

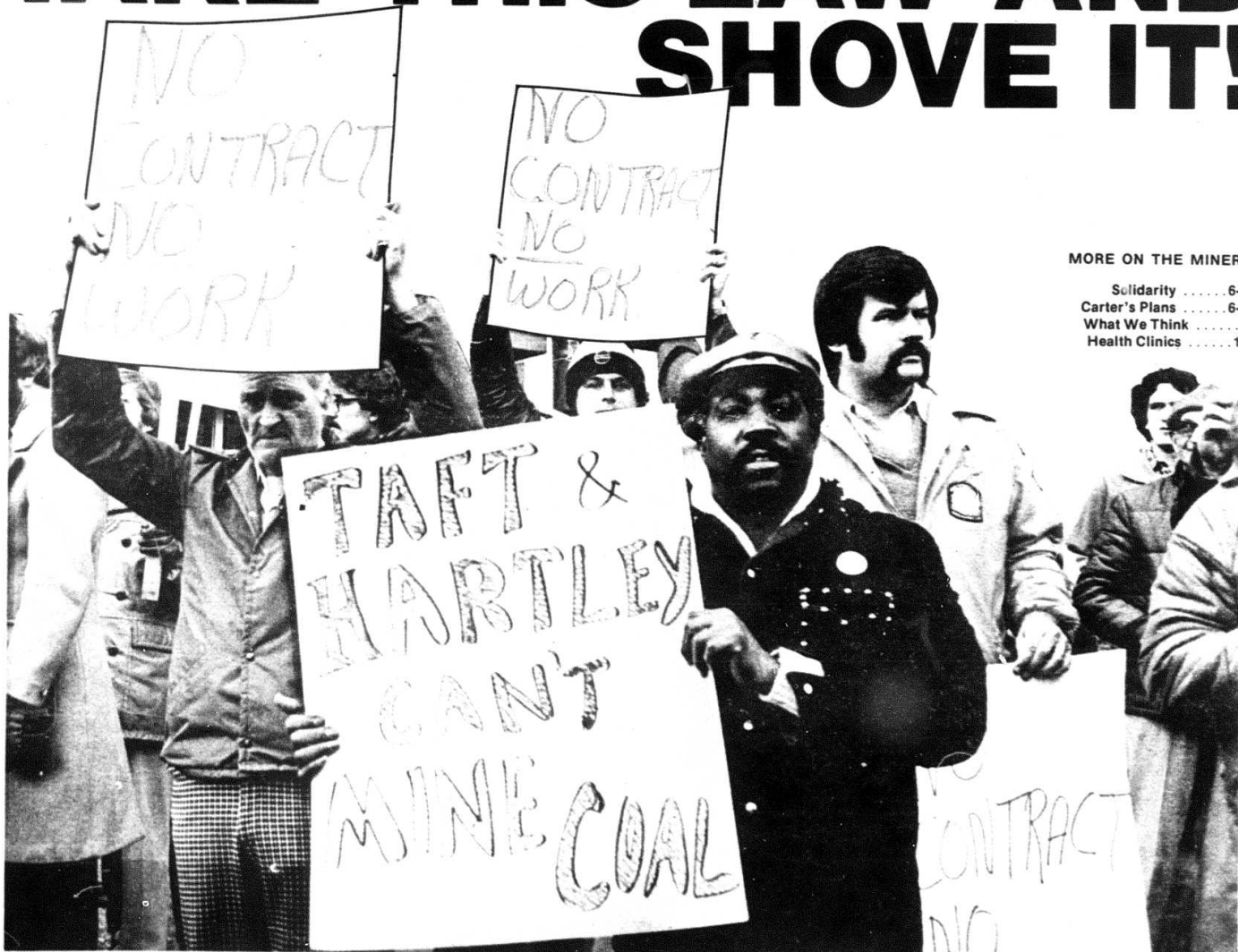
WORKERS' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS March 13, 1978 #245 25c

BONUS!
SPECIAL MINERS' POSTER INSIDE

MINERS REPLY TO TAFT-HARTLEY

TAKE THIS LAW AND SHOVE IT!



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by Jim Woodward

The miners have many different ways of saying the same thing. "Taft can mine it and Hartley can haul it," was the way one put it.

Another said, "I've been a defier all my life. I've defied the operators and the union, and now I'm going to defy the President of the United States."

And speaking of the President, "He's anti-union to start with. Anybody from the Deep South is anti-union. He wants us to be slaves."

One local union president who didn't want to be too direct "because I'm liable to go to jail for this," told Workers' Power, "You can go by past history and draw

your own conclusions."

Past history and present sentiment and just about any other indicators you can find say one thing: very few, if any, of the 160,000 striking coal miners are going back to work under President Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction.

The reason for the miners' attitude is quite simple. Despite the government's assertion that the contract the miners rejected by a 2-1 margin was "fair," it is clear to anyone who looks at it that the contract is considerably worse than the 1974 contract.

• Health care that was free in the last contract would cost up to \$700 this time around.

• There would be a 45% in-

crease in the number of hours required to qualify for a pension—with older retirees still getting only half as much as younger ones.

• The companies would get the right to fire anyone "actively involved" in an unauthorized strike.

BIG TROUBLE

Looking at the contract, Tom Bethell, former United Mine Workers research director, commented: "Industry leaders insist they weren't out to bust the UMW. From the evidence you could never tell. For their effort, they appear to have succeeded mainly in buying themselves three more years of big trouble."

For their part, the coal operators denounced the union: "The UMWA holds the nation hostage with threats of devastating losses of power."

Yet, even among their own class of people, the operators' attempt to lay the blame on the miners was not holding up. The Wall Street Journal, the biggest voice of big business in the country, editorialized:

"We think that if we were a coal miner we'd have voted against the proposed contract too . . . It is not the workers but the negotiators who need a 'cooling off' period. The idea that this breakdown has occurred because of an excess of union democracy is absurd. The

miners have a point. But nobody seems to listen to them."

The one thing this struggle has done is to unite the coal miners. Jim Hepe, an Ohio miner, told Workers' Power: "The men are together. I've never seen anything like it. No shit. Our local's got 256 men, and 249 voted [on the contract]. Out of 249, 247 voted no. They had just one hell of a turnout and they all vote no like that. Our district was 85 or 86% no."

It's this kind of unity, courage, and determination that got the miners this far. And if they keep that, they will not be defeated—not by the coal operators, and not by the strike-breaking Carter Administration. □

HOW MUCH PROGRESS?

by Karen Kaye

FEBRUARY 29, 1968: "Our nation is moving towards two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal," said the report to President Lyndon Johnson.

"What white Americans have never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget, is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it and white society condones it."

The report was from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, hastily established by President Johnson on July 27, 1967 while the Army occupied the burning city of Detroit and warred with much of its Black population.

MARCH, 1978— Black unemployment today is double what it was 10 years ago, an annual Urban League survey reveals. Using official government statistics, which tend to underestimate real unemployment, "The State of Black America—1978" reported that while in 1967, 7.4% of the total Black labor force was jobless, in 1977 it was 14.7%, about where it remains today.

Yet recent surveys show that today, many whites think that there is little racial discrimination against Blacks.



Today, 49% of whites think that "only a few" Blacks in their city miss out on jobs and promotions because of racial discrimination, while in 1968, only 39% of whites held that opinion.

In 1968, 21% of whites thought that "many" blacks suffered discrimination. Today, only 17% of whites say "many".

However, fewer Blacks than 10 years ago think that there has been a "lot of progress" in getting rid of racial discrimination in the last 10-15 years.

Fifty-one percent of Black people today think that there has been "not much change" in getting rid of race discrimination in the last 10-15 years, compared to 1968 when only 34% saw "not much change" and 63% saw "a lot of progress."

The figures show that the Black perception is more accurate.

Ten years after the height of the Black Power movement, the Black

middle class has increased somewhat, but the majority still live in ghetto conditions that tend to be worse than they were ten years ago.

- A quarter of all Black families are in the economic middle class today, compared with half of all white families, the Urban League study reports. The New York Times reports that in 1976, 28% of Black families had incomes over \$15,000, but only 7% made \$25,000 or more.

- There are more Black government officials today. The Washington based Joint Center for Political Studies reports that while there were:

...eight Black Congresspersons in 1968, [there are] 16 in 1978.

...Within 10 years, the number of Black state senators increased 81%, and the number of Black state representatives, 74%. The number of municipal Black officials has tripled in the past 10 years, currently totalling 2083. In 1970, there were only 48 black mayors in the United States; today there are 163. ... Nonetheless, it adds up to less than 1% of all elected officials in the U.S.

The growth of the Black middle class, more visibility of Black people on TV, and a substantial increase in the number of whites who think that "only a few whites dislike Blacks" may contribute to the white misconception that discrimination is a thing of the past.

In 1968, 72% of urban, northern whites thought that "many or almost all whites dislike blacks", but by 1978 this figure had dropped to 40%.

In 1968, 46% of whites said they "would not mind at all" if a Black family with about the same education and income moved next door, while in 1978, 66% voiced that opinion.

However, there are fewer such opportunities than opinions.

GAP GROWS

- The gap between median Black and white family incomes has grown.

The 1968 \$3500 difference between median Black and white incomes has increased to \$6285.

- Government figures say that 28% of all Blacks live in poverty and that 40% of Black children are growing up in poverty. Unemployment among Black urban youth is about 40%-50%.

- Housing is still segregated.

While white flight from the cities expanded Black neighborhood boundaries, inner-city housing is deteriorating. Large areas of New York, Newark, Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Gary, Buffalo, Los Angeles, Houston, Memphis and New Orleans are abandoned. This includes housing erected since 1968 in the Model Cities programs.

- Important gains of the civil rights movement are in danger of being reversed.

If the Supreme Court rules in favor of Allan Bakke, affirmative action programs that have allowed Blacks more access to jobs and higher education will end. Anti-Black organizations such as the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan are growing.

JOHNSON & REBELLIONS

In 1968, President Johnson had reason to seek answers as to why



What lies ahead for today's Black youth?

every major city's Black ghetto had exploded into rebellion in the summers of his second term.

With Democrats in the White House since Kennedy's 1960 victory, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed race discrimination of the sort practiced in the south: segregated restaurants, "colored" restrooms, etc.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 outlawed southern ordinances that kept Black people from exercising their right to vote.

But these laws hardly touched the north, where Black people had migrated seeking the elements of real equality: good paying stable jobs that buy decent housing, clothing, furniture, education for the children and a chance to get ahead.

The American dream remained a dream for Black people in the north, even though no law prohibited equality.

In the prosperous '60's, Black people could not get out of the ghetto, out of poverty, into the "Great Society" that Lyndon John-

son had promised.

The Commission, known as the Kerner Commission after its chairman, Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, stated that the riots were a form of protest of ghetto conditions and urged the government to take steps to encourage integration and to spend lots of money to uplift the Black ghettos economically.

John Lindsay, then New York mayor and vice-chairman of the Kerner Commission recently told the New York Times, "... although President Johnson was very gracious when he received the report, he never mentioned it again. It ended up on the shelf."

NIXON YEARS

The Nixon/Agnew/Ford administrations that followed definitely kept the ideas of the Kerner Commission on that shelf. A policy of "benign neglect" towards Black people was publically advocated by the Nixon administration through Nixon's Democrat Daniel Moynihan.

The government stood aside as industry, jobs and white people left the cities for the suburbs in the 1970's.

And as the boom of the '60's turned into the inflation and recession-ridden '70's, there was little left in the cities for the Black people trapped there by racism.

But the most important reason for the lack of Black progress in the decade past lies in another policy that spanned administrations and political parties.

The only reason that civil rights legislation passed Congress under Johnson was that for years before, thousands of people had marched, demonstrated, organized, and put their lives on the line to win the demand for civil rights. This the government could grant.

But when the movement came north, demanding jobs and housing, when the call changed from "civil rights" to "Black Power", these demands were a threat to the capitalist system.

In a society that exists by lurching from boom to bust, and only approaches full employment in wartime, someone has to be at the bottom. The capitalist class has spent 400 years fostering racism in the hope that if those at the bottom were Black, the white majority wouldn't mind the inequality in society.

POPULAR MOVEMENT

The Black movement of the '60's was popular and therefore becoming powerful. It was picking up some support from whites, especially in the anti-war movement.

But the alliance was far too fragile, almost totally isolated from the white working class.

The government was thus able to systematically wipe out the leadership of the Black movement.

The destruction of the Black movement was the most serious setback for Black Americans in the last decade. That attack continues today, in the form of an attack on gains that movement won.

But today, the white working class is under attack too, from the same enemy. If the fragile black-white unity that began to develop in the '60's can be forged stronger today, working people can prevent another 10-year defeat, this time for both races.

Ohio Mayor Okays Anti-Abortion Law

by Elissa Clarke

It's the law. On March 8, Mayor John Ballard announced that he will allow Akron, Ohio's controversial abortion ordinance to become law.

Ballard had been expected to veto the ordinance.

The ordinance, passed on February 28 by the Akron City Council, requires:

- two doctors to be present at an abortion, and requires them to attempt to preserve the life of the fetus

- the doctors must notify a woman's husband or parents before performing the operation

- the woman must be "counseled" about the fact that she is killing a live baby.

Ballard admitted that he doubted the ordinance is constitutional. In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled that states cannot pass laws restricting abortions during the first two trimesters of pregnancy.

ACROSS THE NATION

Nationally, the attack against the right to abortion is escalating. The right-to-life movement is picketing, trespassing, vandalizing, and fire-bombing abortion clinics around the country.

Meanwhile, in Congress, anti-abortion riders to a large variety of bills threaten to tie up legislation—including legislation like the bill on maternity benefits that was designed to alleviate discrimination against women.

In Akron, a broad coalition has formed to fight the ordinance. The Akron Pro-Choice Coalition plans to fight in the courts—and in the streets.

Around the country, women will have to take similar action if we are to protect the rights we have won, and prevent the right-to-lifers from destroying abortion clinics, and perhaps even killing occupants of the buildings that they vandalize.

Businesses Lobby Against Elderly

You can't run a business with a big heart.

And General Motors, along with 11 other huge corporations, has proven that they are heartless enough.

GM, Union Carbide, Anheuser-Busch, and Diamond Shamrock are among those corporations who have formed Electricity Consumers Resource Council, or ELCON.

ELCON is an organization dedicated to opposing lower electrical rates for the poor and elderly.

ELCON is not so stingy to everyone. They do think big industrial users should have lower rates—they cost less to serve.

ELCON complains that big corporations would wind up subsidizing customers who might pay at reduced rates.

Better the other way around, reason the big fellows.

The members of ELCON pay \$50,000 a year for membership in their little club, which keeps an eye on state legislation that might give the poor and elderly a break.

E. Clarke

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Q: WHY CAN'T ALCO DRIVERS JOIN THE TEAMSTERS?



Vincent Meli. Claims his non-union company is union.

Drivers at Alco Express claim Teamster Local 124 won't organize them into the union because of the company's mafia and Teamster ties, according to the Detroit Free Press.

Vincent Meli, Alco owner, is alleged to be a Detroit mafia figure, according to the Press article, by Helen Fogel. Meli's brother-in-law, William Buffalino, President of Teamster Local 985, is also reputed to be mafia. The article implied that Buffalino uses his influence to keep Teamster organizers away from Meli's company.

Meli owns another company, J&J Cartage. He, and co-owner Jack Russo, are on trial now on charges of extorting kickbacks from drivers' wages.

Local 299 had Alco under contract until 1976. For unknown reasons, last year Local 299 returned the drivers' dues payments and the company's health and welfare payments.

Local 124 was carved out of Local 299 by Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons last July. Ralph Proctor is the appointed Trustee of Local 124. Proctor and Meli both claim that Alco is going into the union. But the National Labor Relations Board has no record of this.

Workers' Power asked Dan LaBotz to look into this situation and see if he could get any straight answers. Here's what he got . . .

by Dan La Botz

I wonder if you can still get a straight answer any more.

Like, why is it that most truck drivers in Detroit are in Teamsters Local 299—but the steelhaulers are in new Local 124?

And why is it that all steel haulers are in Local 124—but the Alco Express drivers, who aren't in any Local?

Now, Ralph Proctor, who is the appointed trustee of Local 124, will tell you that the steelhaulers are in 124 because they petitioned to have their own Local union.

And that might sound okay—except that nobody ever heard of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons granting anybody else's petitions.

WHOSE LOCAL?

Reporter Helen Fogel's guess in her Press article, is that Local 124 was created to give Dick Fitzsimmons, Frank Fitzsimmons' kid, a job.

But you can't believe everything you read.

So I called up Local 124 Trustee Ralph Proctor and asked him. "That's bullshit, and so's that article in the paper," he told me.

Well, that cleared that up. So I went on to ask Proctor about Alco Express, and it's owner Vincent Meli.

Why, I wanted to know, hadn't Proctor organized Alco?

But, Proctor told me, he already had organized it.

"Oh," I said, "does the NLRB know about this?"

"No—but they will shortly," Proctor said. "We're waiting for the gentleman [Alco's owner Meli] to get out of court so that he'll sign a contract. I have a letter from his attorney to that effect."

Far as I know, Meli's trial has nothing to do with Proctor organizing Alco's drivers, and Proctor didn't explain. Sometimes you just can't get a straight answer.

Meli, by the way, is in court for

extorting kickbacks from drivers at another one of his outfits—J & J Cartage.

WHERE'S THE UNION?

Fogel told me, "Local 124 went into operation last July, and Proctor has studiously ignored the workers from Alco ever since."

"And," she added, "Meli agreed to recognize the Local last October, in writing yet."

I thought I remembered Local 299 had organized Alco once before. So I asked Proctor.

He said, "That's where the goddamned problem came about. Local 299 didn't sign a contract with them. Mr. Wendel sent all the dues receipts and the health and welfare payments back to the company."

I wanted to call Otto Wendel, former secretary-treasurer of Local 299, and ask him what happened—but he's dead.

Wendel died a couple months ago. Shot twice in the gut. Livingston County Sheriff called it suicide. But everybody else believes it was murder.

The Prosecutor is going to do an inquest in April. He's having trouble getting a straight answer too.

MAFIA

Maybe Fogel's come as close as anybody to getting a straight answer.



Alco applies magic to the union: 'Now you see it, now you don't.'

Her story guessed that Alco owner Meli was a mafia don. And that he gets his brother-in-law William Buffalino, President of Teamsters Local 985, to keep Teamster organizers away from his scab barn.

Buffalino's supposedly a mafia honcho too. But, like I say, you can't believe everything you read.

So I decided to go over and talk to Vince Meli. My boy, Jake—he's nine—came home, so I took him along for the ride.

Meli looks just like you might guess. Real Italian. Maybe 45, muscular, handsome. He's got wavy gray hair and he looks at you over the top of half-rim glasses.

His son Frank, a broker, fleet-owner, and driver who works at Alco, was with us as we talked.

I asked Meli about Fogel's article. "I'm Italian," he told me, "so I'm a gangster. You know, like all Irish are drunks, all Polish people are stupid, and all Blacks with a little money are drug-dealers. So I'm Italian—I'm a gangster."

TOP SECURITY

"Well, Mr. Meli," I said, "the law enforcement officials say you are a top mafia figure in Detroit."

"Those are strike-force gangsters," he said. "If I'm such a criminal I belong in jail. You know, I was in the military intelligence. I was one of 142 men who knew about Omaha beach and the invasion of Europe a year before we did it."

"I was in the same security classification with Dwight Eisenhower. If our country could trust me with such secrets, do you think I could be such a criminal today?"

"But," I said, "you are under indictment for extortion for forcing J & J Cartage drivers to kick back part of their wages to you."

"You know what I'd like to do," said Meli. "I'd like to go with a reporter to the prosecutor and tell them I'm guilty. They wouldn't take me, you know why?"

Shrug. "Because the hunter wouldn't

have the fox then to chase anymore."

I was still trying to get a straight answer. Maybe it was naive,

LOCAL 124 AGAIN

"Are the drivers here in the Teamsters?" I asked.

"Yes, Local 124."

"But the NLRB said, when I called, that they had no record of any organizing drive going on at Alco Express."

"We're being organized right now. My lawyer is handling it."

"Then you are not yet in the Teamsters."

"No—but we're being organized."

I wanted to know about Buffalino — "Did you ever have anything to do with Buffalino's Local 985?"

"No. They don't handle this kind of operation."

"So Buffalino's my brother-in-law, so what? What if your father's a judge, what does that make you?"

"I could start calling you a homosexual, and it would ruin you."

Pretty soon they'd be saying, 'Did you see they way he walks, you can tell.'

"Well, I'm Italian, so I'm a gangster. I never had anything to do with Buffalino's Local."

A TRUCK FOR JACOB

Meli asked Jake his name and how old he was.

"Look," said Meli, "I'm a Teamster myself. My son Frank there is a Teamster. We both drive sometimes. We've both got to be in the Teamsters."

He gestured toward the drivers in the other room. "If they walk out," he smiled, "we have to walk out too."

"Your boy," said Meli, pointing at Jake. "He's beautiful . . . beautiful. Franky, go upstairs and get him the model truck."

Frank ran up and came back with the model truck and gave it to Jake.

NO UNION AT ALCO

Well, I didn't get any straight answers, except maybe from Helen Fogel.

But, I learned a few things. Like, Alco workers aren't in any Teamster Local. And they aren't because Ralph Proctor doesn't want to organize them.

And, I don't know if Meli's in the Mafia or not—but something isn't right somewhere.

And, maybe 124 wasn't carved out of 299 for Dick Fitzsimmons as another monument to his father's nepotism and corruption.

But then Proctor isn't running it as any model of Teamster militancy and honesty either, not if Alco's any example.

And, maybe you can still get a straight answer from somebody. But not from the kind of jokers I've been talking to. □

A: corruption, a suicide, extortion, the mafia, kickbacks, and family influence . . .

A Taste of Freedom - And Spanish Workers' Movement Grows

by Marilyn Danton

For the first time in forty years, workers in Spain are voting in official union elections.

The workers are electing labor delegates to represent them in negotiations with management.

In Spain, unlike the U.S., the important unions are associated with the main political parties in the working class.

MILITANT TRADITION

The two largest and most important unions are the Workers' Commissions, politically dominated by the Communist Party, and the General Union of Workers, dominated by the Socialist Workers Party.

The Workers' Commissions are winning the elections so far, with 37.9% of the 80,415 delegates elected to serve on plant committees—similar to shop committees here—of 19,251 companies.

Running a close second is the General Union of Workers with 31% of the delegates so far.

It is no surprise that the Workers' Commissions are coming out on top.

They have a long and militant tradition in Spain. Organized in the 1950's underground when unions were illegal, the Workers' Commissions are based in the auto, metal and chemical industries.

As the only union with a militant tradition, they are also supported by the small but growing revolutionary left in Spain.

The union elections are only the tip of the iceberg in the militant working class activity taking place in Spain today.

COMMON OCCURRENCES

Strikes over issues from wages and working conditions to political issues such as amnesty for political prisoners are common occurrences.

What happened last fall at the Babcock-Wilcox factory in the Basque area of Spain is a good example.

In response to management's demand to "solve the crisis together" by laying off 750 workers and a wage freeze in the face of 30% inflation rate, 4000 out of 3000 workers occupied the factory.

At the factory the workers

elect a leadership committee and laid out their demands including no layoffs, COLA, no overtime.

They have kept the factory running under their control. Management has been forced to open all financial records to the workers' committees. These committees decide how the financial transactions take place.

LEFT OVERS

Side by side with this new face for a country where workers again have the right to form unions, vote, read, and write what they please after 40 years of fascist dictatorship, are leftovers from the old days of Franco.

A military court in Barcelona, the second largest city in Spain,

sentenced four members of a famous Spanish Pantomime troupe to two years in prison.

The troupe members had been found guilty of "insulting the armed forces" with a play about a military trial that portrayed the military as drunken, sadistic incompetents.

The play was approved last fall by the Spanish Ministry of Culture. The court ruled, however, that the military was "the basic pillar of our national being."

This 'basic pillar' is what is left of Franco's fascist regime that killed and imprisoned millions of workers in the 30's and 40's.

The theatrical unions have called for a national strike against the government demanding immediate freedom for the pantomimers. □

Palestine: Torture In An Occupied Land

by Dan Posen

"Day after day it was the same. If they see anybody doing anything—exercise or playing—they take him out of the cell immediately.

"They used to have us strip naked and then lay on the floor and your head against the wall. Then they would throw dirty water on you...."

This is a first-hand account given by a former Palestinian prisoner of conditions in Israeli prisons today.

Abdul Moneim Mohammed Jibril spoke to members of a delegation from the National Lawyers Guild, which sent a fact-finding body to Israel and the Occupied Territories last summer.

Jibril had been released from prison and deported to Jordan just two weeks before he was interviewed.

He was in prison from September 25, 1967 until July 1977. His family was not allowed to visit him in prison until 1973.

FRANCE: You Can't Please Everybody

With the French election coming up, the French Communist Party newspaper received a letter from a business man with a troubling question.

This particular capitalist, a progressive soul, says he is voting for the Communist party. But he is unhappy about the CP's pledge that if the French left wins the election, it will push through an increase in the minimum wage.

The poor fellow calculated he couldn't afford the extra payroll expense. So, not taking any chances, he fired one of his three secretaries.

He did not mention whether the secretary would also be voting for the Communist Party.

Well, if you think the CP is having trouble appealing to bosses and workers at the same time before the elections, just wait till you see what happens if they win... □

The American lawyers who interviewed him wrote in their report of their trip:

"We witnessed that Jibril's face was badly scarred, especially a mark that formed a gash across the left side of his forehead. His teeth were missing.

"He showed us spots on his arms which he said were from cigarette burns and were all over his body. He told us that from beatings to his genitals he had great pain and swelling up to the present time.

"He told us that his spine had been damaged from the beatings and when he stood up, we could see that he had great difficulty standing upright and walking."

Jibril suffered most of these injuries during the initial interrogation, ten years ago.

Last year, dozens of cases like Jibril's were investigated and fully documented by the Sunday Times of London.

But the facts about torture of Palestinian prisoners went almost totally unreported by the American press—simply because the government of Israel denies them.

Now, the fact-finding delegation of the National Lawyers Guild has personally investigated many of these cases first-hand.

OTHERS

• Khalil Hagazi, a Palestinian trade union official in the occupied West Bank, was imprisoned from Spring 1974 to April 1975 with no charges being filed against him.

He was held on suspicion of organizing strikers and belonging to the Palestinian National Front.

"Hagazi told us," the lawyer's delegation reported, "that during his interrogation at Nablus Prison he was hung by his feet with his head to the floor and beaten until he lost consciousness...."

"His wife was brought before him as a threat and inducement for him to confess. He was told by his interrogators that his wife would be raped if he did not confess."

• Lutfiya Hawari, a school teacher was imprisoned from 1969 till 1976 on charges of possessing explosives. She claims Israeli a-



Israeli occupation forces in Nablus, West Bank.

gents planted them in her home.

According to the Guild report, "During her imprisonment she suffered from anemia and five slipped discs caused by the beatings...."

"In 1974, prison doctors claimed she had cancerous growths and swelling on her womb. They recommended a hysterectomy.

"Hawari feared she would be sterilized and requested Dr. Anton Tarazi, a Palestinian, to witness the operation. Dr. Tarazi prevented Israeli doctors from going through the hysterectomy."

• Suleiman El Najaab, a school teacher and member of the Jordanian Communist Party, was arrested in April 1974 and accused of being a resistance leader against Israeli occupation.

In the Muscovy compound in Jerusalem, the investigation revealed, "he was suspended from the floor and hung by his tied wrists. He was stripped naked and beaten on his back, the bottom of his feet and his genitals."

Later, like other prisoners, he was forced to crawl across floors where sharp stones and other objects were embedded.

El Najaab was deported across the Lebanese border after ten months imprisonment.

END IT!

The issue of Palestinian prisoners in Israel, so far blacked out by the American press, is an important human rights issue—but it is also something more than that.

Until American workers learn the facts about what happens to Palestinians under Israeli occupation, it's impossible to understand what the current Middle East negotiations and the fight over Palestinian self-determination are really all about.

The Palestinians are fighting for self-determination, an independent state of their own, because it is the only way to end the economic exploitation, political repression and prison torture they suffer under Israeli rule.

This is why nothing short of Palestinian self-determination can bring about a Middle East peace. And this is why peace is impossible as long as the Israeli occupation and torture are financed by billions of dollars of American money. □

DOLLAR REACHES NEW LOW

West German brokers with telephones that link them to major world markets.



Competition between capitalist countries, called imperialism, can take place in many ways, for example, fights over trade, and currency manipulation.

The present dollar crisis is a result of the major capitalist countries—the U.S., Germany, Japan—trying to get a competitive edge and more profits through manipulating the value of their currencies: the dollar, mark, and yen.

by Marilyn Danton

"Can the Dollar Be Saved?" "Battered Dollar Hits 1.99 Marks in West Germany, a Record Low." "Members of OPEC Fear Split Over Dollar Slide."

Only seven weeks after the last international crisis over the falling value of the dollar, the U.S. currency is losing value again.

For most Americans, the dollar crisis is not easy to understand. The fact is, though, it will affect all of us. We will pay higher prices for American-made goods.

As the dollar loses value in comparison with other currencies, such as the Japanese yen and the German mark, goods like Toyotas and Volkswagens become more expensive. So American producers of G.M. Chevettes and Chrysler Omnis will be able to raise their prices and still be cheaper than foreign competitors.

BIG HEADACHES

But for U.S. businesses and banks, as well as German, Japanese and other important businesses and banks it is a much bigger headache.

The world economy depends upon trade between countries. With the value of each country's currency changing several times a day it is very difficult to do business, and impossible to plan ahead.

All of this threatens to slow world trade and foreshadow a recession.

As the dollar falls, the cost of imported autos climbs—and American auto makers can raise their prices. The result? Inflation.



Unstable currencies in general create serious problems. An unstable dollar is even worse.

All business with the oil-producing countries, for example, takes place in dollars. Everytime the dollar falls they lose money.

OIL PRICE INCREASE?

With the recent drop in the value of the dollar, OPEC Secretary General Ali Jaidah said that the oil-producing countries were losing about \$14 billion a year.

Kuwait, now losing \$1 million a day in oil revenues, suggested that the OPEC countries should switch to German marks because they were more stable, and were increasing in value. But an Arab banker stated "There isn't any alternative to the dollar at the moment."

The real problem is that the U.S. economy is growing faster than that of the other important capitalist countries. This contributes to a balance of payments deficit. More dollars leave the U.S. than come in. Part of this is in trade. A large part of U.S. imports is \$45 billion a year in oil.

The Germans argue that the U.S. must cut down on oil imports, raise oil prices in this country, and slow down the rate of growth. Some U.S. economists agree. Others argue that passing Carter's energy program will be good enough.

"DOLLAR IN GOOD SHAPE"

Carter stated in a recent press

conference that "the legitimate value of the dollar has not been adequately observed recently" by the international money markets. "The dollar will remain in good shape."

In other words, the problem is just speculators.

But the fact is that there is a serious and fundamental problem of unequal growth, growing inflation in the U.S. and a growing lack of confidence on the part of other governments that the Carter administration will do anything about the crisis.

Carter's latest statement only confirms this.

Earlier, the Carter administration attempted to get the Germans and Japanese to stimulate their economies to grow faster, thereby making things more equal in terms of exports and imports.

That plan failed several months ago. The Germans and Japanese prefer slower growth to inflation.

REAL LOSERS

What these countries, the U.S. included, are really fighting about is which country will bear the brunt of the economic problems and the next recession.

While they fight it out, working people all over the world will be the real losers through increased inflation, and unemployment.

And, this fight over who gets the goods is leading the world economy towards the next recession. □

Chrysler given tax break

Under strong pressure from Chrysler Corporation, the Trenton, Michigan City Council has voted unanimously to give the corporation a \$23 million tax break over twelve years.

The offer, \$13 million less than Chrysler had requested, was made after the company had threatened to move all or part of the Trenton Engine Plant to Ohio.

Reportedly, Ohio Governor James Rhodes offered to build Chrysler a plant with state money, and has assembled a parcel of land as a possible location.

Many townspeople oppose the council's action, calling it "corporate blackmail." Loss of tax revenues could put the school system and city services in severe jeopardy.

At an earlier council meeting, members voted not to approve a larger tax break request of \$36 million.

Chrysler has not yet said whether the tax break is large enough to keep them in Trenton. A decision is expected within 30 days.

P.B.

New Postmaster General picked

On March 15, William Bolger will become the new Postmaster General of the U.S. Postal Service. Previously he was deputy Postmaster General and a member of the Postal Service Board of Governors since 1975.

Bolger was picked by the Board to replace current Postmaster General Benjamin Bailor who announced his resignation last month to become Executive Vice President and chief financial officer of U.S. Gypsum Company. "Bailor simply fled a sinking ship," according to a spokesman of the Postal Contract Coalition recently formed by local postal union officials and rank and file postal workers to insure postal workers get a good contract this year.

The Board of Governors chairman, M.A. Wright stated that it was important to begin negotiations with a strong leader familiar with the bargaining issues. The official negotiations between the USPS and the unions open in April. The contract expires on July 20.

"We gave some thought to going outside" for a new Postmaster General, Wright told the press. But, "timing was an important factor here. We're going to be facing labor negotiations and we need good solid leadership for that."

MORE SPEED-UP

Bolger's appointment means a continuation of the past. Emphasis will be on putting the USPS in the black.

For postal workers this means more speed-up and automation. There are now over 600,000 postal workers—23,852 fewer than in 1976. They process 2.5 billion more pieces of mail.

Meanwhile, the Postal Contract Coalition is organized and growing. Fifteen local union officers have endorsed the aims of the coalition.

If rank and file postal workers get their way this summer, Bolger might want to flee this job too. □

M.D.

Divide And Destroy: Behind Jimmy

by Kim Moody

When the coal miners rejected the operators' latest offer by a two to one margin, they sent Jimmy Carter back to the drawing board. Carter had tried to maneuver an end to the strike by getting the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA) to accept a modified version of their original offer. This new offer was based on an agreement engineered by Carter administration officials with the Pittsburgh and Midway Coal Company.

MONKEY WRENCH

The striking miners, however, threw a monkey wrench into Carter's plan at every turn. First the P.&M. miners rejected their tentative settlement by two to one. Then the rest of the miners followed suit on the weekend of March 4. The reason was simple. The P.&M. agreement still included, or left unsettled, most of the outrageous take-away demands originally

pushed by the BCOA. The right to fire strike "instigators," productivity steps, and no resolution of the medical or pension questions.

The result — no contract. In order to get the employers to agree to this modified offer in the first place, Carter had to raise the threat of Taft-Hartley and seizure of the mines.

The threat of seizure, widely seen as anti-operator, forced the BCOA to accept the agreement.

Carter then planned his hopes on the miners to ratify the contract. The rejection forced his hand.

On Monday, March 6, Carter announced that he was invoking the Taft-Hartley Act. A fact-finding panel was set up to determine if the health of the nation was endangered, and by the end of the week the Justice Department was to call upon the Federal Courts to issue an injunction.

ONE BIG PROBLEM

But, there was one big problem. No one in the U.S. believed that the

miners would obey such an injunction. Or, almost no one. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall had warned Carter that it wouldn't work. But Presidential advisor and old crony Stu Eizenstadt said that was still the best route to go.

"Taft can mine it...Hartley can haul it." That's the attitude of most miners. The injunction will be defied, of that there is no doubt.

To minimize the humiliation of the government and the flaunting of presidential authority, the Carter administration has taken some unusual steps in preparing for the injunction.

The injunction will not be served on the national union leadership exclusively. Several federal district courts will serve injunctions on the locals, making their officers liable for fines or imprisonment.

The administration is also moving to cut off food stamps for those who defy the injunction. Currently about half the strikers are on food stamps and such a move would hurt.

But even in this event most

miners say they will continue to fight.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

The real heart of Carter's strategy for breaking the strike, however, is his plan to break away sections of the miners and the operators.

Part of this strategy is based on the differences between strip miners in the mid-west and underground miners in Appalachia.

Even Carter is not foolish enough to think he will get early or easy compliance with Taft-Hartley in Appalachia.

But, it is widely believed, strip miners in the mid-west are less militant. They don't have the same hazardous working conditions as underground miners. And, since strip mining is newer, strip miners don't necessarily share in the union's long militant traditions.

Hence, Carter is preparing for active enforcement of the injunctions in certain strip mining areas of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

According to the New York

Times, federal mine inspectors were busy certifying strip mines in those areas early in the week.

Arrangements were also being made with the governors of those states to guarantee adequate military "protection" for those miners who choose to work.

By itself, it is doubtful if this plan will work.

DIFFERENCES EXAGGERATED

The differences between the militancy of strip miners and those of Appalachia over the issues in the current dispute is exaggerated. Miners in stripping areas also rejected the latest offer by two to one. They have participated in many of the nation-wide wildcats of the past several years.

And, while their working conditions are different, they have plenty of gripes of their own about health and safety.

The administration is having some success in bringing western and non-union coal into the east. Energy Department officials claim that the amount of coal entering the

STOP GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION!

"Taft can mine it, and

Solidarity is reborn

The miners' strike is rekindling the tradition of solidarity among working people. Across the country local unions, labor and community groups, and even striking farmers are pitching in.

In the San Francisco Bay Area a Miners' Strike Labor-Community Support Coalition has been formed. The Committee has held two rallies. The one in San Francisco drew over 1,000 people. Further activities are being planned.



In Gary, Indiana, United Steel workers Local 1010 is distributing a leaflet explaining why its membership should support the strike. The leaflet will be followed up by a plant gate collection.

The United Steel Worker Local 1066 membership meeting passed a resolution directing the leadership to send a letter to President Carter denouncing his use of Taft-Hartley. The local donated \$100 to the miners.

In Pittsburgh, the Western Pennsylvania Committee to Support the United Mine Workers held a rally of 150 at the Federal Building in downtown Pittsburgh. Speakers condemned Carter for invoking Taft-Hartley to break the strike.

In Baltimore, over 1000 unionists rallied at the Steel Union Hall to denounce Carter's strike breaking efforts. The Local AFL-CIO will be sending a caravan with food and clothing to miners in Martinsburg, West Virginia.

In New York City, the New York United Mine Workers Support Committee is planning a car caravan on the weekend of March 18 and 19.

Perhaps the most dramatic display of solidarity came from striking farmers. Members of the American Agriculture Movement brought food collected from over a dozen states to a rally held at the Muhlenberg County Fairgrounds in Kentucky. □



PRACTICAL SOLIDARITY

Last month in Pittsburgh, a group of firefighters participated in a marathon football game to raise money for the striking miners. In Kentucky, firefighters are also supporting the miners.

On March 7, nearly 10,000 tons of coal caught fire as it was being moved on a barge out of a scab mine. Several volunteer fire companies from Ohio County, Ky. were called, but refused to have anything to do with the scab coal.

Carter's Strikebreaking Strategy

12 affected states had doubled recently to 1.8 million tons a week. If this coal flow from the west were re-inforced by strip production in the mid-west it would, indeed, weaken the strike. National production, however, is still running at less than half its usual weekly rate. It would take a good deal of mid-west production to jack this up significantly. And that seems unlikely.

PEABODY COAL

The keystone of Carter's plan to break off a section of the industry and its workforce is his attempt to reach a separate settlement with Peabody Coal. This, it is hoped, will break the miners' strike, on the one hand, and put big pressure on the BCOA, on the other.

Peabody is the largest coal producer in the U.S. In normal times it accounts for about 12% of national production. As a company that sells coal on the market it has somewhat different economic interests than the hard-liners of U.S. Steel. It is also more dependent on

strip mining than its major rival — Consolidation — another hard-liner from way back.

The Wall Street Journal, however, reports that Peabody is reluctant to "Torpedo" the national contract. They will wait for a few days to see if there is any motion by the BCOA. And according to chief federal mediator, Wayne Horvitz, "The first stirrings are occurring" among the operators.

The strike is certain to be hurting those companies, large and small, who depend on the sale of coal for their revenues and profits.

MAJOR HARD-LINERS

But it's the steel companies who have been the major hard-liners. They can afford to hold out. They do not make money selling their coal on the market. The coal strike will only hurt them when it begins to affect steel production.

As of early March, steel production was higher than a month before.

While there have been some

layoffs in areas nearest the coal fields, it has been easy to compensate by increasing production in other parts of the mid-west.

By continuing the strike during Taft-Hartley, the miners are increasing the pressure on those companies that sell coal to moderate their position and seek an early settlement. There will be more "stirrings," and this will help divide the BCOA.

Ironically, Carter's plan to divide the operators depends on the ability of the miners to defy Taft-Hartley.

If Carter is successful in breaking the strike, his ability to gain concessions from the BCOA will be reduced. In that case, of course, he would simply join the BCOA in imposing a harsher settlement on the miners.

The Carter administration shares the basic goals of the operators, in particular, labor "stability" and increased productivity. In practice, however, Carter has been pushed around by two contenders, the miners and the BCOA. The militant solidarity of the miners has forced

him to try to divide the employers, but the intransigence of the operators and the miners' rejection forced him to use Taft-Hartley.

The meaning of the next step will depend, then, on who has the upper hand.

WHY NOT SEIZURE

Many miners, not to mention labor leaders, favor the seizure of the mines. Some see this as a face saving way to end a long strike. Others point out that under seizure the books would be opened and a better settlement possible.

At this point, however, seizure would not have the same impact on the operators as on the miners. If the miners returned to work now, under seizure or any other plan, the shaky unity of the employers would be maintained. Seizure would regulate profits, but not take them permanently from the companies.

The miners, on the other hand, would be back at work. While there might be slowdowns or even sabotage, their pressure on the

employers would be basically broken. They could only rely on Carter's pressure on the employers — and that is a very bad bet.

Furthermore, under seizure it is not clear that the miners would get another opportunity to vote on their contract. More likely, the settlement would be imposed through binding arbitration. With the pressure off, there is no reason to expect a better settlement.

Seizure would, however, be something of a moral victory for the miners, because it is what they favor and because it is, at least in appearance more anti-operator.

But, such a moral victory will not make up for the losses incurred by a contract with penalties for strikers, a dismantled health and medical plan, unequal pensions and various productivity schemes.

The real hope for the miners right now is that their defiance of Taft-Hartley will increase divisions among the operators and force the BCOA to retreat on its demands. The miners need and deserve the support of all unions and workers in their continuing fight. □

and Hartley can haul it"

UAW gives miners \$2 million

by Mark Levitan

Several weeks after many of its locals had held plant gate collections, the UAW International Executive Board voted to contribute \$2 million to the UMW Emergency Relief Fund.

In announcing the donation, however, UAW President Fraser made it clear that his major concern was getting the miners back into the pits — not in helping them get a better contract.

Fraser denied that the contribution would prolong the strike. He pointed out that \$2 million was "not massive" when spread around 160,000 active miners and 89,000 retirees. Nor is \$2 million massive when compared to the \$192 million left in the UAW strike

fund.

As Fraser told reporters, "I wish the strike could be ended tomorrow."

Fraser also took issue, mildly, with Carter's use of Taft-Hartley. While Carter "had no alternative," Fraser suggested that Carter now go to Congress to get seizure legislation. This, he argued, would be the quickest way to get the miners back to work and coal production resumed.

SEND TELEGRAMS

Fortunately, not everyone in the UAW shares Fraser's priority of concerns. The Executive Board of UAW Local 51 voted unanimously to send a telegram to the White

House, Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, and Congress, condemning Carter's use of Taft-Hartley to break the strike.

The Board also voted to send an additional \$500 dollars beyond the \$3,800 donated by the Local 51 membership at plant gate collect-

ions.

UAW members should follow up on Local 51's lead and get their local unions to pass resolutions condemning Carter's use of Taft-Hartley and pledging continuing support for the mine workers' struggle for justice. □

Who Are The Coal Operators

The daily press and the mass media often give the impression that the coal operators are a peculiar brand of employer. Somehow different from most modern corporation leaders. Less enlightened in their labor relations. A throwback to the nineteenth century.

But its not so. The coal operators are giant, modern corporations leaders themselves. The top fifteen coal companies produce about half of the total U.S. production. Of these only three are independent, that is, not owned by corporations primarily engaged in some other type of production.

One of the three independents, Pittston, is itself a conglomerate, owning trucking and other businesses.

But the real giants of the coal industry are steel, oil and metal mining companies.

U.S. Steel and Bethlehem

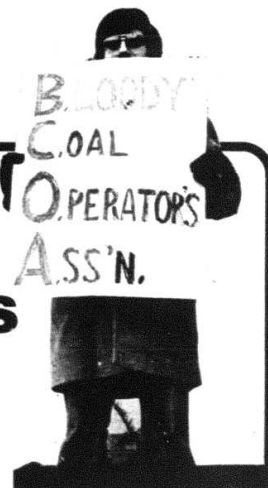
Steel are the sixth and seventh largest coal producers. Peabody, the number one producer, is owned by Kennecott Copper. Consolidation Coal is owned by Continental Oil. Island Creek Coal belongs to Occidental Petroleum. And Old Ben Coal is the property of Standard Oil of Ohio.

The purchase of these large coal companies — all among the top 15 — by oil giants occurred between 1966 and 1968. These years were the high point of the trend toward monopoly in coal. In 1963, there had been 6,305 coal companies. By 1972 this figure had dropped to 3,365.

FUTURE INDICATORS

The big corporations that control coal are not a throwback to the past, they are an indication of the future.

U.S. Steel got tough with its own Iron Ore miners earlier this



year. Now it is taking on the coal miners.

In industry after industry, the employers are presenting take-away demands. The coal operators are just leading things for the employers — testing the waters.

The miners, of course, are leading for labor. The test will be how well the miners can hold back the most vicious attack on unionism in decades.

Part of this test is the degree of visible solidarity other unions and groups of workers can organize. □

K.M.

Profits Shortage Could Cause Blackouts

FOR THE PAST month and a half midwestern utilities have been threatening massive cutbacks, rolling blackouts and all manner of havoc if the coal miners' strike didn't end immediately.

Each week they miraculously find some way out — postponing the dire consequences.

Now the real truth comes out.

According to Detroit Free Press writer Allan Sloan, there's plenty of electricity to go around — if the utility companies are willing to pay for it.

It seems now that utilities in Michigan and Wisconsin have offered to sell large quantities of expensive electricity, derived from oil, to utilities in Indiana and Ohio.

But there's a problem. That power would cost the Indiana and Ohio utilities 5c per kilowatt hour, three times the normal cost.

Now, that wouldn't be a problem if the utilities could pass the costs on to consumers at rate increases.

But they can't — at least not entirely — so they're holding out for a better deal.

Meanwhile workers are being laid off and street lights are dimming. And it's all being blamed on the coal strike.

If you get laid off, or are forced to cut back on electricity, at least you'll know who the real culprits are — the utility companies and the coal operators who'd rather see people suffer than lose a penny of profits. □

Workers' Power

Miners are fighting for their lives...

- 100,000 MINERS KILLED SINCE THE TURN OF THE CENTURY
- MINING IS SEVEN TIMES AS DANGEROUS AS ANY OTHER JOB



You would too...

SUPPORT THE MINERS!

Speaking Out

What We Think

No Contract, No Work

Two weeks ago Jimmy Carter told striking coal miners: "Whenever there has been progress in the mines, whenever there have been improvements in pay or in safety conditions or in health conditions it's been because you fought for it."

Today the miners are still fighting for progress in the mines. But their foe now is Jimmy Carter's strike-breaking government.

In 1973 following a long and turbulent internal struggle, rank and file miners reformed their union and won the right to ratify their contract.

In 1978 after the miners exercised this right and rejected a contract worse than the one they had, the government stepped in and ordered the miners back to work.

Carter invoked Taft-Hartley because he claimed the miners' strike threatened the national interest.

Viley Nessee, a safety committeeman, had this to say about the national interest: "Miners have already paid any debt we've got to society. We've paid it with a hundred thousand dead men in this country's mines."

Standing behind the threats of fines and imprisonment is the real might of the government — state troops, the national guard, and the armed forces.

John L. Lewis said it a long time ago, and today miners

are still saying it. 'You can't mine coal with a bayonet.' And the miners don't intend to mine the coal either.

SEIZURE

Would a federal seizure of the mines be a better alternative than the anti-union strike-breaking Taft-Hartley injunction?

Some labor leaders and many miners think so. The miners believe they would get a better deal from the government.

But the reality is different. The miners' strength has come from their unity and determination to strike until their demands for a safe and decent contract were won.

Once they go back into the mines — even with the American flag flying above them and begin to mine the coal — they will be weakened.

The miners have another old saying — 'no contract, no work.' If the miners stick to that, and are not swayed by a mistaken belief that the government will give them a better deal, they can win.

The stakes are high. A victory for the miners is a victory for all labor, all workers. It could begin to turn the employers' offensive of the seventies into the workers' offensive of the eighties. □



As I See It

When I was pregnant a woman asked me how I had the nerve to bring a child into this world.

This world, she said.

This world. And now that very child is asking questions about this world:

"Mama, what does 'extinct' mean?"

"Even the black babies were slaves? Why did they have to be slaves?"

"Why do they sell this food if you say it's so bad for me?"

"What is rape?"

"Mama, are WE gonna get extincted?"

My child doesn't know about the Bomb yet. Do you remember how old you were when you found out?

This world.

This world is no place for childhood, for sprouts that have to overcome such rocky, inhospitable soil in order to flower at all.

So, you parents and friends, you do as I do, you build on the honesty and beauty that are inborn in all our human kids, and fire them and yourselves with a vision you get from looking to the deepest place within you and out to the farthest light of the stars.

And you help them grow strong for the fight ahead so all can have a natural childhood in this world.

No, sweetheart, we're not gonna get extincted.

TONI HAWK



KIDS AND THIS WORLD

Where We Stand

Workers' Power is the weekly newspaper of the International Socialists. The U.S. and its members work to build a movement for a socialist society: a society controlled democratically by mass organizations of all working people.

Because workers create all the wealth, a new society can be built only when they collectively take control of that wealth and plan how it is produced and distributed.

The present system cannot become socialist through reform. The existing structures of government—the military, police, courts and legislatures—protect the interests of employers against workers.

The working class needs its own kind of state, based on councils of delegates elected at the rank and file level.

The rank and file of the unions must be organized to defend unions from employer attacks, to organize the unorganized, to make the union effective. Today's union leaders

rarely even begin to do this. The rank and file must organize to return the unions to the members.

The struggle for socialism is worldwide. We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against workers of other countries, including racism and protectionism.

We are against the American government's imperialist foreign policies, including its support of racist minority regimes in southern Africa.

We demand complete independence for Puerto Rico. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The so-called "socialist" or "communist" states have nothing to do with socialism. They are controlled by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats and must be overthrown by the workers of those countries.

Black and Latin people are oppressed national minorities in the U.S. They have the right to self-determination—to decide their

own future. We support the struggle for Black Liberation and the self-organization of Black people. We also fight for the unity of Black and white workers in a common struggle against this system.

We support women's liberation and full economic, political, and social equality for women. We demand outlawing all forms of discrimination against gay people.

Socialism and liberation can be achieved only by the action of a mass workers' movement. The most militant sections of workers today must be organized to lay the foundations for a revolutionary socialist workers' party.

This is why the International Socialists exist—to create that party. We are open to all those who accept our main principles, and who accept the responsibility of working as a member to achieve them.

Join with us to build a movement to end exploitation and oppression and to create a socialist world. □

The Socialist View

NEVER AGAIN!

Before the Nazis built the concentration camps, they had to crush the labor movement.



Is there a Nazi menace in this country? Could America become a fascist country?

Why are organizations like the various branches of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the "National Socialist (Nazi) White People's Party" and "National Socialist (Nazi) Movement" springing up? Today these small hate groups are distributing anti-Black, anti-Semitic literature—could these groups grow and become the nucleus for a powerful,

violent fascist movement? And what would it mean if they did?

What can we do to make sure they don't? A new pamphlet to be published by the International Socialists and Sun Distribution answers these and other questions. The following article is based on two sections from this pamphlet that discuss fascism and the labor movement in two countries where the fascists seized power: Italy and Germany.

gating" a strike could get two to seven years.

Nazi Germany soon followed Mussolini's example—with a vengeance.

Within three months of becoming Chancellor, Hitler outlawed all strikes and declared union contracts invalid. Within a year, all free trade unions were dissolved by government decree and replaced with a state-run Nazi Labor Front.

The leader of the Labor Front, Dr. Robert Ley, promised "to restore absolute leadership to the natural leader of a factory—that is the employer. Only the employer can decide... Now they [the employers] are once again the master in the house."

An employer could now fix whatever wages he wanted, and impose whatever hours and working conditions he thought the workers could bear. Fascism meant slave labor for the workers in both Italy and Germany.

The employers were quick to take advantage of their opportunity.

The average Italian worker's wages were cut in half between 1927 and 1932. By 1939 real wages had been reduced by 60-70% more by new wage cuts and inflation.

In Germany wages were cut between 25 and 40% in the first two years of the Nazi regime. Taxes and compulsory "donations" to Nazi organizations ate up another 20 to 35% of take-home pay.

Employers were allowed to increase the work day from eight hours to ten hours or even more.

Unemployed workers were drafted and forced to work for the big industrialists for 45c to 60c a day. Young men were drafted into the labor service and forced to work for an army private's pay.

Young women were forced to serve a "domestic apprenticeship" as "maids of all work" for a year.

FIRST INMATES

Labor leaders, union activists, Communist and socialist workers were the first inmates sent to the concentration camps. After the labor movement was crushed, there was no force strong enough to resist Hitler's mass murderers.

But the greatest tragedy of all was that it never had to happen.

The workers of Italy and Germany could have destroyed the fascists before they ever got close to power—if the labor movement had organized and united. □

...

To place orders for the new International Socialist pamphlet on fighting the new fascist menace in America, write: Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

by Sandy Boyer

ON APRIL 15, 1919, a small group of Italian Fascists armed with knives and hand grenades attacked and broke up a parade that was being held after a socialist meeting.

Three years later, Mussolini and the Fascists ruled Italy.

In 1918, the Nazi Party of Germany had less than 100 members. In 1925 they had grown to only 27,000.

But seven years later Hitler was named Chancellor of Germany.

Behind this phenomenal rise to power was the political and financial support the Nazis and Fascists got from big business, especially the iron, steel, and mining companies, and the leading bankers.

In February 1932—just two weeks before Hitler became Chancellor—top executives of the Krupp steel monopoly, the I.G. Farben chemical monopoly, and United Steel, donated \$1 million to Hitler at one meeting.

CRUSH LABOR

In both Italy and Germany, the capitalists looked to the fascist movement as a solution to the severe crisis that threatened their economies.

In fact, big business was using fascists to disrupt and attack workers' meetings, strikes and unions long before Hitler or Mussolini actually took power.

But as the crisis in the economy continued to worsen, and as organized working class resistance continued to grow, the capitalists realized that they could restore their profits only if the labor movement were crushed completely.

To accomplish this, they supported the fascists' rise to power.

Everyone has heard that Hitler murdered six million Jews. Fewer people know that the Nazis also murdered three million Poles, a million Yugoslavs, and half a million Gypsies.

But these mass murders, the genocidal slaughter of whole nations of people, only came after Nazism had been in power for a number of years. They came after the fascists had crushed their first victim—the organized labor movement.

In both Italy and Germany the fascists began an all out attack on the working class as soon as they took power. The first part of this attack was to totally destroy the unions and working class political parties.

In Italy Mussolini ordered all labor unions dissolved and their property confiscated. Workers were forced to join Fascist "unions" or lose their jobs.

These "unions" were really government agencies set up to prevent the workers from fighting back against their employers.

Mussolini said, "Fascist unionism is an imposing force, a powerful mass movement, completely controlled by Fascism and by the government; a mass movement that obeys."

The national head of these "unions" described their leaders as Fascists "named by the government to direct the unions."

The Fascist "unions" were required by law to discipline any members convicted of moral or political unworthiness.

STRIKES OUTLAWED

In Fascist Italy, strikes were outlawed. They were considered crimes against the state and punished by one to three years in prison. Anyone convicted of "insti-



[Top] Jews in the Buchenwald concentration camp. [Above] The rise of Nazi groups today has prompted demonstrations against the fascists. Here 5000 march in Birmingham, England to defeat fascism.

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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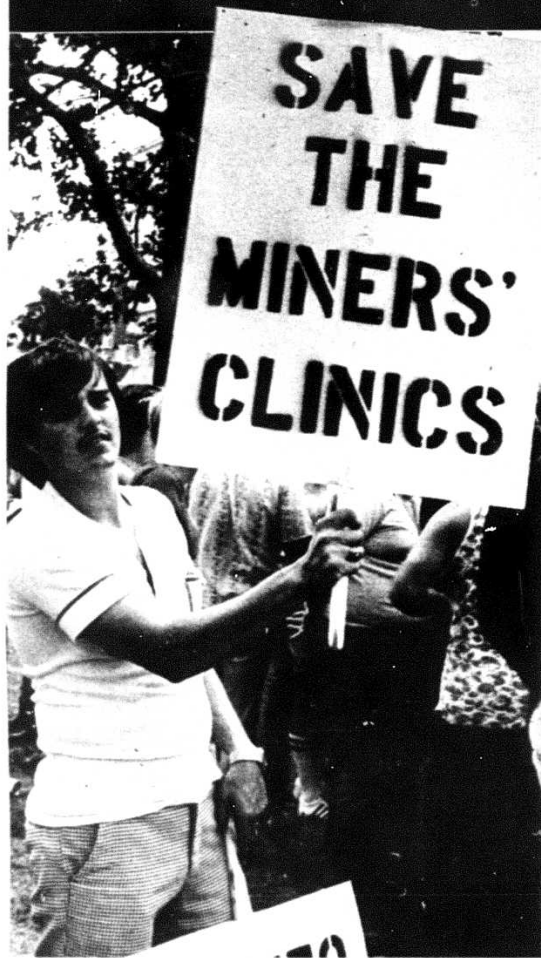
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MINERS' HEALTH CARE AT STAKE IN APPALACHIA



Health care has always been an important issue to the miners. Last summer the coal operators forced the UMWA Health Funds to reduce medical benefits. The operators saw it as a way of softening the miners up for this year's contract. What they got was a two-month wildcat strike, involving up to 90,000 miners. Photos above and at right show a Washington demonstration protesting the cuts.

by Jim Woodward

In McDowell, Kentucky, where it would otherwise be 35 miles over rough mountain roads to the nearest doctor, union Health Funds allowed the McDowell non-profit miners' clinic to recruit a doctor, guarantee him a salary, and build a road so people could get in to the clinic.

The McDowell clinic is only one of several dozen such clinics serving the Appalachian coal mining areas. Most of them are run by community residents; some entirely by coal miners elected by their local unions.

In some areas, particularly southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, they provide the only health care in the area.

Yet the clinics—and ten Appalachian hospitals originally built by the UMWA Health Funds—face "disaster," according to Don Conwell, head of the Associated Clinics of Appalachia.

Conwell's view, which is shared by others familiar with health care in the coalfields, is based on the coal operators' attempt to dismantle the UMWA Health Funds.

FREE CARE

Until last year, the Funds provided free medical care for 800,000 active and retired coal miners and their families, and gave financial and technical support to the clinics. It was a system won by the union through nationwide strikes just after World War II.

This year, a major goal of the coal operators is to dismantle the centralized fund, and hand health care over to private insurance companies. Linked to this would be a system of deductibles and co-insurance, requiring miners to pay up to \$700 for treatment that previously was free.

These provisions in the recently negotiated coal contract would save the coal operators \$150 million over three years. They are a major reason why miners turned the contract down by a 2-1 margin.

"I can think of nothing worse than putting health care in the hands of the private carriers and doing away with the [UMWA Funds]," said Conwell.

"Many of our clinics will have severe problems. They will either have to go out of business or look for other sources of income such as government grants."

Margaret Light is not so worried about the clinic she administers in Cabin Creek, West Virginia, because it has a federal grant. "But," she said when contacted by phone, "I can foresee a lot of problems with our paperwork—the billing of the insurance companies."

"So much paperwork would be involved that we would have to hire new staff to handle it."

Spending so many more health dollars for nothing but paperwork is in itself a minor tragedy, because

the money is so badly needed for doctors and hospitals and medicines.

PROBLEMS SEVERE

"When you start talking about the problems of primary care in rural West Virginia, you're talking about the third highest infant mortality rate in the country," noted Don Frey, Associate Director of the West Virginia Health Systems Agency.

"Without question," he said, "the problems of health care in rural West Virginia are among the largest such problems in the country."

The non-profit health clinics, many of them begun or sustained by the UMWA Health Funds, are one attempt to deal with this problem.

Previously, the Funds "had a very generous reimbursement policy, which included in some cases picking up salaries of some physicians for a period of time," Frey told Workers' Power. "I can't conceive of their being able to keep this up [through private insurance companies]."

"I have not got any hard and fast answers as to what's going to shake out of this thing. It's not a good situation, however," he said.

Barbara Moldauer, spokeswoman for the UMWA Health and Retirement Funds, explained that the Funds "went beyond the bill-paying activities of an insurance company."

"One of the things we did was to assist the clinics in terms of development. Sometimes it was money; sometimes it was technical staff assistance."

MONTHLY PAY

"In the clinics, rather than pay them on a fee-for-service basis, they would get fixed monthly amounts which were based on what percentage of [UMWA] benefi-



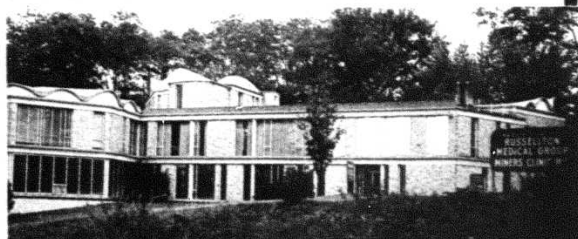
aries made up their population," Moldauer explained.

"This gave them an amount of money they could count on receiving every month and therefore could undertake development of programs and purchase of equipment."

Although one could point to lots of problems with the UMWA Funds, the basic idea was sound. It encouraged the kind of system Don Conwell boasts about at his New Kensington, Pennsylvania Miners' Clinic where "our doctors are paid on a salary...so that they can worry about patient care and not running patients in and out to make more money."

That's the approach to health care which is threatened if the UMWA Health Funds are broken up.

Then the health care priority would shift from promoting clinic expansion and new programs to financing a sufficiently large clerical staff. That would ensure that the miners' health dollar goes where the coal operators think it belongs...to Prudential or Aetna or the other private insurance companies who understand what free enterprise is all about. □



This health clinic in New Kensington, Pa. is one of those threatened by the coal operators' plan to break up the UMWA Health Funds. The members of the New Kensington clinic's board of directors are all coal miners, elected by their local unions.

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VIEW FROM THE AUDIENCE

U.S. Tennis - Joining Hands With Apartheid

by Dan Posen

"Politics should be kept out of sports. They don't mix."

"You shouldn't try to use sports events to promote a cause."

Now that several thousand demonstrators are planning to mobilize against a Davis Cup match the weekend of March 18 between the United States and South Africa, the cries of "don't mix politics with sports" are ringing out loud and long.

The match, to be held at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee will be the target of a major protest by the NAACP and anti-apartheid organizations against South African participation in international sports competition.

South Africa has been expelled from more than ten international sports federations for its apartheid policies and its discrimination against the Black majority in sports.

BOYCOTT

The United States Tennis Association (USTA), by holding this match and breaking the international sports boycott of South Africa, has created a possibility of an African nations' boycott of the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Yet American television networks, tennis moguls and officials of Vanderbilt, all of whom have money to make from the staging of the Davis Cup match, say that widespread demands to cancel the match are "an irresponsible intrusion of politics into a simple sporting event which is aimed at promoting understanding and friendship."

The "understanding and friendship" which certainly exists between the United States Tennis Association and South African apartheid is very clear.

But to pretend that this friendship has nothing to do with politics is a little bit too big a lie to swallow.

The ruling bodies of tennis, in America and internationally, are one of the most lily-white, upper-class elites remaining in the sports world.

They would like us to believe that sports competition with South Africa is a way of "keeping open the doors of communication," "promoting gradual and moderate reform," and similar platitudes.

But members of those sports groups in South Africa which oppose apartheid and have tried to organize for integrated sports, have been denied passports to travel outside Africa.

If American tennis officials wanted "communication" with the South African majority, they would have nothing to do with South Africa's government-approved pro-apartheid sports bodies.

HYPOCRISY

It's always interesting to examine just when, and how, that

well-worn slogan "don't mix sports and politics" actually comes up.

How many prestigious sports columnists said "don't mix sports with politics" when boxing's self-appointed, right-wing officials stripped Muhammad Ali of his title for refusing to support the war in Vietnam?

In Birmingham, Alabama, every Birmingham Bulls' hockey game is preceded by a rendition of "Dixie," the long-time anthem of segregationism. And this is 1978, not 1963.

These examples, and many others, show that it's not just in South Africa that sports are connected with politics and racism.

PROPAGANDA

Many of the same commentators who preach "don't mix politics with sports" also like to preach that by American athletes competing against South Africa, we can show



The reality behind South Africa's "multi-national sports" propaganda.



"I want to make it very clear... that in South Africa no mixed sport shall be practiced at club, provincial or national levels."

**—John Vorster
Prime Minister,
South Africa**

the world the superiority of "our" system over the apartheid regime.

Jessie Owens' triple gold-medal performance at the 1936 Olympics in Germany, we learn, taught the world that the field of sports was a proving ground for principles of equality, not racism.

Somehow, it's a little hard to square this story with the fact that ten more years went by before a single Black player was allowed into American baseball's major leagues.

But the most important fact about the myth of the 1936

Olympics is that it isn't true.

If you check the record, you will find that the 1936 Olympics were the biggest propaganda success story of Adolph Hitler's career. The games helped give his regime international respectability as the host of the most glittering sports event on earth.

The fact that one Black track athlete, no matter how great, stole the show for a couple of days, had nothing to do with it. The story that Jesse Owens, not Adolph Hitler and his Nazi pageantry,

dominated the Olympics was written up after the fact.

Nazi Germany was not the last murderous regime to score a great propaganda coup from sports. This year's soccer World Cup will be held in Argentina.

The military junta will have the cities and the stadiums, decked out for all the world's tourists to see, only blocks away from prisons where unionists and political prisoners vanish, never, to be seen again.

But this will be small potatoes compared to the joy the South African white regime would feel if it succeeded in rejoining the respectable world of international sports.

It is no accident that South African sports, information and tourist ministries spend tens of thousands of dollars each year trying to promote South Africa's re-admission to sports competition.

And the very fact that a South African Davis Cup team will be playing in the United States, is the best possible proof that sports and politics—and money—do, in fact, mix. □

THE TRUTH ABOUT SPORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA



"The struggle for non-racial sport is part and parcel of the struggle for Black liberation, and this gives sport a new importance, both in South Africa and internationally."

The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa has published an excellent booklet by Joan Brickhill about the structure and politics of sports in South Africa.

"Race Against Race" not only discusses the history of apartheid in sports. It also shows how the recent supposed reforms announced by South Africa are simply aimed at improving South Africa's international image without changing the reality of segregation.

You can order "Race Against Race" from: Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan, 48203. \$1.25 per copy.



A skating rink in South Africa—segregated, like all other sports facilities. The sign, in the Afrikaans (white settlers') language, reads, "Do Not Linger Here." There are no rinks for Blacks.

WORKERS' POWER

UAW TAKES A STAND AGAINST APARTHEID

Auto union pledges to boycott bank loans to racist South Africa.

by Dan Posen

DETROIT—The movement to get United States businesses and banks out of racist South Africa took a major step forward last week.

The United Auto Workers union announced it will withdraw funds from banks making loans to South Africa.

UAW President Doug Fraser said the UAW International would take the action against any bank which lends money to a corporation for the purpose of financing or expanding operations in South Africa.

This decision, when it is implemented, will mean that millions of dollars in UAW strike, pension and operating funds won't be available to banks which bankroll the suppression of South Africa's Black majority.

As of January, 1978, a South African radio broadcast reported:

"American banks, including the three largest, have outstanding loans and credits of at least 1650 million rand in South Africa [well over \$2 billion]."

"During the 1976-77 year United States banks financed projects in South Africa to the tune of more than 500 million rand [about three-quarters of a billion dollars]."

Without that influx of capital, South Africa's ability to maintain police-state controls over the Black majority would be crippled.

BIG THREE

The Big Three auto makers are among South Africa's biggest U.S. investors. After a visit to South Africa by Henry Ford II last fall, Ford announced its operations in South Africa will expand.

Black workers at Ford South Africa average pay of \$29 per week. It works out to \$70 a month less than the South African official "poverty datum" line—the minimum needed to avoid malnutrition.

The promise of action by the UAW puts the union closer to where it should be—in the forefront of a mass campaign by American labor against all U.S. economic ties to South Africa.

Prexy Nesbitt, of the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, told Workers' Power:

"The UAW's action will be very significant. I think it will be a cutting edge in affirming the fact that popular pressure in this country, combined with the internal struggle of the African people, is leading to a situation where the South African government can no longer turn to friendly bankers and get the kind of capital they have in the past."

Most important, the International's example is one which should be followed by all UAW locals.

If you are a member of any UAW local, now's the time to make sure

your dues money isn't being used by American banks to finance the South African apartheid system.

A list of banks involved in loans and financial dealings with South Africa can be obtained by writing to the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, 305 E. 46th St., New York City, NY 10017. □

Sports and Politics

American participation in sports events with South Africa are coming under attack on several fronts.

Black organizations expressed outrage this week when CBS television and top rank boxing promoters announced plans for a Muhammed Ali-Leon Spinks rematch.

The fight would supposedly take place in the South African Bantustan of Bophutswana.

Next weekend, several thousand people will demonstrate against a U.S.-South Africa tennis match in Nashville, Tennessee.

What do sports events have to do with South Africa's apartheid system and its international image?

For a discussion of this question, turn to page 11.



Gate of Chrysler plant in South Africa. The Big Three are among the biggest partners in apartheid

Detroit Teamsters Fight Stall On By-laws Reform

by Mike Kelly

DETROIT—Teamsters in Local 299 want their rights, and they're angry, and they showed up last Sunday on a bitter cold morning to demonstrate that fact to Local President Bob Lins.

The demonstration by 75 members was organized by the Rank and File Committee for By-Laws Reform, a group supported by two caucuses in Local 299, the Concerned Members and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU).

The reformers are demanding the right to elect their union stewards and Business Agents. At

present all Business Agents are appointed. Only some stewards are elected, and terms of office can be indefinite.

The By-Laws Reform Committee wants set terms of three years for stewards, along with the right to recall stewards.

The local by-laws stipulate that amendments to the by-laws must be presented in January and then read at two consecutive meetings and then voted on.

After the amendments were presented in January, President Bob Lins refused to read them in February and March. The reform group sent a delegation to meet with him in February, and Lins told

them the by-laws were in the hands of lawyers and refused to commit himself to reading them.

CHARGES FILED

The rank and filers thereupon filed charges against him both with the local union and the Joint Council for violating the by-laws amendment procedure. Nonetheless Lins refused to read the amendments again in March, claiming they were now in the hands of the International's lawyers in Milwaukee.

Why any lawyers should be involved, Lins has never explained since the International union de-

clines upon the constitutionality of local by-laws after they are passed.

Pete Karagozian was one of the speakers at the demonstration. "What is Lins afraid of?" asked Karagozian. "Anyone who's afraid of elected B.A.'s must have no confidence in his ability to lead the local."

Pete Karagozian is a former business agent who opposed Lins in the elections last December—and was fired by Lins after Lins took office.

Defeated in the elections last year because of disunity, the rank and file movement in Local 299 is more united now than ever before, and again on the move. □