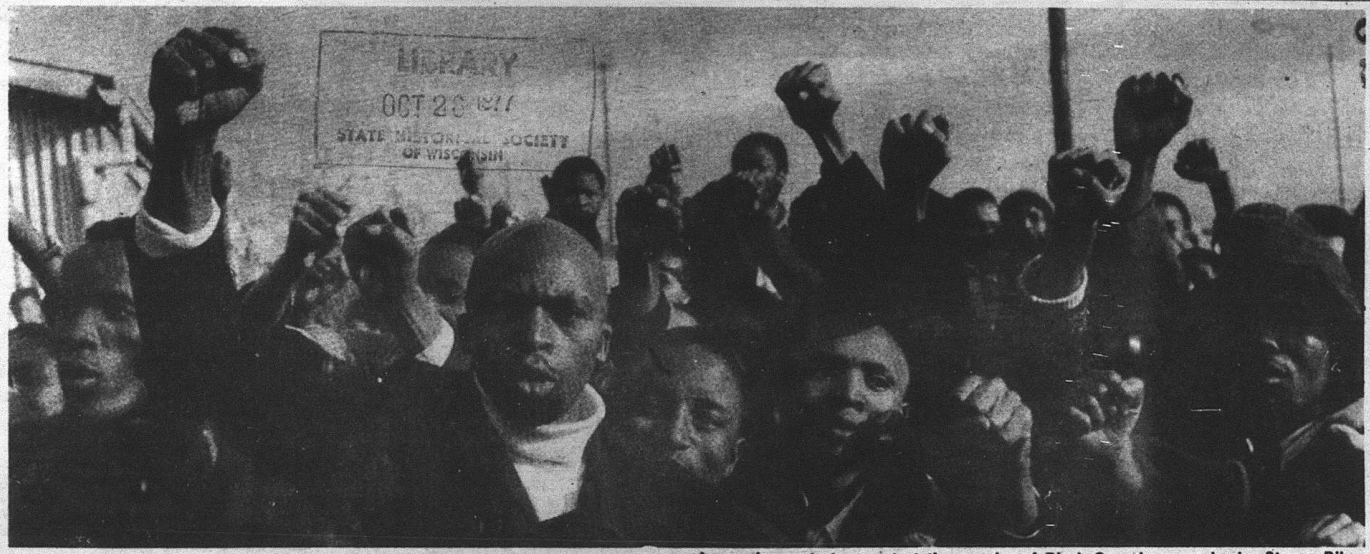


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WORKERS' POWER

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS OCTOBER 24, 1977 #228 25c

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Angry demonstrators protest the murder of Black Consciousness leader Steven Biko.

SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICE STATE CRACKDOWN

THEY CAN'T KILL THIS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM!

The men who murdered Steven Biko struck again Wednesday.

The South African government launched the biggest wave of repression since the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

The entire Black Consciousness movement has been outlawed.

Every Black student organization has been outlawed.

The Black People's Convention—OUTLAWED.

The Soweto Committee of Ten, led by the most moderate

Black lawyers and doctors—OUTLAWED.

The two Black newspapers in Soweto—OUTLAWED.

Black parents' and teachers' associations in Soweto—OUTLAWED.

That is only a brief list. In reality, every possible source for legal Black protest, no matter how moderate or peaceful, has been choked off.

For a more detailed report . . . see page 4.

WHAT HAPPENED TO JOAN LITTLE?

by **Elissa Clarke**

JOAN LITTLE DISAPPEARED from a North Carolina prison October 15, one day after calling her attorney, reportedly desperate to talk to him.

Women across the country rallied to the Black woman's defense two years ago when she was tried and acquitted for the stabbing death of the white jailer who tried to rape her.

"I hope she escaped and I hope she's alive," Little's attorney **Jerry Paul** told **Workers' Power**.

"They singled her out. They pushed her to the breaking point," Paul said of officials at North Carolina Correctional Center for Women where she was still serving time for her original conviction on breaking and entering and larceny.

Paul told **Workers' Power** that he felt Little wanted to talk to him about the way she was treated by

prison officials.

He visited her in prison the day before she disappeared, and has not heard from her since.

HARASSMENT

The attorney explained that Little had repeatedly been led to believe that her good behavior qualified her for certain programs—but then she was denied such privileges.

The New York Times reported that Little was suspended from a work-release program as a dental assistant because she missed work two days. Her employer explained that she had been sick, and had never missed work before.

Little had qualified for a sponsorship program that allows an inmate to leave the prison three nights a week under the supervision of a sponsor.

Paul and others put a lot of effort into finding an acceptable sponsor for Joan Little. "But at the last minute, the prison officials just would not let her go," Paul said.

• Last month, Little was denied parole on her seven to ten year sentence.

"She should have gotten parole," said Jerry Paul. He told us that the Parole Board had been scheduled to hear Little's application in two weeks time.

But when the one Black member of the Parole Board got sick, they suddenly made time to hear the case immediately. Parole was denied.

"She was losing hope," Paul said.

• Jerry Paul also told us that he had received calls from other inmates about charges the prison officials had against Joan Little. The inmates called him to explain

that the charges were fabrications.

One inmate reported to Jerry Paul that she had been in the office when a prison official ordered the removal of papers from Little's file concerning her good behavior. These papers were removed before the Parole Board hearing.

COURAGE

Joan Little "kept to herself" at the prison, Paul said. But to the prison officials, this was not enough.

Joan Little is a symbol of courage and determination to hundreds of thousands of women.

She is a Black woman who defended herself against a rapist—a white man—a jailer. And then she defended herself against the state which charged her with murder for defending herself.

Through her struggle, she be-

came a revolutionary. After her acquittal, she spoke out for Black people and prisoners.

This time, it is the jailers who are suspect. They claim Joan Little escaped. The burden of proof is on them. Joan Little better be alive to tell her side.

ATTORNEY IMPRISONED

Jerry Paul himself is now in prison serving two weeks for contempt of court charges that resulted from the Little trial.

Paul surrendered voluntarily on Tuesday, October 18, but the court refused to take him into custody.

"They want to come in the middle of the night," Paul said when he spoke with **Workers' Power**.

Paul is now unavailable to help Joan Little.

Is it just a coincidence that she needs help now, more urgently than she has for the last two years?

IRON MINERS DEFY STEEL BARONS

by Steve Lantier

EIGHTY DAYS is a long time to be on strike. The 16,000 iron-ore workers of Minnesota and Michigan have not worked since July. No iron has been mined or processed. And the miners say they are ready to stay out as long as it takes. Until Christmas, into the new year, as long as it takes.

The miners are special people. Maybe it's because—more clearly than anyone else—they see every day that their labor creates all the wealth of this world. They see that their work turns dirt into iron to make steel.

Maybe it's because the communities in which they live are so tight: you work for the mines, or your father does (like his father did before him), or if you tend bar, it's a bar where the miners drink. The whole town. So public opinion is your opinion, not something the newspapers invent.

Maybe it's because of the history: the blood it took to build the union in the Iron Range. Or because the workers are young, most of them under thirty.

Or, like some will tell you, it's because so many of them were in Viet Nam, and they learned something there about the system. Something they won't forget.

Maybe it's the arrogance of the companies, the giant steel corporations that don't care about your health, or your safety, or your dignity.

Whatever the reason is, the iron-ore miners know there's only one way to get what they've got coming. And they mean to win. Whatever it takes.

Joe Samargia is the president of Local 1938 of the United Steelworkers of America in Mountain Iron, Minnesota. With 3400 members, it is the largest of the iron-ore locals. They work for U.S. Steel.

"The companies are trying to break the Union," he says. That is what the strike is about.

Two thousand of his members are under thirty, and Samargia himself, after fourteen years on the job, is only thirty-four.

"We have a strong rank and file movement here," he says. "The companies want to break the hearts and minds of the people so it won't happen again."

COMPANY'S ATTACK

There are literally thousands of local issues, and none of them has been resolved.

There is the dust that causes silicosis.

There is the demand for an incentive pay plan, like the one in basic steel mills.

The companies say that incentives are a national issue, not a local one. Therefore, they argue, the strike is barred by the ENA—the Experimental Negotiating Agreement that bans national strikes in the steel industry.

The companies tried to get an injunction against the strike.

"They use their power on local, county, and state governments. There's constant harassment—about food stamps, welfare, a court suit."

RANKS ARE ORGANIZED

But it's not working. "We prepared a year ahead. We talked about the issues. People understand the issues, understand why they're important. We're keeping the rank and file involved."

"We hold meetings every two weeks to discuss the negotiations."

"If we get an agreement, we'll bring it back to the membership and let them decide if it's accep-



Strikers set up headquarters in school bus.

"The companies are trying to break the hearts and minds of the people."



—Joe Samargia, President, USWA Local 1938

table. If it's not, we'll go back and try to get more."

The district voted heavily for reform candidate Ed Sadlowski for president of the Union. They overwhelmingly elected Linus Wampler, a Sadlowski ally, as the new District Director. Sixteen out of nineteen local presidents voted to reject the national contract.

Wampler, Samargia, and the other miners who came down to Chicago last week to the Steelworkers' District 31 Conference (see page 12), met with an enthusiastic response.

They received a pledge of regular financial support. And plans have been made for the miners to return to the giant steel mills of Gary and East Chicago to explain the issues, win support, and collect money directly from the rank and file.

UNION'S NO-STRIKE DEAL

Because many see the iron ore strike as proof of the ENA's failure,

support from the International has been less than spectacular. Although officially supporting the strike, the International is committed to its national no-strike policy, and voted against raising strike benefits. Only three executive board members, including Wampler and District 31's Jim Balanoff voted in favor.

Samargia believes that the iron miners' strong rank and file organization is part of a movement throughout the union. And that one of the goals of that movement must be to end the ENA.

Just as the ENA has become the symbol of the present administration's policy, so the militancy, organization, and solidarity of the iron-ore workers is becoming a symbol of the changes that need to be made.

"If we won the strike tomorrow, and got everything we want," says Joe Samargia, "I still think it would show what's wrong with the ENA."

Another Energy Ripoff

"...there is potential war profiteering in the impending energy crisis. This could develop with the passing months as the biggest ripoff in history..."

The President sounded very pro-consumer and anti-big business as he attacked the oil companies last week for convincing the Senate to drastically change his energy program.

In dispute is how high natural gas prices will go.

And Carter himself is planning the second biggest ripoff in history.

Under Carter's plan of continuing government regulation of new natural gas, the companies' income would be \$100 billion.

THEY WANT MORE

The oil giants want deregulation that would bring them \$150 billion.

In 1973, the oil companies made \$18 billion.

The oil companies have wanted deregulation for years. You may recall that it turned out that last winter's fuel shortages had been planned years in advance to blackmail the public.

Since the oil companies control fuel production, they just stopped expanding capacity until it fell behind need.

Elderly people froze to death and education halted for many children whose schools were too cold to stay open.

Then Jimmy Carter declared this piracy was an "energy crisis" that all Americans must sacrifice to solve.

That's because under free enterprise, companies are supposed to look out for profits first. Public service is a by-product—sometimes.

PRESIDENTIAL FAVOR

Now the President and the oil companies are haggling over the price of turning the gas back on.

By denouncing the oil companies' greed, President Carter is actually doing them a favor.

He is making everyone forget that fuel prices are already too high. And that his own proposal will raise them even more. That fuel is already one of "the biggest ripoffs in history." That's how the Rockefeller got to be so rich.

That's how the oil companies got to be 12 of the 26 biggest corporations in the U.S.

Fuel is a necessity of life. Profits are not. Why not run the fuel industry to produce fuel instead of to make a few men rich.

TEAMSTERS ELECTION

Holmes Ducks Fair Vote

DETROIT—Robert Holmes, Teamster Union International Vice-President, "head" of all Michigan Teamsters, Member of the "New Detroit Committee," and President of Detroit Grocery Workers Local 337, is used to acting important and powerful. Now he is acting scared and desperate. Why?

Bobby Holmes' first three titles, and others as well, are given to him by fellow bureaucrats in the Teamsters Union and by the Auto magnates who run this town. But that last one, President of Local 337, is what's causing the problem.

Every three years Holmes has to be elected to it by the union's members.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), has stood for using the power of the rank and file against the grocery bosses' crack-down.

Now Janadia and a slate of rank and filers is challenging Holmes again. This time he's fighting like his yearly \$100,000-plus salary depended on it. It does.

Holmes knows the only way he can win is to keep the vote small and turn out his machine vote and pray they stay loyal when the curtain on the booth closes.

This year the polls will only be open Wednesday and Thursday from 8am to 5pm—the two busiest days of the week in grocery.

DIFFERENT THIS TIME

This move is obviously designed to keep the vote down to Holmes' loyalists. He'll try to bus in those places he thinks he can carry. Holmes' machine has lots of money behind it and will take hard work to beat.

But rank and file anger in the local is very high. Last time Kroger's went to Holmes. This time buttons for Holmes at Kroger's ended up in the trash can. Last time the bus that was supposed to pick up Pepsi workers got "lost" cause Holmes couldn't count on their vote. This time car pools are being organized.

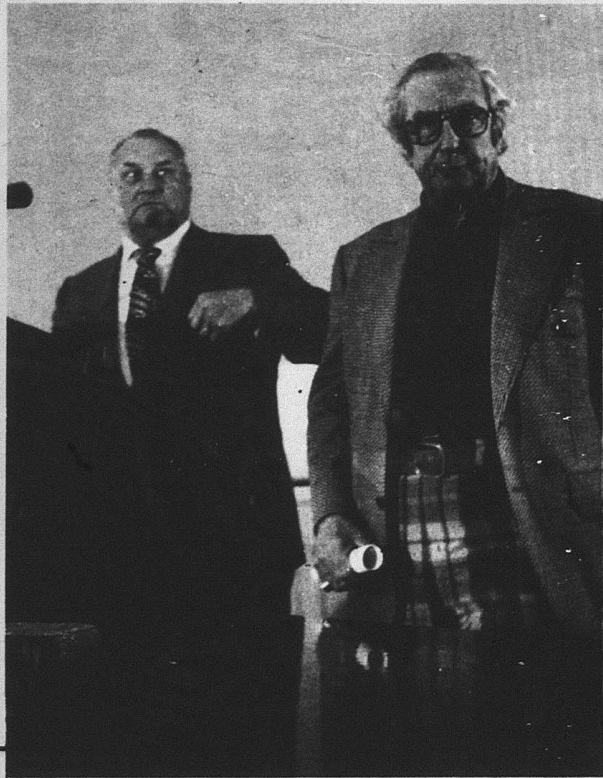
Last time people didn't think it was possible to get rid of "the king." Now they know it can be done. □

MONEY, THREATS CONNECTIONS

Now he's got plenty going for him. All the power over election procedures. The threat that opponents will be fired if they lose. An army of Business Agents putting up \$500-1,000 to keep their jobs and working overtime for once in their lives—at campaigning.

Until three years ago, all this did the trick. Bobby Holmes was king. But then Bob Janadia, a truck driver for Grosse Pointe Foods, and five others challenged him in the election. Bobby Holmes didn't take them seriously. He kept the polls open three days til 6 or 8pm. But Janadia and the others drew up to 45% of the vote.

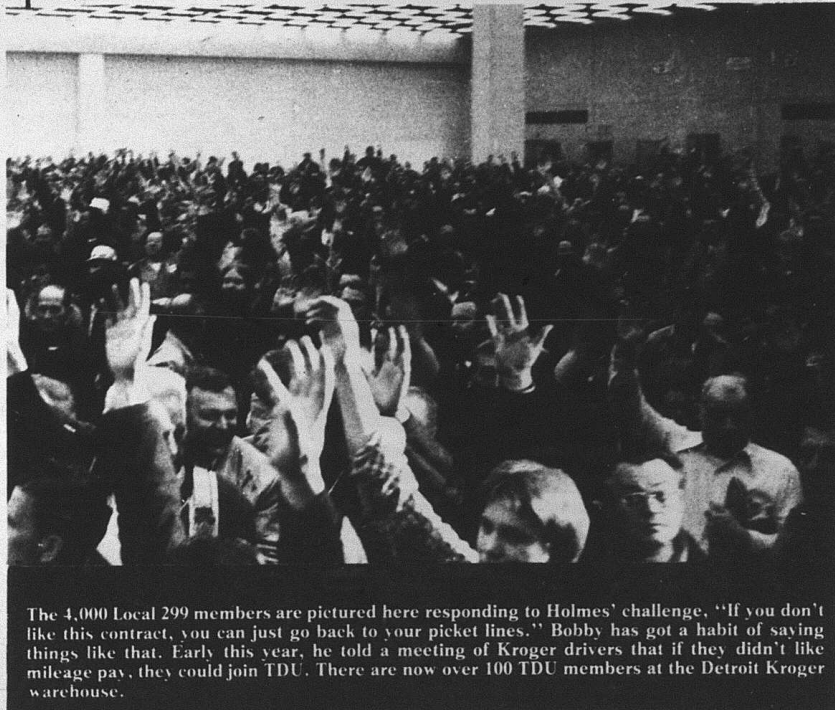
Janadia, now a member of



But He's Still A Loser

Bobby Holmes (right) tells 4,000 Teamsters during the Freight Wildcat in 1976. "We don't need you." Next to him is Dave Johnson, then President of Local 299. During the freight negotiations, Johnson, a "good-ol-boy" of the Hoffa school had been too soft on the rank and file for Fitz and Holmes. Johnson even said that the Teamsters for a Decent Contract was "doing a fine job." So who came to Fitz' rescue? You guessed it, Bobby Holmes.

EVERYONE'S GOT A STAKE IN 337



The 4,000 Local 299 members are pictured here responding to Holmes' challenge. "If you don't like this contract, you can just go back to your picket lines." Bobby has got a habit of saying things like that. Early this year, he told a meeting of Kroger drivers that if they didn't like mileage pay, they could join TDU. There are now over 100 TDU members at the Detroit Kroger warehouse.

THE ELECTION in Local 337 is the most important in years. Not only because it's a chance for Detroit Grocery Workers to get some fighting representation. They aren't getting it with Bobby Holmes and that's why the odds are he'll fall from his throne.

But all other Teamsters have an important stake in this election too. Bobby Holmes is an International honcho in the Union's haulers, and many other Teamsters see their contracts chipped away. Finally, Holmes is an

Grocery Division

and he's led plenty of sellouts there too—sellouts that affect Teamsters throughout the country. From the mileage pay-cut at the Kroger system, to cut-rate subcontracting, to failure to organize the South, and more. If he falls grocery workers will have a lot more room to push.

It won't be the right people at a national level on top yet, but the ones that replace Holmes will be scared and we can push them.

Holmes is also head of all

Michigan Teamsters

He's the one who is in charge of the State Grievance Committees where freight, car-

International VP

The Vice-Presidents get elected by their cronies at Conventions like last year's circus in Las Vegas. The membership can't touch them there yet, but it can sure get them back home.

If Holmes loses in Detroit, he'll keep some retirement post. But his power will be gone.

And all the others—Roy Williams of Kansas City Local 41, Jackie Presser of Cleveland Local 507, Provenzano of NJ Local 560 and the rest—they'll get the message. And so will their members. The whole gang still needs to be put out of work, but on their way out they may try to keep their jobs by selling out the ranks less.

A victory in Local 337—or even a strong rank and file vote—will aid all Teamsters. □

The South African government outlawed the Black Consciousness movement Wednesday.

Over 50 Black spokesmen have been arrested in the first wave of police raids. There are certain to be more.

by Dan Posen

Repression is an everyday fact of life for 20 million Africans, the 80% Black majority, in South Africa.

Over a thousand young Black people have been killed by police since the June, 1976 Soweto uprising.

Dozens have died in detention, under police torture.

The recent murder of Black Consciousness leader Steven Biko, his skull smashed in by police clubs in a prison cell, was a warning to anyone else who might dare to organize for Black freedom.

But even with this background, the new wave of repression has brought the South African police state to a new level of rule by terror.

BACKGROUND

After the massacre of unarmed Black protestors by police machine guns at Sharpeville in March, 1960, the major Black nationalist movements in South Africa were outlawed.

The African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress ceased to exist as open, legal mass organizations.

But in the late 1960's, new South African Black student groups were formed.

The government allowed them to exist legally. It believed that legal Black organizations could be easily watched, harassed and controlled.

The South African economy was booming. Growth rates were 10 percent a year.

American, British and European capital was pouring in. All effective Black opposition had been ruthlessly crushed. The South African rulers felt secure.

NEW SITUATION

Today the situation in South Africa is completely different.

In 1973, mass industrial strikes swept the country. The Black working class, in Durban and the gold mines, went into motion.

The 1974-75 world recession cut the price of gold almost in half.

And in Soweto, in Port Elizabeth, and in Cape Province, in the universities and even more in the high schools, the Black Consciousness movement has succeeded.

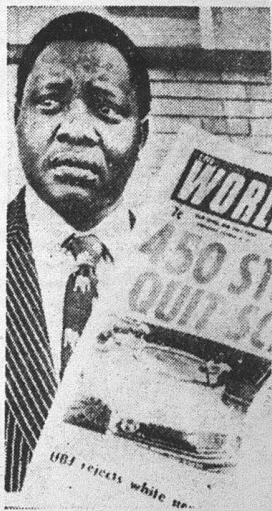
It has mobilized students in the tens and hundreds of thousands, shut down the Soweto school system and laid the groundwork for a mass Black revolutionary movement.

That is the real reason the movement and all its organizations have just been outlawed.

It organized solidarity demonstrations in support of Angola and Mozambique national liberation struggles.

The Black Consciousness movement succeeded even though most of its founders have been jailed or forced to flee the country.

It succeeded even though nine student leaders were put on trial for treason.



Editor and reformer Percy Qoboza and his newspaper, now outlawed.

Even though its founder, Steven Biko, was banned from activity in 1973, then arrested and murdered in September.

The rulers of South Africa are no longer secure.

TOTAL CRACKDOWN

But even this isn't the whole story.

The crackdown goes beyond the organizations and leaders of the Black Consciousness movement.

It includes practically the entire moderate Black adult leadership, like editor Percy Qoboza and physician Nthato Motlana of Soweto.

Qoboza published the major Black newspapers The World and Weekend World. Motlana was a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, a moderate reform group seeking self-government for Black Soweto township. At least five other members were arrested.

Even a white liberal editor, Donald Woods, was arrested as he was preparing to leave on a speaking tour of the United States.

This is a direct slap in the face at Jimmy Carter's administration and his South Africa policy.

It is men like Qoboza, Motlana and Woods who are the hope of the Carter administration for racial reform.

Their arrest practically leaves Jimmy Carter and Andrew Young with no one in South Africa to talk to!

At the end of November, the all-white minority South African

WAVE OF REPRESSION



Routine repression on a South African street. Now its getting worse.

electorate will go to the polls. The Nationalist Party government, which is carrying out the wave of repression, will be re-elected in a landslide.

The credibility of the entire Carter administration's southern Africa policy may be blown out of the water.

What could they do about it? If the U.S. government actually supported Black freedom in South Africa, it could do plenty.

It could break diplomatic relations.

It could cancel government contracts for U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

It could break off government relations with U.S. banks loaning money to South Africa.

In short, it could put its money where Jimmy Carter's mouth is.

But South Africa's Black activists and organizers long ago gave up the illusion that American economic pressure will reform South Africa.

Their struggle will continue. The Black moderate spokesmen can be outlawed. The organizations of the Black Consciousness movement can be outlawed.

What can't be outlawed is the revolutionary Black consciousness that movement created.

U.S. Aids South Africa

"I AM NOT the kind of guy to go around looking for South Africans to do business with," says Lewis Smoot, President of Black-owned Smoot Construction of Columbus, Ohio.

Smoot didn't have to look. The U.S. Department of Transportation found Grinaker Precast Ltd. of Johannesburg, South Africa, for him.

Soon, Smoot Construction and Grinaker may be working together to share a contract to manufacture concrete railroad ties for use in renovating U.S. rail lines.

South Africa is despised throughout the world because of its apartheid system that denies almost all rights to its huge Black population.

The rail tie contract is part of a government program that's supposed to aid U.S. minority businessmen.

The Department of Transportation told the Black businessmen who wanted to bid for the job that they would have to find a foreign partner to supply technical know-how.

GAVE LIST

It provided a list of approved foreign experts. Smoot says he picked Grinaker after a Canadian company that headed the list turned him down.

Smoot claims that he will control the manufacture of the ties because he will own 51% of the joint company that will be set up.

But the foreign experts will supply all the technical knowledge of how to make the ties. If Grinaker wins the contract, it will provide technicians from Johannesburg to direct production. Without them, not a single tie can be produced.

The contract is probably worth a billion dollars.

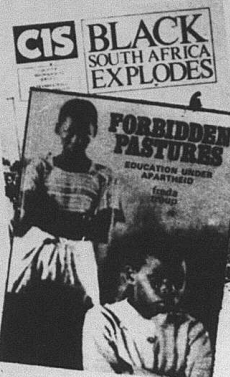
Major renovations to U.S. railroads are planned, and no one else in the U.S. produces these rail ties.

But a good share of the profits that are supposed to help minority business may go instead to South Africa, the world's leader in racism.



Books On South Africa From Sun

Black South Africa Explodes \$2.25. Forbidden Pastures \$1.40 Act I of the Revolution \$.25 Triumphs and Tears \$1.15. All postpaid. Order from Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park Mich. 48203.



South Africa: Act I Of The Revolution

by Glenn Wall
For their triumphs and for their tears
WOMEN IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA
HILDA BERNSTEIN



Workers' Power 228

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"We're getting people involved in changing the union"

On October 5, Chrysler's Eight Mile Stamping Plant held a special election for a position that became vacant on the union shop committee. Eight Mile is one of the smaller units in the huge, 12,000 member United Auto Workers Amalgamated Local 212. Ordinarily such an election would have attracted little attention.

But this time the incumbent local union administration turned out officers and assistants, committeemen from other plants, even a past president of the local to campaign for their candidate, Shirley Robinson of the Green Slate, against John Ware of the Watchdog Team.

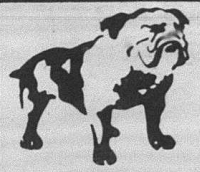
The Green Slate lost, in a close election. John Ware, leader of the Watchdog caucus and a socialist, now sits on the Eight Mile shop committee.

Workers' Power talked to Ware about the Watchdog Caucus and the significance of its victory over the Green Slate.

"The Green Slate has absolute control of all the local officers and the vast majority of the shop committees in our local. There may be a few independent shop commit-

teemen, but they still lean toward the Green Slate.

"There has never been a local-wide slate that took any offices away from the Green Slate. There have even been people that got



WATCHDOG TEAM

For Shop Committee Vote—

#2 JOHN WARE



For the Workers' Needs Against The Company's Greed

**VOTE IN TRAILER IN PARKING LOT
VOTE October 5**

Printed by Union Labor

Campaign literature for John Ware, "Watchdog Team" victorious candidate for committeeman. "Watchdog Team" is a rank and file caucus in the United Auto Workers union.

elected to the shop committee and then immediately joined the Green Slate. They buckled under pressure.

"The Green Slate is now a totally degenerated, totally procompany, bureaucratic structure. I would say that my local leadership is probably one of the worst in the UAW.

"People wanted to get involved here at Eight Mile because of the working conditions. People felt that the plant had went from bad to worse and they were fed up with the answers they were getting from the Green Slate.

"I think they were looking for somebody to convince them to get involved in changing the union."

REDBAITING

During the election the Green Slate spread rumors about Ware's being a socialist - although all his supporters know about his politics.

He told us, "People in our caucus asked me about it and I explained to them what my position was.

"I explained to them that our caucus was not a socialist caucus, it was a union caucus that was open

to people that wanted to fight the company, that wanted to build a stronger union.

"And I explained to them that I thought my politics helped to do it, you know, helped that cause.

"Being a socialist helped me to understand class relationships, understand the foreman's relationship and why the company does what it does."

"It helped me understand workers' role, our historical role, and it helped me to be an organizer. I mean to be a socialist you understand that you have to organize working class people.

"I learned how to organize people, how to run meetings.

"What helped me too, I think - a socialist has political convictions that probably transcend most trade unionists' commitment to the struggle."

Ware began the Watchdog caucus at Eight Mile in 1975. Since that time it has slowly built its reputation.

LAYOFFS

"At that time it was right after the '74 layoffs and people had been moved around in different Chrysler plants.

"One of the biggest issues in the plant was that people wanted to return to their home plants, where they had friends. A lot of people lived closer to their home plant.

"So one of the first things we did was take up a petition to get people to return to their home plants.

"When we took it to the local union meeting, they said they couldn't do anything right then. But we did win it in our last local contract.

"Of course they didn't say that our petition or rank and file pressure had anything to do with winning it in the contract.

"After that I tried to get a caucus at Eight Mile plant, because most people felt it was too big a job to try to run people in the whole local.

"It was in the last three months that I brought a group together and we decided to get caucus jackets and try to get a real presence in the plant.

"The breakthrough came when they had this special election to fill the vacancy on the shop committee.

"Most of the people felt like if there was somebody in office to help them that they would be more willing to put themselves forward. Everybody wanted me to run."

The Watchdog caucus feels it will be able to continue its momentum and get more people involved in the union, now that they have reason to believe it can be used to fight the company.

"We have brought some real good people around since the election and we hope to capture a majority of the steward spots in the elections in November.

"We have a fairly decent relationship with the skilled tradesmen. We have older people, women, Arabs.

"It's a predominantly Black slate but we have whites, Arabs, we have an oriental woman in our caucus.

"Since I've been in office I think I've done a fairly decent job just trying to convince people that we're not out to divide the union, but we're out to serve the rank and file and not the bureaucracy."

We asked John how he was making out with his new responsibilities. He said, "I'm pretty tired, running around, they trying to jam me up so I be running all day.

"The company's trying to figure out if they should dump the Green Slate, because they've pretty well figured out that we gonna take control of that plant anyway." □

TO BE RICH

Life is better if you're rich—and that goes for plants, too. Mrs. Randolph Hearst Jr., mother of Patty Hearst, wife to the Hearst fortune, buys bottled spring water for her plants and her dog. Mountain Valley. Only the best, you know. □



OCTOBER, 1917 - WORKERS' POWER

To most Americans Russian communism means dictatorship. The suppression of human rights.

There is no denying that this has been the case for almost fifty years.

But it wasn't always like that.

In its first years, the Russian Revolution was a democratic workers' government. Workers controlled the economy. Great strides were made toward the liberation of women, national minorities and all working people.

This working class democracy was undermined by years of civil war. Invasion by the armies of twenty-one nations. And the resulting economic collapse.

In spite of its eventual defeat, the working class revolution accomplished in Russia in 1917 was one of the greatest steps ever taken toward workers' power and socialism.

They wanted freedom—so they fought for it...

THE RUSSIAN WORKING class took charge. No more Czars. No more aristocrats. No more corrupt politicians, profiteers, or military butchers.

The working people ran the fields, the factories, the army, and the government itself.

That was the Russian Revolution. October, 1917. Sixty years ago.

It may seem far off, strange, alien to the world we live in today.

But take a closer look at the conditions that led ordinary working people in Russia to revolution.

A country of 150 million people was being destroyed by World War I, the most brutal war civilization had ever seen.

Russian workers and peasants, often without proper shoes or uniforms, went to the front to kill and be killed by German workers—all to decide which group of bosses would control the wealth of China, India and Africa.

RICH GOT RICHER

But not everyone in Russia suffered from the war.

In 1914, the first year of the war, profits reached fabulous levels:

"The Moscow textile factory of the Riabushinskys showed a net profit of 75 per cent; the Tver company, 111 per cent; the copper works of Kolchugin netted over 12 million (rubles) on a basic capital of 10 million."

That description comes from Leon Trotsky, one of the greatest leaders of the Russia Revolution.

Trotsky wrote: "Lady-in-waiting Vyrbuva [the top servant of the royal family] says that in no other season were such gowns to be seen as in the winter of 1915-16, and never were so many diamonds purchased."

Unemployment was massive. Starvation widespread. The economy near collapse.

Over a million soldiers returned from the front to find no work and no way to make a living.

The agricultural and industrial resources of the nation were devoured by the war machine. For the population, goods were scarce, high-priced, or just unobtainable.

By the end of 1916 prices were soaring.

By mid-February, 1917, the bread supply of St. Petersburg, the capital of Russia, was nearly exhausted.

The government was run by crooks, surrounded by scandals, bribes and cover-ups.

The royal family (called the Czar and Czarina) were controlled by a drunken, lunatic mystic called Rasputin.

He used the treasury to pay off his friends and finance his orgies.

You might say it was like having the workings of the government controlled by Charles Manson.

But it didn't bother the businessmen of Russia who were getting rich off the war.

LAW AND ORDER

There were liberal reformers who didn't think the country should be run this way. They turned out to be just as crooked as the rest.

There was a sort of Democratic Party in Russia, called the Kadet (Constitutional Democratic) Party.

It talked about reform, about getting rid of the crooks at the top, about restoring people's faith in the government.

Meanwhile it was funded and controlled by big business. It supported the war which was ruining the country.

And as the country fell to pieces, the liberals stopped talking reform and started demanding law and order.

The Kadet leader, Miliukov said in 1915: "We are walking on a volcano... the tension has reached its extreme limit... A carelessly dropped match will be enough to start a terrible conflagration."

"Whatever the government—good or bad—a strong government is needed now more than ever before."

NOT SO DIFFERENT

These conditions are certainly very different from those we are living in right now.

But while they're different, they are certainly not so strange, or foreign, or hard to imagine.

There is nothing strange about big business and the rich profiting from the suffering of the majority.

The Russian Revolution broke out in 1917 because people had to

fight back in order to survive.

It began in February, 1917, when housewives and working women demonstrated in the streets, demanding bread.

Then the old monarchy fell. The liberal reformers came into power.

And—nothing changed.

The war went on. There was nothing to eat.

Just to survive, the Russian workers had to start organizing to take over the factories and the army and the government.

In October, 1917, 60 years ago today, they succeeded.

A mass movement of workers' councils, led and armed by the revolutionary socialist Bolshevik Party, overthrew the capitalists' government and put the Russian working class in power.

The story of the Russian Revolution is the story of millions of working men and women struggling to organize. To change. And finally to control their own lives. □

The Politics of Lenin—40c postpaid—explains the role of the revolutionary party and its leadership in the struggle for workers' power. Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost—50c postpaid—why the workers could not continue to hold power and why Stalin's dictatorship was able to take over. Order from: Sun Distribution 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI.



In the workers' councils, one peasant said, "We are teaching ourselves how to organize." [Bottom, right] Workers vote at a factory meeting.

...and organization

THE REVOLUTIONARY workers' movement in Russia didn't start big. It didn't start with hundreds of thousands—or even tens of thousands.

It grew over the years out of the struggles of working people for economic and political justice.

The organization that actually led the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Party, was scarcely fifteen years old.

And when the revolution first broke out in February, the Bolsheviks had only 30,000 members.

By October, when the Russian Revolution was victorious, they were 250,000 strong.

Of course, the Bolsheviks could not have grown so fast, nor the revolution have succeeded, without an experienced political leadership and wide support in the working class.

SMALL BEGINNINGS

It took more than 20 years for the Russian socialist workers' movement to get itself organized and prepared for the revolution. It started in the middle of the 1890's, when very small groups of socialist workers began organizing factory circles and discussion groups.

Dozens, even hundreds, of small groups formed, were broken up, defeated, and had to start over again.

It took nearly ten years of struggle before these groups were able to organize themselves into a political party with a regular

newspaper — which had to be smuggled in to the country from outside.

Those were the years when the Russian working class grew most rapidly, as new factories sprang up.

Those were also the years when Russian workers struggled to form unions, to gain higher wages, to reduce the 16- and 18-hour work days, to win political rights.

Most strikes were defeated. Workers were regularly attacked by the police, shot at, arrested, jailed for union organizing.

COMMITMENT

But these fights produced greater numbers of workers committed to the long-term struggle for freedom.

In every strike, in every battle against the bosses and the government's police, the socialists were the people who urged their fellow workers:

Rely on your own strength! Build your own organizations! Your own unions and strike committees! Mobilize the rank and file! Don't rely on promises made by liberal politicians!

REVOLUTIONARIES

And it was the revolutionary socialists who organized a mass movement of women workers, who demanded the rights of oppressed national minorities, who demanded real democracy.

WORKERS' POWER IN ACTION!

Written by
Dan Posen,
Terri Ferguson,
Kim Moody.

...and finally they took it!

IN OCTOBER, 1917, for the first time in Russia's history, the nobles, the landlords, the rich and idle had lost their power to rule society.

Now the "ordinary" people—the millwrights, the seamstresses, the farmers, the housewives—were governing the vast country.

They governed themselves democratically. Millions of active and organized Russian workers had become the new state power.

To do so, it was not enough for a few individuals to exchange places with the old government officials who held debates in plush halls and handed down decrees from above.

They needed an entirely new system of power.

FIGHTING CITY HALL

When they started out, most Russian workers did not believe they could fight City Hall.

Most did not believe they could run the factories without the foremen.

Most soldiers did not believe the army would function without officers to hand down orders.

In fact, the first stage of the revolution, in February 1917, saw the replacement of the Czarist government with a liberal government. These liberals continued to run things in the old way, maintaining

capitalist industry, private ownership of the big estates, and continuing the war.

The Czar was gone and the aristocrats on the run, but life remained the same for the masses of people.

But as the workers began fighting for improved conditions, as the peasants began demanding land and the people began demanding bread, they found themselves forced to organize, step by step, for power.

A workforce which had been used to taking orders and being kicked around was faced with the question of how to organize production on its own.

Mass meetings were held frequently in the plants. And the same process began happening in the neighborhoods over housing, among the peasants on the landlords' estates, and in the military.

In the cities, towns and villages, representatives were elected from the factories, farms, and neighborhoods to establish order, allocate food, and make the political decisions necessary for life to go on.

ORGANIZED

The bodies were called "workers' councils" or "soviets."

As the liberal government that replaced the Czar proved more and more unable to meet the needs of the people, the workers, peasants, and soldiers turned to the workers' councils for help.

Soldiers refused to obey orders from the "legal" government and asked the workers' councils for direction.

Peasants petitioned the workers' councils to "legalize" their new control over the land.

Workers' appealed to the councils to support their demands.

And everyone looked to the councils to end the disastrous war.

Soon the soldiers, workers and peasants trusted no one's orders but the workers' councils. The formal government was unable to get any of its directives enforced.

Even before the October revolution declared them the legal government of Russia, the workers' councils had become the national state power.

The Russian workers and peasants established their own democratic government because they had no choice. They could either take power or be crushed.

They were not born revolutionaries or raised as revolutionaries.

A system in crisis drove them to strike, to join revolutionary organizations, and finally to set up their own government.



to rule ourselves." [Left] Railroad workers elect delegates to the workers' council. [Above, right] The Peters-

Organized for it...

The revolutionary wing of the Russian workers' movement formed the Bolshevik Party.

In 1917, it was the Bolsheviks who called for the mass factory councils to link up, to spread, to solve the crisis of Russia by taking power into their own hands.

The vast majority of the working class was won to the Bolsheviks demand for a revolutionary government of workers' councils when every other possible solution was tried and had failed.

AMERICA TODAY

America in 1977 is far different from Russia in 1917.

Russia was the world's poorest capitalist nation. America is the richest.

In America today there is only the tiniest beginning of a socialist movement in the working class— weaker than the Russian Socialist workers' movement of the 1890's!

But the American working class is also far larger, more powerful and better organized in industry than the Russian workers of that time.

And most important, large sections of American workers are beginning to feel the effect of a new world capitalist crisis.

The Black community in America feels it worst. Steel workers are feeling it. Teamsters are feeling it.

In one union, one industry, one factory after another, American workers are looking for ways to fight against attacks on jobs, wages

and conditions.

Workers' Power and the International Socialists don't believe that the bosses will be able to solve this crisis.

We are struggling to build the socialist workers' movement in America today, so it can solve the problems it will be facing in the years to come.



Former bosses perform honest labor. In the struggle to build socialism there was plenty of work to be done. The workers' councils said, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

COAL TALKS START

"What'll we give 'em this year, Joe?"
"I dunno Arnold. How about an Absentee Policy?"
"That's good, Joe. Comb your hair."

by Jim Woodward

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE and restoration of lost health benefits are shaping up as the number one and two issues as serious negotiations begin on a new Bituminous Coal contract.

Negotiators for the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) are working against the December 6 expiration date of the present contract.

Given the issues involved and the attitudes on both sides, there are very few people indeed who think that the 130,000 miners covered by this contract will still be working December 7.

UMWA District 17 in West Virginia is the union's largest and, with adjoining District 29, probably the most militant district. A miner in District 17's Charleston office

told Workers' Power that although the district had submitted many bargaining proposals to the International, "basically they want the health and retirement benefits restored in full and a limited right to strike."

"And that's all over," he added. "Not just this district, it's all over the nation apparently."

MAJORITY VOTE

The "limited right to strike" would give a local union the legal right, by majority vote, to strike to enforce the contract. This is particularly important in West Virginia, where coal operators tend to ignore the contract whenever it suits them.

As it is, the miners' only recourse is to wildcat strikes, which leave them open to firings or court action.

The right to strike is a major

union contract demand, mandated by the UMWA convention last year. All three candidates in this summer's union election supported the right to strike. And Arnold Miller, the winner, recently repeated his support for the demand, saying he would not recommend a contract that did not include the right to strike.

Some union members have their doubts, however. Jim Hepe is an Ohio miner who is currently an assistant to UMWA Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick. Hepe told Workers' Power that "out of the three candidates [Miller] was the one least inclined to support the right to strike. He'd give it up for anything."

COAL OPERATORS

If the union leadership privately is shaky on the right to strike, the



Arnold Miller, UMW President (left) and BCOA chief Joseph Brennan.

coal operators are not.

We will "demand... the right to operate our mines during a contract term without the constant debilitating imprint of the wildcat," says Joseph Brennan, president of the BCOA.

In opening contract presentations, Brennan added a thinly-veiled threat that if wildcat strikes are not ended, "we will... see the decline and possible extinction of the United Mine Workers of America."

The BCOA is so concerned with this point that they have hinted they are willing to restore full benefits to the UMWA Health and Retirement Funds if there is strong action against wildcats.

Health insurance for over 800,000 miners and their dependents was drastically cut July 1, and pensions threatened, when some of the Funds ran out of money and the operators refused to re-allocate cash from the other, healthy, Funds.

The coal operators have not said what contract provision they think would be effective against wildcat strikes. When asked, BCOA Vice President Morris Feibusch told Workers' Power, "I don't have anything [on wildcats] I would talk to the press about."

ABSENTEE POLICY

Hepe thinks they plan to go after an absentee policy. "Right now we've got a two-day deal in the contract. If you're off two days you've gotta have a doctor's slip. I'm sure they're really gonna try to tighten that up."

"We've always fought that damn thing," he added. "Cause it's just opening the door to let the companies start firing people. But that's definitely the route the companies want to go, and I would imagine—damn near bet my life on it—that Miller will accept an absentee policy."

Miners have a right to be doubtful about some of their negotiating team. One of the top bargainers, seated at President Miller's right hand in a recent negotiating session, is a lawyer named Ron Nathan.

Nathan is a former colleague and close friend of Harry Huge. Huge is the UMWA's representative on the Health and Welfare Funds. He voted with the coal operators in June for the cutback in the miners' health care.

Although the coal operators are presenting a tough, united front in these negotiations, they have one soft spot—they are rolling in money.

Usually the operators' initial presentation at contract negotiations contains a woeful statement about how their profits are in dire trouble. This year, the cash is flowing in at such a rate that they didn't even mention low profits. No one would have believed them. □

David Katz

A STRIKE IN PATTERSON COUNTRY ?

A WILDCAT STRIKE in District 23 of the miners' union?

That's almost like saying George Meany was spotted walking a picket line. But amazingly enough, it's true.

District 23 is small. Its members work mainly in the strip mines of Western Kentucky. And there is a lot of non-union coal around. The district is dominated by Lee Roy Patterson, who lost the June election for the United Mine Workers presidency.

While wildcat strikes sweep the rest of the coal fields, District 23 rarely joins in. The reason for that is named Lee Roy Patterson.

Patterson was an ally of the corrupt former UMW President Tony Boyle. As a member of the UMWA International Executive Board, Patterson would rush back from Washington to keep the miners working when a wildcat threatened.

So when Lee Roy Patterson pulled his district out on a one-day wildcat strike October 4, some observers decided that he's building his reputation for the future.

The strike was in protest of action the union's International Executive Board was threatening to take against UMW Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick.

Patrick was refusing to pay expenses, amounting to between \$20,000 and \$30,000 for a 53-man goon squad UMW President Arnold Miller had sent to bust up a wildcat strike this summer in West Virginia. The IEB had threatened to bring Patrick up on charges unless he paid the bills.

SPECIAL MEETING

Miller called a special board meeting to consider the issue, and District 23 went out the same day.

After the IEB meeting, Patrick said he would pay the bills under protest.

In a related development, the Labor Department turned down Patterson's appeal of the June election. Patterson had contended that the election was conducted illegally, and asked the Labor Department to order a re-run.

It was not immediately clear whether Patterson would take this appeal to the federal courts.

But he returned to his old job as a strip miner when his IEB term expired last month. This may be an indication that he has not given up on running for office in the future, since some observers had expected him to take a company job. □

Dock Unity Periled

TWO EXAMPLES of trade union solidarity in the east coast longshore strike were snuffed out last week.

In New Orleans, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) leaders forced the members of Locals 1418 and 1419 back to work.

In effect, they were forced to scab on themselves.

The New Orleans longshoremen, in defiance of their top union leaders, were striking all ships in

port. They thought that's the way a strike should be run. ILA officials had decided to strike only container-ships, which carry pre-packed vans.

FEWER WORKERS

These container-ships require many fewer workers to load and unload. In New York, for example, where 60% of the freight comes in containers, only 7500 out of 12,300

longshoremen have work on any given day.

New York ILA members, however, are paid even if there's no work, under a "guaranteed annual income" plan. New Orleans, along with other southern ports, has a very inadequate guaranteed income plan.

Dock workers fear that as containerization spreads south, their jobs and their income will be in jeopardy.

That's why the New Orleans longshoremen wanted to hit the employers with everything they had. "If the [New Orleans] strike goes another week, the Mississippi River from New Orleans to Minneapolis will be jammed up," said one observer, referring to the barges of grain which are shipped out of New Orleans.

But the ILA leaders made sure that didn't happen.

On the west coast, it was a federal court that did the dirty work.

The west coast longshore union, the ILWU, was backing their eastern brothers by not crossing lines set up by pickets flown in from the east coast.

The strikers were picketing only those companies that have container-shipping operations on the east coast. The court ruled it was illegal for ILWU members to honor these picket lines.

After the court ruling, the eastern longshoremen withdrew their picket lines.

INJUNCTION FEARED

One of the reasons the union has closed down only part of the industry is their fear that the Carter Administration might seek a Taft-Hartley anti-strike injunction. The government can do this if it thinks the strike constitutes a "national emergency."

That means the government will tolerate this strike only so long as it has minimal impact. That probably suits the employers just fine too.

It's time the ILA decided whether it wants to win this strike, and if so it has to stop being afraid of Jimmy Carter. □

Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

United Parcel Service workers in Oakland, California are talking about the \$4500 back pay settlement Mark Burks got recently as the result of an arbitrator's decision. Burks was fired by UPS on the charge of fighting with a customer. Teamsters Local 70 won his reinstatement with back pay. UPSers think it just goes to show that the customer isn't always right.



The New York office of the United Farm Workers union has been the target of attacks by unknown assailants. After a week during which rocks were thrown through windows, a fire bomb destroyed much of the union's printing and visual aids equipment October 9.

Black lung, methane explosions, crushed arms and legs... these are just a few of the hazards of being a coal miner. Now you can add another to the list—arthritis. A Charleston, W. Va. doctor studied his patients, many of whom are coal miners, for 18 months. He concluded that miners run twice the risk of getting rheumatoid arthritis as non-miners. Rheumatoid arthritis is more than just aching joints. It's a serious crippling disease that can cause death.

The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), one of the largest employer groups in the country, will soon announce the formation of a committee to "promote good employee relations." NAM is considering calling it the "Committee for a Union-Free Environment." Workers' Power would like to propose that the unions counter with a "Committee for an Employer-Free Environment."

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

INJUNCTIONS THE BEST JUSTICE MONEY CAN BUY

On October 6, seven Michigan auto workers became convicted criminals facing a maximum of six months in jail, and fines.

Why? They were among thousands of workers at Chrysler's Trenton Engine plant who walked out on wildcat strike in August.

They were protesting firings stemming from an earlier heat walkout.

"People refused to work because they would not be treated like animals," said one of the seven.

There is no law against wildcat strikes.

But on the strike's second day, Federal Judge Phillip Pratt issued an order prohibiting "blocking people from entering or leaving the plant."

Now the "Trenton 7" are convicted of "contempt of court."

Yet the U.S. Supreme Court in its very first decision under modern labor law, in 1937, termed the right to strike as "fundamental."

Then why do courts allow injunctions to gut this right and turn ordinary people into criminals?

Radical lawyer W.W. STRUNCK answers this question for Workers' Power readers.

by W.W. Strunk

THE LABOR INJUNCTION is the most hated anti-labor legal weapon in the employer's arsenal. It has a long and inglorious history.

Courts in the last century developed this remedy out of whole cloth, using the law of "nuisance" as precedent. They routinely granted injunctions against strikes.

Judicial hostility to unions grew out of hostility to collective action in general.

A conspiracy to do even a lawful act was illegal at common law; a labor union was held to be a conspiracy by definition. Membership was a crime.

By the turn of the century, the wholesale use of injunctions reached such outrageous proportions that both the Republican and Democratic parties had adopted platforms against "government by injunction."

NORRIS-LAGUARDIA

Attempts by liberal legislators to fashion laws that would restrict the use of injunctions were unsuccessful until 1932, when the Norris-LaGuardia Act became law.

This act, the single most progressive piece of labor legislation ever passed, simply outlawed every labor injunction except those involving violence.

Even then, severe restrictions were put on the procedures whereby employers could get an injunction. The injunction could only be directed at the violence, not at the strike itself.

Since the Norris-LaGuardia Act is still law, and the Trenton 7 engaged in a peaceful wildcat strike, the law should have prohibited Judge Pratt from granting the injunction, right? Wrong.

TAFT-HARTLEY

Wrong, because there is another piece of labor legislation called the Taft-Hartley Act, which supposedly



One of the Trenton 7 being arrested. The seven Local 372 members were fired by Chrysler. The other thousands of strikers are back at work at the Trenton Engine plant. The trial and convictions were punishment for solidarity: the strike won back the jobs of workers fired in a heat walkout.

Judge Feikens' old law firm works for Chrysler, and his son was handling a case for the company at the time of the trial.

has two purposes as stated in its preamble (introduction):

- securing of workers' rights through "collective bargaining" between unions and employers, and;
- "elimination" of strikes.

These two purposes are seen as related. That is, by giving workers their rights, they won't want to strike.

Thus, in 1962 Lucas Flour case,

the U.S. Supreme Court (the liberal Warren Court) ruled that even if a specific no-strike clause is not spelled out, the courts will nevertheless read such a clause into the contract if the contract provides a grievance procedure for the union.

This conclusion was based on the Court's stated view that the grievance procedure, as part of collective bargaining, should be a "substitute" for strikes.



1974 wildcat strike at Dodge Truck (left) and the Judge who broke it (below).



"Take down your pickets!"

THE EXPERIENCE of peaceful wildcat strikers in the Detroit area over the last several years reinforces the conclusion that the courts are in the companies' pockets.

- Federal Judge Cornelia G. Kennedy held court on a Friday evening until 9:00 pm during a 1973 wildcat at Chrysler's Detroit Forge plant in order to give the company time to get its injunction.

- In 1974, Macomb County Judge Junter D. Stair had secret meetings with Chrysler officials during the injunction proceedings during the Dodge Truck wildcat. Ultimately, he appeared on the picket line in his robes (see picture above) with a Chrysler court reporter, on the back of a flatbed Chrysler truck, driven by the Chrysler personnel manager. He held court there using a bullhorn, and personally caused the arrest of 20 picketers on the spot, effectively breaking the strike.

- In 1976, during a Teamster wildcat, Federal Judge Charles W. Joiner signed an injunction order drawn up by the company without even reading it. (Joiner later had the decency to reverse himself.)

"But what can workers legally do when the company itself violates the contract?" you may ask. The court's answer: file a grievance.

1970 DECISION

So it should not be too surprising that the Court decided in the 1970 Boys Market case that the Norris-LaGuardia Act should not bar labor injunctions against a peaceful strike where the issue of the strike could have been grieved under the contract.

If such a strike could not be enjoined, employers would not have "incentive" to establish a grievance procedure, the Court says: this would undermine the process of collective bargaining.

What is surprising is that the Court admitted that it was rewriting or "accommodating" the Norris-LaGuardia Act to be in accord with the "national labor policy."

Courts do not often state that their rulings violate written laws.

WILDCAT STRIKES

What has been said so far applies equally to union-sanctioned strikes and to wildcat strikes. But special factors come into play during a wildcat strike.

For, in a wildcat, not only the company but the union as well

seeks to break the strike. The union has promised labor peace, but the striking members threaten its ability to deliver to the company.

Courts are especially arrogant toward workers' rights in these situations.

The Supreme Court outdid itself in the celebrated case of Emporium Capwell.

On their own time, the employees had advocated a consumer boycott, to raise issues of company racism which the union refused to address strongly.

In ruling that the company could legally fire employees for this, the court revealed the real purpose of labor law.

Collective bargaining is encouraged "not for its own sake, but as an instrument of the national labor policy of minimizing industrial strife."

That means, workers' rights have no value of their own in the Supreme Court.

There is a lesson here about the nature of labor law: there is no labor law, there is only labor policy. And what is that policy? To eliminate strikes.

We have come full circle. Every time workers take independent action to improve their lot they are fired, and the courts back up the firing. "Government by injunction" has returned.

IF YOU LIVE IN DETROIT, YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO KNOW...



WHY ARE THESE MEN SMILING?

PETE ESTES, President of General Motors. Pete made \$885,000 last year.

LEONARD WOODCOCK, retired president of the United Auto Workers. Leonard received the ambassadorship to China from **JIMMY CARTER**. Just Jimmy's way of saying thank you for Leonard's years of service to American business.

COLEMAN YOUNG, he has Detroit's voters in his hip pocket. He's so confident of winning the mayoral race next month that he hasn't bothered to campaign on the issues.

JOHN J. RICCARDI, Chairman of the Board of Chrysler Corporation. He made \$691,733 last year.

And **HENRY FORD II**, Detroit's aristocracy. He pocketed \$970,000.

What brings these politicians, business executives and labor leaders together?

They all serve each other and manage to live high... while Detroit rots. The neighborhoods deteriorate. On the job it's push, push, push—if you're lucky enough to have one.

I.S. LAUNCHES '77 FUND DRIVE: WE NEED YOUR HELP

The International Socialists is holding a fund drive to raise \$21,000 by December 17. We need to raise this money in order to continue the progress we have made in the past year.

Our members have become established rank and file leaders in the unions. In Teamsters, Auto, and Steel we have helped to lead fights for union democracy, campaigns for decent contracts, and militant election campaigns for union office.

This year we are becoming a multi-national organization. Through our work in organizing the

Black community against South Africa, in support of busing and against racism, significant numbers of Black people have joined the I.S. for the first time.

But all this progress costs money. Unless we raise the \$21,000 from this fund drive we will have to drastically cut our activities.

We are appealing to all readers of **Workers' Power** to contribute whatever they can afford.

Make checks payable to International Socialists or to Alexander Boyer and mail them to International Socialists, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. □

JOIN US!

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

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NOTE CHANGE OF DATE!

Where We Stand

WE OPPOSE

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

WE SUPPORT

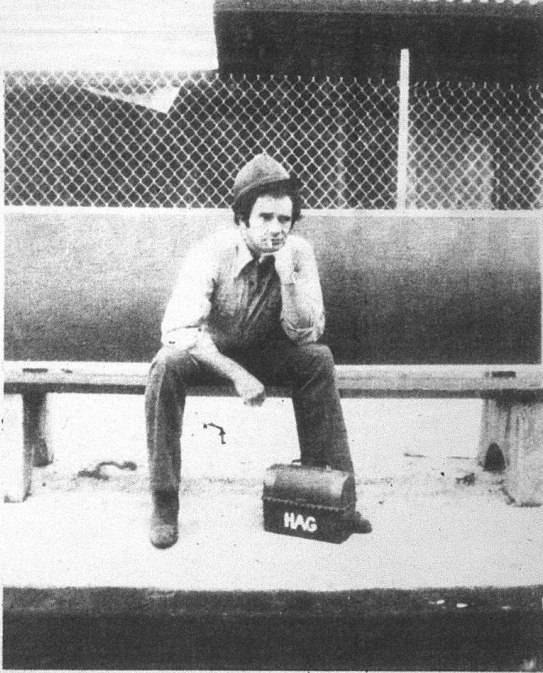
- **THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT**
The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace, not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.
- **LIBERATION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

I.S. BRANCHES

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VIEW FROM THE AUDIENCE

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



Merle Haggard in a photo from his album jacket.

High Prices, Crummy Wages, Debts And Speed-up Set Your Toes To Tapping

by Klm Moody

"A Working Man Can't Get Nowhere Today." That's the truth. And it's also the latest song by country singer Merle Haggard.

Ordinarily high prices, crummy wages, debts, and speed-up don't set your toes to tapping. But when Haggard gets his skillful hands on these dismal facts, he lays out the plight of most working people, and lays down some pretty good country music.

Even if you don't like country music, you are likely to identify with the situation he describes.

"IT AIN'T MADE"

"For years I've been working my rear off to make a living. But it ain't made."

Karl Marx could not have described the condition of the working class under capitalism more aptly.

More than most country singers Haggard takes pride in his working class origins.

His parents were Dust Bowl refugees from Oklahoma. Along with thousands of other "Okies" in the 1930's they worked the fields of California. And many of his songs reflect these early experiences.

But Merle Haggard is no Marxist. He knows there are social

classes. In one of his earlier songs, "Mama's Hungry Eyes," he spoke of "another class of people who put us somewhere here below."

But this exploitation of one class by another is just something to be sung about, sighed at, and accepted as part of life.

Not that anyone ever thought it was the duty of country singers and musicians to lead the revolution. The only people who ever suggested to Haggard that he pose as a "proletarian prophet" were his producers at Capitol Records. They had in mind revolutionizing only their revenue.

REFLECTING-SOMETHING

Music, after all, is more likely to reflect popular thought and sentiment than lead it. This is certainly true of country music.

Merle Haggard is reflecting something real in "A Working Man Can't Get Nowhere Today."

And whether he knows it or not, or likes it or not, he is doing a service to the working class by reflecting its frustrations on key.

Thanks, Merle. Keep it up this way and we will get somewhere someday. □

Just Look - Everybody Loves Reggie

IT'S AMAZING, if you think about it.

For hitting three home runs in the deciding game of the World Series, Reggie Jackson became the biggest hero the people of the Bronx have had in 15 or 20 years.

I don't mean to single out Reggie Jackson, the individual. The same could be said of half a dozen other superstars from the New York Yankees, any of whom could have been The Biggest World Series Hero Of All.

The point is that Reggie Jackson happens to symbolize one of the most interesting cultural contradictions of America today.

Reggie Jackson's fame and success won't bring a single new job to the Bronx.

WON'T BRING CHANGE

The Yankees' World Series victory won't change the life of a single working class or unemployed family in the Bronx or New York City.

The lives of the Yankee Heroes have no connection with those of the fans who worship them.

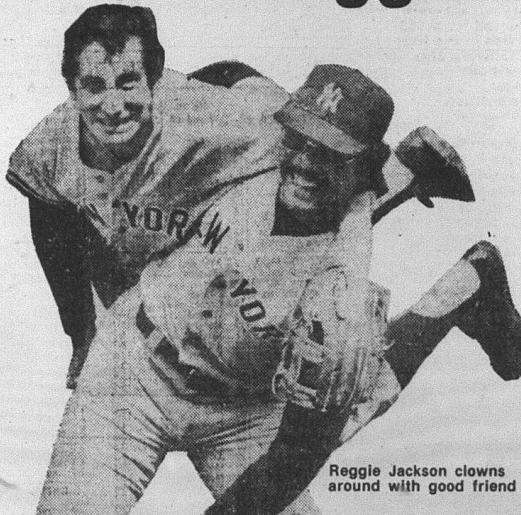
Reggie Jackson, for instance, lives in a Fifth Avenue penthouse overlooking Central Park, a symbol of the affluence and economic freedom that the vast majority of working people in New York can't get near.

He makes \$330,000 a year exclusive of bonuses, prize money and testimonials for commercials.

The Yankee Heroes aren't exactly realistic role models, either. Not a fraction of a fraction of one percent of Black or Puerto Rican or white working class kids in the Bronx can hope to follow in Reggie Jackson's footsteps.

But those kids and a vast number of their parents love the Yankees, no doubt about it.

Well, they have a right to. They sure paid enough for it.



Reggie Jackson clowns around with good friend

Yankee Stadium was rebuilt for the team's owners by the bankrupt city of New York, for somewhere in the area of \$100 million.

A matter of blocks away lies the South Bronx, devastated and left to die because the banks who own New York City don't care to put any money in to rebuild it.

DRAINED RESOURCES

In a very real way, Yankee Stadium is the drain of resources which is killing New York's Black and Hispanic communities.

Yet Yankee Stadium draws more Black and Spanish-speaking baseball fans than, probably, any other franchise in major league baseball.

It's not easy to understand exactly why baseball, and mass

spectator sports in general, have this fantastic addicting power over whole communities, whole cities—and, by way of TV, the whole nation.

Are we so desperate that we can't live without super-heroes in the stadium or on the screen every weekend, and three or four nights a week?

Do people find a sense of solidarity and community in rooting for sports teams and heroes whose exploits don't make the slightest difference in the real world?

Or is it that baseball is still one of the most beautiful popular art forms and entertainment that money can buy?

Probably a little of each. I don't think I understand it. □

Dan Posen

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Workers' Power

Steel Job Losses: It's Not Imports, It's Bosses

USW District 31 Puts The Blame Where It Belongs

by Steve Lantier

CHICAGO—In a thousand factories and mills, every day, over a thousand different issues, you hear the same words. "The union's not doing anything about it."

Sometimes it is said in anger, sometimes out of weariness, or resignation, or distrust of everyone. And usually, in most unions, it is true.

The United Steel Workers of America is faced with a giant attack on the jobs of its members. At a time when a union must either prove itself or fold up, the leadership has only looked for alibis and excuses. And the rank and file repeats: "The union isn't doing anything about it."

Does it have to be this way?

Last week, there was a loud, clear answer from Chicago, the heartland of the American steel industry.

The annual conference of the Steelworkers District 31 did what it needed to do: it set out the kind of program that can protect jobs, fight the companies' attacks wherever they occur, and move the union forward.

The conference called on the union to "withdraw its support from the imports restriction campaign"; it moved to support the striking iron ore miners; it supported the right to strike and the referendum election of union officers.

It meant that a union can still fight, can still organize its members to protect themselves. It meant that Steelworkers won't be fooled by industry propaganda, won't be cowed by International officers who want them to stop thinking for themselves, won't stop fighting.

CENTRAL DISTRICT

District 31 covers Chicago and the Gary, Indiana area. With

130,000 members, it is by far the largest and most important district in the union.

It is also the center of the opposition movement in the Steelworkers, a movement to reform the union and make it respond to the members' needs.

The last District Director was Ed Sadlowski, who while losing an election for International President, carried a majority of members in the basic steel industry.

The present District Director, Jim Balanoff, represents the kinds of issues that attracted many to Sadlowski: a call for a democratic union, a determination to fight the companies, and an identification with change in society.

But the force for change in District 31 is more than Jim Balanoff.

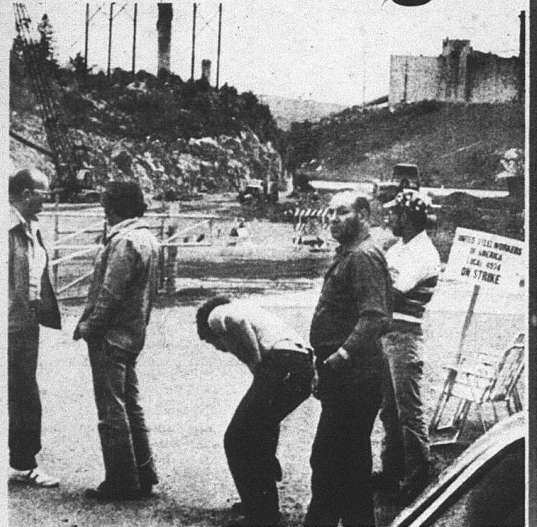
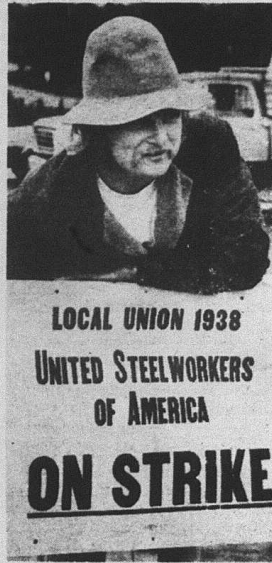
There are many in the district—grievance committeemen and local officers, as well as other members—who understand what a union is for. They are the backbone of the movement, respected fighters who can win their fellow steelworkers on the issues.

REJECT IMPORT THEORY

The best example was on the question of foreign imports.

Despite the companies' vast propaganda campaign, and the support it has gotten from International President Lloyd McBride, the members and leaders of the district refused to be panicked.

McBride's speech to the conference had said: "If it's being on the companies' side to want to save jobs, then I'm on the companies'



Several striking iron ore miners from Minnesota and Michigan were guests at the District 31 Conference. For their story, see page 2.

side."

The conference delegates rejected the position that imports were the cause of job losses, and the idea of restricting imports.

They rejected the idea that Steelworkers and their bosses are on the same side.

As Balanoff told the delegates later, "It's important not to turn one working class against another."

Instead of blaming imports, the conference put the blame where it belongs: on the steel companies.

They supported a resolution calling for a rollback of steel prices, and a national program to rebuild the cities, as the way to assure demand for steel.

Dorreen Labby, a delegate from Local 1014 (U.S. Steel, Gary Works), spoke for many when she said, "The companies aren't interested in our jobs, our conditions, our lives. They're not even interested in making steel. They're only interested in making money."

The conference showed strong support for the striking iron ore miners of Minnesota and Michigan, voting to provide regular financial aid.

The International's no-strike agreement, the ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) was denounced again and again, the delegates voting to "restore democracy in our union," by putting the ENA to a referendum of the

membership.

Such a referendum would almost certainly mean the defeat of the ENA.

WOMEN MEMBERS

The presence and active role of women steelworkers was especially notable. There was a general atmosphere that recognized that women are—and ought to be—full members of the union, that they have a right to their jobs.

The District women's caucus won strong support, and Director Balanoff announced a district women's conference. He also pledged to try to get the International Executive Board to create a women's department.

There were many other issues raised and acted on. For example, District 31 funds will be removed from any bank that does business with racist South Africa.

But more important than any single action, even the imports resolution, was what the conference itself represented.

A democratic body, with full discussion permitted, pointed a clear direction for the whole union.

Individual militants in other districts, even groups of rank and file steelworkers fighting to change their own locals, can feel isolated by the vast power of the companies and the International.

Now they know that a large, organized section of the membership is on their side.

They know now that they aren't fighting for a hopeless cause—that in District 31 today, and in other districts tomorrow—there are men and women who are ready to lead the battle to make the Steelworkers the democratic, fighting force that the membership needs.

McBRIDE TO BALANOFF:

"I'LL RUN YOUR DISTRICT"



Jim Balanoff, District 31 Director

One of the problems faced by District 31 is obstruction of the will of the majority by the International officers.

Although Jim Balanoff easily won the District Directorship, he has been denied the right to appoint a staff that agrees with his policies—the policies that the members voted for.

So far only one Balanoff appointment has been approved, that of Ed Sadlowski as his executive assistant.

Every other position—sub-district directors, staffmen (who process grievances above the local level in the larger locals, and have even greater power in

small locals), even Balanoff's press secretary—all are named by the International, and all have been chosen on the basis of loyalty to President Lloyd McBride.

McBride publicly admitted that he would refuse to appoint any member of Steelworkers Fight Back (the Sadlowski and Balanoff supporters) to a staff job.

"Fair Treatment for District 31" has become an issue of whether the membership's will is to be carried out.

It is an issue that makes many people angry, and—we are assured—it is not over yet. □



Lloyd McBride, USWA President