace on the picket line.

But facts don't matter to Chrysler in this case. It is universally believed that the outcome of the trial will determine whether the seven get their jobs back.

And if Chrysler wins this case, it undoubtedly will open up a new front of bringing criminal charges against individual rank and file.

What a marvellous case of the federal court system protecting human rights in America.

SOUTH AFRICA

BIKO'S MURDER BRINGS RAGE & PROTEST



Steve Biko: died in South African prison.



Biko's family. Twelve hundred Africans were arrested at an outdoor memorial meeting.

by Dan Posen

When Martin Luther King was murdered, many American cities erupted as Black people rose up in protest.

But imagine what the reaction would have been in King had been beaten to death by police in prison.

In South Africa, the best-known Black leader in the country, Steve Biko, is dead.

And despite an attempted government cover-up, the facts are coming out: he was beaten and tortured to death by South African special police.

His death has united the entire Black population of South Africa, in the largest outpouring of rage and protest since the Soweto rebellion last year.

Twelve hundred Africans were arrested at an outdoor memorial meeting, which was held in defiance of a government ban.

HUNGER STRIKE

The government first announced that Biko died in a Pretoria prison after a seven-day hunger strike.

The Minister of Justice claimed that Biko had starved himself to death—in one week.

Every detail of the government account has now been exposed as a lie.

On the day Biko died he was driven by police 750 miles from a Port Elizabeth prison to Pretoria. He was dead or dying when they dumped him in the prison cell there.

A white reporter who viewed Biko's body stated there was a "large swelling" on the forehead, and distorted features on the body.

News leaks from the official government autopsy, reported by the New York Times, indicate that Biko had suffered broken ribs, brain damage and possibly electric shock.

None of this was the result of a so-called hunger strike—although the police may have also starved Steven Biko while they beat and tortured him.

GOVERNMENT FRIGHTENED

Biko was a founder of the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organization. He was the twenty-third Black prisoner to die in South African prisons in 18 months.

The tremendous Black response

to his murder has frightened the white political establishment. A government crisis is erupting over the death of Biko and the cover-up.

The government is frightened because its so-called reforms and fake proposals for Black self-rule are being exposed.

The white liberal opposition is also frightened, because the murder of Steve Biko proves there is no possibility of meaningful reform within the racist apartheid system.

Every Black leader who stands up against apartheid is systematically arrested, tortured and murdered by the police.

The white liberals know that this destroys any chance that Blacks will listen to pleas for "moderation."

The murder of Steven Biko will be remembered as a turning point that made 20 million Black South Africans even more angry, determined and unified.

Acquitted in July... killed in September

The South African government tried to put Steven Biko away two months ago. When they couldn't get a conviction, they simply arrested him under the "terrorism" laws—which allow indefinite detention without trial.

In July a court acquitted Biko of frame-up charges of obstructing justice and encouraging perjury.

He was accused of instructing young Blacks to make false statements to police in connection with an alleged school firebombing plot.

The trial judge said Biko's testimony was "more satisfactory than any of the state witnesses."

Moderates and reformers like to point to the supposedly independent court system of South Africa, under which Black prisoners are occasionally acquitted.

But if the police can't do it through the courts, they'll simply eliminate Black activists another way.

The so-called "independent judiciary" is completely meaningless. The racist apartheid government is still calling all the shots.

His death has united the entire Black population of South Africa, in the largest outpouring of rage and protest since the Soweto rebellion last year.

COLOMBIA 4000 ARRESTED

"SOURCES SAID that about 4000 people had been arrested in street disturbances. . . ."

"Heavy patrols battled with rioters for almost 30 hours after clashes broke out in working class areas. . . ."

"Security forces reported attacks on banks, supermarkets and other businesses. . . ."

Sound familiar? No, that's not a report of the New York City blackout. But it sounds like it.

In fact, it's a report from Bogota, the capital city of Colombia, in South America.

SURVIVAL

In two days, police and troops killed at least 16 civilians as they fired into crowds.

As in New York, people were out on the streets because they had to survive.

But unlike New York, the organized union workers of Colombia are leading the struggle for survival.

The mass arrests and street fighting broke out after a tremendous general strike by all the unions in the country.

The strike was called to demand an immediate, across-the-board 30% wage increase for every worker.

In less developed countries like Colombia, the world crisis of capitalism hits hardest.

The rising cost of living reduces workers, the unemployed and their families literally to the brink of starvation.

They are fighting back the only way they can—just as workers in other countries like Peru, Egypt and India where general strikes or strike waves have erupted this year.

Also unlike New York, the unions are fighting to defend their brothers and sisters arrested by the

government for the so-called looting of capitalist property.

One union leader said the unions did not call for fighting the police, but: "Neither could we prevent an unarmed people defending itself against the assaults of the forces of authority."

Israel's Blitzkrieg In Lebanon

WHILE MOSHE DAYAN, the Foreign Minister of Israel, was explaining the so-called Israeli peace plan to Jimmy Carter, the Israeli army was giving a preview of the next Mideast war.

Mechanized Israeli troops invaded Lebanon this week in a blitzkrieg aimed at wiping out Palestinian-held villages.

Villages in southern Lebanon are also being pulverized by long-range Israeli artillery, directed by Israeli jets flying over Lebanon.

Meanwhile, gunboats from Israel have set up blockades at the Lebanese ports of Sidon and Tyre.

The invasion of Lebanon by Israel is being carried out with arms and planes donated by the American government. That, too, is another preview of the next full-scale Mideast war.

None of this is because the current fighting in southern Lebanon poses any real military threat to Israel. It doesn't.

The reason for the Israeli invasion is political. Israel is committed to destroying the Palestinian people, and giving full support to any other force which shares that goal.

Israel's support of the anti-Palestinian far right in Lebanon is part of the strategy for total Israeli occupation of the Palestinian people's homeland.

WORKERS' POWER

SPECIAL TEAMSTER ISSUE— SEPTEMBER 1977

SPECIAL TEAMSTER ISSUE

TODAY IT'S ANOTHER BALLGAME

TDU ACTIVISTS FIGHT BACK

USED TO BE you could be proud to be a Teamster. You did a good day's work, but you made a good buck.

The employers had some respect for the little button with the horse heads and wheels. Teamsters weren't afraid to use a little muscle in order to deliver to the members.

Today—it's another ball game. Members are knocked out of the box at company after company. There's no such thing as job security any more. There's no respect from the employers. There's no sitting down and reasoning with them.

It's a fight for every nickel and dime grievance. It's push, push, push, from up on top, right down to the terminal manager, the dispatcher, the dock supervisor or the warehouse foreman.

Our parents and grandparents fought for some respect from the employers, for a fair shake. Today the employers are out to take it all away. And the union is doing very goddamned little to defend us.

That's why Teamsters for a Democratic Union is one of the best things that ever happened to the Teamster rank and file. Because TDU means cleaning up the union. Standing up to the employer. Winning some respect for the members. Making the IBT a fighting outfit again. Making "Teamster" a word you can be proud of.

Workers' Power is publishing this four

page supplement specially for the TDU Convention. We want to give you our slant on why the employers act the way they do, and show you what rank and file union members are doing to fight back.

We're about turning today's employers' offensive into tomorrow's workers' offensive—an offensive that can put working people in the driver's seat, once and for all.



BOSSSES FIGHT TOO

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, things have really gone to hell.

Road drivers have always had a pretty tough job. With the long hours and the time away from home it's always been hard to have a decent family life.

But today, everybody knows about the funny book.

How many guys really log all their time? How many donators are there? There's plenty and you know it.

How many turn-arounds that the company claims are 10 hours are really 14?

How many trips that the company claims are 8, are really 10 hours? How many drivers have to go 70 to make time, even if the road conditions are bad. Plenty.

How many companies expect a roadman to take out a rig that's a certified junk-yard jalopy, and by God, you better not refuse it or they'll write you up for refusing work. Plenty, plenty.

The work week has gone to hell. But so have wages.

Companies like Schneider, Beaver, many of the special commodity carriers and steel haulers have pushed through percentage instead of miles and hours.

They make it as difficult as possible for the drivers to file comparison pay. They keep them in the dark about the tariffs. They dispatch the good loads to their favorites.

Grocery's the same story—only maybe worse.

Kroger pushed mileage down the throat of nearly every terminal outside of Detroit. Try to make a living driving mileage in the city.

Nearly all of the big grocery houses have productivity standards in the warehouses, production quotas, time-study. And none of it's in the contract.

And if that wasn't bad enough, the driver leasing outfits, like Rentar, have come in to shake things up.

At A&P in Detroit, at Fisher-Fazio in Cleveland, at Dominicks in Chicago, grocery workers are learning what it's like to work for a real slave driver.

City cartage has been going the same way.

Production quotas for dockwork-

ers and even drivers. Dockworkers are supposed to load so much freight a shift at Jones, Helm, McClean, Roadway. It was unheard of only a few years ago.

At some companies they sent a letter to everybody who's below average, and of course, half the guys are always below average.

The flexible work week—straight time for Tuesday through Saturday or Wednesday through Sunday—has been pushed through in many cities. Recently, at Yellow in Cleveland and Toledo and at Roadway in Detroit.

And job security? Well, just ask the guys at Eastern Freightways, Associated Transport, M&M Transportation, Eastern Express and RC Motor Lines.

At its worst, the attack on working conditions can mean death. Recently a Tucker driver, named

William Watson, had a front end blowout on I-55 west of Joliet.

His rig crossed the divider and crashed into a car with a woman and her three children inside. All were killed.

A front end blowout shouldn't happen if the company maintains the tire.

Even if it does, the driver might be able to hold on to the wheel if he wasn't forced to drive over the limit in order to make his run.

The driver, the woman and her children, were murdered by the employers. There's no other way to put it.

Some Teamsters think it's just their dispatcher or foreman who's out of line.

But the whole trucking industry has gotten out of line—way out of line.

It all adds up to an attack on the working guy or the working woman, on every one of us.

Why Business Is Clamping Down

WHY HAVE THE EMPLOYERS become so hard-nosed in the last 10 years or so?

It's because big business in this country has been having its troubles.

For about 30 years, from 1940 to about 1970, this country was pretty prosperous.

Wages went up every year, contracts were better all the time. The employers were making a buck and were willing to spread a little around.

But in the last 10 years, things have changed.

In 1971 there was a recession. In 1974 there was the worst depression since the big one in 1929.

Ten percent of the people in this country were thrown out of their jobs in 1974. And prices rose about 10% at the same time.

Big companies were driven out of business, like Penn Central railroad. Others, like Lockheed and Chrysler, nearly folded.

The same thing took place in trucking. Some companies were

bought out.

Gateway bought Pic-Walsh. Spector bought Viking and Hennis. Yellow Freight bought Republic Carloading. McCleans just bought Wolverine. And there are dozens more.

Other companies were simply driven out of business. An employer publication, Commercial Car Journal, called 1976 "The Year of the Bankruptcy."

Big freight lines like Eastern Freightways, Associated Transport, M&M Transportation, East-

ern Express and RC Motor Lines, all bankrupted and folded.

Those that survive are the big monopolies who ruthlessly squeeze their employees and competitors.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, which is supposed to regulate the trucking industry for the good of the public, has allowed these mergers and bankruptcies to take place. The result is the increasing monopolization of the trucking industry.

It's these big monopolies which

have launched an attack on wages and working conditions.

The little companies are forced to attack wages and working conditions even more, just to survive.

And the attack on our wages and conditions has been working.

The Commercial Car Journal reports that, for the companies that survived, 1976 was a year of "growing profitability and good turnaround for most of the giants" among the Common Carriers:

• UPS \$23,300,000 profit

Push somebody hard enough and they're going to push

The employers have been pushing. But there's an old saying, "You push somebody hard enough—and they're going to push back."

The rank and file members of the Teamsters have started to push back.

A guy named Clay Ferguson thought he was pushed too hard a few years back.

He was driving a Roadway rig outside Nashville in March of 1972 when it started shaking violently. He, another Roadway driver, and a Roadway mechanic, decided the vehicle was unsafe and parked it.

But two Roadway management people told Ferguson to take it back out on the road. He refused and was fired.

But Ferguson and the Professional Drivers Council (PROD) took his case to the NLRB. They lost there, but in the Court of Appeals he won his job back and \$39,000 in back pay.

It was that case that helped put PROD on the map as a union reform group in the Teamsters.

BEGINNING

It was a beginning. But a change in the Teamsters, a fight against the employers, takes a movement, takes a real rank and file organization.

That's where the Teamsters for a Decent Contract came in.

Late in 1975 a group of Teamsters got together to organize to stop the employers' attack on Teamsters beginning with the 1976 Master Freight Agreement.

TDC organized the membership to fight back for a change.

Demonstrations in January at IFT headquarters in Washington and in March at union offices and employer headquarters around the country put the officials and the companies on notice that the rank and file was getting organized.

When the old contract expired in April, 1976, the Teamsters officials had been forced to call the first nationwide freight strike.

When the officials tried to send the rank's back to work, Detroit stayed out on a three-day wildcat. It was finally forced back by the officials, and because of lack of support across the country.

In May, UPS workers wildcatted for a day in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kansas City and other towns. A month later, car haulers wildcatted in Cincinnati. Two months later, car haulers walked out on a wildcat in Detroit and in Flint.

It was the rank and file Team-

sters who organized Teamsters for a Decent Contract, and the wildcaters from UPS and the Car haulers, who launched TDU a year ago.

GROWTH

The movement has grown since then—it's bigger, and more serious.

TDU organized a fight for democratic by-laws in Local 299 in Detroit and Local 332 in Flint.

The Detroit rank and file got nearly 50% of the vote. The Flint members had enough support to pass some of the by-laws changes with the required 2/3, and got over 60% on the others.

Those campaigns were a test of strength for coming elections in those locals.

In the meantime, reformers in Vancouver, British Columbia and in Washington, D.C. ousted pro-International incumbents and brought reformers to power.

Daniel George is a Black Teamster who has been active in fighting for democracy and against discrimination. He headed a Washington, D.C. reform slate together with militant John Catlin.

In Vancouver, Jack Vlahovic and Norm Wilkinson led a slate in that local that challenged the machine of International Vice-President Ed Lawson.

In the next couple months, TDU activists will challenge Fitzsimmons and his stooges in Local 299 (freight) and 337 (grocery) in Detroit.

Pete Camarata, the lone rank and file delegate to the 1976 Teamster Convention to stand up to Frank Fitzsimmons, will run on a TDU slate for the vice-president's office in 299, currently held by Frank's son, Dick Fitzsimmons.

Bob Janadia, another TDU activist, is challenging Bobby Holmes, International V.P. and head of the grocery division, for president of Local 337, on a rank and file slate that includes three TDU members.

PROD

As TDU has grown and become more important in the union, PROD has begun to pattern itself after TDU.

PROD began as a group concerned with one issue—safety. Its main area of work was legal and lobbying.

Until recently, PROD's leaders were afraid of actively involving the rank and file.

They were afraid of wildcat strikes. They were against strikes in general, and favored arbitration as a way to handle problems with the employers.

They relied on the courts and the lawmakers to handle Teamster problems. And they seemed to hate and fear the TDU.

Now things seem to have changed.

Two new PROD leaders are organizing PROD on TDU lines. And they have quit attacking the TDU organization.

That is all to the good. Divisions between Teamster rank and filers trying to clean up the union can only help the International.

Today, PROD is organizing demonstrations, forming local chapters, and holding meetings around the country.

Recently PROD organized a demonstration of Roadway drivers, wives and kids at the Akron terminal. TDU held a similar demonstration in Tannersville.

A few months ago PROD and TDU members demonstrated toge-

ther against Fitzsimmons at a meeting in Washington.

PROD has brought Frank Fitzsimmons up on charges, which are now scheduled to be heard before the International Executive Board. At the same time, TDU is organizing to "Dump Fitzsimmons" and win the right of Teamsters members to vote on all International officers.

PROD still has a way to go. Its by-laws still exclude TDU

"serving the rank & file movement"



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Rank & File Organize In Mines And Steel, Too

- Roadway 43,100,000 profit
 - Consolidated . . . 28,642,000 profit
 - Yellow 34,490,000 profit
 - McClean 16,155,000 profit
- According to the CCJ, "Net income after taxes for the top 50 [common carriers] is also up over 1975 by \$88.7 million."

The employers have made trucking one of the most profitable industries, with an average profit of about 18% return on investment. They took their prosperity straight out of wages and working conditions.

ugh, back.

members from holding office in PROD—although many PROD members hold office in TDU!

And it still holds meetings where it excludes its own PROD members who are active in or sympathetic with TDU.

TDU has shown that it organizes the members, fights the International, takes on the employers.

It is TDU that helped out wildcat strikers at UPS, in the car haulers, and at Schneider.

It's TDU's style of fighting, with an active membership fighting on its own behalf, that can win the battle to clean up the Teamsters and put the employers in their place.

Harry Patrick's appearance at the convention of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union is one of the most important events of the labor movement in years.

Patrick was one of the three best known leaders of the Miners For Democracy (MFD).

That group began like Teamsters for a Democratic Union. The MFD came out of a number of wildcat strikes starting in 1967, and out of campaigns against black-lung disease and for safety in the mines.

The MFD succeeded in throwing out the gangster regime of Tony Boyle, a man later convicted of murdering Jock Yablonski, a union oppositionist.

The MFD slate, the victors in the union election, then proceeded to re-write the UMW constitution, making it one of the most democratic union constitutions in the nation.

The columns of the United Mine Workers Journal were opened to rank and file miners with different points of view.

STRUGGLE CONTINUES

The miners' struggle has raged on from 1967 to 1977. MFD was only one part of it.

It continues today in the form of wildcat strikes, which sweep the mine fields, protesting actions of the employers, the courts, or the government.

Recently, when miners' health

benefits were cut, miners struck for up to two months in protest.

Earlier this year, some southern West Virginia miners walked out for one day to protest government slowness in bringing flood relief into a devastated area.

The miners have a spirit and a movement that the coal operators' associations and the government find difficult to stop.

The MFD was disbanded following the victory of its reform slate.

The union reformers soon fell out. In the last election, each one of the MFD's three major figures (Arnold Miller, Mike Trbovich, and Patrick) was on or supporting a different election slate.

Despite the problems, the miners remain the workers whose struggle for union reform and for a militant stand against the employers' attack is the most advanced.

STEELWORKERS

Teamsters and Miners aren't the only workers in this country who were pushed until they pushed back.

Steelworkers have seen tens of thousands of jobs lost in the last decade.

The union refused to fight for the members. The last union president, I.W. Abel, signed a no-strike deal with the employers, called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA).

But last year, a union reformer

named Ed Sadiowski headed an organization called Steel Workers Fight Back in his campaign for president of the union.

Sadiowski carried a majority in the basic steel mills and in the heavily industrial areas of the country.

These three movements, Teamsters for a Democratic Union, Steelworkers Fight Back, and the Miners For Democracy, have each fought to reform the union, to give greater control to the members, to stand up to the employers.

The employers are pushing in every industry.

The reform movements in the Teamsters, Miners, and Steelworkers unions are the first to become national in scope.

But other workers are fighting back too.

Last summer, Chrysler workers in 21 plants struck against the attempts by that company to make its workers toe a new and harder line.

What we are seeing today is the beginning of a movement among all kinds of workers that can go from the defensive—resisting the employers' push—to the offensive—getting the employers off our backs.

That's the next step for the rank and file movement.

REVOLUTION

It's not enough to reform the

unions. It's not even enough to fight back against the employers—they will be forever coming back, with lay-offs, speed up, firings and black-listing.

And with worse, unless we put big business out of business once and for all.

It'll be rough. You know how they fight over a nickel.

And they'll fight like hell when they see we aren't fighting over nickels any more because we want to take the whole bag.

Working people are getting sick and tired of being pushed around by big business at work, in their communities, by the government that serves big business.

There's going to be a revolution in this country. And not because our newspaper says so, but because the employers keep pushing. And one day the working people of this country are going to push back together, and push them right out of the picture.

When that revolution takes place, it's going to take an organized party, a political party fighting for power for working people, to help lead and organize it.

We in the International Socialists are trying to build that party.

We think it will be put together out of the most active members of groups like the MFD, SFB and TDU. We think you should be part of the process, part of the organization.

Yes, socialists help build this movement - and that's no secret!

TEAMSTER OFFICIALS ARE pretty good at keeping secrets.

Try to find out how your officers voted on the grievance panel—it's a secret.

In some locals, you can't get a copy of the by-laws from the officials—you'll have to go to the Labor Department—because it's a secret.

Try to find out what your next contract's going to have in it—another secret, until after it's jammed down your throat.

Try to find out how much your International officers, or even some local officers make, not just what they report to Labor Reporting and Management, but the real take—that's another secret.

And there's one secret they try real hard to keep from the members. It's the history of the union.

UNTOLD STORY

What is the secret history of the Teamsters? What is the untold story?

It's the fact that this union wasn't always run by a bunch of crooks on the take who were in the employers' pocket.

It was once run, at least in good measure, by rank and file Teamsters. And quite a few of the organizers, the local officers, and the most active rank and filers were socialists.

They were people who fought not only for unionism—but for a vision of a society of justice and equality and freedom.

That's the secret the bureaucrats want kept quiet.

Hoffa was a little more up-front about the matter. In his autobiography, *The Trials of Jimmy Hoffa*, he wrote about Farrell Dobbs, a rank and file Teamster from Minneapolis who worked loading coal in the yards there.

Dobbs, said Hoffa, "was the master architect of the Teamsters over-the-road operations," the campaign that organized truck drivers in the midwest. Dobbs was a socialist.

"BRILLIANT STRATEGIST"

Hoffa worked with Farrell Dobbs for several years, and he learned a lot from him.

"It was better than a university education," Hoffa wrote. Dobbs was a "crackerjack organizer" and a "brilliant strategist."

Dobbs "had a vision that was enormously beneficial to the labor movement," said Hoffa.

"His plan to use the over-the-road drivers—the long distance operators—to spread the word about Teamsters to all parts of the nation was very successful, especially as he reasoned—most accurately, as it turned out—that improvements would follow for the

other drivers all along the line."

It may seem strange today to learn that a socialist was the master-mind of the Teamster organizers of the 1930's. But that's only because it's been kept a secret.

In those days it wasn't strange at all.

Hoffa wrote that in 1935, "radicals and communists filled the city [of Detroit]. They spoke on street corners and in park clearings.

"They orated beside the lines that formed before the factory employment offices," Hoffa continued. And most important, radicals and socialists organized in the unions.

It wasn't just Hoffa who learned a few things about how to organize from the socialists like Farrell Dobbs. In their time, Harold Gibbons and Ray Schoessling worked with socialists.

NO COMPROMISE

Why could socialists play such an important role in organizing the union? For two reasons.

First, socialists like Dobbs didn't believe in the big business system, in free enterprise, in capitalism. So they didn't compromise with the employers. They fought them tooth and nail.

They couldn't be bribed, bought off or blackmailed.

Second, socialists believe in

the rank and file democratically controlling things, in rank and file power. So they did everything they could to involve the regular guys that made up the Teamster rank and file.

And it was that involvement that made the early IBT organizing drives successful.

The goal of the socialists of that time was the same as the goal of socialists today.

To replace the big business system with a system of worker control over industry, and to replace a government controlled by big business with a government of working people.

To replace unemployment, poverty and injustice with a society of freedom, equality and justice.

Hoffa, Gibbons, Schoessling and the rest of the IBT officers learned some tactics from the socialists. But they didn't share their visions of a society of freedom. And quickly they became involved in shenanigans with the employers scams with the mobsters, and selling out the rank and file.

Because of the depression, the 1930's were a decade of struggle by working people in this country.

Today it's happening again. . . . In books and interviews written shortly before his disappearance, Hoffa wrote:

" . . . I see one last big round of fights coming between labor and management. I've said consistently

that no employer ever really accepts a union. They tolerate the unions.

"The very minute they can get a pool of unemployment they'll challenge the unions and try to get back what they call management's prerogatives, meaning hire, fire, pay what you want. I've been saying that ever since I came out of prison.

"I'm convinced this war is going to take place. . . . In the old days they bombed our homes, shot us, used tear gas on us, and beat the hell out of us.

"It can happen the first time there's a depression and there would be a knock-down, bloody battle again. And when it's over the union will be a bigger part of this government than ever before."

Socialists will again be the lead of this struggle. Many rank and file Teamsters are joining the International Socialists because they want not only to win that grievance and get rid of that corrupt official.

They also want that society of freedom and equality and justice for themselves and their children.

That's the secret that the union officials wanted kept quiet. Now we've let the cat out of the bag. Socialism is nothing new in the union. It was socialists who built it and gave it its greatest impetus.

And now that you know the truth, maybe you should look into this socialism thing a little deeper.

WE MAKE THE CONNECTIONS

Frank Fitzsimmons stuttered and stammered. He got red in the face. He got all hot and bothered.

"Workers' Power!" he shouted as he worked himself up into a fit.

It was last year at the Teamster convention in Las Vegas, and Fitzsimmons was shouting and cussing about the paper you're reading, Workers' Power.

Why did Fitz take the time of the Teamster convention delegates to rant and rave against this paper?

Because Workers' Power has made the connection, the connection that Fitzsimmons, and the mobsters and employers he runs with, want kept quiet.

A lot of papers have talked about the syndicate connections in the Teamsters and the theft from the Pension Fund of nearly \$700 million.

Many papers have written about Fitzsimmons' connection

with corrupt local officials like Roy Williams, Tony Provenzano, and the others.

And a few other papers have even covered rank and file groups like PROD and Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

But Workers' Power makes the connection that Fitzsimmons wants to keep quiet. The connection other papers find too hot to handle.

And that's the connection between the rotten job Teamster officials, by and large, are doing—and the system of big business itself.

If you work for Schneider, you know that Al and Danny Schneider own Green Bay lock stock and barrel.

Schneiders sit on every commission and every board. They control the banks and they run the universities.

If you're a car hauler, you know that the big three—GM, Ford, and Chrysler—own Detroit, Flint, Lordstown, Cincinatti, and Norwood. And the carhauling companies work hand in glove with them.

If you work for Roadway or McCleans, for Consolidated Freightways or UPS, you know that these big companies and their trucking associations have got the ICC and the DOT all sewed up. You know that they buy the national congressmen and they own the state representatives.

You know that Big Business runs this country—and Frank Fitzsimmons doesn't want you to find out how much he helps Big Business along.

Workers' Power makes that connection, and a lot of other connections too.

Like why the "experts" and politicians can't get the economy going again. Why our jobs are disappearing.

We'll tell you what's really going on in Washington, and

what's going down in the streets too.

There's only one way to straighten things out once and for all—and that's to do away with the Big Business system itself.

Workers' Power is the paper that stands for an end to that system. We stand for what our

name says. For the power of working people to control their unions, their jobs, and their government. We stand for socialism.

That's why Fitzsimmons fumes and fusses when he reads our paper. That's why you should subscribe today.



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Neil Dalton is Fitzsimmons' man up in Pontiac, Michigan. Bob Coy and Bobby Holmes are two of Frank's men in Detroit.

They don't like Workers' Power newspaper. But they read it. They even subscribe.

UPS, the biggest trucking company in the country, doesn't like Workers' Power any better than Fitzsimmons. They hate it. But they buy it. Used to be they sent a supervisor, Julian Brayboy, over to our office every week to get the latest issue hot off the press.

How come Teamster officials and company supervisors read this little paper? Because they feel they've got to know the enemy. And their most bitter enemy workers' power—and the newspaper that calls itself by that name.

Once working people get themselves together and start fighting for power—power in their union, power to control their employer, power to control their government—once that happens, guys like Dalton and Coy and Holmes and men like Fitzsimmons, Provenzano and Williams are going to be out of work.

... You Should Too!

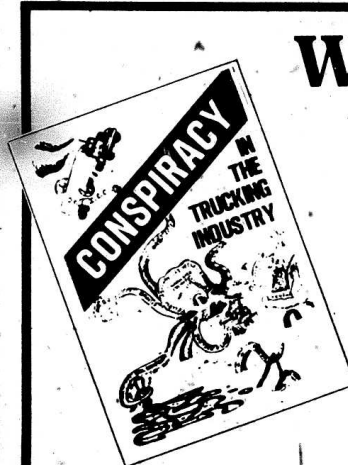
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Carter Plays 'Hide 'n Seek' On Affirmative Action

by Marilyn Danton

Last week the Justice Department filed a "friend of the court" brief in the controversial Bakke case.

Allen Bakke is charging in a Supreme Court suit that he, a white man, was discriminated against because the medical school he wants to enter

has a special admissions program for minority students.

The Justice Department, supported by the Carter Administration, spends 74 pages ducking the real issue—do quotas and hard goals aimed at increasing the numbers of Blacks and women in professional jobs add up to "reverse discrimination" against white men?

The Carter Administration decided to avoid those issues purely on political grounds. Carter cannot afford to anger Black and civil rights leaders any further right now.

HEAT IS ON

Black unemployment is at an all time high. Carter campaigned as a friend of Black people who would do something about it.

He has already taken a lot of heat from Black leaders because he doesn't want to spend federal dollars on a jobs program.

Now would not be the time to come out against one of the most important victories of the Black and women's movements, even though Carter is against quotas, pure and simple.

But make no mistake. Without quotas, affirmative action proposals don't change a thing.

They are just lip service to the millions of Americans who've suffered racist and sexist discrimination for centuries.

And so, in the case that has been called the most important civil rights case in twenty years, the Justice Department argues that it should be decided on a very narrow issue: is it legal to use race as one element when considering an applicant's qualifications?

As if medical and law schools hadn't been considering race for decades!

The Justice Department says yes, affirmative action is good and race is a legitimate factor to consider. But, while it believes quotas are unconstitutional, they are not the issue here.

A LITTLE BETTER

This position is better than the original Carter draft which emphasized his anti-quota position.

The first position said that setting aside a specific number of places in each class for Blacks and Latinos is unconstitutional because whites were excluded from competing for those places—"exclusionary quotas."

Black and civil rights leaders understood clearly that those arguments would establish the necessary precedents to dismantle all serious affirmative action programs. And they were right.

In that week a number of administration officials as well as leaders of the NAACP, National Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus argued that the brief must drop its opposition to quotas.

The new brief does this, but all of



Coalitions organized around overturning the Bakke decision are building for two days of national protest as the date nears for the Supreme Court to begin hearings on this case.

The National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision has designated Saturday, October 8 as a day of national protest. There will be demonstrations against the Bakke decision in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles and the Bay Area on that day. The Michigan Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision is organizing a rally and demonstration on Monday, October 3 in Detroit.

the 74 pages of discussion and argument in favor of the idea of affirmative action cannot hide one fact.

Racism is still a crippling obstacle for minorities and the Administration is against any serious program of affirmative action that

would compensate for that racism.

Without quotas and clear goals, there is no way to measure whether the affirmative action program is really having any real impact on reversing centuries of racist and sexist practice.

PROGRESS?

A clear issue in this controversy is that most whites believe that Blacks are getting a much better deal today than they actually are.

If there is all this "reverse discrimination" going on why are Blacks and other minority people still such a tiny percentage of the professionals?

The total increase in Black law students, for instance, is less than 1.5% since 1969. "Reverse discrimination" is nothing more than a racist myth.

Another example is unemployment. For Black people it is more than double the rate for whites. And the notion that "Blacks just don't want to work" is just nonsense.

There simply aren't any jobs available in the cities. And Black people can't just pick up and move to the suburbs.

There aren't enough jobs for white workers either. And society's racism makes Blacks the convenient target.

The real problem is that this society is not going to provide enough jobs for everyone—not that Black people today are getting a few more of the better paying jobs than they used to.

Attorney General Griffin Bell stated that the final brief was not a major shift from the earlier version: "It's a matter of emphasis."

He also stated: "There is a line between goals and quotas and when you cross the line we would oppose quotas."

So unless the Carter Administration is convinced to change its mind by massive pressure including taking to the streets again, it will simply wait.

When a more opportune time comes it will make its real position against serious affirmative action programs the racist law of the land. □

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

San Francisco Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has established two committees to support the Black liberation struggles in southern Africa. The move follows a resolution at the April ILWU convention that "the ILWU contigues to support the efforts of the black majorities of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to win self-determination." The Local 6 committees "will be working with community organizations and other ILWU South African Support Committees to inform and educate our members and other Unions of the struggle that is going on in South Africa."



The Teamsters Union's executive board has decided to hold a disciplinary hearing on charges filed against President Frank Fitzsimmons by PROD, a group of dissident Teamsters. The charges focus on high salaries, association with gangsters, and refusal to authorize some strike benefits. They demand Fitz's removal from office. According to Teamsters Secretary-Treasurer Ray Schoessling, the surprise move was taken over Fitzsimmons' objections. It stirred speculation that the union was trying to delay a PROD lawsuit or that some of the union's leadership now considers Fitz to be a liability.

NBC has dropped its plans for a two-hour movie about the 1972 Buffalo Creek disaster which killed 125 people. Some 40 residents of the West Virginia community were slated to take part in the mid-September taping of the program. NBC suddenly scrapped its plans after complaints from the Pittston Coal Co., owner of the dam which collapsed causing the disaster. Pittston is one of the largest coal companies in the country.

A fireman in Highland Park, Michigan found a unique way of protesting job conditions which, he said, left him "fed up." Gerald Hughes simply stole a fire truck. After taking his wife and daughter for a ride, he left the truck in downtown Detroit, with lights flashing and siren blaring. Latest word had it that Hughes had been suspended from his job while officials try to figure out what to do with him.

Lee Roy Patterson, who lost the June election for president of the United Mine Workers, suffered another setback Sept. 13 when his hand-picked successor for the International Executive Board representative from Kentucky's District 23 was defeated. Also defeated was incumbent Dist. 23 president Bobby Nofsinger, another Patterson supporter. The two offices were won by supporters of UMW President Arnold Miller.

Since May 1, 1500 members of United Steel Workers Local 13889 in St. Charles, Missouri have been engaged in a bitter strike against Hussmann Refrigeration, a subsidiary of the Pet Milk people. The company is "offering" widespread job combinations which would mean nearly 500 layoffs, and the elimination of the union grievance committee. Since June 6, over 800 scabs have entered the plant daily, protected by police and a company-instigated court injunction. On August 1, 99 union members were arrested simply for standing near the plant gates. The Hussmann strikers say: "Big companies are constantly pushing to force our living standards and working conditions down. And now, they are carrying out a plan to undermine and destroy our unions. If we are to get our jobs back and exist as union members, we desperately need your help. In return, you can always know that Local #13889 will regard your fights as our own." The strikers are asking for a boycott of all Pet products.

If you think your taxes are too high, you might take this tip from Industry Week, a management-oriented magazine. They say you can reduce your tax bill simply by loaning your money, thus making some of your income tax-exempt. Any readers who want to reduce their tax bill may send loans of any size to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.



Allan Bakke is a 37-year-old white male who was denied admission to the University of California Medical School in 1972. Upon learning that 16 out of 100 admission openings were reserved for economically "disadvantaged" students, he took the University to court citing the 16 special admission openings as proof of "reverse discrimination."

In 1976 the California Supreme Court ruled that the Medical School's affirmative action program was unconstitutional because different standards of qualifications were used for the special admissions and that Bakke should be admitted.

The University appealed its case, and it is scheduled to be heard before the Supreme Court beginning October 12.

This case is widely understood to be potentially the most important civil rights case to come before the court since 1954 when legal segregation was found to be unconstitutional. It could wipe out all affirmative action programs in education, hiring and promotion on the basis that they represent "reverse discrimination" against white men.

Socialism—What Do We Mean?

You probably agree with lots of the ideas in **Workers' Power**. Many people read **Workers' Power** because it's the only paper that's on their side, because it prints news the dailies won't carry.

Workers' Power is the best way to find out what's going on in the rank and file movements in the unions, with the Black movement and women's rights.

What is socialism?

Socialism is a system where working people own and control all the wealth of a society. They control the government and decide, democratically, what will be produced, how, and for what purpose.

In a socialist society, decisions depend on human needs and desires, not on the need for profits. For example, if people need housing, and the physical resources exist to do it, then housing is built. The decision doesn't depend on whether a bank, land speculator, or contractor can make money on it.

Russia is supposed to be socialist. Are you saying that's the way things are run there?

The Russian system is not socialist in any way. The workers have no control over the country.

It's not a capitalist system either, because the factories, natural resources, and so on, are not privately owned. They are owned by the government. But that doesn't make it socialist. When the government owns everything, you have to ask who "owns" the government.

The only way that workers can "own" the government is democratically. It's pretty obvious that's not the case in Russia (or in China, Cuba, or any other country that claims to be socialist today). All the decisions are made by a small elite—the Communist Party—which rules society in its own interest. They amount to a ruling class, just as the capitalists are the ruling class in the United States.

Do you mean that these countries are "communist," not socialist?

Originally, the terms often meant the same thing. Today, "communism" is so strongly associated with the Russian or Chinese system that it's pointless to use the word in some other way. In fact, these countries are not "communist" in any real sense.

"Socialism" is also often misunderstood in this country to refer to some "milder" form of govern-

But what about this "Revolutionary Socialism"? Why does Workers' Power try to convince you about socialism too?

We've printed a pamphlet called **Freedom: Questions and Answers About Socialism** to answer these questions. Excerpts from the pamphlet are printed below.



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money, arms, advisors, and the CIA which help keep many of these foreign capitalist governments in power in the first place. It's hard to imagine how long those governments could hold off their own workers if the United States had a workers' government.

In fact, it's very likely that workers will come to power in other countries before they do in America. In southern Africa, in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, in Britain, the capitalist system is falling apart. The whole world is on the brink of a new period of workers' revolutions. Then it will be up to the American workers' movement to prevent the U.S. government from destroying those revolutions....

You said that socialism was democratic. But in a socialist system, people would be able to vote to take away my private property. That may be democracy according to you, but I worked hard to afford a house, and my car, and I don't believe anyone has the right to take them away.

Socialism would abolish the private ownership of social property, not of individual possessions. Textile mills and garment factories would be owned by society—that's not the same as taking the shirt off your back.

There's a big step between owning the house you live in and being a slumlord, who lives off other people. There's nothing in common between owning a car to go to work, or on vacation—and owning General Motors. And there's a big difference between owning your own truck—and owning a fleet of them, hiring drivers and warehousemen to do the work, while you pay them a wage and collect the profits they produce....

The pamphlet continues.... What about human nature—are'n't people too selfish? What does socialism have to offer to Black people? How are we going to get there, what will it be like?

We think socialism is practical and necessary. We think it is the only way people can be free. □

ment, with a lot of social welfare programs, like Sweden or England. Those countries are capitalist, plain and simple. The working class in no way runs these societies.

Sometimes, because of these associations, we use the term "workers' power" to mean socialism, or we call it "revolutionary socialism." But when we use the word "socialist" here, we mean the kind of society we described before.

Well, Russia may not be socialist or communist, but isn't that what they tried to get? And look where they ended up.

The working class of Russia did take over the country in 1917. And for several years, there was a form of workers' power there. But they were faced with incredible hardships. They had to fight a civil war against the old rulers, who were aided by the invasion of 14 countries—including the United States—and they were blockaded economically. Even food could not get through.

Russia was very poor to begin with (and all this took place immediately after the devastation of World War I) and famines and epidemics swept the country.

Most of all, the Russian workers were cut off from the help of the working classes of the industrial-

ized countries—Germany, Britain, the United States. The revolution in Germany was defeated, and the Russian Revolution was left alone.

In those circumstances, they could not possibly build socialism, and it became almost impossible for them to even stay in power. Many of the best worker leaders were killed in the fighting. Much of the working class left the cities to seek some meager food in the countryside.

The Russian workers were unable to keep their hold on the government. A new ruling class—led by Stalin—developed, took over all the workers' organizations, and wiped out the old revolutionaries who remained.

There was isolation and scarcity—and dividing up poverty isn't socialism.

What makes you think the same thing wouldn't happen here?

The situation is completely different. The United States, and the world as a whole, is far richer today. The working class is the vast majority in this country (in Russia, the majority were still peasants living off the land). Foreign intervention against the American working class wouldn't be likely. It's just the opposite: it's American

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, Latin American Indians. We are for the independent organization of oppressed peoples to fight for their freedom. Support from the entire working class movement will make the struggles of both—the oppressed and the working class movement—stronger.

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

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

• **INTERNATIONALISM**
The struggle for socialism is world-wide. We support every fight of the working class against exploitation, and every struggle by nations fighting for independence from foreign rulers. We support every struggle for freedom from the people of southern Africa against racism and western colonialism, to the struggle against bureaucratic rule and Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe. We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule.

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

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

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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Workers' Power
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These Smiling Men Want Teamsters To

KEEP QUIET!

From Washington, D.C. to Vancouver, Canada, the International Executive Board of the Teamsters' Union is on the march.

Not against the employers, to be sure. But against the dissidents and reformers who want to change the union.

The articles on this page show the repressive tactics of Ed Lawson, International Vice President and Canadian Director, and the circus of intimidation launched by Bobby Holmes, another Vice President based in Detroit.

Most recently, the world's most highly paid union official, Jackie Presser, head of Ohio Joint Council 41, joined the march against the members.

Presser bragged to the Cleveland Press that he would turn out 1000 Teamster officials and members to picket the convention of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union. Presser's "picket-line" is clearly

meant to intimidate and possibly disrupt the TDU convention being held in Cleveland on September 24 and 25.

UPS MEETING

At about the same time, Louis Peick of Local 705 in Chicago, decided to call an emergency meeting of all United Parcel Service workers.

They called this meeting for the same day as the TDU convention. Of course, they knew that a number of UPS workers were planning to go to the TDU convention.

In case anyone missed the point,



These happy Teamster International vice-presidents have tried to crush rank and file opposition in recent weeks. From left: Ed Lawson, Jackie Presser, Bobby Holmes, and Louis Peick.

705 Business Agents ran around telling people that this was the time to kick the "socialists" out of the union.

In Chicago and elsewhere, Teamster officials have labelled all TDU members as socialists in the hope of scaring people away from TDU.

It seems clear that these incidents are organized and conducted by the International Union from the

highest level.

Ed Lawson, Bobby Holmes, Jackie Presser, Louis Peick, and the others involved in this campaign of intimidation and repression are all top powers in the International.

This appears to be an escalation of repression in the Teamsters Union.

So far, it has had little effect on

the determination of the dissidents in TDU to continue their fight.

In the long run, the International's campaign will call more rank and file Teamsters to action as the union's officials give more comfort to the employers.

To the TDU slogan of "Dump Fitz" we would add, "And take Lawson, Holmes, Presser, Peick, and the rest with you."

Local 337: Holmes Getting Worried

by Jerry Mitchell

Detroiters experienced a deluge of wind and water on Sunday, September 18, but not all of it was due to natural causes.

This was especially so in the wind department, as top Detroit-area Teamster officials paraded with whistles in support of one of their own.

It all came about when Bob Janadia, a rank and file TDU activist (Teamsters for a Democratic Union), gained strong support among the dues-paying members for his nomination as President of Local 337.

The TDU slate represents a true rank and file opposition to the incumbent Robert Holmes.

Holmes was recently forced to resign as a Trustee of the much-plundered Central States Pension

Fund. His accumulated salary from other union positions he holds adds up to a whopping \$147,000 plus expenses.

He is the same "Bobby" who was chosen to serve on the New Detroit Committee ten years ago following the riot in the city.

ANSWER

With all that big money clout, his answer to the rank and file challenge for power on the local level was to steal a page from the TDU book (TDU calls for Teamsters to act collectively, in spite of Local and craft divisions).

He recruited officials from every Teamster local in the Detroit area to carry signs touting the virtues of returning him to office as President of Local 337.

They came to the nominating



Bob Janadia, candidate for president of Local 337, Detroit.

meeting with the added feature of whistles stuck in their mouths. No kidding! They were blowing whistles!

Outside the meeting, the din was deafening. The confusion bordered on bedlam, but the rank and file was not discouraged by this display of Madison Avenue idiocy.

Doggedly they pushed their way through the soggy, whistle-blowing Holmes rooters and into the Trumbull Avenue meeting hall to take care of the business at hand.

THREE-RING CIRCUS

Having escaped the carnival atmosphere on the sidewalk should have ended the matter, wouldn't you think? Alas, such was not the case. Once inside the hall the members were greeted with a veritable circus!

No cast of thousands to be sure, but certainly dotted with such dubious luminaries as Bob ("What do the members want?") Lins and his Business Agent sidekick Wilson Holsinger, the former being the appointed president of Local 299.

Presiding over this wild, wet and windy show of the rank and file was none other than the illustrious son of the missing James Riddle Hoffa, Jimmy Hoffa Jr.

As Ring Master, Hoffa Jr. displayed his ability to lead by conducting a hooting, foot-stomping chorus of the water-logged Holmes supporters, all to the accompaniment of a hired rock band (supposedly paid for out of the pockets of the supporters and not from the members' dues).

Bad music, bad manners, and bad breath notwithstanding, the gritty rank and file membership were able to nominate the following slate:

President—Bob Janadia; vice-president—Ray Wanez; secretary-treasurer—Bud Hillard; and recording secretary—Joe Urman.

The incumbents' slate was: "Bobby" Holmes, Larry Brennan, Robert F. Holmes (son of above), and Robert Hanna.

ESCAPE

The Holmes wind machine cannot escape the following facts, and neither can the rank and file. Bobby's track record includes:

- The Kroger contracts that add up to about a \$100-a-week pay cut.

- His Presidency of the Joint Council 43 Executive Board, which upheld the firings of 52 Michigan and Ohio carhauleders who fought

against the "reflected" ratification of a contract that was twice voted down by the membership

- The attempt to expel Pete Camarata and Alfred Ferdnance from the union for allegedly instigating and prolonging the wildcat strikes that ensued over the same contract and voting irregularities.

This is just in the union sector of Bobby's responsibilities. In the public sector, Holmes sits as a "labor leader" on the New Detroit Committee, which has brought millions into the city of Detroit in the Renaissance Center and apartment buildings.

One need only look at the astronomical high rate of unemployment, particularly among the non-white city dwellers, to see Bobby's contribution.

Unless the Teamsters of today take a stand now, unless you know for certain your children will not have to work for a living tomorrow, the TDU is the organization to put the "You" back in the Union!

A united rank and file cannot be whistled away by Bobby Holmes or anyone else.

Vancouver Teamster Purged

THE PURGE of Jack Vlahovic, Secretary-Treasurer of IBT Local 213 in Vancouver, British Columbia, by the Teamsters International has provoked walkouts and heated union meetings by angry Vlahovic supporters.

Vlahovic was barred from office and from union membership.

Vlahovic, now a member of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, was elected last spring on a reform slate that included two others, Norm Wilkinson and Jim Blomfield.

Wilkinson told Workers' Power that Vlahovic was found guilty of various trumped up charges by the Joint Council 36 Trial Panel.

The charges included violation of loyalty to the International Teamsters union and spending money without the authorization of the local's Executive Board.

Vlahovic's penalty is expulsion for life from the union, a specific bar against holding office in any local, and what amounts to a fine of around \$11,000.

This outrageous penalty led to the walkouts. "Several hundred members called this impromptu

thing to rally around Jack," is the way Wilkinson put it.

LAWSON

For nearly a year Vlahovic and his fellow dissidents have been locking horns with Ed Lawson, President of the Vancouver Joint Council.

"We've been battling Senator Lawson since nominations in November," Wilkinson says. "And he's a very powerful man."

"We haven't gotten too far in any help or assistance from the International Union."

Wilkinson estimates Lawson's salary in excess of \$150,000 a year, and ticked off the following positions that Lawson holds:

Trustee of Local 213's Executive Board, president of Joint Council 36, recently appointed director of the Canadian Conference, and vice-president of the International Union.

In addition, Lawson is a senator in the Canadian federal government and the director of the major professional hockey team in town.

"That's as many as we know about," Wilkinson says. "God

knows what else he does."

The membership is plenty angry at Lawson's attempt to purge their new officer. And they are showing it with muscle, as Wilkinson described.

From the "amount of members down at the Local hall and picket lines, well there's quite a big reaction."

SHUT DOWN

"A few of the companies have shut down in sympathy [against] the decision of the Joint Council Trial Panel. It's a one day protest, not a continuing action."

And members are protecting Vlahovic at the Local Hall during the day to make sure Lawson's thugs don't try to physically throw him out.

Vlahovic is appealing the panel's decision inside the union, but Wilkinson says that eventually they'll probably have to file a civil suit.

"I hardly think Fitzsimmons and the International Executive Board is going to grant Jack a stay of execution," he said.



WHO KILLED MELLAINÉ TURNER?

by Jerry Mitchell

"To me, she was the most beautiful little girl in the world. She was very gentle and kind. She loved people."

That was how Helen Turner perceived her daughter Mellaine. As a whole and beautiful human being. But in the "Divided" States of America, human values are intolerable.

Mellaine Turner, seven years old, was stricken with a fatal sickle cell crisis at Stevenson Elementary School in Chicago.

That morning, she walked into her school through a chanting mob

of white racists—because she was Black.

The trauma of that experience probably triggered the sickle cell attack that killed her.

The life and flesh of this black child had to be parceled out. Divided and re-divided right out of existence.

To the school officials of Chicago, Mellaine's Black skin evoked "concern."

She was one of 84 Black children bused to predominantly white Stevenson School in Bogan, because classes in her own neighborhood were overcrowded.

To the racist in Bogan, she was a threat to property values, educational standards, and "white male freedom." All wrapped up in the American flag.

To the police of Chicago, she was a headache. One that might very well deteriorate into a serious attack of the "blue flu."

INACTION

For Chicago Mayor Michael A. Bilandic, Mellaine's journey to Bogan was cause to vacillate in his responsibility to represent all the citizens of the city.

To avoid "open" support of the law of the land. Especially when that law called for integration of Chicago schools.

To the physicians who watched her die, just hours after running the gauntlet of a police cordon (a necessary appendage of quality education in America) to enter Stevenson School, she was the classic example that hate can kill!

Mellaine could live with the sickle cell that inhabited her body. But not the taunts of the mob that fell like stones, crushing the life out of her.

She spent her last breath repeating them. "Go back!... Go back where you belong!"

To the 150 mourners who attended her funeral, she was a searing flash of heat. A momentary fusion point, but only in her dying.

This tragic loss of a young Black girl's life is seen by us, the International Socialists, as another example of the "Neutron Bomb" mentality of our society.

To us Mellaine and her parents and others like them, who have the courage to stand up to the racist, are comrades in arms.

Any fight against the division of the working class is our fight. □

Workers' Power

Coal Operators Agree - No More Health Cuts

by Jim Woodward

TWO "BIG LIES" bit the dust in West Virginia last week.

First, the notion that strikes don't achieve anything.

This story was being peddled by coal operators, government officials, newspapers, and many union leaders during this summer's wildcat walkouts.

Those strikes, protesting cuts in the United Mine Workers (UMW) health benefits, lasted two and a half months. At the peak, 85,000 miners—half of all union coal miners in the country—were involved.

In early September, the wildcats ended, at least temporarily, with no resolution of the issue.

But then the coal operators did something they claimed in June was impossible.

Another round of health and pension cuts seemed inevitable. In order to avoid that, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) agreed to reallocate money between the four benefit and pension trust funds.

In June, the BCOA said such a reallocation would be "subsidizing and condoning wildcat strikes."

In September, a BCOA spokesman was singing a different tune when Workers' Power asked why the operators had agreed to reallocation: "Because we didn't want to have any further cuts... This thing was going to hit very hard at the pensioners."

The operators' sudden concern for the pensioners does seem to have included a healthy dose of self-interest. They weren't anxious to provoke another strike.

CAUSE OF THE CUTS

The second "big lie" which crumbled last week was the notion that the miners' wildcat strikes were the cause of the health cuts in the first place.

The UMW Health and Retirement Funds are financed by the coal operators, based on the number of hours worked and tons of coal mined.

When the health funds ran dry in June, the operators claimed it was because wildcat strikes had cut coal

production, thereby reducing the funds' income.

Nonsense, says a report published last week.

"The walkouts are not the cause of the crisis but a result... The general public view that this crisis is a product of the wildcat walkouts, and essentially a case of the miners hurting no one but themselves, is wrong."

The independent study was done by the West Virginia Health Systems Agency (WVHSA), which is charged with health planning in that state. It cites a number of causes for the financial crisis in the UMW Health Funds, including:

- Overestimation by the union and coal operators of coal production.
- Underestimation of the number of potential beneficiaries.
- The rising cost of health care, which was neither foreseen nor dealt with adequately.

DAMAGE

Although the coal operators' big lie has crumbled, its damage has not.

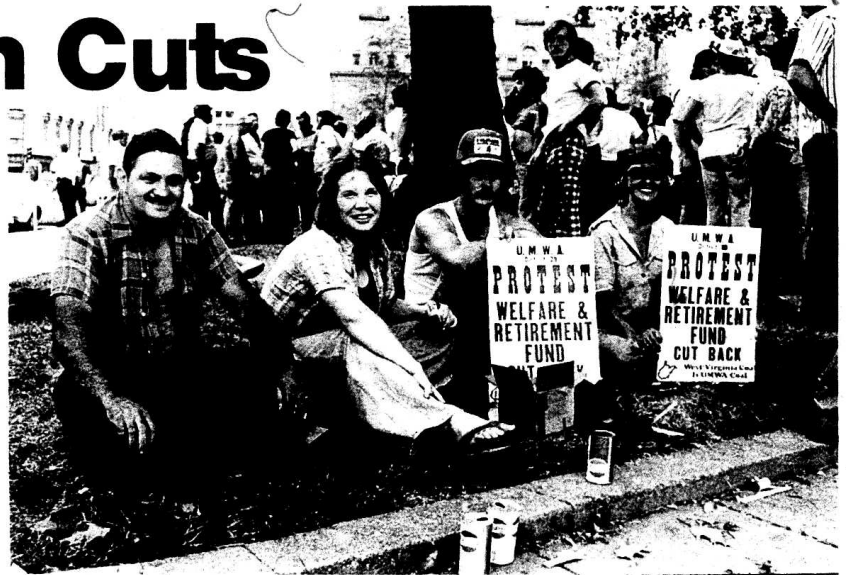
All through the Appalachian coal fields, hospital beds and health clinic offices stand empty because the miners can no longer afford to use them.

It now costs a miner—whether active or retired—\$250 cash just to get into a hospital. For many retirees, that's a month's pension check right there... and few have that much in the bank.

In December, the national contract will expire. Full restoration of all health benefits will be the number one union demand. But even assuming that demand is won, it will take years to undo the damage.

When the coal operators decided to use health care as a weapon against the miners, they seriously damaged a medical care system that has been slowly built up over many years.

The ten Appalachian Regional Hospitals—built by the United Mine Workers in the 1950's—and some 50 non-profit health clinics are in serious financial trouble because of the health cuts. Many of them may close.



These miners were part of a group that travelled to Washington in August to protest health care cuts.

In Man, W. Va., where all 11 local doctors are on the clinic staff, officials expect only one to remain if the clinic closes.

It is never easy to get doctors to locate in most of the remote mining communities. Many clinics have already had to dismiss doctors they

had recently recruited.

After mentioning several instances of clinics trying to cut staff or cut salaries, the WVHSA report concludes: "This, coupled with the publicity concerning the crisis and the troubles of the hospitals is certainly going to be considered by

anyone contemplating locating in West Virginia for a very long time."

The report suggested that, as a result, the state's health care system may face "a severe and crippling setback that will inhibit development for years to come." □

"MINERS FOR RECALL" NEW RANK AND FILE GROUP?

The health care cutbacks may have laid the basis for changes, so that this sort of disaster will not happen again.

The union leadership, under newly re-elected President Arnold Miller, refused to support the miners in their fight against the health cuts.

In the last month, a serious movement to recall Miller has developed.

A group of West Virginia coal miners has formed "Miners for Recall," and is circulating petitions demanding Miller's ouster.

Said to be leading the movement are miners from Cabin Creek, W.

Va. Local 1766. They are currently trying to get recall petitions into a UMW district.

The group needs to collect signatures of 5% of the union's 277,000 active and retired miners.

If this goal is met, the UMW Secretary-Treasurer will send out petitions which must be signed by 30% of the membership within 30 days for the Executive Board to order a recall election.

Although the group says it has gotten a "fantastic" response, the recall is an extremely difficult proposition, and there is no assurance of success.

But the recall may not be the

most important thing about "Miners for Recall."

The members of the group have reportedly decided that it should become a permanent rank and file organization. They are planning a national meeting in the near future.

Such a group would be a real step forward for the miners' movement.

If it is successful, it will be able to focus the militancy of rank and file miners, and to hold union leaders accountable in a way that has not been possible.

That is key to defeating health cuts and coal operator arrogance once and for all. □