

# WORKERS' POWER

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS OCTOBER 11, 1976 #179 15c

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# FORD-UAW CONTRACT: VOTE NO!

**Because It Did Not Achieve Its Major Objectives**

**\*COLA for Retirees**

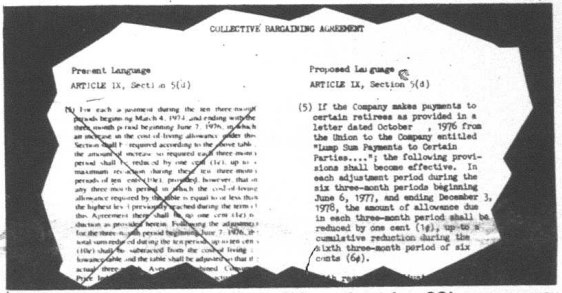
Retired UAW members—who fought to build the union—deserve a better break than living their last years in poverty. They deserve cost of living protection on their pensions. The proposed contract will give each retiree a maximum of \$600 in cost of living protection over three years. That's \$3.85 a week. They call that protection? We call it an insult! What's more it doesn't cost Ford a penny. Active workers pay for it through a reduction in their own cost of living allowance.

**\* Shorter Work Week**

The proposed contract gives a total of 13 days off over three years—hardly a short work week, and not enough to relieve the unemployment that's tearing apart Detroit and other auto-oriented cities.

This contract is so bad that the union did not even take everything Ford was prepared to offer. The Wall Street Journal reported on Thursday, "Some sources say that the amount [of the skilled trades pay increase] was less than Ford was willing to pay." They didn't take everything they could get for skilled workers, because they know that would encourage production workers to press for more! Who's side are they on?

**Details of Sellout—page 3**



A page from the tentative contract. This section takes COL money away from active workers, to pay retirees.

## Here's How They Plan To Ram It Through Anyway

- The National Ford Council met on Thursday. The Wall Street Journal reported that morning, "The UAW has purposely withheld public announcement of contract details until the Council sees them—a move that some sources say may help UAW leaders' efforts to win Council support for the tentative pact." Many Council members are local union officials, subject to membership pressure if details of the contract were known before they went to Detroit.
  - Public newspaper and TV reports are extremely meager and vague on the actual terms of the agreement.
  - Unlike in the past, the wording of the contract is being withheld from rank and file leaders until the last moment. The UAW's slick brochure, "Highlights of the 1976 Agreement," was printed up by Thursday morning—but rank and file workers were not allowed to see even that.
  - Clarification meetings scheduled to explain the contract will reach only a tiny minority of workers. For example, the meeting Saturday morning for the thousands of Ford Local 600 skilled tradesmen is booked in a hall seating only 250!
- The UAW leadership's abnormal secrecy and haste has one purpose—to push the contract through before any opposition has a chance to organize.

**How To Fight This Sellout—page 3**

## Ford Can Afford More — They Didn't Pay Taxes

Ford Motor Co. paid no income taxes last year. It was revealed by Ohio Congressman Vannick. If you're an auto worker, you paid income tax last year. Right? You'd better believe it.

Not only that. You paid more income tax than Delta and North West Air Lines, Chemical of New York Corporation, Manufacturers Hanover, Western Electric, Bethlehem Steel, Lockheed Air Craft, National Steel Corp., Phelps-Dodge and Freeport Minerals—all put together!

These companies, along with Ford, did not pay a penny in

income taxes on their profits last year.

Ford Motor Co., for example, did pay \$218.6 million income tax on profits earned in other countries. But in the United States, where Ford's net income after accounting changes was \$322.7 million, it paid no income tax at all.

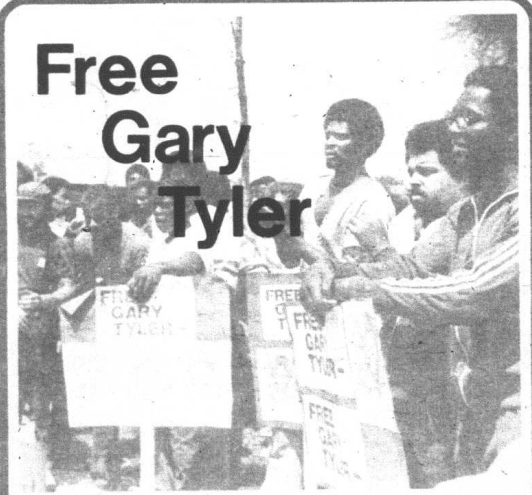
**LOOPHOLES**

Various clever tax loopholes make this possible. One law allows some corporations to deduct foreign taxes from taxes they should be paying here.

The income tax rate on corporate profits in this country is supposed to be 48%. The rate actually paid is an average of 30% and getting lower all the time.

For example, Mobil Oil pays an effective corporate income tax of 1.8%. Other major oil companies average out at 4.8%. Commercial banks pay an average of 5.9%, and so on.

So who pays higher taxes to make up for what the corporations don't pay? When you get your 1976 income tax form, figure out the answer for yourself.



## Free Gary Tyler

Mrs. Juanita Tyler, Gary Tyler's mother will be making a limited tour to the mid west October 28-November 4. The tour is part of building the movement to free Gary and to raise needed funds to continue his legal defense. There will be at least one large public meeting in each city she visits. (see next issue of Workers Power for time and place of the meetings).

The tour is being sponsored by the Committees to Free Gary Tyler and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Mrs. Tyler will be in Detroit October 28-30, and in Cleveland October 31-November 3, Chicago, November 12-17, and in

Boston, November 18-19. The meetings are part of building the movement to free Gary Tyler. He is to appear at a special Grand Jury Hearing in New Orleans on November 10. This hearing will decide whether Gary will be sentenced to life imprisonment, or to death.

Nationally coordinated demonstrations are planned throughout the country for November 6 to show our determination to see Gary freed. Contact the Committee to Free Gary Tyler (313-869-8656). Build for the meetings with Mrs. Tyler, and the demonstrations on November 6.

# labor notes

by Jim Woodward

In continuing effort to clean up its image, the **Teamsters Central States Pension Fund** is trying to force the resignation of two of its trustees: the powerful **William Presser**, and **Frank Ranney**. Both took the 5th Amendment when questioned about the Fund by Labor Department investigators in July. Ranney, however, is reluctant to go. He hasn't turned in his resignation letter, and he's told the Labor Department he's ready to answer their questions now.



But if you think the government's really eager to root out corruption in the Teamsters, consider this: the former **Attorney General of the United States, Richard Kleindienst**, looks like he's in it too. Kleindienst recently admitted he was paid \$125,000 to get a \$1.7 million per month Teamster life insurance contract placed with his client, Old Security Life Insurance Co. All Kleindienst did was call up his "old friend" Frank Fitzsimmons and ask for the business. Kleindienst says he was had a "very warm, friendly relationship" with Fitz since he was a government attorney. They Securities and Exchange Commission has accused Old Security and other companies of using the Teamsters' insurance money for illegal purposes.

**Ed Sadlowski's** campaign for president of the Steel Workers union has had some effect on his opponent already. **Lloyd McBride**, the present leadership's choice to succeed I.W. Abel, has announced he wants to make the concept of "innocent until proven guilty" a goal in next year's contract bargaining. So while McBride officially says Sadlowski is no threat, he's worried enough that he wants sound a little militant himself.

Remember **Jerry Ducote**? He's the former California deputy sheriff who admitted breaking into offices of the **United Farm Workers** and other groups for the FBI and other right wing organizations. He faced a possible 70-year prison term. But the judge felt the 97 days he'd already spent in jail should be taken into consideration. So the judge gave him the minimum sentence of one year...suspended.

**United Auto Workers Local 94** in Dubuque, Iowa says it's got some spies of its own to deal with. In recent weeks, management of **Jon Deere Co.** has been sending a foreman out to a worker's home whenever someone called in sick. If the employee was doing any work around the house, the foreman and a personnel manager handed out discipline.

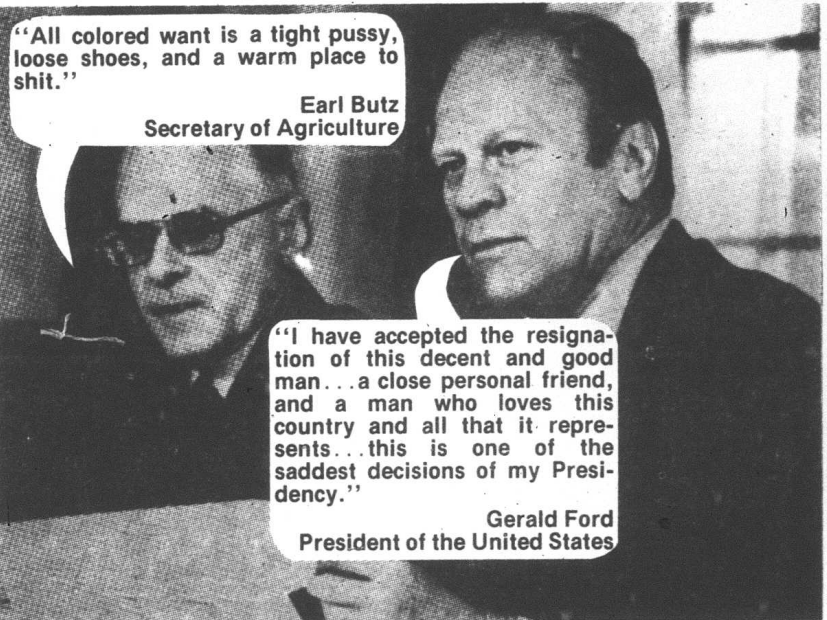
Eight thousand Chicago-area **National Tea** company workers learned last week that their jobs, seniority and pensions were in jeopardy. The company has sold 67 of its largest grocery stores to A&P, and is either going to sell to independents or close down its other 93 Chicago stores. This affects members of Teamsters Local 705 and 738, the Retail Clerks, and the Amalgamated Meatcutters. National Tea is owned by George Weston Ltd., which is the largest business in the world still controlled by one man—**Willard Garfield Weston**. The Weston family is worth over half a billion dollars. Does a system where one man has control over the lives of so many make any sense to anyone besides Willard Garfield Weston?

**St. Louis, Mo. County Supervisor Gene McNary** has a unique approach to cost-of-living for county workers. **AFSCME** was demanding a 7% COL raise. McNary turned down a proposed raise twice, but finally agreed to a 6.3% increase. The Supervisor, who no doubt does not have to worry so much about the cost of living, says the raise is a "merit" increase, earned by hard work: "I have always rejected the idea that our County Government could make immediate adjustments in employees' wages in response to each inflationary convulsion in the money markets."

Trade union leaders do not understand democracy when they see it, and oppose it when they understand it. After observing the debates at the recent **United Mine Workers** convention, some of which were lengthy, chaotic, impolite, and confusing to an outsider, an official of another major union is reported to have said in amazement, "It's like Portugal after it was released from dictatorship."

# Which Of These Two Men Is Joking? Neither...

"All colored want is a tight pussy, loose shoes, and a warm place to shit."  
Earl Butz  
Secretary of Agriculture



"I have accepted the resignation of this decent and good man... a close personal friend, and a man who loves this country and all that it represents... this is one of the saddest decisions of my Presidency."  
Gerald Ford  
President of the United States

So long, Mr. Earl Butz. We sure are glad to see you go.

It's been a long time since a top U.S. government official was actually caught in the open making gross racist slurs. But we guess you were bound to trip over your own mouth sooner or later.

It almost happened a couple of years ago, when you told some crude dialect joke about the Pope. That incident blew over in a week or so.

This time, though, you had to go run your mouth about five weeks before a close Presidential election. Right when it looked like Gerald Ford might be catching up, too. So this time, you're gone.

### BUTZ'S WATERGATE

In a way, Earl, you might say Watergate finally caught up with you, a few years late.

Once upon a time it wouldn't have been very hard to cover up

your racist insult. It was standard practice for the news media to quietly bury things that would embarrass an administration.

But Watergate gave people some idea of how people like Richard Nixon, the White House Plumbers, and cabinet officials like you actually run the country. Besides, there are lots of people who got caught then, and have scores to settle.

It was good old John Dean, Nixon's original fall guy in the Watergate cover-up, who revealed your racist joke. Well, Earl, John Dean brought down Nixon, too. So you're in good company.

### BACK ROOMS

We think there's one good thing about all this.

By telling your joke out in the open, you revealed the kind of thinking that's common in the back rooms and the corridors of power,

where the real decisions are made.

The political system in this country is racist to its core. It is constantly ripping off black people, making phony promises to get black votes that keep racist politicians in office.

Once in a while, it's inevitable that the real language of the political backrooms, the undisguised racism that lies underneath the political structure, comes out in the open.

You were just the one who happened to get caught.

Your boss, Mr. Ford, understands this. That's why he's praising you as a "fine, dedicated man" and getting ready to send you out campaigning for him.

Gerald Ford knows where his support is coming from. He still thinks you're a fine asset to his Presidential campaign.

At least as long as you watch your mouth and don't get caught in public again.

# Statement of Ownership

### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39 United States Code.)

- Title of Publication: **Workers' Power**
- Date of Filing: **September 30, 1976**
- Frequency of Issue: **Weekly except first two weeks of July and last two weeks of December.**
- Annual number of issues published: **48**
- Annual subscription price: **\$10.00**
- Location of known office of publication: **14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park Michigan, 48203.**
- Location of the Headquarters or general business office: **14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, Michigan, 48203.**
- Names and addresses of publishers, editor, and managing director: **Publisher: IS Publishing Co., 14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, MI 48203. Editor: Gay Semel, 14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, MI 48203. Managing Editor: Karen Kaye, 14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, MI 48203.**
- Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and

- addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) **IS Publishing Co., 14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, MI 48203.**
- Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: **None.**
- For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates: **None.**
- Extent and nature of circulation: **Average No. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total No. copies printed (Net Press Run): 5829. B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 3730. 2. Mail subscriptions: 876. C. Total Paid circulation: 4606. D. Free distribution by mail at special rates: 0. E. Other free copies: 15. F. Total free distribution: 15. G. Total distribution: 4621. H. Copies not distributed: 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1205. 2. Returns from agents: 0. G. Total: 5829.**
- Actual No. of copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: **A. Total No. copies printed (Net Press Run): 5,000. B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 2961. 2. Mail Subscriptions: 982. C. Total Paid**

circulation: 3943. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means—samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 20. E. Total distribution: 3963. F. Copies not distributed: 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 1037. 2. Returns from news agents: 0. G. Total: 5000.  
I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.  
Signed: **Gay Semel, Editor**

### Workers' Power 179

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# UAW Contract : how they sell it - and

# How to Fight Sellout

by Enid Eckstein, UAW Local 51, and Dave McCullough, UAW Local 869

The UAW tries to head off any organized opposition to approving the contract by co-opting and then distorting popular issues.

The Detroit newspapers, television and other media all come to the aid of the International in this task. UAW members are told only what the International wants them to know about the agreement.

As a tentative settlement was announced, Detroit papers began their job with headlines stating, "The Union Wins 2 Key Demands." UAW members are bombarded with news telling them the UAW won cost of living for retirees, a move towards shortening the work week and major wage increases.

This year the International will try to sweeten the sellout with additional benefits of company-paid hearing aids and partial vision care. At this point, UAW members will need glasses to read all the fine print in their agreement and hearing aids to hear all the deals made behind closed doors.

Woodcock turned the job-creating demand for a Short Work Week into Short Work Time, with no effect on the 5-day 40-hour

week. The retirees' demand for COLA on pensions was picked up and converted into a pathetic bribe,

using money taken from active workers.

Secrecy clouds the specifics of the agreement until the press and

UAW handouts have had a chance to present their version of the contract. Naturally, first impressions are important. The bad news

comes only later, if at all.

The UAW publishes a pamphlet called "Highlights" which picks out only the best features of the contract. When members ask questions about features left out, they have only the word of the bureaucrat making a presentation to go on, since there is nothing on paper.

These bureaucrats are usually International Reps, who don't have to stand election and can lie as they please.

Ratification meetings are deliberately designed to bore and wear out any curiosity by the members. A speaker from the podium goes on and on about minor as well as major changes, hoping to drive members away before any questions crop up.

When questions are allowed, there is no discussion, no differing points of view allowed on the floor. If floor mikes are provided at all, they may be turned off when an opposition speaker takes the floor.

Ratification meetings are scheduled as soon as possible to prevent workers from studying the actual contract language and organizing to reject it.

The final touch is stuffing the ballot box—handing out extra ballots to friends of the administration.



"Just sign right here—three full years to pay!"

## BREAKTHROUGH - FOR BOSSES

THE REAL STORY of this contract is not told in dimes added and days subtracted. The real story is about workers' attempts to defend themselves against the carefully planned attacks that employers have carried out on their piece of pie in the 1970's.

It begins with the Nixon wage freeze, and is now focussed in

'battles against union memberships one at a time.

**Does the UAW proposal strengthen labor or strengthen management?**

It is clearly a victory for the corporations, and a setback for the entire working class. So far in this contract bargaining round, the bosses are pleased that only the

Teamsters Union has made any major gains.

In the boss' press—Wall St. Journal, Business Week—fear of economic advances by the UAW has never been an issue!

**Business Week reports that: "UAW's demand for more days off at Ford throws a scare into business." Why? "Many execu-**

**tives in other industries fear effects on their own agreements."**

As the current issue of Business Week points out, "Since the five-day, 40 hour week became standard in the 1930's, shortening the hours of work has not been a serious issue between labor and management in the U.S."

Since 1948, the average work week in America has remained stable at 42 hours.

At the same time, productivity achieved during these hours by strict regimentation of the workers has shot up. The Federal Energy Administration predicts that industry's production level in 1990 will be 47% higher than in 1974, with an increase in employment of only 5%.

At Ford, the Rouge complex (Local 600), which used to employ 40,000 now supports only 25,000 with no loss in production.

### WORKING CONDITIONS

The other side of the coin to unemployment is the vicious, life-draining working conditions in the plants.

The 1976 Ford agreement does nothing whatsoever to strengthen the workers' ability to defend themselves from the boss. They will continue to be well-paid slaves for eight hours a day.

Much of this pay, however, will go to finance the overhead costs of modern crisis capitalism: in taxes without services, crime, deteriorating cities, and inflated prices.

The Detroit News pointed out, the day after the settlement, that this agreement is the first in UAW history that was not announced as an "historic breakthrough."

But in truth, it is an historic breakthrough—for the bosses, in their attempt to make us pay for the problems of running their profit system.

### HOW TO FIGHT A SELL-OUT

- Resolve to vote No unless you know for sure what the contract contains—and like it.

- Amend local by-laws to provide for a membership check-off at balloting, as in Local elections, to prevent ballot-box stuffing. Organize a team of observers to enforce it and monitor the counting.

- Demand clarification and discussion meetings on days before the ratification meeting where all points of view can be expressed.

- If the Local refuses to organize this, call one yourself. Get in touch with those groups which will have obtained copies of the contract so the meeting will have something to go on.

- Prepare or obtain leaflets laying out the real facts of the agreement to counter the distortions of the UAW official sales pamphlet.

- Prepare a floor fight at ratification meetings—insist on complete answers, refuse to be shut up, and try to prevent the time from being wasted by trivial questions.

- To do this, you have to announce in advance to the entire membership of your local, in a leaflet, that the only way to have a useful ratification meeting is to have some order, where major points are discussed.

- Prevail upon members to come, to be patient during floor discussion and impatient during boring speeches from the bureaucracy. Tell them to use self-discipline in leaving out small points and useless ranting, and to back up the right to speak from the floor of those who are prepared and have something useful to say to all the members.

- All this has to be backed up by organizing your own forces beforehand, to confront any attempted goon squad tactics with physical force of your own.

## Here's The Deal

The proposed UAW contract is so bad that some members of the UAW/Ford Bargaining Team—knowing the whole story—presented a minority anti-ratification report to the 175 member Ford Council meeting October 17.

The full contract terms aren't even out yet—apparently the UAW leadership was too embarrassed to reveal them!

### MONEY

- Little or nothing new. The 20c raise is 10c less than cost-of-living "shortfall" (money lost to inflation since 1973). For skilled trades, the added 15c premium in the first year, making 35c total, is at least 35c less than cost-of-living shortfall.

- But even the 20c is a phony. We paid 8c an hour from our cost-of-living under the old contract to pay for the dental plan. This time we pay 6c for retirees. That leaves 8c which does not begin to cover our losses.

- No inflation protection for retirees. The pension "bonus"—an unknown amount—is financed as an interest-free loan from the pockets of Ford workers to the Ford Motor

Company, by diverting 6c in future COL payments for a couple of years. At the highest level it amounts to about 60c a day. One worker said this amount would not take you very far—"about a bus ride and a half."

- The Annual Improvement Factor (productivity increase) continues at 3%, which is 4% less than current actual productivity of autoworkers. This is done by using figures for the economy as a whole rather than figures for the much more productive auto sector.
- The COL formula continues at a rate deliberately designed to keep autoworkers behind inflation.

### JOB SECURITY

- SUB is not guaranteed. Low seniority workers will be penalized to create a reserve for higher seniority workers laid off later. The SUB fund itself continues to be a limited, separate bank, with Company contributions falling off when it reaches a given level.
- No shorter work week. No creation of new jobs to relieve unemployment and bolster the seniority of those already hired. The days off in the contract

amount to about 4 days a year—hardly a "short work week."

Economists surveyed by the N.Y. Times in Spring, 1975, stated this would have no measurable impact on unemployment.

Furthermore, it appears that Management will dictate when the days off may be taken—making them little different than temporary layoffs.

Other top issues have not even been mentioned. These include:

- Union control of subcontracting
- Pay cuts for new hires
- Production standards
- Health and safety
- Increased union representation
- Improved anti-discrimination procedures

Except for the takeaway from COL to finance the pension bonus, and more tying of benefits to attendance, these are still hidden.

Ford workers must reject this offer. They've been out too long to go back for peanuts. GM and Chrysler workers should make sure they know the Ford agreement thoroughly before they vote on their own. □



This picture shows striking workers in Poznam, Poland in 1970. That year, Poland was rocked by a wave of mass strikes against government-imposed food price increases.

Poland is in a serious economic squeeze, because it is exploited and dominated by Russia. The Communist Party rulers in Poland have no way to solve this crisis except by lowering living standards for workers.

The bureaucratic rulers of Poland are desperate to avoid a repetition of 1970, when workers occupied factories, burnt Communist Party headquarters, and created strike committees in several industrial cities such as Gdansk and Szczecin.

As the following eyewitness account shows, however, Polish workers are fighting back again. This June, when the government again tried to remove food price subsidies and raise prices, a strike wave immediately broke out.

This is a first-hand account of what happened in the industrial town of Radom:

"The workers marched out on strike and peacefully gathered outside the local Communist Party headquarters. They demanded that the First Secretary come out and explain the price increases to them.

"Several of the officials shouted at the workers, 'Get back to work or you will be forced back to work.' After an hour the First Secretary did come out.

"He said that he would phone Warsaw to find out the reason for the price increases. The workers waited. But he did not come out again.

"After an hour or so, some of the workers decided to go in to look for him. There was no one there. He had disappeared through the back entrance.

"They did find something, however. They discovered rooms full of food and other goods for sale to Party officials. These are special Party shops. They were supposed to have been closed down years ago.

### BOSSSES LIVE IT UP

"While the workers lined up for miserable quantities of food, the Party bosses were living it up.

"The workers were enraged by this discovery and the desertion of the Party Secretary. They emptied the building of the food, the color televisions and so on. Then they set fire to it, and went to attack the police station.

"There police attacked the demonstrators—new, special police with helmets and shields. The inhabitants of some apartments threw furniture and boiling water on the police.

"The next day the price increases were cancelled. The arrests began.

"Police arrested people at random. You could be arrested just for walking through a different part of town carrying a bottle of wine. Anyone in the apartments from which things had been thrown at the police were arrested.

"Many people were held without their relatives being told where they were. And many workers were fired because they appeared in photographs taken of the strike and demonstrations." □

# Mass Strikes Shake Poland BUREAUCRATS UNDER SEIGE

This description of working class struggle in Poland will sound familiar to workers anywhere. But something is wrong. Poland is supposed to be a socialist country. But in reality it is no more socialist than capitalism.

If you were on the picket lines at UPS, or Fleetwood, or lots of other places, you know what it's like to have bosses and cops taking pictures to fire people later.

If you live in the black community, you know what it means to be arrested, or have relatives arrested, just for walking down the street.

And if you're almost anybody in this country, you know all about government officials ducking questions and lining their pockets on the side.

### SOCIALISM?

But the Communist Party, the government of Poland, claims to represent socialism. But it suppresses strikes, calls workers "hooligans" and uses special riot police to club them down.

"According to official ideology, we live in a socialist country. [But in reality] to whom does power belong in our state? To one monopolistic party — the Polish United Workers' Party [the official name of the Communist Party]... by exercising state power, the Party elite has at its disposal all the nationalized means of production; it decides on the extent of accumulation and consumption, on the direction of investment, on the share of various social groups in consumption... the decisions of the elite are independent, free of any control on the part of the working class and of the other classes and social strata. The workers have no way of influencing them, nor do the Party members in general."

—From "A Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto" by two Polish revolutionaries, Kuron and Modzelewski

Socialism is supposed to mean that society is run by workers, in their own interests, where workers decide what's produced and what it's used for.

The reality of Poland, and the rest of Eastern Europe, is totally different. Poland is no more socialist than capitalist countries like America.

The government in Poland is starting to crumble. Whenever workers make demands on it—that it act in their interests like it's supposed to—it puts an incredible strain on the system.

The government, the Communist Party, and the factory bosses in Poland are all one and the same thing.

When the government raises food prices, workers protest at every factory and Communist Party (C.P.) headquarters.

That's why workers burned down the CP headquarters in Radom. It's not the first time this has happened.

That's why the strike wave that broke out in June spread so rapidly. Polish workers don't have separate capitalist bosses. There is one small ruling class of bureaucrats who control the whole state-run economy. From the first

moment, the Polish workers' strike against food prices was a political strike against a common enemy: the bureaucratic state.

### CRACK DOWN

The bureaucrats cannot control this kind of explosion, except by repression. Here's what happened:

• Six strike leaders in Radom received savage sentences for "attacking the forces of order... taking an active part in workers' street demonstrations...destroying socialist property."

Zigmund Zabrowski got 10 years in prison, 10 additional years loss

lower salary.

• Students are being thrown out of medical school in Warsaw. One student was thrown out of Warsaw University for making critical remarks about the regime, in a private letter to his wife.

• There are unconfirmed reports of hundreds of high school students being expelled.

But this crack down did not solve the problem for the Polish government:

The government was forced to cancel all the price increases, even the modified ones it announced after the June food riots. Military advisors have warned that if



Edward Gierek, Prime Minister of Poland.

of civil rights. After prison he is to be placed for an undetermined period in what the government calls a "center for social re-adaptation"—meaning a forced labor camp or torture center.

Ryszard Gnidzen got 9 years in prison, 7 years loss of civil rights

"It is our duty to oppose the definition of workers' demonstrations against social injustice and authoritarian power methods as 'hooliganism.' It has to be clearly underlined that the responsibility for violating laws... lies with the administration, which by its behavior has undermined the essential forms of workers' democracy (and) transformed trade unions into dead and fictitious bodies subordinated to the power apparatus."

—From an appeal by 13 Polish intellectuals for worldwide support against the repression of the Polish workers.

and an indeterminate "social readaptation" sentence.

Tadeusz Mitaz, 8 years prison. Wojciech Mitak (18 years old), 6 years prison.

Stanislaw Gosha, 5 years prison. Henry Bednarczyk, 4 years prison.

• Seven workers in Ursus got 3-5 year terms. A thousand workers have been thrown out of the plants for three months, during which time cannot work. They will be allowed to return after three months only if they go back with a

massive popular rebellion breaks out, the rank and file soldiers in the army will not obey orders to put it down.

### OUT OF TOUCH

Before the food price increases were announced, the central government asked local Communist Party leaders if there would be strikes and riots over them.

Of the fifty Party secretaries who responded, 49 promised that there would be no trouble at all! That indicates how totally removed the Communist Party is from the lives of Polish workers.

The government cannot rely on the Communist Party machine to control workers at all. Instead, the bureaucrats are trying to use the Catholic Church to convince workers and peasants to accept things as they are.

The workers have made it clear they aren't going to eat less just so the government can solve its worsening economic crisis and trade deficits.

The explosions to come could well rock not only Poland, but all of Eastern Europe. □

"Production relations based on bureaucratic ownership have become chains, with every day this continues, the crisis deepens. Therefore, the solution of the economic crisis requires the overthrow of these production relations, and the elimination of the class rule of the bureaucracy."

—From "A Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto" by Kuron and Modzelewski



# Miners' Convention Leaves Major Issues Unresolved

## Union Election, Tough Contract Struggle Coming Up

The United Mine Workers (UMWA) convention, which began in Cincinnati two weeks ago, has ended after a series of long, stormy and confusing debates.

In the last sessions of the convention, it was clear that the majority of the 2000 delegates had spent the best part of their energy in the first debates of the convention, including the anti-communism that disrupted several sessions.

When the crucial collective bargaining issues finally came up the debates went on before tired delegates and many empty chairs.

Still, when the demands are put forward in next year's contract negotiations with the Bituminous Coal Operators of America, they will be militant and far-reaching demands—outdistancing those of any other union.

- They include:
- 1) A resolution calling for a thirty hour week for all inside miners;
  - 2) A twenty-six hour work week for surface miners;
  - 3) The right to strike on local grievances;
  - 4) An improved cost of living allowance;

5) The abolition of compulsory overtime, with triple time pay for Saturdays and Sundays and quintuple time (five times) pay for holidays;

6) They also want more money. These are very extensive demands. But they are the demands of workers in one of the nation's most dangerous industries, workers who face the constant threat of death and injury on the job.

And while the slaughter in the mines goes on, the coal companies, which are nearly all owned by the giant fuel monopolies, are making record profits, year after year.

### WILL INTERNATIONAL FIGHT?

The problem is simply this. Will the International union really fight to win these issues, and will the rank and file be strong enough to force them to fight?

The confusion in the convention's final sessions did not clarify either this, or even the precise meaning of several of the demands themselves.

The "right to strike" issue, for example, is one of the most



important issues ever to face the mine workers union. For two summers in succession, it has been the issue behind gigantic wildcat strikes, including the one in August that shut down nearly all deep mining in the nation.

Yet militants fear that the resolution adopted will in fact be used to eliminate "stranger" or roving pickets—the tactic which has given the rank and file miners their power.

There was no clear resolution on the issue of who will collect the dues—the districts or the International union. This dispute is part of the struggle which will now continue between the right wing on the International Executive Board (IEB) and the administration, led by Arnold Miller.

### INCONCLUSIVE

The convention as a whole ended on an inconclusive note. The Miller administration, which has been under heavy fire from both the right wing on the IEB and from the militant rank and file, made it through the convention intact, possibly even somewhat stronger than it had been.

This was in part because International Vice President Mike Tzobich failed in his attempt to



discredit the administration with red-baiting, charging that there were communists on the staff. It was also because LeRoy Patterson, the only serious candidate against Miller in the next year's election, played no role whatsoever, at least in the open sessions of the convention.

At the same time, the rank and file came out of the convention in

complete disarray, having shown itself prone to every diversion—most notably the anti-communist hysteria that dominated the first sessions.

This super-patriotic anti-communist attitude will have to be confronted and overcome—or sooner or later it will provide the basis for defeating the militant miners' movement.



## DEFEND JEFFERIES MOODY!

LOUISVILLE—On May 21 Jeffersons Moody Sr., 55, was heading home from American Standard, where he had worked for the last 25 years. He put on his right turn signal and was moving into the right lane, when some fool in a VW tried to pass him on the right.

Moody pulled back to keep from killing the white driver with his

truck. The man in the VW pulled up along side of Moody and yelled, "Black nigger get over!" Moody yelled back, "Man, you are wrong."

After yelling "Nigger what are you going to do about it?" the racist pulled in front of Moody's truck. He stopped his car, got out, and fired a shot—missing Moody by inches.

Moody snatched up his piece off the seat of his truck, and returned the fire, hitting the man in the arm. He was then pulled over by a black cop and put under arrest by two white cops who had a lot of fun beating the hell out of him. During the beating he found out the man he shot was more than a racist—he was a racist cop.

### DEATH THREAT

One of the cops stated, "Nigger, if that policeman dies I'm going to kill you."

Moody was charged with first degree assault, released on a \$35,000 bond.

After his release, Moody along with Selby Lanier, head of the

Black Police Officers Association, held a press conference. They put the blame where it belongs—on the rampant racism in the police force.

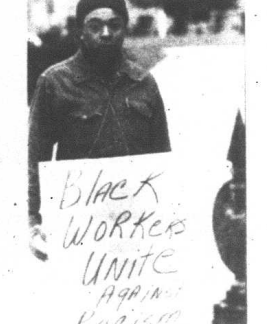
For this Lanier was suspended from the force, and is now waiting for his hearing.

Support for Moody is building throughout the black community. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed. Ministers are calling on their congregations to come out and support him. Petitions are being circulated, demanding that the charges be dropped. A mass meeting is planned for before the trial.

Jefferies Moody didn't go looking for trouble, but trouble found him because he is black in a racist society. What is going to be on trial here is whether black people have the right to defend themselves.

### BULLETIN

Moody's case goes to court October 18. There will be a demonstration in his support at 9:30 am that day in front of the Jefferson County Courthouse.



## U.S. Backs Lebanon Slaughter

Heavy fighting rages in the mountains of Lebanon and the capital city, Beirut. But the United States embassy in Beirut is sitting tight, doing almost nothing.

Officially, the U.S. embassy staff is staying inside the building at all times for security reasons. But that's not the real reason.

In fact, the U.S. government is very happy with the way the fighting is going on in Lebanon right now. They don't want to do anything to stop the fighting until the Palestinians and the left-wing Moslems in Lebanon are forced to accept total defeat.

A victory for the right-wing, so-called Christian forces would give the United States a new base for a capitalist, pro-west regime in Lebanon.

This is not a religious war. The U.S. supports armies which want to crush the alliance of Palestinians and poor people for social justice in Lebanon.

The right-wing armies, sup-

ported by Syria, have launched a new all-out assault on Palestinian positions.

They have taken the major positions in the mountains east of Beirut, and are preparing to attack Tripoli, Sidon and the Moslem district of West Beirut itself.

### PHONY CEASE-FIRE

Last year, when the Palestinians were defeating the fascists, the U.S. brought pressure for one phony cease-fire after another, to give the right wing more time.

Now that the right wing and the fascists are on the offensive, Washington is patiently sitting back, waiting for the slaughter to be completed.

If the Lebanese rightists and Syrian troops are successful, the United States embassy will be delighted to give them all the help they need to clamp a reign of terror over Palestinians and Moslem workers in Lebanon.

# THE DEMOCRATS AND LABOR

# Or, Yes You Should Be Suspicious

The Republican Party is the party of big business. We know it and they boast of it.

The Democratic Party calls itself the party of the little people, black and white.

Jimmy Carter tells us that "the people have to depend on the Democrats or the 'special interests' will run the country."

Workers' Power says the Democratic Party is every bit as much the party of racism, big business and the "special interests" as is the Republican Party.

To prove it, from now until the election, this special series will examine how the Democratic Party works and who pulls the strings.

Last week this column showed how big business is the backbone of the Democratic Party. But don't the unions contribute heavily to the party treasury you ask...and don't most working people vote for the Democratic Party?

Actually trade unions contribute very little financially to the Presidential race. And at most they contribute 25% in races for the Senate and House. The Democratic Party depends much more on the corporations for its money.

Far more important to the Democratic Party than union funds is the unions' ability to get out the vote. In Detroit, UAW members make up a major part of the Democratic Party activists. And, in other cities like Los Angeles where there is no strong political machine, unions have some importance.

However, in strong machine-dominated cities, like Chicago where precinct captains are

patronage workers, unions have little impact in politics.

And, yes, when working people vote, they mostly vote Democratic, but that is all part of the game.

### CON GAME

The Democratic Party promises things to working people, then screws them. But, the Democratic Party tells us every election day, the Republican Party is worse. This con game is called "voting for the lesser evil", and plenty have been fooled by it over and over again.

Let's take a closer look at the Democratic Party in its role as "labor's friend." One of the best ways to examine the Democratic Party's real attitude towards labor is by looking at the condition of public employees. Here, Democrats in office are employers, and we here can see just how well these "friends of labor" deal with workers' problems.

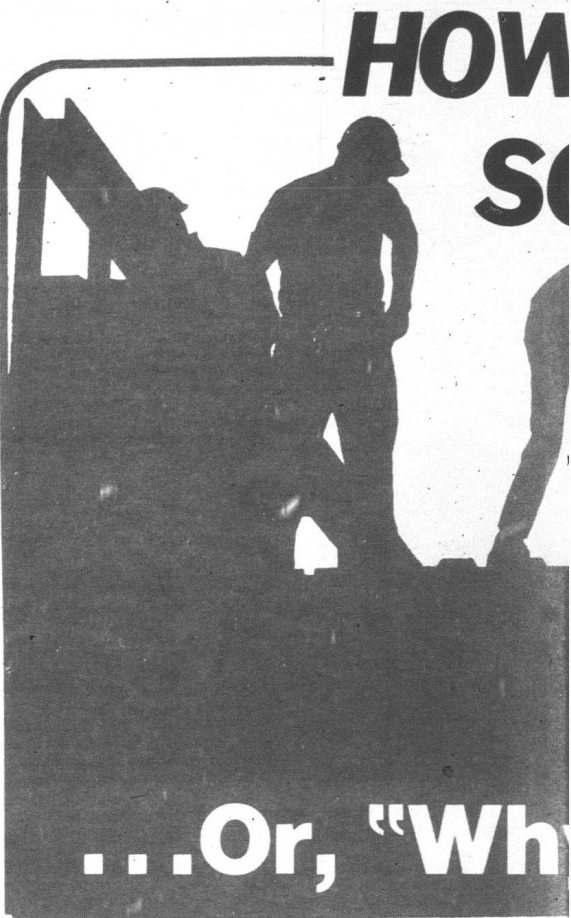
There are some 2.8 million federal employees and 12 million state and local employees. The Democratic Party platform says it supports collective bargaining for government workers. But it says nothing about the right to strike, which means it supports the current laws prohibiting public workers' strikes.

It means "solving" the urban crisis by lowering the living standards of public employees, while denying them labor's most important weapon for fighting back. And, in fact, this is exactly their practice.

### DEMOCRATS' ATTACK

The "liberal" Democratic mayor of Seattle, Wesley Uhlman, recently launched an attack on the 36 union locals that bargain with the city. He sought to cut wage scales and to end protective work practices the workers had built up over the years.

The black mayor of Gary, Indiana, Richard Hatcher, sometimes talks left-wing rhetoric. Hatcher has even talked about a third party to run against the



Democrats and Republicans.

Gary, Indiana is the home of U.S. Steel. When the steel industry went into depression, many steel workers were laid off. The taxes on homeowners fell.

Rather than increase taxes on U.S. Steel, Hatcher called for no pay increases to city employees. In times of inflation, that really means a wage cut.

In September, 1975, the Senate voted on President Ford's proposal to reduce federal workers' pay increase to 5% instead of 8.6%. This was after a year of 12% inflation. The Senate voted 53 to 39 for the lower rate.

Sixteen of the wage cut votes were from northern Democratic Party liberals including Tunney, Church, Stevenson, Muskie, Symington, Mansfield, Montoya, Glenn, Proxmire, and McGhee.

### STRIKE-BREAKING

Sometimes Democratic mayors like Joseph Alioto of San Francisco and Richard Daley of Chicago like to play impartial mediator during strikes of public workers. By not

coming/fight out and breaking the strikes, they hope to look pro-labor.

In Chicago, just how ludicrous this is becomes quite clear. Consider that Daley nominates the Board of Education, which the teachers bargain with. Daley then poses as a neutral mediator. But the teachers' union officials continue to support the man who appoints their boss, who they repeatedly are driven to strike against.

One of the most important union organizing drives in the last ten years has been the farmworkers. Farmworkers do not have collective bargaining rights under the National Labor Relations Act. Why? When New Deal Democrats passed that law during the 1930's, they excluded farmworkers because they needed the support of Democratic growers.

Democratic-controlled Congresses since then have not yet added farmworkers to the bill. Many congressmen and senators still come from rural areas where the growers have a lot of economic power.

### WHY ELSE?

When Democrat Edmund Brown, Sr. ran for governor of California, he first pledged to aid farm workers.

But once he got into office he refused to raise their minimum wage, and authorized use of prison labor for harvests in place of free labor in violation of the State Constitution. His main achievement in office was a massive canal system and water subsidy to the giant corporate farmers.

Year after year, the labor movement passes resolutions calling for the repeal of Taft-Hartley. (Taft-Hartley is the notoriously anti-labor law granting the courts and the government the right to stop workers from striking and/or picketing.)

## Peanuts in Washington...and Detroit

by Mark Levitan  
UAW Local 3

The banner at the UAW's collective bargaining convention proclaimed its twin goals in 1976: progress at the bargaining tables and a "People's victory" at the ballot box.

In the fall of 1974 the auto industry was hit with its worst depression since the 30's, hundreds of thousands of UAW members were laid off.

Since that time the UAW leadership has consistently stated that little can be accomplished through collective bargaining as long as the country was run by a Republican

administration.

The key to progress and security, they said, was a Democratic president.

This strategy has some obvious benefits for the UAW leaders. They can place the blame on Washington for the problems auto workers face:

With the Union negotiators soft-peddling the importance of the contract, no effort was made to mobilize or even inform the UAW membership in preparation for a serious fight.

The auto companies assessed that this was an opportunity to take a hard line and get a cheap settlement. The UAW was

forced to strike in order to get an agreement that had any chance of being ratified by the rank and file.

Ford Motor Company knew that the UAW did not want a long and bitter strike.

The Union would be blamed for harming economic recovery. The strike would become a political issue in the Presidential campaign, a possible embarrassment to Jimmy Carter.

At the September 15 AFL-CIO COPE convention in Dearborn, Woodcock made this clear.

He declared that he did not want Jimmy Carter to endorse the strike. He did not want Gerald Ford to interfere in it.

"This strike is between us and the auto companies."

Carter's victory was more important to Woodcock than an auto workers' victory.

The membership of the UAW is now faced with the first result of the "Jimmy will solve it" strategy. It's the worst sellout ever.

And what about phase two in November? Will a Carter victory get us a guaranteed SUB fund or put an end to speed up?

Not likely. We've been sold out for peanuts. UAW members would be wise to vote no at this week's ratification meetings, and to vote no in November. □



# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY KICKED OUT THE LABORERS...



by Dennis O'Hara

When somebody tells me they're voting for Carter because that's the only choice, I just laugh. It reminds me of the Vermont Laborers' strike. The Democratic Party showed its colors to me that year, and I've never voted for one since. And I never will again.

It was 1972. When the Laborers' contract expired, the contractors refused to bargain any more. It was a clear case of union-busting.

The attack was led by one particular contractor, Pizzagalli. Pizzagalli was so rich that every Friday, he would hold a cocktail party for all the state legislators.

Probably because he was contributing so much money to the Democrats and Republicans, he felt he had to cut costs somewhere. He took it out of the workers.

After two months, the strike got wild. In Burlington, a city of only 35,000 people, there was a demonstration of 1000. We shut down the streets. We went to construction sites, and chased the scabs out. The press supported us. Public opinion was on our side.

One cold December morning before dawn, we went to a site behind the Federal Building. We had a line of 30 people. Fifty cops showed up!

A scab started driving through the line. We all stood in front of the car. Since it was icy, the car couldn't get any traction, and we pushed it back into the police line.

The police started coming at the line. We separated to let them through. Suddenly, the cops charged!

They took one guy, Jimmy, and knocked him to the ground. They took his glasses off, and emptied a whole can of mace into his face.

The cops dared people to come over and help Jimmy. They had their billy clubs in their hands. Art Deloy, the Business Agent of the local, went to his aid.

## B.A. ARRESTED

Jimmy, Deloy and others were arrested. They were charged with

attacking the police and mob violence. Deloy freaked out at the thought of going to jail. It looked like the police were going to get away with it.

Here's where the Democrats come in. The District Attorney was Patrick Leahy. Now he's U.S. Senator from Vermont. He's supposed to be a big friend of the workers. He's a liberal Democrat, a friend of the Kennedy machine.

And he is the one who charged us with assaulting the police and mob violence.

But something happened that no one counted on. A janitor on the third floor of the Federal Building had watched the whole incident. He came down to the Laborer's Hall and offered to be a witness for us against the police. We could have torn them up in court.

But Deloy was so happy, he spilled the beans to the D.A. Leahy said, "If you won't file charges against the police, if you promise to cover this thing up, I will drop the charges against you."

Leahy's only concern was to cover it up! The great liberal Democrat. Here was a chance to prove that Pizzagalli was using the police against laborers, and what did Leahy do—he made a deal. He told a couple of union bureaucrats that he was saving their hides, but really he was protecting Pizzagalli.

By this time, I was real clear that the Democrats weren't going to settle this strike for us, but some other people weren't so sure. They were demoralized and the more demoralized they got, the more they looked to liberal politicians to bail them out.

A liberal Democrat, Tom Salmon, had just been elected governor of the state. One of the issues he ran on was that he could settle the Laborers' strike.

We got a chance to really stick it to Salmon. At a public screening of a slideshow, I got a chance to question Salmon on the Laborers' strike. Salmon did not know that the audience was packed with guys from the local.

I put it to him very bluntly that I did not think he had done a single thing he had promised to do for the Laborers.

He said, "Well, if you think I'm going to march around Burlington with a big brass band, you're wrong."

# Why I'm Not Voting In '76!"

Year after year the Democratic Party-controlled legislature leaves Taft-Hartley on the books. This has gone on for 30 years.

The Democratic Party-controlled Congress authorizes strike-breaking injunctions for the President. The Democratic Party-controlled Congress passed legislation allowing Nixon to impose wage controls.

The Democratic Party voted down \$9 billion for jobs. The Democratic Party in New York City has allowed the banks to plunder the living standard of that city's working people.

Why then, do the trade union leaders call these hypocrites "labor's friends"?

They have bought in on the system. They average \$30,000-\$50,000 per year, and haven't seen the inside of a factory for years.

They belong to the same social clubs as the heads of industry. They live in the same neighborhoods, their children attend the same private schools.

In fact, other than the comedy they perform every three years at contract time, the trade union leaders see things pretty much the way the bosses do. They believe "what is good for industry is good for the country."

## INDEPENDENT PARTY

To offer a real political alterna-

tive for their membership, they would have to lead the formation of an independent party of working people. This would require them to break with the capitalist friends of the Democratic Party.

They would have to mobilize rank and file support. This they are afraid to do. A real fight between the bosses and the workers would crush them, deprive them of their privileges. The Democratic Party, by offering the illusion of reform without a fight, holds the ranks in check.

So, year after year, they back the Democratic Party, and attempt to mobilize the ranks to support the Democratic Party candidates using the false promises. But year after

year those promises are broken, and fewer and fewer union members can be pulled out to vote.

Recent studies showed that in this Presidential election, less than 50% of the electorate will vote—and it will not be out of apathy.

People are not voting—because there is no one to vote for. The task at hand is to build an independent political alternative for the working class. It will take time.

## ELECTION '76 VOTE NO!

[Next week we will discuss the Democratic Party and black people.]

## GIG WAS BLOWN

The top blew off. People got up and started calling him a crock of shit. Deloy said, "What do I have to do, put a gun to your head?" Everyone cheered.

The gig was blown. Salmon could not use excuses any longer, because by this time the Laborers knew he wasn't as concerned as they had believed. They started up the picketing and demonstrations again.

Under pressure, Salmon appointed a three member panel to determine whether or not the Laborers' strike was a case of union busting. The panel said it was, and suggested he take away state contracts from Pizzagalli.

Salmon did not want to make an enemy of Pizzagalli, and he refused to take the action recommended by his own panel.

## LIBERTY UNION

The illusions that the laborers had had about their friends in the government were dispelled. They decided to run their own candidate for Lieutenant Governor. They ran Deloy on the Liberty Union ticket. Liberty Union is a small, working class, left party in Vermont.

Deloy, not the best of speakers, ran around the state talking about how the Democrats and Republicans were selling out the Laborers, that neither party was a friend of workers.

He actually got 4% of the vote. In the working class districts of Burlington he got closer to 15% of the vote.

The Laborers learned this lesson the hard way. They knew they could only vote for working class candidates. But they learned the lesson real clear.

I'd probably vote for a Democrat. If you held a gun against my head, but only if I was pretty sure it was loaded.

## Don't Tie Their Power....

The United Farm Workers Union has proven itself to be an extremely powerful force in the state of California.

The union just raised 700,000 signatures to put Proposition 14, guaranteeing collective bargaining rights for farm workers, on the California ballot.

Unfortunately this powerful political machine is now being used to support Jimmy Carter in California.

Carter is a grower, just like the ones in California. His peanut workers get \$2.30 an hour, the minimum wage, and his shacks for black workers are as bad as the worst in California.

He campaigned to keep the Service Employees Intl. Union (SEIU) from organizing his peanut shed workers.

Carter gave grudging endorsement to Proposition 14, knowing this is the only way he could get farmworker support.



## ... To The Democratic Party

The Democratic Party National Committee gave the UFW \$100,000 to campaign for Proposition 14... and Jimmy Carter.

Carter simply wants the farmworkers' votes and political muscle. In reality he will do little for farmworkers. He will not fight to pass a California-type law nationwide.

He will not cut off Pentagon purchases of scab grapes and lettuce. He will not grant

amnesty for all workers without documents in this country, now being viciously exploited by growers to break farm workers strikes.

It is essential that Proposition 14 be passed overwhelmingly. But tying the farmworkers movement to the Democratic Party is not the way.

The United Farm Workers turned down money from the government, knowing that it would tie their hands.

The same is true of money

from the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is one of the two grower-big business parties.

Money can be raised independently as is already being done.

The political power of the Farm Workers would be better used independently of the Democrats or Republicans just as it is used independently of the growers and their supporters.

# UPS-East Talks Stalled; Union Still Won't Fight

"TOTAL STALEMATE." That is how one federal mediator described the negotiations between the Eastern Conference of Teamsters and United Parcel Service.

The strike, which began September 15th, has idled 20,000 Teamsters in 15 states. No negotiations have taken place for the duration of the strike, and none are scheduled as we go to press.

The company strategy is clear: starve them out. It is the union strategy, however, which requires reading between the lines.

Some say the union is doing its damndest by holding out and not giving in to company demands. In fact, that's all they are doing—not giving in.

## NOT ENOUGH

We say that's not enough. Here are some examples.

- In city after city, the company has moved goods out of struck hubs and headed towards the south and midwest. Some of these convoys were driven under an injunction and escorted by state police, some were not.

Union response: "Let them go, don't get in the way."

Strikers were ordered not to defy any injunctions and, according to UPSurge, only one local official that they know of even took the time to inform locals in non-struck areas that struck goods were on the way.

All UPS workers have contract clauses permitting them to refuse to handle such goods.

- In at least two cities, Pittsburgh and Washington D.C., struck goods caught in other hubs have been brought in through picket lines to be processed. The company then calls the customers and tells them to come pick up their packages.

Union response: "Don't touch them."

- Across the 15-state area, UPS is building a case with the public against the strikers.

Through the media, the company consistently mentions full-time wages, implying that strikers are out for more money, which is not the case.

In a letter to all their customers, the company goes so far as to accuse the union of demanding "feather-bedding in the sorting and loading operation." By this, they refer to the union's demand to protect 8-hour jobs and to stop UPS from replacing these jobs with

part-time employees at a lower pay scale.

Further, the company states that employees have turned down the same substantial wage package acceptable to other Teamsters across the country. Of course, working conditions are never mentioned.

(In Cleveland, the company had the gall to order the union drivers to deliver copies of this letter to all customers. Anne Mackie, editor of UPSurge and a Cleveland package car driver, refused to deliver this anti-union material. A disciplinary hearing was held immediately and the union was forced to stand by her.)

Union response: Bill McCarthy, head of the union negotiating team, has ordered officials not to make statements to the press.

McCarthy was quoted in a New Jersey paper as saying, "We're negotiating with the company, not the press." No official response to the letter to customers has been made by the union, and none is expected.

- Rank and filers are demanding the right to extend primary picket lines into non-struck areas to force the company back to the negotiating table.

Union response: strikers have been threatened with loss of strike benefits if such action is taken.

## TIGHT SPOT

The union is in a tight spot. They are getting pressure from the company on one hand, and from the ranks on the other. Their response to this pressure is to wait it out.

They let the company move struck goods about freely, preach non-violence and non-action on the part of the strikers, and slowly but surely demoralize the ranks.

When the company does make an offer, the union can half-heartedly recommend it, say it is the best they could get, and order the ranks back to work.

Then, if the offer is approved by mail ballot, the union can lay responsibility on the strikers and say that they couldn't hold out. A pitiful showing for such a supposedly powerful union.

This strike can only be turned around by activity on the part of the strikers themselves. UPSurge representatives from the struck areas are meeting the weekend of October 10 in hopes of determining a course of action to move this strike off dead center.

# Ford Skilled Trades Remember '73 Sellout

"NEVER AGAIN," Ford skilled tradesmen vowed in 1973 after they were forced to accept a contract they had voted down. In 1976, they will have the chance to make that vow stick.

Chrysler was the 1973 target company. Ford was second. Ford workers used the extra time to see what was really in the new contract.

They wrote, in the United National Caucus newspaper, that the UAW was "hiding the truth, for the leaflets [put out by the International] showing the highlights of the agreement were misleading!"

## WHY THEY REJECTED

"We had seven demands that were an absolute necessity... These demands affected all Ford workers, not only skilled trades as the press and the International Union tried to make you believe," wrote Officers Ralph Poszich and Al Badalamento of Ford Local 228.

- The main issues in 1973:
- Real voluntary overtime
- Money lost to inflation

- A real wage increase, not a lousy 4c in new money
- Guaranteed SUB
- COLA for retirees
- Revising the COLA formula to keep pace with actual inflation and one-year reopener on wages
- Shortening the work week
- End to subcontracting and enforcement of lines of demarcation for trades

Every one of these issues that led to the rejection in '73 is still there today. The '76 Ford agreement hasn't moved an inch.

Woodcock ruled that only the International Executive Board of the UAW could decide whether a contract rejection was decisive. Skilled tradesmen protested through the legal channels of the UAW Public Review Board, but this did no good. They were still stuck.

As a result, the rank and file Independent Skilled Trades Council was formed, with a membership in the thousands. Woodcock backtracked in the face of this organized force.

He promised that in 1976 a rejection of the offer by either

skilled or production, voting separately, would nullify the whole agreement.

Skilled tradesmen were also promised:

- A one-week period to review terms of the contract before voting
- The right to vote first.

Woodcock is under pressure from Ford and the Democrats for a quick return to work.

And already, the UAW International has violated two of the above promises.

Ratification voting takes place Sunday, October 10 for the whole of Local 600, the largest Ford local. This gives rank and file leaders with an "in" to the Negotiating Council two days at the most to look over the contract. The rank and file itself will never see the contract until it is too late.

That leaves only the promised veto power of both production and skilled over the agreement.

It would mean demanding that the strike continue while Woodcock goes back to the bargaining table, and backing up the rejection with mass picketing. □



Detroit's new police chief William Hart (left) with Mayor Coleman Young.

# DETROIT: A NEW COP AT THE TOP

DETROIT—After weeks of drug investigation that reached the highest city and police officials, Mayor Coleman Young appointed the first black police chief in the history of Detroit, William L. Hart. Hart, a 52 year old man, has been on the police force for 24 years, 14 years as a uniformed patrolman.

A police survey said that Hart is honest, competent, quiet and effective.

Yes, it's true: Hart is effective! He has already sent a letter to Mayor Young requesting that the Mayor extend the curfew ordinances until Christmas. The curfew makes it illegal for people under 18 to be on the streets after 10 pm.

Hart claims the curfew will stop gang crime and its growth that has soared in the last two months. Hart, like other city officials, looks to the curfew instead of the underlying causes of crime: high unemployment, poverty conditions, rotten education and housing.

Extending the 10 pm curfew gives the entire police force the

right to act as a STRESS. STRESS was a decoy police unit that lured people to commit crimes. STRESS was once called an execution squad by Mayor Young.

## CURFEW AGAINST YOUTH

The curfew gives the police the authority to lock up young people under the age of 18 if they are on the streets without justification past 10 pm and stop and demand identification from juveniles around the clock.

Many people thought Mayor Young would appoint executive deputy chief James Bannon as police chief. But Bannon was the top man in STRESS, a program universally opposed by the black community because it killed so many blacks.

Even more important Hart is black. And that is what Young needs to control the black community—a well disciplined black police force. Hart's No. 1 political task is not crime. His No. 1

task is to build a bridge between the black and white police officers.

The department has been torn by racism. Hart has to bring the police department under Mayor Young's control and break the openly organized racism in it, and protect Young's community support.

Neither Mayor Coleman Young or police chief William Hart can solve the problems of Detroit. Young wants to make Detroit safe for business. He wants the businessmen who pull the strings in Detroit to be able to come into the city safely, without worry of being robbed.

Young cares less if a house is broken into or a car is stolen than he cares about coming through this drug probe with clean hands, shipping up Detroit's image, and maintaining his base in the black community.

So far, Young is juggling all these conflicting interests. But without much grace—and it can't last. □



# T.D.U. Means Unity

Dear Workers' Power,

The TDU Convention held at Kent State, Ohio on Sept. 18-19 was the beginning of a real movement to take back the Teamsters Union by its rank and file.

TDU is just what it says it is: Teamsters for a Democratic Union. The Convention proved that. Two hundred and fifty people got together from all across the nation and hammered out a constitution and concrete proposals which express exactly how we believe this union ought to work.

For example, we believe in majority rule by a simple majority vote (50% plus one rules). Our present "leaders" tie us up with requiring 66 2/3% to vote some things down. For instance, our contracts.

The carhauers nationally had 37% of the voting members ratify their contract. The 63% who voted against it will have to accept it.

So, if you get rid of the present "leadership" that will solve the problem, right? The TDU says that is wrong. Changing leaders has been tried many times before. We propose to take that one step further.

We have seen other rank and filers get elected and succumb to the same IBT machine that oppressed them. We think that machine has to be overhauled. We believe in the direct election of local and international officers. We believe they ought to be subject to recall by the rank and file and by a simple majority.

The TDU Convention came to the conclusion that if our "leaders" can sell out the carhauers on their contract, they can sell out any of us. Every man originally fired in that strike is still fired. The IBT is battling 1000 at not getting their jobs back. The fact is plain and simple that the IBT leadership doesn't want us to go on strike—ever. And they will work with the companies to get us fired for it, if they can.

Unity of purpose and action is what we accomplished at Kent State. That's what real unionism is about. Don't take my word for it, look it up in the dictionary.

The Teamsters Union has been characterized as a truck drivers' union. The TDU is determined to dissolve the divisions our "leaders" have put between us.

So if you're a garage mechanic, office worker, cannery worker, warehouseman, factory worker, truck driver or whatever kind of Teamster—join the TDU.

And don't stop there. Get your spouse to join, and any other Teamsters you meet.

In Solidarity,  
Pete Camarata  
TDU Nat. Steering Committee

## Toilet Training

Dear Workers' Power,

Harassment of workers takes many forms.

Southwestern Bell Telephone is refining this art. In order to go to the bathroom, directory assistance operators must (1) ask permission, and (2) sign out. Only one person is allowed to go the restroom at any one time.

Even with these stringent regulations, the management in one St. Louis office considers bathroom breaks excessive.

Recently, this sign appeared:



Pete Camarata addressing TDU Convention at Kent State, Ohio.

Dear Workers' Power,

Last weekend I had the pleasure of attending the TDU Convention. While there, I met some beautiful people who believe in the principles advocated by your movement.

I must admit, before reading Workers' Power, I equated socialism with communism and a totalitarian state. It is now obvious that I was under a gross misconception.

It appears that those who embrace the political philosophy of socialism are fed up with inequality. What alternatives are suggested to private ownership of the means of production?

I agree completely that the present system of a few individuals exercising virtual life and death control over hundreds or thousands of people is wrong and must be changed.

I have heard people express the opinion that the state should own and control all industry. If this could be done while maintaining efficiency, quality and low prices, I would agree completely. What is I.S.'s stand on state ownership of industry?

Personally, I would like to see individual corporations continue to exist as separate entities with one important change: complete democratic worker ownership and

control.

This way, increases in productivity would directly benefit workers. The worker would not feel like a slave to the employer but would work for his or her own benefit. This type of system would preserve competition, thus keeping prices to a reasonable level and assure quality goods.

Does I.S. necessarily advocate complete state control or simply worker control which could take many forms such as the one I suggested?

Sincerely,  
Randy L. Stanard  
Kansas City, KS

## ABORTION

Dear Workers' Power,

The bill forbidding the use of Medicaid funds for abortion was vetoed by President Ford two weeks ago. But this will not be the end of the crusade for the "Right to Lifers."

I would find the impassioned speeches of the "Right to Life" advocates more believable if they mentioned the lives of pregnant women or of babies already born.

They say nothing of the impact of an unwanted child on the life of a woman. Nothing on the results of being an unwanted child. Nothing on the tremendous expense of raising children. They see only their responsibility to defend a "life" before it is born, not afterwards.

Before the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, one out of every four American women had had an abortion.

There is no completely safe, completely reliable form of contraception. This makes abortion a necessity.

The bill denying Medicaid for abortions was an attack aimed exclusively at poor women. Whenever abortion is difficult to obtain it is always black and poor women who suffer most. In New York before their abortion law was liberalized, 80% of the women who died from illegal "kitchen table" abortions were black or Spanish speaking.

Ford vetoed the bill only because it was too expensive. The portion on abortions was only an amendment to an appropriations bill. Congress, Ford, and the "Right to Lifers" would condemn more women to die and more children to suffer in the name of "life."

Karen Woods  
Portland

## Wants W.P.

Dear Workers' Power:

Why didn't you tell me my subscription ran out? For the last three weeks I've had to suffer with the bourgeois bullshit of the New York Times.

I find your paper excellent and truly indispensable for an objective understanding of national and international events.

Therefore please find enclosed a check for two subscriptions to Workers' Power. Please send one to me, and the other to a friend of mine (address enclosed).

Keep up the good work!

Allen  
St. Louis

V. Lingappa  
New York

Letters  
to  
Workers' Power

## Make Workers' Power Work For You!

Workers' Power is your newspaper. Make it work for you.

Use the letters page to share your ideas and experiences with other workers. Tell them what's happening where you work. What you thought of a particular article. An incident that gave you insight into the system. Or write to us about some event that made you realize why you wanted to join the struggle.

Write to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI

# Carter vs. Ford: They Call This "Democracy"?

Dear Workers' Power,

If people would realize what the coming elections mean, they might save themselves some time this coming November 2.

The elections are a sham to make us think we have some input into the power structure. Really, it is a fixed horse race, with the power elite and their politician lackeys determining the outcome.

I know a guy who was promised an elected office in repayment for a favor to a politician. And this person did get the office. Politicians do keep some promises.

He won the election because of the support of the "machine" and good citizens who greased its gears with their votes.

The political machine cannot run without votes. So don't vote! There are safer ways to use your time.

Hobart Dodson  
Pleasant Ridge, MI

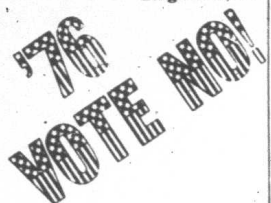
Dear Workers' Power,

I don't know which paternalistic politician coined the phrase "the little guy," but he sure didn't do the working class a favor.

"Little guy" makes us think of a helpless person who needs a daddy to protect him and make decisions for him.

We are not "little guys." We are the working class. United, we can be strong and make our own decisions.

Susan Dole  
Long Beach, CA



# National Committee Report **Build I.S.:** **That's Our Big Job Now**

# Where We Stand

## WE OPPOSE

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

The NC (National Committee of the IS) met in Detroit, October 2 and 3. The meeting discussed a series of resolutions which together took up the way forward for building the revolutionary movement.

The position papers presented by the EC (Executive Committee) discuss the relationship between mass work and Party building and mark a shift in the work of the IS toward greater emphasis on building the revolutionary socialist organization.

the organization to mass work and the view that "mass work is the bedrock of party-building."

It was generally agreed that over the last six months Workers' Power has stagnated. The NC voted to put a great deal more resources into advancing the quality and circulation of Workers' Power.

A new monthly magazine pull-out section of political analysis will be added to Workers' Power shortly. The magazine will be called Workers' Power Review.

### PORTUGAL

Of extreme importance was the discussion on the revolutionary process taking place in Portugal.

The position that the EC presented to the NC is that the revolutionary process was not defeated by the right-wing coup of November 25. The key question the organization of a revolutionary party capable of leading the Portuguese working class to victory.

The leadership's resolution states that although success is not guaranteed, one group, the PRP, has become the nucleus of a revolutionary party.

A resolution introduced in opposition to the analysis put forward by the EC stated that PRP has failed to build the revolutionary party. The explanation given is that the PRP does not sufficiently understand its importance.

Instead, the opposition resolution maintains, the PRP has

accommodated to the sentiment that a revolutionary party is not important, a sentiment that is widespread in the Portuguese working class. Thus they say, the PRP devotes all its resources to building the mass movement at the expense of party building.

The EC resolution was passed overwhelmingly.

Discussion throughout the NC was extremely serious and thorough. Most delegates agreed that, in general, the NC documents represent the correct shift for the IS and that the NC marked a healthy step forward for the I.S. organizers school, which will be reported on next week. The focus of the organizers school is the carrying out of the NC positions. □

More time, and resources will be spent in organizing small group educationals, public meetings, conferences, and raising the level of political dialogue inside the I.S.

But the NC emphatically reaffirmed the commitment of

## Detroit Sales Champ



ONE OF THE TOP Workers' Power sales people in Detroit is John Anderson. A retired auto worker, he has been active in the socialist and trade union movements for 40 years, and served as President of UAW Local 15. Here, John Anderson tells how he makes use of something most of us waste—back issues of Workers' Power.

Every week I sell Workers' Power at the unemployment office. In thirty to forty minutes I am usually able to sell 20 papers. Often I will go inside and leave a few copies of the paper on the counters. This way I know that it will be read by many people.

The unemployment lines are still long and many of those out of work are at that age where employers don't want to hire them.

They are certainly not ready to retire but no employer wants to give them a job. A lot of the people I talk to show an interest in the ideas that Workers' Power has. That's why they buy the paper.

But many people have barely enough change to take a

bus back home. I always carry along ten copies or so of last week's issue of the paper. If they say that they are interested in seeing a copy of the paper, I will give them one of the old copies that I have.

This way more people are reading Workers' Power, and back issues aren't just lying around. It is not hard to get rid of 10 copies this way every week.

It is our job as Workers' Power sellers to get the paper around. We want to get readers wherever we can. We want Workers' Power to become familiar to tens and tens of thousands of workers as the newspaper that stands on their side. □

## Workers' Power News

Every week Workers' Power gets dozens of articles and letters mailed in from around the country. Unfortunately, some of them don't get here on time. Here's how you can avoid that problem.

### DEADLINES

In general all articles and letters are due Monday. But we know some new stories don't develop till later in the week.

In that case, call us Monday or earlier and let us know when you will be able to get it in. The Workers' Power phone number is 313-869-5964.

### FIRST CLASS MAIL

First class mail takes from one to three days. Even if you are on the west coast and you mail out on Friday or Saturday the chances are still good that we will get your piece on Monday.

### SPECIAL DELIVERY

Special Delivery costs more, but it will save one day on delivery. Almost all Special Delivery mail will get to us by the next afternoon but it is not absolutely reliable. Special deliveries are made on Sundays and holidays. Use Special Delivery if you are mailing an

article no later than Sunday. The cost is \$1.25 for the first two pounds plus the regular postage.

### EXPRESS MAIL

If you are mailing Monday later you need an absolute guarantee. Use express mail. Here's how it works.

Express Mail is from main post office to main post office. You must go down to your main post office to send your article and we must go down to the main post office in Detroit to pick it up.

To fill the clerk that you want express mail. It will cost you \$1.50 for the first 8 ozs, and \$2.25 for 8 ozs to 2 lbs. Address your letter to WORKERS' POWER, Main Post Office, Detroit MI. You must address it to Workers' Power.

You must call us so we know to pick it up!

Express Mail says that if you have your letter in by 5 it will be ready for pickup in Detroit by 10 the next morning. It is a little more trouble than Special Delivery but it works almost without fail.

Some smaller cities do not have express mail. If you want any more information about any of these services call your local post office.

Tom Dougherty

## WE SUPPORT

- **THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**  
The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.
- **LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION**  
We support the struggles of every oppressed group to end its oppression: the struggle for equality and justice by blacks, women, gays, latinos, native Americans, and all oppressed people. Support from the entire working class movement will make both these struggles, and that movement stronger.
- **SOCIALISM**  
Society should be run by the working class. The wealth produced by those who work should go to fill people's needs, not to private gain.
- **WORKERS' REVOLUTION**  
But the capitalist class will not give up their rule and profits voluntarily. Socialism can be created only when the working class seizes control of the factories and makes their own government. The working class will rule democratically because it can own society's wealth only together.
- **INTERNATIONALISM**  
The struggle for socialism is world wide. Nations fighting to throw out foreign rulers must have the support of the international working class as in Angola today. So must every struggle of working people to end their oppression, as in Portugal today, and in Russia and Eastern Europe.
- **REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**  
The most class conscious members of the working class have the responsibility to lead the struggle toward socialist revolution. To do this they must build an organization to put their consciousness into action and make their leadership effective.
- **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**  
The I.S. is an organization of revolutionary socialist workers. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member to achieve them. Join with us to build the I.S. into a revolutionary party, to build the movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world. □

## JOIN US!

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## W.P. Election Special

The International Socialists is putting together a four-page special edition of Workers' Power on Jimmy Carter.

Many American workers will vote for Jimmy Carter simply because he is a Democrat and a new face. It is our job as revolutionaries to expose the fraud that Carter is to our fellow workers, and explain why we say "Vote No."

The special will be ready two weeks before the election.

We expect every branch to

take thousands of the Specials. They are to be given away free at factories and in the communities. We want them to get as wide as possible distribution.

All I.S. branches should place their orders immediately. Call Workers' Power circulation, 313-869-5964. Regular readers of Workers' Power who want a bundle of the specials, should write us. Let us know whether you want 25, 50 or more to pass out where you work or live. We will ship them to you at no cost. □

## I.S. Branches

- National Office: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203
- Austin: PO Box 8492, Austin, TX 78712
  - Bay Area: PO Box 132, Oakland, CA 94604
  - Bloomington: PO Box 29, Bloomington, IN 47401
  - Boston: PO Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114
  - Chicago: PO Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611
  - Cincinnati: PO Box 8909, Cincinnati, OH 45208
  - Cleveland: PO Box 02239, Cleveland, OH 44102
  - Detroit: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
  - Indianapolis: PO Box 631, Indianapolis, IN 46206
  - Los Angeles: PO Box 1871, Lynwood, CA 90262
  - Louisville: PO Box 70449, Louisville, KY 40270
  - Madison: PO Box 725, Madison, WI 53701
  - New York: 30 E. 20 St., Rm. 207, New York, NY 10003
  - Philadelphia: PO Box 8262, Philadelphia, PA 19101
  - Pittsburgh: PO Box 466, Homestead, PA 15120
  - Portland: PO Box 4662, Portland, OR 97208
  - Seattle: PO Box 9056, Seattle, WA 98109
  - Springfield: PO Box 795, Springfield, MA 01101
  - St. Louis: PO Box 24135, St. Louis, MO 63130
  - South Bend: PO Box 1223, South Bend, IN 46617



# ELEPHANTS or ASSES

## The Great Debates - The Swindle Of '76

by Dan Posen

Most media commentators seem to agree on two things about the second Ford-Carter debate, Wednesday night, on foreign policy.

The first point they agree on is that Jimmy Carter was the clear winner.

The second point they agree on is that there is no difference between the two candidates at all.

I guess I'm willing to take their word on the first point, since there's no doubt at all they're right about the second.

To show how this works, let's suppose you didn't watch the debate because you work second shift, or couldn't care less, or both.

Based on the following quotes from the debate, can you tell which candidate was which?

Candidate A said: "What we were formerly so proud of, the strength of this country, is gone."

Candidate B said: "The defense policies advocated by my opponent would destroy this country's superior military strength."

Candidate A: "We are no longer respected...in a United Nations' vote we are lucky to get 20% to go along with us."

Candidate B: "My opponent is prepared to give up control of the Panama Canal at a future date. I would never give up practical control of the Panama Canal."

Candidate A: "America is at peace with freedom...let me tell you this, you don't negotiate with Mr. Brezhnev from weakness."

If you've followed the campaign this year, you could probably tell that Candidate B is Gerald Ford, defending his record.

And obviously, Candidate A is then Jimmy Carter. Surprised by

the right-wing rhetoric? Don't be! Behind that smile lies the foreign policy of Ronald Reagan.

In fact, you might think this was a debate between Ford and Reagan during the Republican primary.

Carter, like Reagan, managed to accuse Ford of going soft on Russia, selling out on moral commitments to Israel, and getting pushed around by Panama.

### WHO'S A MARXIST?

Carter even managed to paint Ford as a red. After Ford accused the Democrats of solving the problems of unemployment only through war, Carter denied this by stating, "Karl Marx said the free enterprise system could only continue to exist when a country is at war. Karl Marx is the father of modern Communism. I don't agree with his statement."

The clear implication being that if Ford did not believe that unemployment could be fought without war he must be a Marxist. (Hardly!)

Carter's line about the Republicans and Karl Marx is not new. It is an old debaters trick invented



about twenty years ago by Adlai Stevenson.

Actually, that little line reveals a great deal. The old-time Democratic Party advisers of liberals like Stevenson, Humphrey and Kennedy are the same people who now surround Carter.

These "liberals," working with Nixon's former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, are the people who have shaped Carter's reactionary foreign policy. They just choose what they think will be successful. If they decide Carter can win the White House by looking more hard-line and right wing than Gerald Ford, then that's what they tell him to say.

Carter comes off looking like a

cross between Reagan and Scoop Jackson.

### WALK AND CHEW GUM

Ford managed to stick his foot in his mouth up to his knee, when he tried to respond to Carter's barbs by saying the Pope supported the Helsinki agreement and besides, Russia doesn't really dominate Poland anyway.

That left everyone gasping. But all it shows is that Gerald Ford can't argue foreign policy without Henry Kissinger, or maybe his football helmet.

What it comes down to is that in real policy, the Democrats and Republican programs are carbon

copies of each other. Winning this debate is just a matter of which candidate can manipulate the most rhetoric and score points with the most lies.

On this score, Carter got away with the biggest whopper of the evening by calling his version of U.S. foreign policy an example of "morality."

Carter summed up by recalling the name of one of his heroes: "I don't think anyone could claim Lyndon Johnson neglected the poor people in this country and around the world."

What do you think the people of Vietnam would say, if they could get "equal time" to respond to that?

## Teachers Need New Direction

In the last two years, 25,000 of New York City's 70,000 teachers and teacher-aids have been laid off—a 35% cut in the work force.

On September 29, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) delegate assembly met. The agenda was how to restore the jobs of 5000 teachers lost last month.

At the meeting, Al Shanker, President of the UFT announced his solution to getting those jobs back: "Elect Carter for President and Moynihan for Senator." Shanker thinks that getting "our friends" into office will make Congress provide money for education.

### NEW DIRECTIONS

Shanker's strategy was opposed by New Directions, an opposition caucus. A resolution from New Directions, sent to the assembly by the Hughes High School faculty proposed:

• A united front of all public employee unions against job cuts.

• To insist that this coalition engage in joint actions up to and including a one-day general strike.

• To support job action by individual schools in defense of teachers' and students' needs.

• To encourage and support involvement of parents and students in job actions against the cuts and against increased class size.

This motion generated a bitter and heated debate. It got 35% of the vote. It didn't win this time, but it won't be the last time this issue will be put to the assembly.

### SURPRISE

Two days later, came another "surprise." The School Board

Al Shanker has endorsed and campaigned for Moynihan for Senator.

Moynihan has attacked special education grants for children of working-class families in the big city schools, on the grounds that all these funds do is provide jobs and money for higher teacher salaries.

Shanker knows this. But that's okay with him. To Shanker, it is more important that Moynihan is one of the "Bomb Hanoi" crowd. To these hawks the arms budget is not big enough, and, Kissinger is close to selling out to the Russians.

deducted \$100 from every teacher's paycheck.

The \$100 was a tax on fines that teachers were forced to pay after last year's strike. Teachers were fined two days' pay for each day out on strike. Now the courts have decided to rub salt into the wound by charging taxes on these fines!

New Directions is urging teachers to protest the Board's pick-pocketing. The Caucus says, "Demand that the union take action to force the repeal of the law which fines teachers for striking."

The New York City unions have the power to accomplish this if they want to. Six months ago, the UFT alone forced a supposedly pro-education bill through the state legislature, the Stavisky bill. When Governor Carey vetoed the bill, the UFT was able to get the Legislature to over-ride the veto. This is the first time this has happened in 100 years!

The Stavisky bill turned out to be a totally useless and even dangerous piece of legislation. The bill would have given money to schools at the expense of other city departments.

"If the UFT," said a New Directions spokesperson, "has enough clout to force through a lousy law, then surely all the unions working together stand a good chance of forcing through a good goal—the repeal of the anti-strike laws, like the one that fines teachers for striking."

David Miller

## Thailand: Ford's Latest CIA Coup

You could say that the foreign policy debate revealed Gerald Ford to be a deeply modest man.

He didn't even mention the most recent success of the Ford administration's foreign policy: the savage right wing military coup in Thailand. This took place the very day of the debate.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands of students and anti-military leaders are now being rounded up and slaughtered in Thailand, just as in Chile.

For over a year, the U.S. has been patiently working to undermine the weak Thai government, because it forced U.S. military bases to be closed there. But Gerald Ford didn't chalk this up to his credit during the debate that night. Wonder why?

# Workers' Power

## Sadlowski Gears Up For Steel Workers' Campaign

### Challenger Denounces No-Strike Deal — But Grass Roots Organization Is Weak

CLEVELAND—It has been over three weeks since Ed Sadlowski announced his intention to run for president of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Reports from meetings in various cities throughout the midwest indicate that his campaign is beginning to take shape.

In Warren, Ohio, and later in Cleveland, he held meetings with rank and file steel workers, and laid out his program through a question and answer format.

In this setting he sounded better than his campaign literature. He is taking a harder and clearer stand on some of the issues.

In both meetings, Sadlowski

attacked the steel industry's no-strike agreement. He pointed out that this agreement, and the philosophy of "cooperation with the bosses" behind it, has weakened the union.

#### OTHER ISSUES

On the controversial Consent Decree on discrimination, Sadlowski called for extending it to real plant-wide seniority, and argued that racism is a bosses' game. "You can't be a unionist and a racist," he said.

Sadlowski also called for the right to ratify contracts and an overhaul of the unpopular dues

structure.

In Cleveland, before more than 100 steel workers, he answered some of the charges made by his opponents. He has been attacked for being an agent of outsiders for an "outside radical takeover."

Sadlowski pointed out first that these people have relied on rumor and unsigned pamphlets to make these charges, rather than doing so openly. He defended his record as a long-time member of the USWA, but he added that this sort of red-baiting has no place in the trade union movement—that it is simply a means the employers use to try to confuse the workers.

Sadlowski has also held recent meetings in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and a fund-raising beer-bust in Chicago.

Meanwhile, the administration candidate, Lloyd McBride, has concentrated his campaign among staffers and local officials. In Cleveland, McBride held a campaign rally that rank and filers didn't even know about.

In his home district of St. Louis, McBride has published a leaflet with quotes from company heads praising him as a fine representative of the steel workers. These leaflets were laughed out of the shops.

#### WHERE THE POWER IS

In Warren, about 3000 angry steel workers came to Sadlowski's meeting. They were there because they wanted a return to the road of fighting trade unionism. The meeting gave a sense of what the Sadlowski campaign could become.

The campaign will be a success from the rank and file point of view to the extent that it brings steel workers together and gives them a sense of their own power.

It should not be forgotten that a simple change at the top means little unless it unleashes a movement at the bottom, at the level of the rank and file.

But it is this grass roots organization work that has been the weakest aspect of the Sadlowski campaign so far. Without local organizations of rank and filers dedicated to both electing Sadlowski and changing the union, there will be no ongoing movement coming out of the campaign.

Not only that, without this grass roots organization, Sadlowski does not stand a chance of winning, because he does not have the machine of union staffers his opponent does.

The next months of a winning campaign strategy should see rank and file committees set up to carry out the campaign in the districts and locals, to draw in new people and raise money—but most of all, raise the awareness that this should be more than just an election. It must be part of a movement to turn this union around and put it on the path of fighting trade unionism. □

## Zimbabwe: The Freedom Struggle Is Not Over!



United States and British diplomats are putting the finishing touches on plans for a conference which they say will settle the future of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

This is a follow-up on the agreement announced three weeks ago by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the white racist Prime Minister, Ian Smith. This agreement is supposed to create black majority rule for Zimbabwe.

In fact it would allow the white settlers in Zimbabwe to hold on to their property and most of their privileges. They would continue to hold the real power, while a small group of pro-western black politicians led by Joshua Nkomo would hold government offices.

Kissinger and Smith agreed that whites should still control the armed forces and the police for two years, to keep order.

#### THE BATTLEFIELD

Black majority rule in Zimbabwe will not be created around a conference table. Zimbabwe will be liberated only by an armed struggle. In this liberation war, the racists are bound to lose.

There are 6000 trained freedom fighters in the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). Most of them are inside neighboring Mozambique, but a quarter are already operating inside Zimbabwe. Up to 20,000 more young black Zimbabweans have crossed the border into Mozambique for training to join ZIPA.

When the rainy season begins in a few weeks, conditions will favor the freedom fighters. The Rhodesian Defence Minister admitted the white army will face "a situation like the Americans experienced in Vietnam."

According to the London Times, when Kissinger met the white leader Ian Smith, he showed Smith intelligence reports from three US agencies and the South African secret police, BOSS.

The reports indicated that the white Rhodesians' economic and military position would collapse within a few months.

Kissinger made his deal with Ian Smith to protect the white racist system in Rhodesia, which helps protect the border of South Africa.

#### VICTORY TO ZIPA!

However many members of ZIPA, the liberation army, know they can smash the whole racist structure. They do not have to accept Kissinger's deal which entrenches the power of the white minority and the profits of western businesses.

The militancy of the liberation fighters was reflected in a broadcast by ZIPA, on Mozambique radio:

"The war is not finished. The guerilla army has not been fighting to have a black prime minister installed in Salisbury (the capital), while the machinery of oppression and exploitation remains intact."

The victory of ZIPA will bring the liberation of Zimbabwe. □

## Why No-Strike Deal Must Be Scrapped

Sadlowski's new aggressiveness on the no-strike deal is welcome, as it is the key issue facing the union. Not only does the no-strike agreement affect national contract negotiations, but this same mentality of company-union harmony affects virtually every relationship throughout the steel industry.

If your grievance seems reluctant to pursue your complaint about filthy shower rooms in the mill, that's the most basic expression of the no-strike mentality. A fighting movement to destroy the no-strike deal for the whole union will shake-up labor relations on the shop floor as well.

So it's a step in the right direction for Sadlowski to get over his previous reluctance to make the no-strike deal an important campaign issue.

But denouncing the no-strike

deal (also called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement—ENA) is not enough to defeat it, as a look at the way it is set up will show.

The ENA was originated by current USWA President I.W. Abel. It specifies that there can be no strike in the national negotiations for the next contract.

Abel expects to conduct next year's bargaining as a lame duck even if Sadlowski wins the election. If he includes the no-strike deal in the contract, that will strip the union of the strike weapon until 1983.

Unless Sadlowski outlines how he plans to stop lame duck negotiations and smash the ENA in time for the 1977 bargaining, all his talk against the no-strike deal is little more than empty rhetoric. □

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