

# WORKERS' Power

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# HAYS' TWO SCANDALS

**He'll get a slap on the wrist ...but in '67 he led the drive to expel this black Congressman**

by Dan Posen

Wayne Hays, the kingpin of the House of Representatives, is in hot water. The exposures of his sexual adventures threatens to "cast a cloud over the good name of the House."

Translated into English, that means dozens of Hays' colleagues are scared they're about to get caught in the same net.

Hays may also have violated a few federal laws by putting his girlfriend on a \$14,000-a-year job with no work to do.

**But we are certain that Wayne Hays will not go to jail or be forced to flee the country to avoid arrest and prosecution.**

In all probability, he will not even be expelled from the House of Representatives. The chances are he will be stripped of his powerful committee chairmanships. Then his colleagues will rally to his defense.

We can expect to see Wayne Hays' fellow politicians, charitably sermonizing—that after all is said and done—the man is only human and has suffered enough.

He won't face imprisonment, and probably won't even lose his paycheck.



His name was Adam Clayton Powell. He was the Congressman from the 18th New York Congressional District—Harlem.

Adam Clayton Powell was the best-known, most powerful black politician in this country. He was the first black committee chairman in the House of Representatives.

The white power structure in the House didn't like Powell. They thought he was too powerful and popular. They didn't like his ability to influence and control major legislation.

They decided to get Adam Clayton Powell—and they did.

**It wasn't hard. A scandal was whipped up over the sudden "discovery" that Powell had his former wife on the payroll for work she didn't do.**

Then he was entangled in a mass of court suits involving his personal life and use of government funds. Unlike Watergate, nothing was "covered up." Every possible fact about Adam Clayton Powell was dragged out.

On March 1, 1967, Powell was barred from the House by an overwhelming vote of 307-116. Liberal Democrats voted against

expelling him. They favored, instead, stripping him of all power and imposing humiliating fines on him.

The banning of Powell had nothing to do with "cleaning up corruption." The white political hypocrites who expelled him had their heads in the trough up to their neck.

**Adam Clayton Powell was expelled for the crime of being too powerful for a black man.**

The attack that drove Powell out of the House, broke and destroyed



Congressman Wayne Hays and his taxpayer-subsidized girlfriend Eitzabeth Ray.



Adam Clayton Powell

was spearheaded by no one other than Ohio Representative Wayne Hays.

Hays' political power comes from his close ties to the most right-wing sections of the Democratic Party. Hays is pretty close to being a "Dixiecrat" himself.

Hays used all his power to attack the black community's efforts to assert its own political strength. Adam Clayton Powell, and Harlem, were singled out as his victims.

**Hays told the black community: Stay back or we will slap you down. You can only choose representatives that we, the power brokers, approve of.**

After Powell was expelled, he

was re-elected by Harlem voters, in a tremendous landslide, without even campaigning. But he was never able to reclaim his seat. He had to live on his yacht, in exile, to avoid federal arrest and prosecution.

Wayne Hays had the nerve to piously claim that there was no hint of racism in the purge of Powell. In fact, Hays crowed, "If Powell were white, he would have been probed earlier."

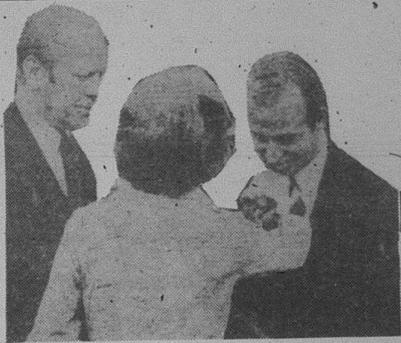
**Now, it is Wayne Hays' turn in the hot seat. But Hays is white. The system he serves will say that a slap on the wrist and "embarrassment" is enough punishment for him.**



Ten years ago, there was a Congressman who wasn't so lucky.

## Gary Tyler Put In Solitary...p.3

# A Lawn Party For "Liberal" Spain...



King Juan Carlos of Spain arrived in Washington Tuesday night. He and Queen Sofia spent the night as honored guests at the Presidential guest house.

On Wednesday the King and Queen were honored at a lavish White House lawn party.

Juan Carlos is being built up by the U.S. government and the American press. He is called a "liberal" reformer, committed to democratic changes against the wishes of the hard-line extreme right in Spain.

We are told he is worthy of the friendship, economic aid and military support of the United States, because he is so much more liberal than the dead fascist dictator Franco—who the U.S. government helped keep in power for 36 years.

The pictures on this page show what Juan Carlos' "reforms" mean for Spanish workers.

María Amparo Arangoa Satrategui was seized by the Civil Guards at the paper factory where she worked. Her crime: union activity. They beat her until her intestines and kidneys were badly damaged.

Francisco Tellez Luna was tortured by the Civil Guard for the crime of picketing. He is pictured

here in the hospital, with a catheter inserted because of kidney damage.

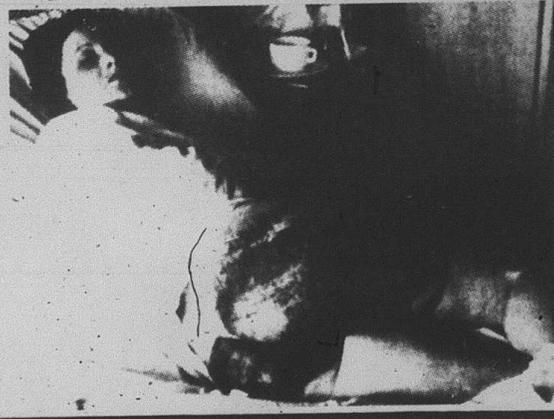
The same torturers who worked for Franco still prosper under Juan Carlos.

Every penny in "aid" that Washington ships to his regime is aimed to ensure that this structure of repression and torture is left

intact.

You cannot find a better picture anywhere of what our government means when it talks about protecting "freedom and human rights" in the world.

They are protecting only the interests of U.S. business and its friends like the Spanish government. □



Tortured, for picketing, in King Juan Carlos' new "liberal" Spain.

## Prison Organizers Thrown In The Hole

ATLANTA—On May 18, 1976 George E. Blue, president, and Larry A. Myers, chief of staff, of the National Prisoners Association (NPA) were routed from their beds at the U.S. Penitentiary here at midnight by at least fifty guards. They were taken to the hole.

The two were charged with attempting to organize a subversive group and unauthorized use of the mail.

The conduct report charged that Blue and Myers mailed letters to various officials implying that the National Prisoners Association, Inc., had the approval of the Atlanta officials.

The report also said Blue and Myers are attempting to organize the inmates. One example they gave was the NPA motto: Educate,

### Organize, Agitate.

The report also charges that they attempt to have subversive material mailed to them. The disciplinary committee found them guilty as charged and ordered disciplinary transfer and segregation. The National Prisoners Assn. is chartered by the state of Georgia and has an advisory board of outside people.

The NPA had linked socialism as the cure for prisons.

### NO RIGHTS

This action by the prison officials is a direct violation of the prisoners' first amendment rights. They do have a right to organize!

The prison officials have become disturbed by the fact that Blue and Myers have done a lot of legal work for prisoners.

They are on the way to winning a suit against the prison officials concerning censorship and the Freedom of Information Act. These brothers have refused to be bribed by the prison officials in any manner.

They, along with seven more prisoners, were given another conduct report charging them as follows: "On May 14, 1976, several copies of an anonymous grievance committee letter were picked up having been distributed throughout the institution."

"On May 18, 1976, the named individual was removed from the population, having been identified

by various staff as a leader or prime suspect in furthering the disruption outlined in the grievance petition.

### DISRUPT

"The past behavior plus other material in the central file indicates a propensity for leading or participating in disruptive activity by this individual."

It is no coincidence that these nine prisoners are the most politically aware prisoners in Atlanta. They have continually spoken out against the injustice of the prison officials.

Just a few days before the NPA had filed a petition for recognition of the NPA with the Bureau of Prisons and all the wardens.

The prisoners need letters of support. [The names of the prisoners involved are: Victor Bono—01710-135, Bill Bagley—33981-136, Ajary Roberts—87282, Veronza Bowers—35316, Thomas, Reed—97929, Carlos Montoya—30576, Van Parker—97184, Larry A Myers—83134-158, and George E. Blue—27559-138.]

We also urge everyone to write a strong letter protesting this frame-up to: Norman Carlson, Director U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 320 First St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20534. Send a copy of same to Marvin Hogan, Warden, U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga. 30315. □

National Prisoners Assn.

## labor notes

by Jim Woodward

A recent study shows that steel workers pay, on the average, tax rates almost three times as high on their homes as the steel companies pay on their property. A survey of tax rates in Chicago, Gary, Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Cleveland shows the average property tax for homeowners to be 2.5%, at the same time, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic, National, and Armco paid only 0.9%.

The Seattle, Washington city council is considering taking over garbage collection service from private contractors as a means of lowering the cost. But part of the plan includes slashing wages by about one-third. Members of Teamsters Local 174 currently pick up the city's garbage. The city council is set to make a decision June 28.

As a public service to striking rubber workers, we are pleased to reprint this sticker, which is now being placed on new Chrysler cars. The sticker was donated to Workers' Power by a Detroit-area auto worker.

**NOTICE**

The normal supply of tires has recently been interrupted by strikes in the tire industry. As a result, it has been necessary to ship this vehicle from the factory without the spare tire.

The dealer will attempt to supply a new tire from his supply at the time of vehicle delivery. If he is unable to supply a new tire at this time, customers will be notified by the dealer when supplies are available. Spare tires will then be mounted by the dealer at no cost.

The dealer's invoice and Monroney sticker include a charge for a spare tire as though it were included with the vehicle when shipped from the factory.



When several UPS workers showed up in court in Livonia, Mich., June 1, they thought they knew the charges against them. They had been arrested May 17 during a wildcat strike. In court it turned out there was more to it than met the eye. Somebody had snuck in an additional case, charging assault and battery against a UPS guard. One of the two defendants in that case had never been arrested or even told there were any charges against him. Jury selection was set for June 28.

According to the "Rank and File Postal Worker," a monthly newspaper, the postal service at the San Francisco bulk mail center is going wild with security inspectors. Some are disguised as postal workers—such as the clumsy "janitor" who dropped his handcuffs on the floor.

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

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# Gary Tyler In Solitary; Family Under Attack

by Valerie Dixon

Harassment of Gary Tyler and his Destréhan, Louisiana family continues.

Gary Tyler is a 17-year-old black youth framed up for murdering a white student during a busing incident. A nationwide movement is building to free Gary, who now faces the electric chair.

Last Thursday, Gary received 20 days in isolation for allegedly "concealing a weapon" and "destruction of property."

In a telephone interview with Workers' Power, Gary's mother, Juanita Tyler, said that a disciplinary hearing had found Gary guilty of making a knife out of a prison spoon.

Mrs. Tyler talked with Gary after the hearing. "He's innocent," she said. "It's just more harassment."

One of the prison guards who is leaning most heavily on Gary claims to be a relative of the slain student.

## FAMILY HARASSED

Since the case has received national attention, harassment of Gary and his family has escalated. Recently, a brother of Gary's, Terry Tyler, was arrested. After

being held 25 hours, Terry and a friend, Donald File, were charged with stealing a two dollar bill and a pack of cigarettes.

The same judge who tried Gary last November and refused to grant Gary a new trial in April, set the bail for the two at \$5000!

This outrageous behavior was matched by police treatment of the two arrested youths. One cop put two shells in his 44 magnum.

"He spun the barrel of the gun, clicking the trigger at us, playing Russian Roulette, I guess," Terry said.

Another cop bragged to Files. "I done killed so many niggers I got a notch on my gun."

Justice for blacks in such an atmosphere of racial hate is clearly impossible. One cop summarized the attitude of all police to this and other cases involving blacks.

"I wish we didn't have to have trials no more. I wish it was like in them olden days when you could just hang them niggers."

The movement to free Gary Tyler must prove not only that those days are gone forever, but also that a growing force of black and white people will fight all instances of racism. □



Terry Tyler and Mrs. Juanita Tyler

## Cleveland Phone Workers Strike

CLEVELAND, Ohio—As we go to press, CWA workers in Local 4301 in the Cleveland area had gone out on a wildcat.

Bell Telephone is opening up new telephone retail stores. Service representatives who staff these stores do the same work as telephone installers, but are being paid \$50 a week less. The strikers are demanding that they be paid installer's salary.

The strike spread to eight other locals, Locals 4301 through 4309. Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Youngstown, and Salem are all now out.

According to the strikers CWA may be forced to sanction the strike. So far the union, with nearly 8000 members off the job is playing it safe.

Ma Bell claims that this new retail store is not covered by the contract. □



# Free Gary Now!

CLEVELAND—Despite gray skies and a steady drizzle, over 75 people demonstrated on Public Square here to free Gary Tyler. The demonstrators were primarily black high school students from the Cleveland area. They chanted and marched around the Square, letting the downtown shoppers know about Gary's case.

Tony Satan, from the Detroit Gary Tyler Committee and the Red Tide, told the crowd about how the movement to free Gary was building in his city.

He congratulated the Cleveland Committee on their efforts.

The Red Tide is a youth group of the International Socialists.

Geraldine Roberts, head of the Domestic

Workers of America, spoke about the rise in racism being fostered by politicians and the anti-busing movement. Roberts said, "Gary is in jail because of racism. Our fight to free him is a fight against that system. We must free Gary Tyler, in Louisiana so there won't have to be a Gary Tyler here in Cleveland."

Connie Saunders, from Workers' Power, reminded the crowd that it was a "mass movement of people, just like this, who united together and freed Joan Little and Hurricane Carter. We will win! The people will free Gary Tyler!"

The Cleveland Committee, in the one week of its existence, has already collected over 50 petitions to Free Gary. And many more were distributed at the rally. □

# Join The Growing Movement

June 5

New York City—12:00 Noon, Albee Square, Downtown Brooklyn, between Fulton and Dekalb. Featured Speaker: Hurricane Carter.

Pittsburgh—12:00 Noon, Rally at Freedom Corners at Center and Crawford. March to Federal Building at 7th and Grant.

Springfield, MA—1:00 P.M., Rally at Winchester Square

June 6

Cincinnati—2:00 P.M., Rally at Fountain Square. March to Washington Park.

June 13

Detroit—4:00 P.M., Central Methodist Church, E. Adams and Woodward Ave., Featured Speakers: Mrs. Juanita Tyler (Gary's mother), Walter Collins, National Committee to Free Gary Tyler



# A Presidential Campaign Where There Is A Choice...

The Presidential campaign of former General Otelo de Carvalho has gained support from broad sections of the Portuguese workers in the last few weeks.

Carvalho is the former military commander of the Lisbon area and of COPCON, the section of the Army that was most closely allied

with the workers' revolutionary upsurge last year.

**Carvalho, who was arrested and in prison for several weeks in the crackdown following the right-wing November 25 coup, is barred from effective personal campaigning.**

He cannot speak at meetings or leave the Lisbon area. These restrictions are imposed by a government which, supported by western governments and the American press, claims to "safeguard democracy."

Furthermore, there is no chance of Carvalho winning the election—or even coming close. The Socialist Party (SP) and the two right-wing capitalist parties are backing Ramalho Eanes, a candidate for capitalist "order and stability."

But even if a left-wing Presidential candidate could somehow be elected, in a capitalist election, this

would not mean in any way there had been a successful socialist revolution.

The revolutionaries who have organized and built Carvalho's campaign have never had the idea that socialism can be won by building an election machine or getting a paper majority of votes.

There are two important aspects of the campaign. The first is the "popular power" movement that is mobilizing around it. The second is the opening it creates for building a strong revolutionary party out of that movement.

### POPULAR POWER

"Popular power" became a mass slogan in the left-wing offensive that followed an abortive counter-revolutionary coup in March, 1975. "Popular power" was first put

forward by radical, lower middle-class junior officers who needed strong support from workers to hold onto power.

But this slogan was advanced at a time when the formation of independent workers' councils—the organs for workers to take and hold power—was possible.

Revolutionary workers seized the slogan of "popular power," and gave it their own meaning—the fight for working class power.

The Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP), which organized the first revolutionary workers' councils, became the most active in fighting to build a united popular power struggle.

The popular power movement was gravely set back when the right-wing November 25 coup allowed the government to suppress the military left and regain

power.

Today, there is no direct struggle for power in Portugal. The question of power will not be an immediate question until there is a massive new round of workers' struggles and a deep worsening of the economic crisis.

**But this may happen soon. That is why the revolutionary left is working all-out to rebuild the popular power movement, this time with a higher level of organization and consciousness.**

A very broad spectrum of organizations and committees that supported "popular power"—workers' commissions, tenant's committees, farmworkers co-ops, mass workers' assemblies—are mobilizing and feeling new strength in the campaign for Carvalho.

Organizations of this type are the base of the campaign. Their revival accounts in part for the large number of Socialist Party and Communist Party workers who support Carvalho, against the demands of their own parties' leaders.

### REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

What made the Presidential campaign for Carvalho possible was that revolutionaries themselves organized it.

Carvalho himself, despite all his left-wing ideas is certainly not a consistent revolutionary leader. As COPCON commander he vacillated between revolutionary and moderate forces.

Since November 25, events have pulled him further to the left. Despite this however, he did not really intend to run for President at all.

He agreed only after a mass meeting of tenants' commissions voted to demand that he run—and refused to accept "no" for an answer! This mobilization was a political victory for the PRP, which had been actively organizing for months for a unified revolutionary Presidential candidacy by Carvalho.

The PRP understands that, above all in a period of revolutionary crisis, revolutionaries must organize and initiate struggles by broad layers of workers. This campaign opens up the ground on which these struggles can grow.

**The Carvalho campaign presents Communist Party workers the chance to vote for a revolutionary program against the CP leadership, which hates Carvalho.**

It also means a chance to vote against Eanes, who has known ties to the far right and is hated by both CP and SP workers.

The Communist Party is trying to balance between the revolutionary workers and the parties who support the right-winger Eanes. It wants influence in the capitalist government to be formed by Eanes and the SP.

Communist Party workers who vote for their own revolutionary views, for Carvalho, will be more prepared to break with the CP on other issues—and to join the PRP. Thousands of revolutionary workers must be won from the CP for the PRP to become a mass revolutionary party.

**Building that mass revolutionary party is the key to the success of the Portuguese revolution. It will not happen overnight. But the PRP's success in building a revolutionary left campaign creates the potential for a giant step forward.**

## Fund Drive Succeeds

Since January, International Socialists across the country have held fund raising events to aid the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP) in Portugal.

Branches have shown slide shows on Portugal and held fundraising picnics. Public meetings have also been held which featured recently returned visitors from Portugal who had witnessed the results of the revolution first hand.

Money is especially needed at this time. The right wing government in Portugal has attempted to silence the revolutionary left by imposing a heavy fine of 100,000 escudos (or \$4000) on the PRP.

The fine was against Isabel do Carmo, a leader of the PRP and the PRP's newspaper, Revolucao. The charge was printing remarks against the government.

These events occurred when the government was trying to silence the left in Portugal, generally, by cutting off their organs of communication.

Since January the American I.S. has raised \$2300. \$1000 was generously given by one anonymous contributor. The rest of the \$4000 was raised internationally.

We would like to thank all contributors for their generous donations. Because of them, the PRP has not been broken and Revolucao has continued to be published.

More money is needed, however. One emergency has been met, but the expenses of building a revolutionary party are enormous. Funds are much needed for new mobilizations, such as the current Presidential campaign.

Please send your contribution to the Workers' Power/Portugal Solidarity Fund, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. □



Otelo de Carvalho: by running him for President, the Portuguese revolutionary left is re-opening the struggle for popular power.

# A-Bombs For Apartheid?

The white racist rulers of South Africa are moving to secure their slipping hold on power.

They are setting up a "no-man's land," or fire-free zone, along 1000 miles of border between Namibia and Angola. In this zone, anything that moves will be a fair target for South African napalm bombers, helicopters and machine-gunners.

Namibia (Southwest Africa) is a huge colony occupied illegally by South Africa. The United Nations says South Africa must agree by this fall to Namibian independence. But South Africa intends to make Namibia a puppet "bantustan" state, ruled by corrupt chiefs subservient to South Africa.

The barrier between Namibia and Angola is being set up to prevent any aid coming from Angola to Namibian liberation

forces.

It means terrible hardship for the Ovambo people of northern Namibia. Their homes, villages, and fields will be destroyed as they are brutally dislocated.

South African police are also getting special training to suppress pro-liberation organizing among the Ovambo.

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS

On another front, South Africa's regime is setting up a project which will, in the long run, have even more hideous consequences.

Aided by the governments of the United States and Western Europe, they are setting up a nuclear power plant that will give them, easy access to building atomic weapons.

A "nuclear co-operation agree-

ment" between the U.S. and South Africa, which runs through to the year 2007, allows South Africa to buy enriched uranium for nuclear reactors.

Political pressure in the U.S. Congress and the Netherlands have apparently blocked sales of the reactors themselves by General Electric and Dutch corporations. But South Africa can easily get the reactors from other sources, either France or West Germany.

South Africa already has an American built "research" reactor at Pelindaba. By 1984, this \$2 billion facility would make South Africa an independent nuclear power.

One-third of the world's known uranium reserves are in South Africa. The white-supremacist regime, with technological aid from

West Germany, has developed its own uranium-enrichment process.

Within a few years, with the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, South Africa will be the only country in Africa ruled by a white racist regime. It will be isolated, surrounded and faced with a revolutionary black working class inside its borders. But the white regime intends by then to have a huge nuclear arms stockpile.

To keep itself in power, the South African ruling class will threaten to turn all of independent black Africa into a cloud of radioactive dust.

There is only one way out. This vicious, Hitler-like, U.S.-backed regime must be smashed by a black workers' revolution before it gets a chance to carry out that threat. □

# MEET THE POWER BEHIND THE EASTERN UPS TALKS:

# KING BILLY

by Karl Werner

**BOSTON**—Stép right up and meet King Billy of the East. But first bend down and kiss his hand. That's the way all royalty likes to be treated.

What? You didn't know we had royalty in the United States? Then you've not met King Billy! Familiarize yourself with the man. If you're a UPS worker, pretty soon you'll be sick of him. Because with King Billy, as with all the big Teamster Kingpins, there's only one position they like to see the rank and file Teamster in—on their knees.

William J. McCarthy is the president of Teamsters Local 25 in Boston, Mass. He is also Vice President of the International, head of IBT Joint Council 10, and a Fitz man all the way. For UPSers, the news is that this is the man who will be negotiating your new contract if you live and work on the eastern seaboard.

Billy McCarthy (that's King Billy, if you please) has been appointed to head up the negotiating committee for the newly consolidated Eastern States UPS Agreement. And if you have to work under the contract, that, dear friends, is bad news.

Because Billy McCarthy does not give a damn about you, the rank and file worker. Why should he? Kings live in an entirely different world than you and I.

## OLD NEWS

For Teamsters in the Boston area and members of Local 25, Billy McCarthy is very old and very bad news. Members here recall the union meeting of March 16, 1975. 800 workers jammed the hall over in Charlestown. It was the biggest meeting, said the old-timers, in 30 years.

On the agenda were 18 proposed changes in the local by-laws, changes that would have gone a long way towards returning control of the local to the only rightful place it belongs—in the hands of rank and file Teamster members.

## JESUS

Three motions were passed before one was narrowly defeated and soon after people started to leave. It was now quite late, even though most of the proposed by-law changes had yet come to the floor. McCarthy had spent most of the meeting in a long harangue about nearly everything under the

sun except the business at hand.

During his long opening speech, McCarthy maintained that he would not give up the chair for Jesus Christ himself. "When you can't beat 'em, stall 'em," is the philosophy of kings and other petty tyrants. McCarthy knew it would be a lot tougher to muster the same number of people for next month's meeting.

Sure enough, only half as many ranks showed up for the next union meeting. The remaining proposals went down to defeat. But this is not the worst of the McCarthy saga at all.

Two days after the March union meeting, UPS began to fire those same militants who had fought to bring democracy to Local 25. In two weeks, on one trumped up charge after another, UPS fired a total of eight people—all supporters of the attempted by-law changes.

## WAR

McCarthy and the union did nothing. Absolutely nothing. No strike. No job action. No protest. No nothing. The case of these eight workers is still in arbitration today. One year later!

When UPS saw it had nothing to



"William J. McCarthy," an unauthorized portrait.

from Peoples Voice

fear from McCarthy, they declared open season on the Teamsters Union. They fired one worker for participating in an informational picket line that the ranks themselves set up when the union refused to act. They gave 13 others warning letters.

At the same time, they laid off 14 full-timers. These workers filed a grievance. The grievance board concluded that there was enough work for only three of the ex-full-timers. To the other 11 they gave nothing at all.

There were about 200 part-timers working at the time. Every one of the part-time shifts was working overtime, and they were staggered all through the night. To say that there was no way to put together 14 full-time shifts is a UPS way of saying, "It's union-busting time, gang!" And McCarthy let it happen.

UPSers, is this the man you

want to negotiate your contract? Do you want the likes of King Billy to bargain for the conditions under which you earn your living? The ranks must take matters into their own hands now for the sell out that is surely coming.

Two hundred people gathered in Baltimore last April to kick off the UPSurge East campaign. If there is no UPSurge committee in your hub, start one now, and don't wait another day. You must be prepared to make your move when the time comes. Believe me, Billy McCarthy will see to it that you only get one chance.

If this man gets away, he will sell you once going down the river, once on the way back, and then figure out a way to charge rent on the boat he uses to do it.

UPSurges toppled kings before. And will again. Join UPSurge. Help make 1976 the Year of the Rank and File.

And here's what's happening — or not happening — in the talks King Billy is presiding over...

No negotiations were held this week over the United Parcel Service East Coast contract. Most union officials are now saying what Workers' Power reported last week—that there will be no movement in the eastern negotiations until the results of the Central States ratification vote are known.

Local union meetings are slated for June 5 and 6 throughout the region. These meetings are being billed as "progress reports." But officials have refused to be any more specific or to reveal what went on at a meeting for union reps May 27.

UPSurge, the UPS workers rank and file movement, is preparing for two possibilities: that the union negotiators will try to spring a surprise settlement at the meeting this weekend; or that the union is simply using the meetings as a way to test rank and file sentiment and their willingness to fight.

The UPSurge-East steering committee has said that if any settlement is announced, it must be voted down at this time. UPSurge in the Central States is launching a rejection campaign that would be undercut by acceptance of a contract in the East, they stress.

## MOTIONS

In addition, the steering committee is circulating four motions for UPSurge supporters to present at this week's local meetings:

- A common expiration date for all eastern contracts should be set, no later than July 31. Union meetings should be held one week prior to contract expiration to take strike authorization votes.

- All jobs now performed by full-time employees must continue to be performed by full-time employees. [This is directed at a clause in the Central States contract that would allow unlimited part-time employees in pre-load and hub classifications. In the Central States, most of these employees are already part-time, but in the Eastern states, nearly 100% of the pre-loaders are full-time.]

- No new part-timers to be hired, and all current part-timers to receive the same wage as full-timers. [Currently the highest paid part-time worker in the Eastern states gets \$5.09. In the Central States, part-time rates range from \$5.30 to \$7.21.]

- Once a common expiration date is set, no contract, no work after that date. No return to work until the contract is ratified by a vote at the union hall. No mail ballot.

## CHICAGO UPS DIDN'T STRIKE - AND GOT LESS FOR IT!



Local 705 Pres. Louis Pelck, smiling for his membership

CHICAGO—UPS workers here got less in their contract than United Parcel Service workers did in the 13 Central States. That's the price Teamsters Local 705 President Louis Pelck paid for scabbing on the Central States strike last month.

The Chicago contract expired May 1, along with the Central States. Under pressure from UPSurge, the 13 Central States struck. But to further his own personal ambitions, Louis Pelck kept Chicago and Indiana working.

The Central States UPS negotiating team delivered a sellout. Nevertheless, it would have been worse without the pressure of the strike. Here's how it was worse in

Chicago:

- The option granted to some part-timers in the Central States to bid for full-time jobs was not won in Chicago.

- The Central States got three sick days. Chicago got three sick days as well, but they must be taken all together, along with two other pre-existing holidays (formerly your birthday and the day after Thanksgiving).

Since the contract allows the alternative of extra pay instead of days off, and requires prior company approval before taking the time off, UPS may get away with eliminating all of these holidays and just paying for them instead.

# TAKING BACK OUR U

The United Coalition is a fast-growing force at a Detroit Chrysler complex, the Lynch Road Assembly and the Mound Road Engine Plants. The Coalition is different from the traditional "election slates" that have dominated UAW local politics for a generation. The Coalition stands for genuine rank and file representation in the union and a constant fight back against the attacks of the Chrysler Corporation. The group is now expanding faster than at any time in its history.

Workers' Power talked with MELVIN CALDWELL, a newly-elected steward on second shift at Lynch Road Assembly and a member of the United Coalition.

ENID ECKSTEIN, who has been active in the Coalition for several years, writes about the group's history and growth.

Their stories give a vivid picture of the re-awakening of rank and file organization and initiative on a single shift, in a single plant, of a single local. But it is a picture that will be repeated time and again across the country in the auto industry. The disastrous economic crisis of '74-'75 has given birth to a whole new generation of rank and file fighters who will not sit still.

GW: Will you start by giving us some idea of why the United Coalition has been so successful on your shift over the last few months?

MC: The Coalition has been successful because we are trying to get unity in the plant. We are building a team to fight management.

People realize what's going down—all the overtime, the safety hazards, the poor working conditions. People are seeing that something has to be done and that the Coalition is going to fight for the people.

Many people have a whole lot of problems and they brought those problems into the Coalition. We are solving them together and building the Coalition at the same time.

The other slates go along with management. The stewards who are in the blue and green slates listen to the foreman's side before they listen to the workers. To me, it looks like they have been bought off.

## Interview by Glenn Wolfe

Once they get in debt to management there ain't no way out. For instance, one of the stewards might have a general foreman punch his card out so he can go home early. So the foreman does it and right there they have him.

And you can never get out of debt. The only way is the Coalition way. Don't get in debt in the first place.

We have used a lot of different things to get our point across. We regularly put out our newsletter all year round. We've carried some very important news that has woken people up the fact that we are always out there fighting.

One of the other things we did to build the Coalition was sell Coalition T-shirts. Hundreds of people wore those shirts and it got management real upset.

And certain guys on the shop committee who don't like the Coalition because they say we are radical groups. We know better. We are just in there trying to fight against management.

In this election we almost wiped out the other slates on second shift. Almost all of the shop committee was kicked out of office.

That was Tommy Hall's team. The management had him where they wanted him. They had him like a little puppy.

People would have been out on strike a long time ago but for Tommy Hall. All he had to do, with all these rotten working conditions, was to call it.

GW: How did you first get involved in the rank and file struggle?

MC: I had the same ideas the Coalition had, fighting back against management. The blue slate was not doing nothing. The green slate wasn't doing nothing and there had to be a way to fight back.



The United Coalition led this demonstration for back pay last January (see also photo below).

And it ain't just me. In the last few months, three or four hundred people throughout the plant have signed membership cards.

A big step for the Coalition was the TRA struggle.

This struggle was over back-pay on SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits). We had money coming to us, but we weren't getting it.

So we got a group together, and went down to the TRA office and raised all kinds of sand. The next day they started paying out the checks.

The stewards in the blue and green slate said nothing could be done. We got a group together in the Coalition and proved something could be done. It was a good step for the Coalition.

Our next step is with the contract. We are part of the Coalition for a Good Contract (UAW) and we'll be trying to spread that. Not just here or at Mound Road [the other plant in Local 51] but city wide, in all the plants.

## CONDITIONS

Some of the major issues are going to be around safety and working conditions. We need a better contract and better local agreements.

For that we have to get the people behind us so we will be strong when bargaining time comes. We have to be ready to walk out when the deadline comes.

This is the year, 1976. If we don't get it this year, we have three more years before we can get anything done.

GW: Speaking of contracts, what is the feeling in the plant about the strike over the rubber contract? Particularly now, when they are talking about the auto industry being shut down.

MC: I like the rubber strike. They aim to stay out until they get what they want, until they get the cost of living, the dollar fifty more on the salary check. They will stay out there as long as they need to.

Let them shut the auto plants down cause they will help set the tempo for the auto contract.

I feel that other workers feel the same way, even if the auto plants are closed down. They are trying to accomplish what we are trying to accomplish. Most of the people are for them 100%.

Before that, everyone was looking at the Teamsters, too. It is the biggest union we have and their struggle affects us too.

GW: The president of your union, Woodcock, is saying that auto workers should be focusing on the presidential election, not the

contract. He has also endorsed Carter. Are people going to go along with that?

MC: Most of the people, in my factory anyway, don't believe in Carter cause he has contradicted himself a lot. In one place he says one thing, in another he says something else.

Carter's gotten somewhere here because he knows Woodcock wants to be Secretary of Labor. That's why Woodcock endorsed Jimmy Carter. So everybody looks at it this

# United Coal Organize To

by Enid Eckstein, UAW Local 51

Three years ago workers here had no pride or confidence in themselves. Now that is all changed. Recently, when the Coalition sold T-shirts telling management where to go, over 350 bought them. One day 60 people in one area wore them. The message was clear—Lynch-Road is finally getting itself together.

When the second shift was first hired, in 1973, management tried to break it in with speedup and harassment. For most of the new hires it was their first job. There were no experienced workers to fight the tricks management and Labor Relations use to keep control.

The money, even if you had to bust ass to get it, was good. There was no resistance to management's attack.

The union was viewed as one big hustle. It was something that took \$12 every month and gave you nothing in return. Every day people would be denied basic contractual rights and nothing was said or done.

Today, second shift is very different.

## ANGER

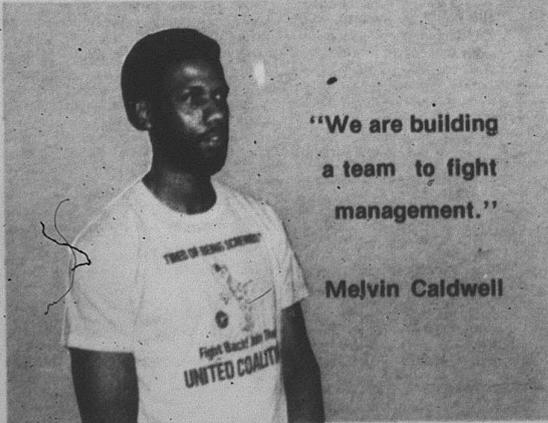
In the last nine months, management has cracked down harder than ever. People have begun to express their anger and frustration with speedup and harassment.

It is the United Coalition that has tried to organize that anger and change conditions.

The Coalition at Lynch Road began by publishing a regular newsletter. The "yellow sheet," as the newsletter became known, was people's only source of information of plant news.

We printed articles about harassment, the contract, health and safety rules and important notices of upcoming events. Every struggle, no matter how small, found its way into the paper.

People identified with the other struggles in the plant and began to see they were not alone. The bulletin pointed out the need for unity in the face of the company's



"We are building a team to fight management."

Melvin Caldwell

# NION



y, you know. Woodcock wants to take a big old nk of the rock. Now he's got a od shot at Secretary of Labor. You see Jimmy Carter on the nt page with Martin Luther ng, Sr., it's nothing but a big nt. GW: Finally, we can't end a orkers' Power interview without king what you think of Workers' iver. MC: Workers' Power is a nice per. It tells you what's going on

in the plants, nationwide. It's about all the labor movement, the TDC, their strike, rubber. It's the only way to keep up a date with everything that's going on. To me it's one of the best papers. You get the working class picture. It says how we are trying to accomplish our goals. This paper keeps everything together. They tell you right there what's happening for real. And that's a nice paper to read. □

## Union Reps Vote For Firing Of UPS Militant

On May 24 the case of Stephanie Batey was brought before the Joint Area Committee (JAC) of United Parcel Service and Teamster Local 243 in Chicago. This committee is composed of two reps from each, the company and the union. It is the final step in the UPS grievance procedure.

Batey, a package car driver, was fired on April 14 for allegedly stealing \$9.94 in C.O.D. monies. The real reason for her discharge was her active involvement in the Teamsters Union and a rank and

**Companies have victims. So we must prepare! Organize against them. Insure justice is fair!**

file movement in UPS known as UPSurge.

The JAC ruled against Batey Thursday and upheld her dismissal.

## SEIU Strike

The buttons say, "We want Bread and Jobs, Not Crumbs and Jails." Over 5500 employees of Alameda County, Ca., (Oakland and Berkeley) are on strike, rejecting a 3-3.2% wage offer.

The three SEIU locals, representing clerical, hospital, and welfare workers, rejected the Board of Supervisors' last offer by a firm 82%.

While public employees are under attack throughout the country, Alameda employees are among the best organized for fighting back. They have a strong rank and file organization around a news-

paper—Clerks' County. The grassroots leadership that came from this newsletter was able to organize a very successful contract fight last year.

### ONE YEAR CONTRACT

One of their victories was a one-year contract. County employees are pretty adept at strike preparations now; they start them about six months in advance.

For this strike over 2000 union members came to the first rally. They are picketing 94 county installations, but the union is maintaining emergency services.

County workers are asking the same 6.8% increase that management personnel was offered. So far the only groups that accepted the

Stephanie Batey Helps Rescue Woman in Fire



Lizama Mich' driver Stephanie Batey entered an apartment building to deliver one of her last packages of the day. An unscheduled stop, however, saw her first deliver a woman to safety from an collapsed town.

In company with the security guard, she promptly entered the narrow elevator. As the elevator opened to the 14th floor, both Stephanie and the guard detected the smell of smoke.

Missing all opposite directions, their immediate focus was being the floor for the source of the smoke. In less than one minute, Stephanie could feel a great amount of heat within the hallway. She quickly opened the door with a pry-bar.

Together they entered the room, which had filled with smoke from a burning couch. Through the smoke and intense heat, they found a woman. After sounding the alarm, they got the fire hose and began spraying the room. The water extinguished the flames but created more smoke. Unable to see or breathe easily, the two rescuers dropped to their knees and began to crawl toward the burning source.

When the door behind the clerk's office in the bedroom, Stephanie helped drag her out of the apartment. The fire truck and ambulance were arrived, and both the guard and the victim were hospitalized for smoke inhalation. Stephanie came through it okay and left immediately to complete her last deliveries.

This is what UPS was saying about Stephanie Batey in New England while they were firing her in Detroit. The article is from the company newsletter, "Big Idea", which continued to run the article after she was fired.

Supervisors' offer are the management group and the deputy sheriffs, who got 7.0%.

It seems the county has money for sheriffs and are even planning to build a new jail. It's only the lowest-paid workers they have no money for. □

## L.A. Teamsters Still Fighting Freight Boss

LOS ANGELES—The Associated Freight strike here has entered its second month; it is turning into a real fight to the finish between the Teamsters and the trucking companies.

It is clear that Associated is out to bust the union. The company is supposed to be losing \$25,000 a day.

An Associated terminal in the Bay Area recently burned down. In the Los Angeles area, most Associated customers are now shipping with other companies to ensure their freight gets where it's going safely and on time.

Still, John Pfeiffer who owns Associated continues to pay scab drivers \$6 an hour to drive around, two in a truck, hauling half-empty trailers.

### HELP FROM FRIENDS

Pfeiffer is rich. But he's not that rich. It's obvious that the other companies are financing his attempt to break the union. There are still a number of freight companies in LA that have not signed the new Master Freight Agreement—Braswell and Ringsey are the biggest.

They are waiting to see how the battle at Associated Freight turns out, and they will plan their attack

sal. From the start things didn't look good for Batey. Following the grievance procedure, she had to depend for council on union officials who were threatened by her leadership role in UPSurge.

It was obvious the Local 243 officials were not any more anxious for her to be rehired than UPS was. The union took no statements on her behalf from drivers. The 300 signatures on "Rehire Steph" petitions were never notarized.

### NO MEETING

Batey was not allowed to meet with Local President Bob Coy, her defense representative, until the day of the hearing. Any speaking on her behalf was done by Batey alone.

"There is no way we could have won at the JAC level because the union and company were in collusion," Batey said.

Eight grievances that were deadlocked in February were settled in favor of the union shortly before the Batey case was heard. But after only five minutes of deliberation by the JAC, her firing was upheld. Both the union and the company representatives voted against her. It was obvious that trade-offs were used instead of "just" representation.

The National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have taken Batey's case.

But these procedures take at least two years. They are no substitute for a fighting union. Batey's case clearly illustrates the need for rank and file union movements to prevent victimization and offer some kind of job security.

UPSurge, although a young organization, will stand behind her in her fight. And to quote Batey, "If they think I gave them trouble before... they should just wait!" □

## Coalition: Win!

"divide and rule" tactics. As the newsletter established itself we undertook several small campaigns. One was to get people to call their steward when they had any kind of problem. We tried to get them to write grievances.

Another tactic was getting rid of one particular foreman who harassed the hell out of his group.

### BREAKTHROUGH

The major breakthrough for the Coalition at Lynch Road was the TRA demonstration in January. Two hundred of us demonstrated at a state office for our back pay. No longer would we believe that Lynch Road workers would never stick together.

After the TRA demonstration, the United Coalition had become a solid organization. We had a hard core of 30 and hundreds who called themselves "Coalition." People joined the Coalition because it had been out there fighting 365 days a year for better conditions. In mid-May the stewards' elec-



tions took place at Lynch Road Assembly. Election fever hit second shift for the first time.

Two Coalition stewards were elected. An entirely new shop committee will set a new tone in the local.

Last winter the United Coalition linked up with other similar groups to form the Coalition for a Good Contract. At Lynch Road the only discussion on the contract so far has come about because of the United Coalition and the Coalition for a Good Contract.

Members of the United Coalition have collected almost 300 pledge cards for a good contract in 1976.

### ROAD FORWARD

The road ahead is clear. To get behind the new stewards to push

for a good contract and to consolidate our gains into becoming a major force at Local 51.

Management and the old guard of the local will be joining together to destroy the Coalition. The International of the UAW will also be watching very closely. All these forces know that if we keep growing the way we have been that they are in for some hard times.

People at Lynch Road are beginning to understand that it is we who make the cars and Chrysler's profit. We want our share.

We have begun by building the United Coalition and giving the rank and file a say in the union. We are on the way to controlling our union. If we can control our union then Chrysler watch out! □

# Seattle Teamsters Locked Out

SEATTLE—Over 1000 warehousemen in IBT Local 117, Seattle have been locked out by the Distributor's Association, a group of over 40 employers. The main issues are wages, cost-of-living, and a "management rights" clause.

The management rights clause would allow the bosses to hire, fire, and discipline at will with little recourse.

The lockout started on May 18, after a strike by workers at two companies in the association.

Most of the workers are determined not to give in. As one Teamster said, "If they win, we might as well quit paying union dues."

So far the company has only offered \$1.30 over three years with no adequate cost-of-living clause. The average wage is just over \$6.00 per hour now.

The union leadership has done little to pressure the companies. At all companies, there are office and sales workers who continue to work.

## SCABS

In many cases they are now doing the work of strikers. At some companies, non-union drivers are crossing the line and loading up with scab goods.

As the strike wears on, it becomes more and more evident that the union leadership's do-nothing policy won't shake a determined strike-breaking effort by the employers.

Already a roving squad of picketers has been organized to fight the scabbing. One group went to West Coast Paper and slashed the tires of the trucks to keep them from moving.

The union has not tried to stop such activity. The union must defend its members. But if it is not willing to, it is the membership who will organize to win the strike.

# Child World Battle Still On

AVON, Mass.—Locked out of their jobs since March, Teamsters at Child World, Local 653, have twice voted unanimously to reject the company's offers. The most recent bid would have meant only \$1.75 increase over four years.

The Teamsters would also have to pay for most of their Blue Cross/Blue Shield until the final year, receiving only one more holiday and no sick days.

These Teamsters make only \$3.50 an hour with no cost-of-living or fringe benefits.

Said one Teamster, "The contract which the company is trying to force on us is, in fact, an insignificant list of favors, cheap wages, and benefits which amounts to half of what we really want."

The company has charged that Local 653 Teamsters are illegally striking. When brought to court, Local 653 drivers and loaders witnessed out and out lies by management and Avon police.

## PAYOFFS

At Werner, the company vice-president, was seen sitting with the police and clerk of courts, laughing and drinking coffee before the case. The next day, one police officer gave his cruiser up to the doors of the warehouse and received a bicycle.

This same police officer testified in court against Bob Dever, a Teamster who was hit by Werner when Werner drove his car through the picket line.

# AUTO MOTION

The Road Forward for Auto Workers

# THE MAD DOGS OF GMAD



As soon as the 1970 strike was over, General Motors was ready to go into high gear with a systematic, nationwide, speedup campaign. In 1965 the corporation set up a new division, the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD).

GMAD was run by a team of hot-shot efficiency experts, with the job of reorganizing management at assembly plants. Their purpose? Producing more cars with less workers.

Prior to the strike, GMAD ran only six GM assembly plants. But by 1972, they had taken over the majority of GM assembly plants: 18 plants, 85,000 workers, building 75% of GM's domestically produced cars and 65% of its trucks.

The GMAD plan of attack was to fight the assembly workers plant by plant.

In most cases before GMAD took over, the assembly facilities were run by two separate corporate divisions. Bodies were made by the Fisher Body Division, and final assembly was run by the Chevrolet Division.

There were separate local agreements, and separate shop committees for each division.

## LORDSTOWN

Starting in Lordstown, Ohio, where Vegas are built, GMAD stepped in and tore up both local agreements, even though the old agreements were still running. They demanded a single agreement, wiping out past local union bargaining victories.

They demanded new elections for a single shop committee. And at the same time, they sped up production by laying off hundreds of workers with no reduction in line speed.

They settled no grievances until there were 5000 piled up in the procedure. They purposely forced a local strike.

The Lordstown workers got token help from the International Union. It has just had its ears pinned back by GM in the national strike. The young Local soon lost.

Nevertheless, the strike is having an effect. The company claims that they can't get the jobs done, that there is an overload of paperwork to be done, and that security is costly.

On the picket line, Child World Teamsters say the morale has never been higher. They are continuing their boycott of the area toy stores. Plans are being made to include Springfield and Western Mass. stores and the word has spread to other Teamster locals.

Delivery concerns including oil companies, canteen and vending machines, office and supply stores and air conditioning services are also boycotting the warehouse. And the union train won't deliver Child World goods.

## STAYING OUT

One Teamster said, "Time is on our side. We are hitting the summer peak and after that it's the Christmas rush. We are prepared to stay out and win."

Local 653 Child World members are showing that they will not let a greedy corporation destroy their livelihood or their union.

IN THE 1970 GENERAL MOTORS STRIKE, the UAW won its key bargaining demands: removing the cap from COLA, and establishing the first breakthrough on a pension program based on retirement after 30 years of service.

Leonard Woodcock opened that strike, his first as top UAW negotiator, with tough talk and the largest strike fund in UAW history.

"The GM workers of today are faced with the same kind of arrogant management which the UAW had to defeat in 1937 to establish our union. We're prepared... even if it means an old fashioned strike against the giant corporation," he said.

Despite the tough talk, Woodcock was unprepared and unwilling to make the necessary fight against GM. The bargaining victories masked a giant offensive GM was planning against its workforce.

local paper:

"Since that time (GMAD takeover) we have seen them steal manpower by the hundreds from settled operations; we have seen them ruthlessly throw operators who remained on these overloaded jobs on the street when they were unable to perform all of the added work on their operations..."

"GMAD seeks to put more and more work on every back; they seek to crush us and to strip us of human dignity. GMAD has declared war and they fully intend to return us as workers to the slave-like workplace and working conditions of yesterday when a worker was manipu-

lated, overworked, abused, degraded, and treated like a common work animal by employers gone mad in their lust for greater profits...

"We here at Norwood have too long walked together in human dignity to ever be satisfied to crawl for the rest of our working days."

## LESSON

GMAD wanted to use the Norwood strike as a clear example. GMAD had forced as many Lordstown workers as they could to do the same. Woodcock had already been taught to crawl. They now wanted to teach this lesson to local union leaders throughout GM.

For 26 weeks the strike dragged on. GMAD cancelled all production in 1972 Firebirds and Camaros. They ran full page ads in Cincinnati area papers saying that if Norwood workers didn't go back to work, the plant would be closed and the jobs would be shipped out.

Norwood workers were also forced to settle.

The International Union had backstabbed them. They only got support from small groups in the union. Tool and Die Unit workers at Ford Rouge, a United National Caucus stronghold, collected \$1300 for strike support and a show of solidarity.

And still GMAD workers still didn't quit. Under pressure from the membership, Local 25 leaders from GMAD St. Louis brought a resolution to the October 1972 UAW GMAD Subcouncil meeting. It called first for a united 18 GMAD plant strike, and next for the GMAD truck plants to come out too.

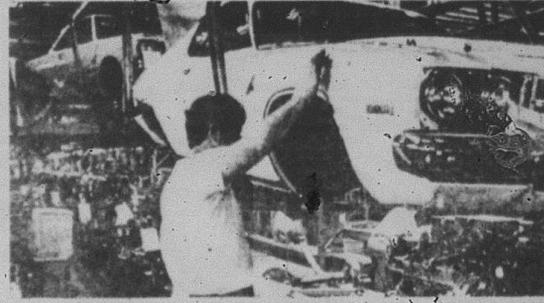
To the surprise of Woodcock, with pressure from their ranks, the Council passed the resolution. But Woodcock was still licking his wounds from the last battle, and permitted no serious union defense.

The struggle continued throughout GMAD, but it was a losing battle without a union as committed to fighting for its members as the company was committed to destroying them. GM got its pound of flesh.

And just as was predicted by the United National Caucus at the time; Ford and Chrysler too were forced to carry out their own new speedup campaigns just to remain competitive.

## NORWOOD

But the Norwood local leadership put the issues very clearly in their



Locked-out Child World workers ask all consumers to boycott this unbusting toy chain.

# Stay Healthy— Just Don't Breathe!

Dear Workers' Power

Here's to our health care system—and the concerned people who run it...

## U.S. Steel's Two Views On Health

By DOLores FREDERICK  
Press Science Writer

A U. S. Steel official doesn't see a conflict between his two jobs — fighting tough air-pollution codes and keeping people healthy.

At U. S. Steel, R. Heath Larry, vice president, wants the Environmental Protection Agency to stop picking on his company to quickly clean up dirty water and poisoned air filling people's lungs and stomachs.

As a board member of the Health Education Center at 200 Ross St., Downtown, he is working to reduce illnesses by getting people to think more of their health.

"I don't believe in...  
do..."

...and making bundles, no doubt, off the exorbitant fees they charge for (mal)treatment of diseases contracted or complicated by that same poisoned air and water...

C.H.  
Pittsburgh

## Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

What you like about the paper—and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people.

But please be brief.

Write to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

# Ripping Off Our Struggle

Dear Workers' Power,

I recently participated in a demonstration in St. Louis to Free Gary Tyler. An unusual incident occurred during it that I'd like to relate.

As the demonstration began there was a group of well-dressed black men standing around a car, watching us. One of them had a camera, but none of them were participating.

After about 15 minutes, the guy with the camera approached us and asked if we would pose with one of the members of his group. It turns out he was a Democratic candidate for some office.

We were shocked. Here was some guy ready to rip off the rally for his own personal gain, not showing even the slightest interest in the case.

Still stunned, we refused this hypocrite's offer. He left shortly, never having said "Free Gary Tyler" even once.

He probably wouldn't have meant it anyway.

J.B.  
St. Louis

Dear Workers' Power,

I had the pleasure of reading one of your papers, and I would like to express how pleased I am



with it. It contains a whole lot more perspective than other publications that attempt the same issues.

I agree with the views expressed in your paper, and would like more information on how I can struggle for a world fit to live in.

Being a victim of "justice," I feel there must be a change in the system of government that controls us. Power to all people that stand for the struggle.

I am presently incarcerated at the Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga. Whatever information you can supply me with will be highly appreciated.

Keep up the good work.

Freddie L. Townsend  
Atlanta

# HOW I WENT TO THE HOSPITAL— AND LIVED!

Dear Workers' Power,

Upon my release from a 17-day stay in the hospital I was given a form to fill out rating the care I received.

I checked off almost all "excellent's" because this hospital was actually the best I'd ever been in. And I've been in many, as both patient and worker.

To my knowledge, four errors were made in giving me medication.

I spent five days longer than

necessary there recovering from a condition needlessly caused by the treatment I was receiving.

There were too few nurses, which resulted in rush and pressure. The strict hospital hierarchy prevents patients from getting information they have a right to.

All of these problems were caused by the health care is run in this county, not by the individual nurses who actually made the mistakes.

Profit reigns everywhere—in hospitals and other social services, as well as at General Motors. No matter that a broken patient is more tragic—and harder to fix—than a broken engine assembly.

This hospital just happened to be the best of all the rotten, disgusting hospitals that I have ever been in. This one just isn't likely to kill them.

K.T.  
Detroit

# Crooks In Power: The Wonders of Free Enterprise

Dear Workers' Power,

The article on the bankruptcy of Associated and Eastern Freightways misses an important point.

The I.C.C. told the companies to change their management by kicking out two of the men who had looted the company treasuries and the workers' pension funds.

Then these same men decided to fold up the companies instead. So 8000 jobs were lost to workers to defend the pride of two lousy owners!

Now we can see yet again what capitalism is. It is a system where two crooked capitalists have the power to cost 8000 workers their jobs.

There is only one solution—take their power away, and build WORKERS' POWER!

Sam  
New Jersey



"I believe in the status quo—robbing the poor and keeping it."

# BLACK LIBERATION AND REVOLUTION

## Build The Black Conference

"IT'S IMPOSSIBLE for a chicken to produce a duck egg... A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg. It can't do it. It can only produce according to what that particular system was constructed to produce.

"The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, period.

"It's impossible for this system, as it stands, to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country.

"And if a chicken ever did produce a duck egg, I'm quite sure you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken!"

—Malcolm X, 1964

"WE BELIEVE that Negro (Black) workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such as welcome them and treat them fairly.

"We believe that Workers' Councils organized by blacks for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class.

"We believe in the ultimate triumph of Socialism the world over; that is, common ownership and control of the means of production and equality of income."

—W.E.B. DuBois, 1938

What W.E.B. DuBois and Malcolm X knew, we know. There can be no black liberation without the destruction of the racist, capitalist system.

We also know that unless white racism is destroyed, there can be no successful struggle against this system.

Du Bois analyzed capitalism as the problem, and racism as the instrument of the capitalist class against workers. He came to know the difference between the arm and the hammer.

The hammer—racism, sexism, nationalism—could be replaced if attacked or broken. The arm that wields them, if it is destroyed, cannot.

### ORGANIZE

Organizing to attack the arm of the system is key to destroying it.

That is why, in 1938, Du Bois wrote: "We believe that Negro (black) workers should join the labor movement and affiliate with such as welcome them and treat them fairly.

"We believe that Workers' Councils organized by blacks for interracial understanding should strive to fight race prejudice in the working class."

Building black organization, workers' organization and revolutionary organization is still what the struggle is about.

The evening session of the conference sponsored by the I.S. Black Caucus, on "The Liberation of Southern Africa" (see details below), is open to the public. The first two sessions of the conference, during the day, are by invitation only. They will discuss the capitalist crisis and the black community, and building a new black movement. Friends of the I.S. interested in attending these two sessions should contact their local I.S. representative or Workers' Power spokesperson. Childcare provided for all sessions.



### WE OPPOSE.

#### • CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION

We live under the capitalist system. The wealth produced by working people is stolen from us by private employers. They prosper from our labor.

#### • CAPITALIST CONTROL

Capitalists use their profits only to make more profits. When they need fewer workers, they create unemployment. When they need more money, they speed up work, downgrade safety conditions and raise prices. The capitalist system spends little on health care, a clean environment, or social services, because these things make no profit.

#### • OPPRESSION

Capitalism needs inequality—because it needs profits, it can't provide enough for all. So it gives some groups of people worse jobs and lower pay, and labels them inferior. In particular, capitalism locks black people into the bottom of society, and spreads racist ideas to keep them there and justify it. Capitalism keeps women responsible for taking care of the workforce when it is not at work, including children who are too young to work. Women who work for wages have two jobs.

#### • CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT

The government serves the capitalist class. Its only purpose is to protect the private profit system. It protects its interests abroad through economic control of other countries, spying and wars.

#### • BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNISM

Russia, China and the countries with economies like theirs are also oppressive class societies, run by a privileged ruling class of bureaucrats. They are not socialist and must be overthrown by the working classes of those countries.

### WE SUPPORT

#### • THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

The unions protect workers from their employers. But today's unions are run by privileged officials who sell out because they support the capitalist system. They want labor peace not labor power. We support the struggle for rank and file control of the unions.

#### • LIBERATION FROM OPPRESSION

We support the struggles of every oppressed group to end its oppression: the struggle for equality and justice by blacks, women, gays, latinos, native Americans, and all oppressed people. Support from the entire working class movement will make both these struggles, and that movement stronger.

#### • SOCIALISM

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

#### • WORKERS' REVOLUTION

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

#### • INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is world wide. Nations fighting to throw out foreign rulers must have the support of the international working class as in Angola today. So must every struggle of working people to end their oppression, as in Portugal today, and in Russia and Eastern Europe.

#### • REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

#### • INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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

Detroit

## The Liberation of Southern Africa

Featured Speaker: Tapson A. Mawere, Representative of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)

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Sponsored by International Socialist Black Caucus



That's why the International Socialists' National Black Caucus is sponsoring a conference on "The Struggle for Black Liberation—At Home and Abroad."

We are many people with

one class and one struggle! Attend the conference and learn how you can understand and join the struggle for black liberation and socialism.

Fred Hobby, Member of I.S. National Black Caucus

# W.P. SELLER REVEALS: I Was Waylaid By A Power-Drunk UPS Stupidvisor!

by Gary Freeman

CINCINNATI—On Wednesday, June 2, while selling Workers' Power at a Cincinnati UPS hub, I was attacked and robbed by a top UPS supervisor.

Workers' Power was selling well that day because of an article on what was going on with Eastern States UPS talks. Supervisors, not to be left out, were more than willing to pay the special supervisors' rate of 50c a copy.

That is until Henry Williams, head of the customer service for southern Ohio district, rolled up.

He rolled down his window and asked how much it was. I told him they were only 50c. So he reached in his pocket and said he would support our organization by buying one.

### BANANAS

After looking at the paper for a few minutes he went bananas. He started yelling that it only said 15c on the paper and he wanted his money back.

made it clear that all

supervisors were paying that much, but he flew out of his car and told me he was giving me "one more chance" to give it back.

I didn't back down, so he grabbed my shirt and got my head that was in his pocket. He held it up and said this must be worth something and it would do for starts.

He grabbed me in the shoulder, this time hitting me in the head and pushing me back. I dropped some money that was in my hand and he jumped on it, too.

Finally he grabbed some papers and started ripping them and throwing them into his car. There were a whole line of backed up cars watching everything.

As Henry felt he said: "Just don't let me catch you on my property"—pointing to UPS—or else."

Workers' Power salespeople have been harassed by UPS management before. They do not like Workers' Power because we tell the truth about UPS—and because we say that UPS—and all businesses should be run by workers' control.

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## 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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# Talking About Socialism

This article is the beginning of a new regular Workers' Power feature. This series will talk about the need for socialist revolution, the problems involved in making it, and how workers can take power and build a new society. Most of all, we will talk about the questions socialists are most frequently asked. Can socialism happen here? Is it the answer to what's wrong with capitalism? Can the system we live under today be made to work better, or must it be totally replaced?

To begin with, we will talk about what socialism itself really means. The first article by Cal Williams explains why the system that exists in Russia has nothing to do with socialism. Next week, we will look at another set of so-called "socialist" countries, the European welfare states like Sweden.

by Calvin Williams

In Baltimore recently, a United Parcel Service worker attacked the rank and file movement, UPSurge, as a "communist plot." He published a letter calling on fellow workers to stay away from it.

He advised sticking to apple pie, baseball, and the American way of life, and signed himself "a red blooded American Teamster."

Now this man is one of a dying breed. It's a difficult thing to convince workers today that they are the target of an international communist conspiracy.

After all, there is detente with Russia. And every so often we get to see Nixon, Mr. Cold Warrior himself, parade through China—reading quotations from Chairman Mao's Little Red Book and toasting the Red Guard.

The anti-communism of the 1950's, carefully nurtured for a generation in the schools, churches and the trade unions, no longer really works.

Watergate, the Vietnam war, plus the never ending exposures of CIA and FBI subversion, have dampened American's convictions that this is the freest of all possible worlds.

## IS RUSSIA SOCIALIST?

Still, while anti-communism is not the crusade it was once, today there are few workers who are willing to consider socialism as an alternative to today's problems.

Most workers think of socialism in terms of George Orwell's novel 1984, a cold, grim society controlled by Big Brother and bureaucrats, a society where the individual is crushed in endless conformity.

Of course this image is strengthened by Russia itself, the "communist" country where there is no free speech, where free trade unions are not allowed and strikes are banned.

On the other hand, there are some who think that while Russia represents communism, socialism is to be found in Sweden, Britain, or one of the European welfare states.

Both pictures are wrong, but let's start with Russia.

It has to be said right off that Russia is in no way socialist, nor communist for that matter. And neither are any of the countries that call themselves communist, from Albania to North Korea.

## ISOLATED REVOLUTION

In 1917, there was a successful workers' revolution, in Russia, a socialist revolution, led by Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party, the revolutionary workers' party in Russia at the time.

The Russian working class, organized in factory committees,

**"We demand an immediate break with the prejudiced view that only the rich, or officials chosen from rich families, are capable of running the affairs of state..."**

Lenin

workers' councils, and workers' militias, threw out the Czar, the aristocracy, then the landlords and the capitalists.

They withdrew Russia from the imperialist First World War, they disbanded the Russian empire, and they established the freest country on the earth.

The problem was that their revolution had to spread. No one believed that socialism could develop in one country, especially a very poor country with a predominantly small-capitalist peasant economy, surrounded by a hostile camp of capitalist nations.

In his "Letter to American Workers" of 1918, Lenin wrote, "We are now, as it were, in a besieged fortress, waiting for other detachments of the world socialist



The Russian workers took power in October, 1917. The Communist International was organized to lead the struggle for international socialism and working class freedom. The flame lit by the Russian Revolution and the Communist International was re-lit by the Hungarian workers (above) in 1956, who created workers' councils and battled the Russian Army's tanks.

revolution to come to our relief."

These "other detachments" were expected to be successful revolutions in Germany, France, Britain, and America. Unfortunately, these revolutions either never broke out, or were cut down.

The revolutions of 1919 in Germany and Hungary failed. In fact, revolutionary workers and their leaders were murdered by governments headed by "moderate socialist" ministers.

At the same time, foreign armies from 14 nations including the United States, invaded the new

workers' republic. These countries had just concluded four years of unprecedented slaughter amongst themselves, but they could still agree to attack the Soviet Union.

There was also the Civil War, led by the old aristocracy and the generals. As a result of this and the invasions, the Russian working class was decimated and cut off from the workers of the rest of the world.

## DEGENERATION

Under these conditions, isolated from the rest of the world, socialism had little chance to succeed. You cannot have factory councils and workers' control when there are virtually no factories.

The most dedicated workers had been killed in the years of war. The economy was devastated. Famine and disease were widespread throughout the countryside.

The Bolshevik Party still held power, but powerful mass organizations of the Russian working class had virtually ceased to exist.

The inevitable result was the degeneration of the Russian revolution. Lenin fought this process till his last day. He warned against the growth of a bureaucratic state apparatus. He tried to stop Stalin from taking power.

He was unsuccessful, however. At the time of Lenin's death in 1923, the Party and state bureaucracy had begun strangling the revolution.

## NEW SYSTEM

In this situation, Stalin became the leader of the bureaucracy and the defender of its growing privileges. Step by step, he began the process of building a new system.

He began in the 1920's by strangling what was left of workers' control and shop floor rights. In the 1930's, Stalin killed off the

original leaders of the revolution.

He used labor camps, purge trials, to create a reign of terror even among his supporters. Brutal forced industrialization reduced Russian workers and peasants to near-slavery and starvation.

This counter-revolution led by Stalin created a new ruling class of bureaucrats and commissars, a class which today lives in luxury—with special resorts, chauffeur-driven limousines, private stores, and private schools—while it exploits the labor of the Russian working class.

In this new system, all factories and machines are state-owned. The bureaucratic ruling class, which controls the state, claims this system is "socialist." But all it means is that workers labor for the greater comfort and power of the ruling class. No genuine political discussion, workers' movement or social protest of any kind is tolerated.

## COMMUNIST PARTIES

Of course there are some who will claim that Russia is socialist nevertheless. And in this country, there is still a pro-Moscow Communist Party, though it is small and conservative.

The mass Communist Party-USA of the thirties, however, is a thing of the past, not to be repeated. It was destroyed by the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939-40, and then by its war-time patriotism, when Communists supported the no-strike pledge, and demanded that blacks not fight for jobs, as that might hurt the war effort.

The idea that Russia was socialist was finished when it became clear that the Russian armies went into Eastern Europe not to liberate people from the Gestapo, but to enslave them in a new imperialism.

## REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM

Socialists then, far from thinking Russia is to be defended, support the freedom fighters of the Russian colonies.

The Hungarian revolutionaries who set up workers' councils in Budapest in 1956, and the Czechoslovakian workers who fought Russian tanks in 1968, proved that the struggle for revolution and freedom continues under the Stalinist system.

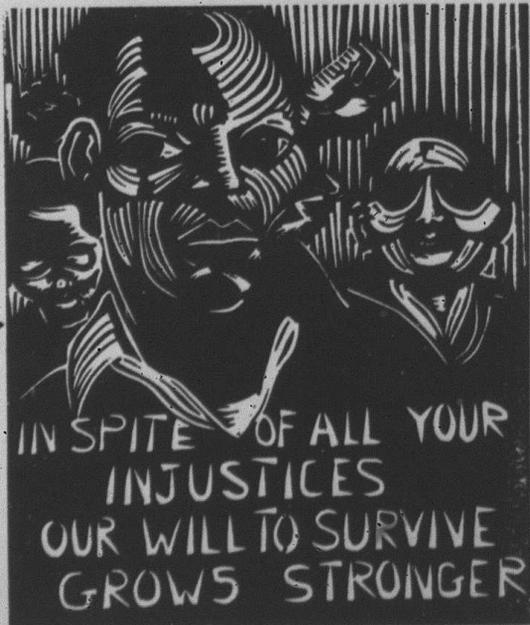
When George Orwell wrote 1984, he was trying to kill the idea that Russia was socialist. After all, he was a socialist himself, though a very pessimistic one.

Today, however, we can be more optimistic. A new workers' movement is developing. In both East and West, workers are once again taking up the fight for real freedom.

And socialism, after all, is working class freedom, as opposed to the freedom that exists today in the United States, the freedom for those who have money.

Capitalism is the freedom to kill miners for a profit, the freedom to force the young off into imperialist wars, and the freedom to run a dictatorship in every factory, mine, mill, and office in the country.

The alternative to both capitalism and bureaucratic Russia is socialism, workers' power. Socialism, in the words of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the authors of the Communist Manifesto, will be built when: "In place of the old bourgeois (capitalist) society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."



# WHY RUBBER STRIKE DRAGS ON

# CINCINNATI CAR HAULERS WILD-CAT

by David Katz

The nationwide strike against the four major tire companies is now in its seventh week. Conceivably, it could go for seven more. Why? Why has the United Rubber Workers (URW) been unable to move the companies so much as an inch so far?

The answer is that the URW leadership is incompetent. True, they are quite capable of sitting behind a desk, pushing a pencil or punching a computer. But the administration of URW President Peter Bommarito does not know how to prepare for a strike and does

not know how to win a strike. That fact has been somewhat covered over so far by the nationwide strike that Bommarito did actually call. Three years ago, there were only token strikes. The contract in 1973 devastated rubber workers' purchasing power because it had no cost-of-living protection.

Bommarito knows this time that he cannot survive in the union without winning cost-of-living protection. But now that he's climbed into the ring, his inability to fight is becoming painfully apparent.

Bommarito's weakness is not unique. It comes from the politics basic to all of today's union leaders. They have become so entrenched, far removed from the rank and file and comfortable with their high salaries and their cozy relationship with the employers. So much so that when the situation demands it, they are both unable to lead a fight and unwilling to risk rocking the boat.

### OVER THE YEARS

For the URW leadership is completely unprepared for this strike. The union's strength in the industry has been slowly whittled away over the years. The tire companies moved much of their production to the South and the



Members of United Rubber Workers Local 100 on the picket line in Los Angeles. They are being hampered by a union leadership (below) that does not know how to win the strike.

URW did not organize it. Or they organized it and did not insist that it be under the master contracts.

The result? All of the Big Four except Goodyear have major tire plants still operating at full speed, either because they are non-union or because their contracts expire at later dates.

That's not all. A foreign company—Michelin—set up operations in South Carolina. It has plans to expand to Colorado and elsewhere. The URW has not organized Michelin. The result is to stiffen the Big Four's will to fight, because if they agree to a high wage settlement, Michelin will have a big competitive edge.

So, although the ranks are bitterly determined to stick it out and win this strike, only about 60% of American tire production is halted.

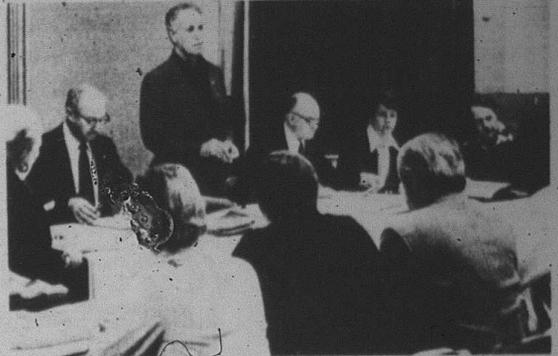
And as the weeks drag on, the URW's estimate of when the auto companies will run out of tires—thus magnifying pressures on the Big Four to settle—has been extended from mid-May, to early June, to maybe as late as the end of this model year (mid-summer).

### THEN THE STRIKE

In addition to the problems created by the unorganized shops, the URW also faces certain difficulties just running a respectable strike in those factories which are organized. First, there is some scabbing by supervisors. They are not turning out a lot, and their work is not high-quality, but nevertheless, there is production going on.

Second, the large supplies of tires stockpiled in warehouses are being moved to dealers. And finally, URW members at the General Tire and Rubber Co. did not join the strike when their contract expired May 15.

The union leadership has dealt with these problems in just as weak



a manner as it dealt with the non-union operations. Bommarito has done essentially nothing. His big tactic is a boycott of Firestone tires.

Mass picket lines were set up at rubber plants initially in Akron and elsewhere to keep supervisors out. But injunctions against mass picketing were quickly issued. In most places the union leadership has urged compliance with the court orders, although there has been scattered resistance.

Little has been done about the warehouses, although there are small picket lines in some places. Once the tires have been moved to the dealers it will be nearly impossible for the union to keep them off the market.

### LOCAL OFFICERS SCAB

And Bommarito has allowed officials of Local 9 (General Tire, Akron) to keep the entire company working, even though their contract has expired. The URW Constitution gives the local officers this right. But any International

Car haulers in Cincinnati wild-catted Tuesday in defiance of their union's orders to keep working pending ratification of their contract.

The car haulers are the Teamsters who deliver new automobiles to dealers. Their national contract expired May 31, but a tentative agreement was reached and the members were told to keep working.

But at a meeting of Local 100 in Cincinnati June 1, car haulers voted overwhelmingly against the proposed contract and against a return to work. As of that night, Anchor Motor Freight, E&L Transit, and Complete Auto Transit were all closed down.

On Thursday, June 3, they began sending flying pickets to close down other terminals around the country.

In Washington, Walter Shea, assistant to union president Frank Fitzsimmons, told the strikers they would get no backing from the union.

Car haulers were paid by a complex formula, but the issue of the current negotiations can be summarized as follows: dispatch rules would be changed, allowing drivers to be kept away from home for greater periods of time, and a new pay rate formula has been proposed which would pay drivers for two-thirds of the miles they drive.

In addition, the new contract proposes discharge for refusal to do work or for participation in unauthorized work stoppages. In the freight contract, the penalty is suspension the first time and discharge only for the second offense.

## NOBODY WINS!

NOBODY WINS!

Firestone

A Firestone ad placed in papers across the country in an attempt to break the strike.

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