

# WORKERS' Power

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# "HOW WE SAT DOWN —AND WON!"

[Exclusive Workers' Power interview with sit-down strike leaders.]

"My first thought was 'what's going on?' The company and the union had been arguing and fussing since, well, December 1. We figured we were just going to walk out. Just the spur of the moment the union said, 'No we're sitting down.'

"It made the company come around to our way of thinking, and anyway, hell, it was cold outside. If we had to do it again, we'd do it."

—Danny Allison, a fabricating worker at Hyster

Last month at the Hyster plant in Danville, Illinois, the 1500 members of the Independent Lift Truck Builders Union led a strike. Instead of walking out and setting up picket lines, they sat down. For 30 hours, on February 18 and 19, they held the plant. And then they won.

That strike can be a model for workers elsewhere. In all industries conditions are getting worse:

layoffs, speedup, even some wage cutting. To fight back, we need tough new tactics.

The Danville strike says this: When the bosses get tough, here's how to fight back. Here's how to win.

### MANAGEMENT ATTACK

The Hyster strike reversed a management drive to worsen work-



Two of the leaders of the Hyster sit-down: Jerry Wright, left, and Jim Hein

ing conditions. In the areas of job bidding, sickness and accident insurance and bereavement pay, the company had tried to undermine past practice. Voluntary overtime was made compulsory, and Hyster refused to live up to a "bank holiday plan" (time off for

good attendance).

Workers' Power reporter Joe Fine talked with Jerry Wright and Jim Hein about the strike. Wright is secretary of the LTBU and Hein is the union treasurer.

"They never had labor problems at this company since 1936, when it was founded," Hein said. "It used to be mostly older people; the plant didn't have any radicals or anybody who even looked like a radical. The president of the union was tied in with the company. In the last, I'd say seven years, it's changed completely around."

"Last year was the first year there had ever been a strike, even for a contract," Wright added. "We went out on strike three times."

### STRIKE VOTE

The union took a strike vote at a meeting. "But we never told the people actually it was going to be a sitdown," recalled Hein. "We led them to believe they were going out on the street."

"Then the president called together all the 60 or 70 stewards and informed them what was going on. They went back to their areas and spread it to the people. When we told them it was a sitdown inside a warm plant it really went smooth. None of them went back to work—except for a couple of guys—out of the 1500 it was basically perfect."

"We were down 30 hours," said Wright. "Some of the people stayed for the duration of the damn thing! Most of them just came in for the normal shift and then went home."

"We brought the whole group to one center. We figured they would pick a guy by himself, tell him to get back to work, then fire his ass. If we were all grouped together, it would be a little difficult. It would take a pretty gutsy foreman to walk in where we were all together."

"Evidently the company felt this too, because they never sent

anyone in to do that. They didn't know what would happen; we don't know what would have happened. We didn't even know they would sit down, but they did."

"All five plants here took part, but we concentrated our forces into three plants. That was kind of a unique situation: there were three simultaneous meetings going on."

"We took a hell of a gamble, but it was the only way we could see to do it."

During the sitdown, the first thing many workers did was take a tour of the plant.

The company never tried to prevent other shifts from coming in. "We were prepared for that," Hein said. "We knew the other shift might have to support the shift that was in there. The company didn't know how to react against us."

At 2:30 on the first afternoon, the company offered to negotiate if the people would go back to work, but nobody bought that offer.

Then the company got a federal injunction based on "balance of payments between the US and foreign" countries, national defense.

The strike was ended then, but the workers had made their point. The company gave in on four of the five demands and agreed to immediate arbitration on the fifth.

Hyster has not attempted to discipline anyone. "I think it comes back to their being afraid that if they lay a hand on us they're going to suffer financial losses again," says Wright.

The sitdown did more than just win the immediate demands. It has opened up a whole new world of possibilities.

"People feel a lot more secure," reports Wright. "It built confidence in the stewards. We have learned again that our power is in the people. I hope that's what the people have learned: that our strength is in them."



## Navajos Occupy Plant

On Feb. 24, 36 members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Council for Navajo Liberation occupied the Fairchild Camera plant in Shiprock, New Mexico. They were responding to the layoff of 140 Navajo workers. The AIM members were armed with high-calibre rifles but the takeover occurred without violence. Although the plant seizure has ended, the fight against Fairchild's layoffs continues.

Fairchild came to Shiprock in 1965 in search of cheap labor. Today 90% of the company's workers are Navajo women. But for the past two years Fairchild has been laying off workers. Rumors persist that the company intends to leave Shiprock.

Then on Feb. 21, management told another 140 Fairchild workers that would be their last day. The occupation followed. The primary demand was the rehiring of all 140 workers.

The day after the takeover, a workers' committee

was formed to support the AIM action. Chilli Yazzie, a member of the committee, explained, "The militancy came from Fairchild, their treatment of the people."

After examining company records discovered inside the plant, AIM leader Lorenzo LeValdo said, "Their records show they have no intention of staying in Shiprock after the government ends its [subsidy]."

Despite Fairchild's threat to close the plant, the community and workers of Fairchild overwhelmingly supported the armed takeover. Larry Anderson, leader of the southwest chapter of AIM, declared, "Corporations are coming in and using Indian people for low wages. It's an issue of economic development and who's controlling it, them or us."

Because of the occupation, Fairchild has been forced to negotiate for the reinstatement of the 140 workers. So far the company has agreed to give them one week's severance pay.



## AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

# TOUGH TIMES IN MOTOR CITY

Lynn A. Townsend is the chairman of Chrysler Motor Corporation.

Chrysler is having hard times—so are Chrysler workers. 51,000 workers are laid off and Chrysler's SUB fund is about to go bust.

Townsend says that 40% of Chrysler's workforce will remain laid off permanently. He also says he's sorry—but that's the way it is.

At the same time the four top

officers at Chrysler raised their salaries from 5-7%. Inflation, you know.

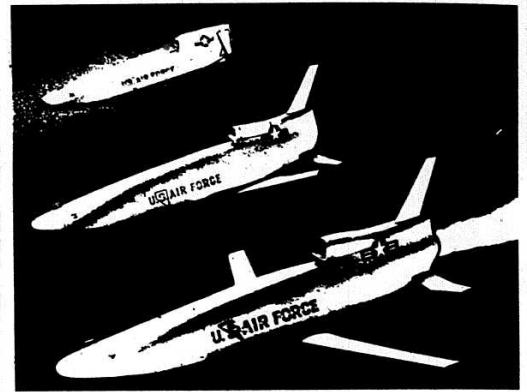
Townsend's salary totalled \$239,583—up 5.1%; President John J. Riccardo, \$215,625—up 6.4%; Executive V.P. Eugene Cafiero, \$158,958—up 6.9%; and Vice President Tom Killefer, \$158,125—up 6.3%.

But recognizing that times are hard, these men did not pay themselves their traditional annual bonuses.

In 1973 when bonuses were paid Townsend received \$672,200 in salary and bonuses. The other top officers received similar amounts.

Workers' Power recognizes that the Townsend family must be suffering hardship due to a cut in salary of close to two-thirds.

We attempted to find out how one man's family would be able to manage on \$239,583—but the Townsends were not available for comment.



Modern warfare—impersonal and efficient in the air, untold horror, death and destruction on the ground. This missile sprouts wings and tail section after launching to become an unmanned jet bomber. Artist's rendering.

# TOMORROW'S MURDER WEAPONS

A vast electronic communications and surveillance network encircles the earth, stretching from the greatest oceanic depths to outer space.

Movement of troops, artillery, planes and ships anywhere in the world is picked up and beamed to the appropriate destination.

Radar picks up an incoming enemy missile—a computer plots the missile's course and responds. A laser cannon is brought into play. The missile is destroyed.

This is not a scene from the latest James Bond movie or the Son of Dr. Strangelove. It is our immediate future.

Billions and billions of dollars are being spent to turn the world into a giant electronic battlefield. Warfare and human destruction will be carried out by the simple pushing of buttons.

Dr. Stephen J. Lukasik, director of the Advance Project Agency, told Congress that in the next 10-30 years "the tactical world will be dominated by systems that are cheap and widely distributed: man-portable antitank and anti-aircraft weapons, unmanned remotely

piloted vehicles, and unattended ground sensors directly coupled to weapon systems."

That means automatic weaponry will be able to seek out and destroy what it is told is the enemy.

In fact much of these insane weapons of world annihilation already exist—and have been used.

Battlefield sensors were used in South Vietnam to monitor invasion from the North. They didn't work, often going into action against the wrong target.

And recently an automatic gun that would track down and destroy missiles mistook the Santa Barbara Islands for an incoming missile.

But the Pentagon is unperturbed and blames the misfires on the newness of the "art."

Other weaponry being developed includes missiles that read maps, bombs and planes that pilot themselves, remote control reconnaissance planes and killer satellites to name a few.

Left to their own devices these maniacs who run the country, the military and the world will turn the earth into a giant pinball machine—with buttons and levers, hits and misses.

Only instead of little metal balls, flashing lights and painted pictures there will be atomic weapons and anti-weapons and we will be the targets.

Before they destroy us—we must destroy their system.

## Yesterday Chile, Today —Africa

# Ambassadors Of U.S. Imperialism

By now the role of the US government in the overthrow of Allende's regime in Chile is well known.

And having successfully carried out their mission, American agents previously assigned to Chile are now being sent elsewhere.

In particular several of Kissinger's Chilean "destabilization" team have been sent to Africa.

Nathaniel Davis has been appointed Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Davis was the U.S. ambassador in Santiago at the time of the coup against

Allende.

Deane Hinton has been assigned U.S. ambassador to Zaire. Hinton was the AID director in Chile at the time of the coup. And there are others being sent to Africa who have been instrumental in U.S. Latin America policy.

These agents of American Imperialism are being sent to Africa to assure that political control remains in the hands of regimes friendly to the US and to protect American corporate interests.

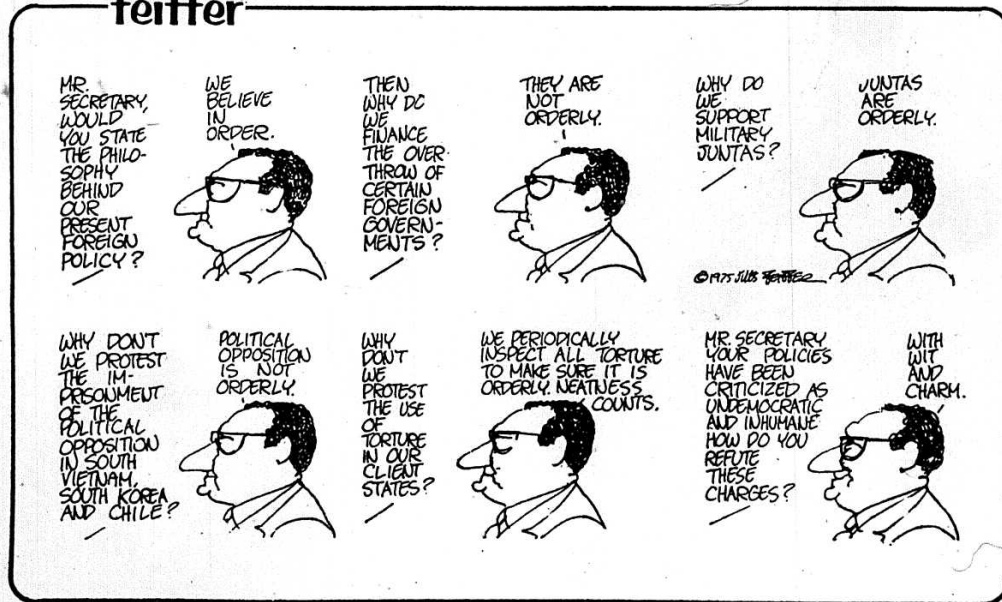
In particular: Nigeria is a tremendous source of non-OPEC oil, African countries also supply bauxite and copper. Africa's most important resource is uranium.

The role of US agents in Chile was so dirty and so naked they sparked much dishonest outcry in the halls of Congress.

Now that Chile is no longer current news it is business as usual.

Those who carried out the coup in Chile are being sent elsewhere—with the full knowledge and support of those who beheaded Chile.

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# GM HAS ALREADY CUT BENEFITS

# SUB FUND TO GO BUST

by Bill Hastings

**DETROIT—Official figures for unemployment in Detroit are now at 23.2%. But for the tens of thousands of Chrysler workers and their families included in that figure, the worst is yet to come.**

In the next month the Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) Fund will dry up. The incomes of these families, supposedly guaranteed by the UAW contract, will be slashed frightfully and unexpectedly.

The economic and political impact may be explosive.

The SUB Fund is supposed to provide 95% of an auto worker's take home pay minus \$7.50. But with the massive numbers of layoffs by the Big Three, the Funds are not going to hold.

Not long after the Chrysler fund folds, the GM Fund will follow.

•7,000 GM workers, originally entitled to 52 weeks of SUB pay were cut to 37 weeks and therefore exhausted their benefits last month. The cut was made because of the drop in the total amount in the GM Fund.

More laid off GM workers will also use up their benefits faster and therefore be completely out of benefits soon.

•About 5,000 Chrysler salaried employees, members of the UAW, are going to use up the last of their Fund. The union predicts that the Fund—with only \$1.7 million left by the middle of February—will be gone by the middle of March.

•The roughly 50,000 hourly workers laid off by Chrysler are only slightly better off than the salaried employees. The Chrysler Fund had about \$22 million dollars in late February—enough to get it through March. Once the SUB stops paying money, it builds up a reserve again and then pays out once more.

But at that point low seniority workers are charged so many credits per check (5 or 10) that they quickly use up their benefits.

### ACTION NOW!

None of this needs to happen. The SUB Funds could be strengthened and all the workers brought back to work.

All that's needed is to work the plants on a short work week with full shifts, at no loss in pay. The short work week benefits—paid by the corporations—would guarantee an almost full check.

This would not require a change in the existing contract. Such a

move, however, would require a tremendous fight against the corporations. This fight the union leadership is not willing to make.

The existence of SUB has partially cushioned the disastrous effect of mass layoffs. As SUB goes bust, the pressure is building up,

and the cumulative impact of months of layoffs in the Big 3 will hit all at once.

In this critical situation, auto workers don't need to hear statements like UAW Vice President Fraser saying "there is nothing we can do." Nor do we need trade-offs

in one benefit for another, as the UAW GM Department is trying to negotiate.

We need mass action now—to either force the corporations to back up the SUB with their own assets, or else to nationalize and take them over. □

# ART FOX, SOCIALIST, UAW MILITANT, DIES

**On Monday, March 10, 1975, Art Fox passed away at the age of 54. Throughout his whole life Art was a committed revolutionary socialist maintaining a fight against capitalist exploitation.**

The labor struggles of the 1930's produced a whole generation of revolutionaries. But the prosperity following World War II and the conservatism of the 1950's caused most to simply give up revolutionary struggle and leave politics altogether.

Some remained active—but no longer in the revolutionary movement. Many of the revolutionaries of the 30's and 40's have become the bureaucrats that give political coherence to the sell-out policies of today's labor leaders.

Only the strongest could withstand the changes in the labor movement and revolutionary movement. Only the best could maintain their revolutionary opposition to capitalism.

Art was one of that handful who remained committed to working class revolution. His life-long struggle left a new generation real organizational and political contributions.

### UAW

It was in the United Auto Workers that Art made much of his contribution. He was committed to building a union that was a fighting organization. In the UAW that meant being opposed to Walter Reuther's sell-out policies. When almost all gave up the fight against

Reuther, Art maintained it.

He was active in many of the opposition caucuses in the UAW. In the 50's he was a leader in the Wayne County Tool and Die Council as well as being active in organizing the unemployed.

In the sixties he was instrumental in forming the Dollar and Hour Now movement and later the United National Caucus (UNC).

As one of the leaders of the UNC Art was the first candidate in almost 25 years to run against Reuther for UAW president in 1970. He succeeded in forming a stable rank and file caucus in his unit of Local 600—a caucus which leads that unit. The UNC is still the only national political opposition grouping in the UAW.

Art maintained during all his years a revolutionary perspective in the union.

### REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST

Art's other contribution was directly to the revolutionary movement. Of those who didn't give in to the pressures of capitalism, Art was one of the few who remained a revolutionary, not just a trade unionist. He was a marxist economist and made contributions to an understanding of the changes in the economic situation.

Despite some differences at times, Art frequently worked with the International Socialists. The reason was simple. Art stood out from his generation of revolutionaries because he remained committed to the ideas of revolutionary marxism—that the working class



must free itself; that to do so it must be organized and educated in its tasks; that this required a revolutionary party.

In the last few years he was a friend of the IS because of the shared commitment to building a class struggle labor movement and a revolutionary workers party. Art maintained his fight for class struggle policies in the UAW because he remained a revolutionary.

Art became a revolutionary during the 1930's. He was a member of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) and a founding member of the Workers Party (predecessor to the International Socialists).

He later joined the Socialist Workers Party. He remained active in the SWP even when most of the auto workers left the party due to the conservatism of the 1950's. When Art fought to maintain the centrality of working class organizing, he was expelled by the right-

ward moving SWP. Art no doubt gained much satisfaction from the fact that his whole family were and remain active revolutionary socialists.

Art died of cancer. For several years he had been treated for a heart condition and was under a doctor's care. But given the state of medical care in this society—particularly that provided for working class people—Art's cancer was mis-diagnosed until it was too late.

He had several operations over a number of years. But his death at such an early age is attributable to the evils of capitalist exploitation. He died a victim of the system he hated.

The conditions Art fought—a sellout union leadership, capitalism, oppression, even his own cancer—these will all be swept away by the workers revolution he fought to achieve.

Art left us a lot to work with. We mourn his passing and wish that he could be with us when we win.

## Layoffs Spark Militant Action

# British Workers Occupy Factories

by Glenn Wolfe

Last week the giant American corporation, Litton industries, was due to close its typewriter factory in Hull, England and throw 1000 workers onto the growing unem-

ployment lines. But it didn't quite happen that way.

The workers took over the factory with the vow that they would not give it back until every single job was saved.

Last month British workers at Plessey made the decision in a mass meeting to "confiscate the plant and equipment to protect 180 jobs."

Plessey is another multi-national

company, specializing in electronics equipment. By the time the occupation in Hull was starting the Plessey workers had already won. The bosses had decided that they could not afford to lose \$5 million.

When two US factories were occupied in recent weeks, it was a rare event. But occupation is a tactic that his being used widely and effectively throughout Britain.

### "INEVITABLE OCCUPATION"

Wherever the bosses raise the cry of "inevitable layoffs"—and that is almost everywhere in Britain today—workers are replying with the shout of "inevitable occupation."

Faced with the same problems of inflation and unemployment that plague the American working class, British workers are going over to the offensive. They are using their own brute power against bosses' attempts to eliminate hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Factory occupations are not a new thing in Britain. They have

been developing in number and effectiveness since 1972. In that year 1000 workers in Liverpool occupied their plant. They convinced dockworkers to refuse to load any product from any factory of the parent firm and thus forced the giant Thorn Electronics empire to guarantee every last job.

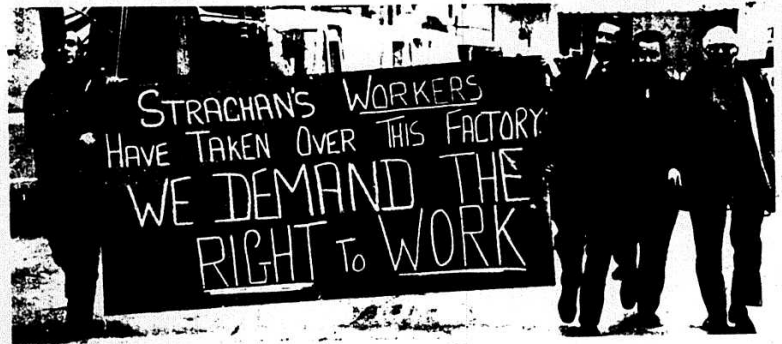
Since then there have been dozens of other occupations. They are not always successful and not always just to save jobs. But with each one organized labor has learned how to make the next one more effective.

### RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The factory occupation does not become an efficient weapon overnight. Like any other weapon it needs a period of research, development and testing before it is really deadly to the other side.

For example, the first half-hearted attempt to resurrect the idea of the occupation was some-

[continued on page eleven]



For militant British workers factory seizures are one more weapon to use against their bosses.

# Portugal - Where The Bosses Are Losing Their Heads



The graffiti reads: Assassin... filthy dog. The statue is of the dead fascist dictator Salazar. Now the regime he built, like his statue, is decapitated and Portuguese workers threaten capitalism itself.

## "We Are Determined To Hold On To Our New World"

The difference between Portugal of a year ago and today can best be described in the words of the workers who have lived through it. Henri Nizhorreia, the convener of the workers' council at Plessey, told a meeting of British shop stewards, "It is difficult for you to understand what fascism means."

"It means that you have no information about what is going on in other factories or the world at large. You cannot speak freely. You have no right to meet. "There are no such things as unions. There are spies every where. It is terrible. It imposes on you a complete isolation where you cannot even talk to other workers freely."

That was life in Portugal before the coup of April 25, 1974 which brought down the fascist regime of Marcello Caetano.

Fernanda Fortunato, a delegate to the Plessey workers' council, explains what it means to

Portuguese workers to be able to organize and struggle openly.

"What is happening in Portugal now is of the utmost importance. Since April 25, we workers have had a chance to think and to organize. We are finding out things about ourselves we never knew before."

"I am young, so I had a very short experience of fascism and had no direct involvement in politics. Nevertheless, I remember very well the reaction of my friends in the cafe. I speak loudly by nature and they would always tell me to quiet down."

"Immediately after the fall of Caetano it was like a new world. Since then we have begun to speak to each other, to our workmates, to all workers. There are no barriers anymore."

"It has been an amazing experience. So we are determined to hold on to and consolidate our new world."

Factory workers in Lisbon, Portugal, are creating a new form of organization to deepen and spread their struggle. Workers in 43 factories have organized a "joint factory committee" that can organize citywide mass actions.

This citywide committee consists of delegates elected by the workers in the 43 factories. It is the first workers' council of the Portuguese revolution.

The council is led by telecommunications production workers at Plessey, a giant British-owned multinational corporation. The Plessey workers have their own council, which has sent delegates to Britain to participate in meetings of the Plessey shop stewards' committee.

The formation of workers' councils in Portugal represents the deepest, most revolutionary form so far of the massive awakening of the working class since last April's coup.

### LIVING DEMOCRACY

In becoming tightly and powerfully organized, these workers have created a real living democracy which is an immensely powerful weapon as the struggle shifts from one issue to another—from the battle for higher wages, to the struggle for the right to work, towards the battle for an end to capitalist exploitation itself.

Delegates to the Plessey workers' council are elected from all three Plessey plants in Portugal. They are elected department by department regardless of skill, grade or union affiliation.

The workers' council of delegates acts as an executive body in between mass meetings, which decide all serious policy. In the Empresa plant, for example, there were three mass meetings in one week alone.

The council publishes its own information bulletin to keep all workers informed of every detail of their work, including all correspondence with management and government officials.

### MAJOR GAINS

Since the downfall of Caetano, Portuguese workers' organizations have won major wage increases. They have revolutionized working conditions, so that far fewer workers are blinded, twisted and crippled by the bosses' work systems.

They have purged police spies and informers from the factories, and led massive strikes and demonstrations against the provisional government's law forbidding sympathy strikes and political strikes.

Today, these organizations are being tested on a new front. Many employers, including the multinationals which operate in Portugal, have responded to the militant upsurge and worsening economic conditions by threatening production cutbacks and mass layoffs.

At Plessey, cutbacks were announced which would lay off 400 production workers.

The Plessey workers' response was mass meetings, which voted that no layoffs would be accepted. They then voted to bar all British management personnel from the plants.

The citywide workers council, called the Inter Empresa, ensures

that the Plessey workers are not isolated in their struggle. At its meetings, classwide issues and actions are discussed and organized.

### CLASSWIDE ACTION

Construction workers badly hit by the slump in their industry came to the Inter Empresa and requested a mass demonstration against unemployment. In response, the council sent flying squads to every factory and community center to organize the action.

The demonstration was called in defiance of a seven-day ban ordered by the Civil Governor of Lisbon on all demonstrations while NATO sailors were on shore leave.

The demonstration went ahead, in spite of confusion caused by the Communist Party and the bureaucrats of the CP-controlled trade union federation, who opposed it. On February 7, 60,000 marchers proceeded to the Ministry of Labor demanding the right to work.

The demonstration approached the American embassy, chanting "NATO Out." Armored cars and troops blocked their way to the embassy, but after discussion with the stewards leading the march they were pulled aside and the march continued.

At the Ministry of Labor, the excitement of the demonstration was so overpowering that police turned their backs on the crowd, raised their arms in the clenched fist salute and shouted "Long live the working class!"

### NEVER AGAIN!

Portuguese workers are so determined never to be cheated again, never to be driven back into the prison and atomization of fascism. They appear increasingly determined to rely on their own strength in the fight to make sure that fascism is never restored.

Workers in Lisbon are not isolated. Farmworkers in the South who have been kicked around by huge landlords for centuries are starting to seize large chunks of the estates. Movements are springing up in areas like Beja, where 4000 men and 10,000 women are unemployed.

Tractor drivers and other workers, who have been barred for years from fallow land, simply moved in and started cultivating it themselves.

Portuguese workers are starting to confront the economic warfare against Portugal organized by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, who have withdrawn desperately needed credit from Portugal as they did before the fascist coup in Chile.

It is natural that workers in the multinational corporations like Plessey are in the forefront of this resistance. They are beginning to understand that the fight against fascism cannot be separate from the workers' struggle to overthrow the entire system of capitalism.

Many battles lie ahead before workers' power can be won or consolidated in Portugal. There is still the desperate lack of a powerful national revolutionary organization to coordinate and give direction to that struggle. But more than ever before in their history, Portuguese workers are beginning to feel their own strength. □



# 10,000 March On Modesto

by James Morrison

**MODESTO, Calif.**—More than 10,000 people marched six miles to serve notice on the Gallo Wine company that the United Farm Workers' boycott is growing.

The 10,000 converged on Modesto on the final day of a week long series of marches through California.

Over 100 supporters marched the full 110 miles from San Francisco to be joined by shorter marches of farm workers originating in the agricultural centers.

In several valley towns the grower-dominated police harassed the marchers by restricting their routes. In Madera, the UFW decided not to challenge a police decision prohibiting the march from the center of town and was forced to take a 6-mile detour.

At the Modesto rally, Cesar Chavez announced his rallying cry for the battle against Gallo. "Let the workers vote," Chavez promised that if the UFW lost the election among the Gallo workers that the UFW would call off the boycott.

Chavez offered to put up a \$1,000,000 bond to guarantee this promise. The UFW proposes the election be held among the Gallo workers at the time of the 1973 contract negotiations. These are the workers whom Gallo claims

wanted the Teamsters. Gallo is not likely to accept.

## HARD HIT

Gallo has obviously been hit hard by the boycott. While it disputes UFW statistics on the effects of the boycott, Gallo has raised its advertising budget from \$6.5 to \$13 million. Most of this increase is going for full page ads and other means to directly answer the UFW.

In these ads Gallo claims that it is caught in a jurisdictional dispute between unions. They also claim that the Gallo workers voluntarily chose the Teamsters. In fact there was never an election.

At the time that Gallo signed with the Teamsters, while it was negotiating with the UFW, the company claimed to have received a workers' petition favoring the Teamsters.

No one has ever seen this petition. But a clear majority of the Gallo workers did go on strike against the Teamster contract. Gallo immediately replaced the striking workers with scabs.

## DEMOCRATS SELL OUT

While the Gallo boycott continues, the UFW is putting its main hope in getting a favorable collective bargaining bill through the



California State Legislature. It is virtually certain this year that some bill will be passed.

The UFW wants a bill to guarantee collective bargaining rights. The growers, on the other hand, now want a bill to stabilize agricultural relations.

The real question is the content of the bill. How many restrictions will be put on the UFW in exchange for collective bargaining elections?

The growers want the law to prohibit boycotts and peak harvest strikes. The UFW-supported bill, in addition to protecting these most important weapons of the union, allows recognition strikes, specifies elections be held during peak harvest, and considers ranches to be a single unit (rather than carving up agricultural work into "crafts").

This proposed bill also sets up

procedures to prevent challenges and other delaying tactics from effectively gutting the right to elections in a highly seasonal industry.

The secondary boycott and peak harvest strike are extremely important for farm workers. Having the right to a representation election does not in any way mean the boss will sign any contract, let alone a good one.

The UFW has long looked to the Democratic Party for good legislation. Now that the Democrats are in complete control of the California Legislature and Governorship, the UFW is finding that the Democratic Party is not as friendly to labor in action as in rhetoric.

Despite the fact that UFW legislation has already been introduced, Democratic Governor Brown has announced that he is intro-

ducing his own bill which "will make nobody happy." This means a pro-grower bill in a thin disguise.

The growers and their kept legislators are hoping that the provisions can be made so technical that they can undercut the UFW's power without too many people noticing or understanding.

That the growers now want even some kind of collective bargaining bill for farm workers after decades of hard-line opposition is testimony to the strength and endurance of the UFW.

Yet the Democratic Party is prepared to lop off the main UFW weapons as part of the bill. This sellout will make the UFW one more victim of the labor movement's political failure—its reliance on liberal politicians and its failure to build a labor party which can fight for workers' interests.

# MACHINISTS HIT McDONNELL-DOUGLAS

**ST. LOUIS**—George Graff, president of the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation called the International Association of Machinists' strike "unnecessary and reckless." 12,000 St. Louis workers and 7,000 in Los Angeles hold an opposing view.

In St. Louis the membership of IAM Local 837 voted on Feb. 2 to reject the contract. McDonnell wants the shop stewards who now represent 150 workers to increase their lead to 300.

On February 5th the company made the strike even more necessary when they presented their Total Economic Packet. Under this

plan the company wants to cut the retirement plan.

Their argument is that the company can no longer put out as much due to the economic crisis. Their profits were a meager 106 million dollars last year.

The economic packet also calls for a freeze in the cost-of-living. With the present rate of inflation the cost-of-living raise is already inadequate.

The negotiations are at a standstill in St. Louis. A McDonnell employee told Workers' Power that a rank and file group of 24 composes the bargaining committee. He said, "The company wants to meet with the local presidents in order to ensure a sell-out."

Not all McDonnell workers are in the IAM. Eleven thousand are members of the United Auto Workers in Southern California. A verbal agreement had been made with IAM locals to strike when the St. Louis plant struck.

But presented with this golden opportunity to achieve labor solidarity, UAW officials could see only the chance to stab fellow workers in the back. First they reneged on their promise to strike.

Then they rammed through, by the so-called "walk through vote" (with no meeting) the very same rotten contract the IAM workers were striking against.

Sarah Duncan



# Unions Plan D.C. March

Twenty different unions in the New York—New Jersey area are making plans for a march on Washington this spring. They plan to bring 100,000 workers to the nation's capital to demand government action on unemployment.

Tentatively, the unions have set the date of April 29 for the

march.

Among the unions involved in planning it are: District 37 AFSCME; United Auto Workers; Communication Workers; Distributive Workers District 65; Local 1199, Hospital Workers; United Steel Workers; and Teamsters.

As listed in a recent issue of an AFSCME newspaper, the demands of the march include: legislation on providing jobs; cutting taxes for workers; reducing interest rates to stimulate the economy; and unemployment insurance covering 75% of a worker's pay for at least a year.

# cluw backs fired worker

**CLEVELAND**—Last week over 20 members and supporters of the Cleveland Coalition of Labor Union Women picketed the General Electric Star Equipment plant to protest the firing of Hester Butterfield.

Butterfield is a member of Local 707 of the International Union of Electrical Workers. She was working as a surface grinder when she was fired two weeks before her probation was over. She is an active member of CLUW.

The company claims that Butter-

field worked too slow and that was the reason for dismissal. Hester claims that she was fired because she was a woman, in fact, the only woman at the plant, as well as a union militant.

"GE thought it would be easy to fire a woman, that a woman wouldn't fight back," said Hester at a February CLUW meeting, and asked for CLUW's support and help.

It wasn't easy to win support from Cleveland CLUW. Helen Brown is the vice-president of Local 707 and a member of the National Coordinating Committee of CLUW. But she had never attended a Cleveland CLUW meeting, until she came solely for the purpose of arguing against Hester. She was backed up by the local president, Jean Tussey, and newly-elected NCC delegate Eileen Berlow.

Both Brown and Berlow argued that "we can't go against the Union," that an informational picket line "Would only hurt Hester rather than help her." They urged that Hester wait until the grievance procedure was exhausted—a process that they admitted would take over a year.

In spite of the opposition, rank and file members of Cleveland

CLUW argued that exposing GE's sexism would be the best way to help win reinstatement.

Members of the Teamsters union who are active in Cleveland CLUW explained that quite often the unions will do nothing for the women, and that one of the reasons for CLUW's existence was to fight sexism within the unions. "If Cleveland CLUW didn't help one of its fired sisters," argued another, "what was the purpose of having an organization. We have to do more than talk, we need activity." The conservative opposition within Cleveland CLUW was defeated.

While the fight in Cleveland CLUW was a small one, the lessons are important to all CLUW members. If CLUW is going to succeed, we must push through programs and activities, even when, as in this case, the union leadership is against it.

Picketing in defense of Hester Butterfield will be continued, and Cleveland CLUW plans further activity.

Incidentally, Helen Brown, NCC delegate of CLUW and vice-president of Hester Butterfield's local wasn't at the CLUW picket line.

Celia Emerson

# Victory At Harper

**DETROIT**—1,100 non-professional workers at Harper Hospital here have finally won a two-year battle to get a union. Their choice was Service Employees International Union Local 79, which represents about 20,000 other workers in the Detroit area.

Local 79 began its organizing drive at Harper in March 1973. Fifteen months later—on Nov. 5, 1974—Local 79 was certified as the bargaining agent.

But Harper administrators fought

the union with what Local 79 President Richard Cordtz called "the old stall", including a demand by the hospital that clerical people not be included in the bargaining unit.

Local 79 leaders charged Harper's stall was racial in nature. The majority of the employees are black.

Local 79 announced that it was organizing a demonstration on April 9, to be led by Coretta King. Four days later Harper and Local

79 reached an agreement.

This victory for Harper employees will mean a lot for hospital workers throughout Detroit. There have been numerous unsuccessful organizing drives at the hospitals by Local 79, Local 1199, and AFSCME.

Workers at Harper cannot ease up on their fight against Harper yet. Negotiations for a contract have to begin.

Sara Blake

# labor notes

by Jim Woodward



Coal miners in West Virginia have staged wildcat strikes because their union hasn't yet sent them copies of the contract signed last December. United Mine Workers officials said the delay was caused by a "paper shortage."

Only 40% of workers who put in more than 40 hours a week get additional pay for their overtime, according to a Department of Labor report. The figure reflects the fact that a huge number of American workers are not in unions. 75% of all unionized workers receive time-and-a-half or double-time for work over 40 hours.

The economic crisis is creating additional misery for unorganized farm workers in Florida's citrus fruit industry. With a mounting number of unemployed workers looking desperately for jobs, the average wage rates have been cut sharply. The Citrus Industrial Council, an employers organization, estimates the current rate to be 35-40c a box, as against 40-45c last year. An organizer for the United Farm Workers says some workers are making as little as 25-30c a box.

But one thing's not likely to go down, according to the bosses. That's the price they charge for citrus fruit or citrus fruit products.

Last issue Workers' Power reported that the Vice President of the United Steel Workers was claiming his union's no-strike deal (ENA) made the industry recession-proof. USW President I.W. Abel is saying the same thing.

Recently he told the Pittsburgh Press the steel industry "today is an island of relative economic stability amidst a dangerously declining economy." That "justified our feeling, our faith, that we in fact had found a better way," he said, referring to the ENA. Abel's words are a bit sickening to the thousands of steelworkers already laid off. They'll be even more empty in the coming months as the recession hits the steel industry with its full force.

Members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 30 have lost their strike against the US Borax company's Boron, California mine. They were defeated partly because officials of the Kern County AFL-CIO Building Trades Council recruited scabs to cross their picket lines. The strikers were forced to accept a settlement that gives these scabs first choice of jobs. Many of the union members will have to wait for job openings. The Building Trades Council gets its reward too—jurisdiction over some of the jobs previously done by ILWU members.

The US Third Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that an employer cannot exclude pregnancy benefits from sick pay plans. The employer, Liberty Mutual Insurance Co., contended pregnancy was "voluntary" and therefore should not be covered. But the court pointed out that Liberty Mutual's sick pay plan covered illness or injury resulting from such voluntary activities as smoking or skiing.

On a recent Meet The Press program, AFT president Albert Shanker denied that he receives three separate salaries—as national AFT president, as an officer of the New York State United Teachers, and as president of the New York City teachers local, the UFT. He said he gets only one paycheck. What Shanker didn't say is this: the UFT and the NYSUT pay \$52,000 yearly into a special AFT account for him. From that account, which also gets \$17,500 from the AFT itself, Shanker does indeed get only one paycheck.

**DID YOU KNOW?** Corporate tax payments into the federal treasury declined from 33.6% of total government revenues in 1944 to 14.6% last year. At the same time individual tax payments (including the social security tax) rose from 48.5% to 73.9%.

George Meany says the AFL-CIO is too busy this year to bother about a campaign against the Taft-Hartley law. Among other anti-union measures, Taft-Hartley outlaws the secondary boycott, permits individual states to ban union shop agreements, and allows 80-day anti-strike injunctions. "We've got a lot of other fish to fry," says Meany, explaining his indifference to Taft-Hartley.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Or phone 313-869-3137.

## AFL-CIO Dues Pay

# A School For Scabs

In a town called Front Royal, Virginia, there is a "school" operated by three not-so-likely partners. George Meany has combined funds from dues-paying members with the profits of major US corporations (including Kennecott, IBM, and the Rockefeller big oil and banking interests) and taxes collected by the US Government to run it.

The purpose of the school is supposedly to help develop free and democratic trade unions.

If you could get in, you'd probably expect some courses in strike strategy, labor history, or how to organize the unorganized. Well, you'd be disappointed. Nothing like that is offered.

### COLLABORATIVE

What is offered is a barrage of anti-communist and anti-leftist

propaganda. If you could get in, you'd also get a whole lot of information on how to collaborate with management (yeah, they come right out and say it).

**And you could attend classes on "Time and Motion" (otherwise known as speed-up; or who to make workers work harder and faster for less pay.)**

If you could get in, But you couldn't, because the program is not meant to serve dues paying members of the AFL-CIO, or any other workers in this country. Most of its students come from places like Colombia, Guatemala, Chile, and Argentina.

But don't be fooled: it's not meant to serve the workers of any of these countries either. The "school" is part of a much broader program to subvert (by any means necessary) strong labor movements in Latin America. Some

95 major American corporations with huge holdings in Latin America have decided that struggles by workers in these countries for their rights is not exactly in the interests of exorbitant profit-making.

### LABOR DEVELOPMENT?

So in 1962 the bosses sat down with the US government and the top leadership of the AFL-CIO and set up the AIFLD. AIFLD stands for the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

It is officially an arm of the AFL-CIO and supported by members' dues. Its president is Meany himself, who shares his decision-making responsibilities with top corporate executives and with many CIA agents, ex-agents, and close affiliates of the CIA.

The record of the AIFLD is impressive. In country after country (Guatemala, Guyana, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Chile, and others) it has helped to overthrow democratically-elected governments that were progressive or favorable to workers' demands.

In case after case it has supported anti-labor military dictatorships as replacements.

In the Dominican Republic, for instance, it worked to overthrow a liberal government which had been the first to recognize the majority union in every factory as the legal bargaining agent.

It worked to replace this government (by a military coup) with one which "froze wages, outlawed strikes, fired militant workers and arrested uncooperative labor leaders." All in the name of "freedom and democracy."

### BRIDGES, CHAOS

Its methods have ranged from financing dual unions, to bribing labor leaders to call off strikes, to creating chaos in national economies.

If a union leadership can cooperate with major corporations, the government and the CIA to kill movements in other countries when they become too threatening, what is to stop these same powers from using force against American workers?

Perhaps George Meany has already begun making plans with the CIA about what to do in case American workers "get out of hand?"

And who can say they have not already secretly intervened to undermine strikes and other of our labor struggles in the past? (One estimate by reporter Drew Pearson puts CIA money accepted by labor organizations in this country at \$100 million a year.)

[The information in this article has been taken from a pamphlet by Fred Hirsch called **Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America, or Under the Covers with the CIA**. It is readily available for \$1 from: Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile, 316 S. 19th St., San Jose, CA, 95116.]

Carmen Reed

# Take the Pensions And Run

Allis-Chalmers, a producer of electrical parts and employing over 1,000 workers, has announced that it is shutting down its Pittsburgh operations.

The reason, according to the chairman of the board, is "exceptionally high wage rates and benefit costs."

Last year the company made over 22 million dollars in net earnings. That was 6 million dollars more than the year before. Twenty-two million dollars profit is not enough in these hard times of inflation, according to the company.

So they built a new plant in North Carolina last year and prepared to move to where exploitation rates are notoriously high. Now, when the new workers protest their conditions, the company will run some more jive about "the high rate of labor costs."

Then they'll say, "You remember what happened to those guys who worked for us in Pittsburgh, don't you?"

It seems like Allis-Chalmers got out just in time, too. The newest blue-collar workers started out there 28 years ago. The contract calls for full retirement benefits after 30 years on the job.

According to a member of the bargaining committee, "Two more years and every worker would have earned a full pension. We have men with 28 and 29 years at this place, and they all lose out."

The workers, who have already taken wage cuts and early vacations, are angry. In response to the offensive by the company and the anger of the workers, the union (UAW Local 1036) is setting up a special community service board to help its members with unemployment procedures.

According to the vice-president of the local, "There's a lot of people down there who will panic and I don't want them to do anything irrational."—like trying to save their jobs.



His plant will close permanently.

# UAW Local Strikes Datsun

PORTLAND, OREGON—In the little town of Progress, about ten miles from Portland, the thirty-five workers at the Nissan Corporation parts plant have been on strike since January 20.

It's the rainy season and cold at the muddy bottom of Scholls Ferry road, where the strikers watch as the Datsun dealers cross their picket line.

They picketed the dealerships at the beginning of their strike but the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was quick to inform them they had no such rights.

Undaunted by restrictions, the men and women of UAW Local 492 are solid in their fight for parity with other autoworkers. They are currently 78 cents below the rates for their jobs.

They are also striking for a cost of living clause, no mandatory overtime, and to defend their Union, which makes these demands possible.

### PROUD

"We are proud of our Union," they say, "when we get sick, we

call our steward. Women are moving out of the office and into the warehouse, with good maternity benefits, too. We don't "trade off" grievances either—we settle them."

One might think so efficient and democratic a union could only be run by professional business reps and an array of officials—but not so.

Local 492 has no full-time officials, their negotiator works at the GM plant—they have only a union which they run themselves. Nissan Motor Corporation, man-

ufacturer of Datsun parts and autos, doesn't appear to be too proud of this union, however.

As one striker put it, "When that supervisor tried to run down our pickets—I couldn't believe it—then the company started hiring scabs—to take my job—and war was declared!"

### SUPPORT

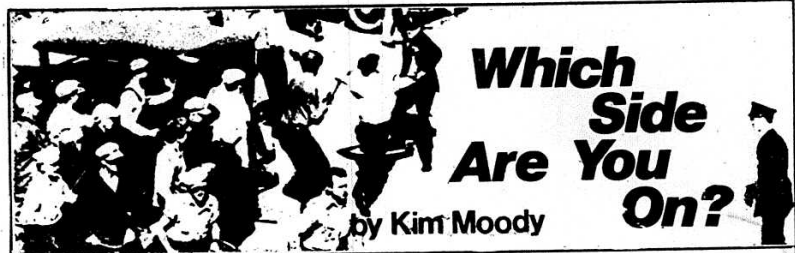
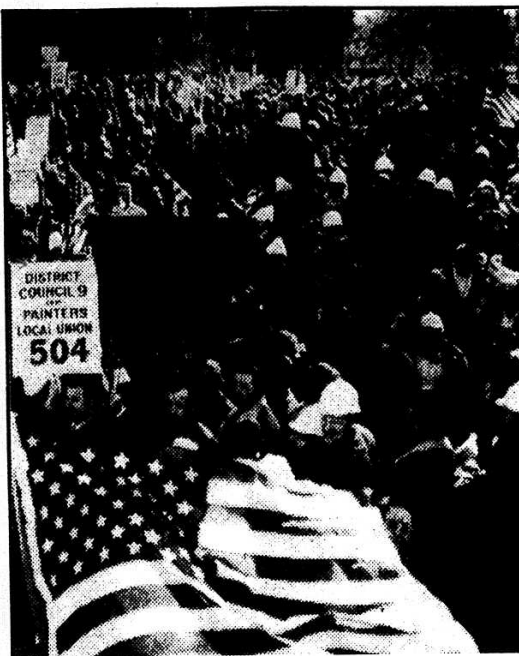
The strikers gained support when members of the Portland Organizing Committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and

supporters of the United Farm Workers, put up picket lines at area Datsun dealerships in February. The pickets informed the community of the strike and called for solidarity by a boycott of Datsun autos and parts until the strike is settled.

UFW supports and other unionists have spread the picketing to a Datsun dealership in Eugene, Oregon.

Several CLUW chapters are being notified and it is expected that picket lines will be organized in other cities soon.





**Which Side Are You On?**  
by Kim Moody

# Who owns the law?

## NY Construction Workers March

NEW YORK—On Thursday, February 27 the politicians paid some attention to the unemployed. They had to.

Ten thousand jobless construction workers took over the streets surrounding City Hall that day, demanding work. For five hours, they stopped traffic into the financial district on Broadway and Park Row and closed down the nearby Brooklyn Bridge.

The protest was organized by the Building and Construction Trades Council of New York. 21,000 of its 95,000 members are out of work.

Deputy Mayor James Cavanagh paid some attention. He sat in his car for two hours on the Brooklyn Bridge, stranded there by the demonstration.

Some city council leaders noticed something was wrong, too. Majority leader Thomas Cuite and Councilman Matthew Troy had to park their cars in Brooklyn and huff and puff their way across the bridge to their offices.

And Mayor Abraham Beame noticed too. When he left City Hall, thousands of construction workers surrounded his limousine while one shouted, "Turn him over!" Some of the 600 cops defending City Hall helped him make his escape.

Later in the day the Mayor announced that one billion dollars would soon be made available for construction work in the city. □

In the last article of this series, we argued that the government and its courts are the property of the ruling capitalist class. The state apparatus arises to keep the struggle between workers and capitalists, the exploited and the exploiters, from getting "out of control." Naturally, the state is designed and constructed by the class with the greatest power and wealth—the ruling class.

We showed that the Constitution of the United States, like any other, was written by men of wealth and power in order to protect that wealth and power from the mass of people.

Because the state or government is essentially the property of the capitalist class, the courts are designed to enforce the legal rights of the capitalists to own all the means of production of society. The courts and the laws they interpret are meant to protect private ownership of industry, finance and commerce. That is, they protect the property of the capitalist class from the working class.

into New York City for the purpose of breaking a strike. The company, NY Telephone, however, had imported hundreds of "foremen" to do the work of the strikers.

The Union leaders were not willing to mount a direct confrontation with these scabs. Instead, the union filed a suit demanding that the city enforce the anti-scab law. The city court, naturally, just sat on things until the strike was over. Even then they ruled against the union, lest some other union use the precedent at a later time.

Even where there was a law on the books that favored the workers in some way, the union could not effectively use it against the bosses. The courts were just not going to hurt the NY Telephone Company.

Every gain won by labor has been won by mass struggle. Even improvements in the law have been forced on the ruling class by the struggles of organized workers.

### EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW?

Because the courts belong to the capitalist bosses and because social inequality is so great under capitalism, the concept of "equality before the law" has little meaning for working class people. We all have an "equal right" to own General Motors, but only a few of us have the money to buy it.

Supposedly, the capitalists are also subjected to the law. But, as it happens, the laws are written to protect them not to punish them. Thus, theft on a grand scale may be perfectly legal when it is called "business."

It is legal for banks and credit firms to charge high interest for doing nothing but lending money—which they did not earn—so workers can buy homes or cars. Then, if the worker misses some payments, it is legal for the bank to take the home or car away. It is legal for some people to amass fortunes by doing nothing but manipulating other people's money.

But, it is not legal for workers to try to protect their jobs by occupying a factory. It is not legal for poor people to occupy abandoned houses.

It is legal for capitalists to rip-off and deplete the natural resources of the world. But, it is not legal for workers to trespass on company property without permission of the bosses.

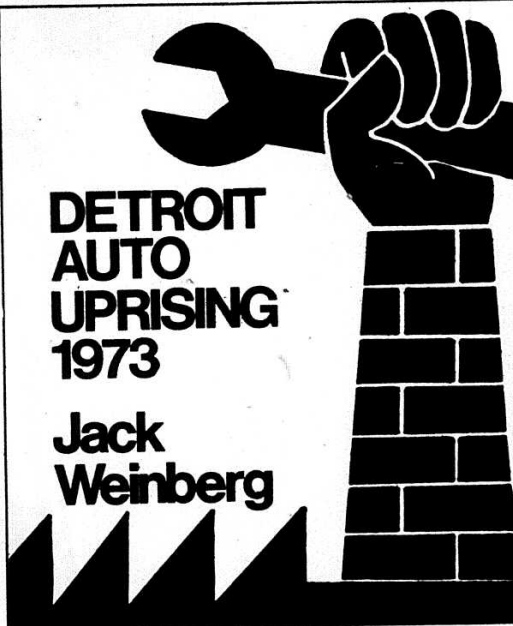
### ACTION OR LAW SUITS?

Many workers have heard of the great struggle to build the CIO industrial unions in the 1930s. Workers with no schooling in labor history have often heard of the militant sit-down strike in Flint, Michigan in 1937. Workers who are familiar with the histories of their unions know about the many strikes needed to win and defend a better standard of living.

But even people with some training in labor history are not likely to know the names or facts of more than one or two legal cases. The reason is that the thousands of dreary law suits that drag on in the courts for years have never won anything you can sink your teeth into.

Mass, organized, militant struggle wins and pays. Law suits and court cases don't. Going to the courts to fight the company is like begging a foreman for fair treatment. There may be times when a law suit can be used tactically to buy time, but it is a tactic that admits weakness. □

[Next time: Taking the union to court.]



This pamphlet analyzes the strikes and sitdowns that hit Detroit Chrysler plants in 1973. A NETWORK publication. 50c  
Order from: Jack Weinberg  
16020 Second, Highland Park, Michigan 48203

### STRIKE LAWS

Strikes are legal. But most of the tactics that make strikes really effective against powerful capitalists are not legal. In many cases, massive picketing is illegal. Sympathy strikes are illegal. Violence, even in self-defense, against scabs or company thugs is illegal.

But the police? Police violence against strikers is legal. The police always—always—are on the side of the bosses in a strike. They are, it is often said, "just doing their job." The problem is, "their job" is to protect capitalist property from the working class. And so it is with the courts.

Unions have tried to use the capitalist courts to get concessions from the bosses for years. They have tried to prevent layoffs, plant closings, lock-outs, and other capitalist abuses by going to court. But the right of the bosses to hire, exploit, and fire is sacred. Only in rare cases have the courts ruled in favor of unions in these matters. Usually, things drag on for years in the courts and by the time a ruling, good or bad, comes down it's too late anyway.

### MA BELL IN COURT

An example in my own experience of the futility of trying to beat the company in the courts, occurred during the seven month New York telephone strike of 1971-72. A New York City ordinance stated that it was illegal to bring scabs



Workers organize to protect themselves. The law didn't protect this miner, killed during a union organizing drive in Harlan County, Kentucky, in the 1930's.



**BOYCOTT GALLO WINES!**



# BUILDING A WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

by Jenny Benjamin

"When I was a little girl growing up in the early fifties, there were two things I was told... one, was that the system we have is the best in the world, the country we have is the best in the world and almost all the problems of the world have been solved... the second thing was that if the first wasn't true there was nothing I could do about it. I had to live with the world the way it is. I had to accept it and go along with it..."

"But both of those things are wrong."

So began Marilyn Danton, National Secretary of the International Socialists in her speech. She was addressing over 200 women and men at the opening of a Workers' Power conference in Cleveland on building a working class women's liberation movement.

Conference participants came from New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Akron, Louisville, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Des Moines, Chicago, Boston, Ann Arbor, East Lansing, Detroit, Toronto, and greater Cleveland.

## WOMEN OUT OF JOBS

The US economy continues to stumble backwards into depression. It is more than apparent that what Danton—and the rest of us—had been told in the 50s was wrong. And it is women and oppressed national minorities who are the hardest hit as the economy continues its downward plunge and layoffs mount.

**Women broke into heavy industry in the early 70s for the first time**

since World War II. Now the massive layoffs have transferred these women from the assembly lines to the unemployment lines. Many of the conference participants, women from auto, steel, electronics, publishing and trucking are already victims of the crisis.

They came to the conference along with other militants and socialists, to discuss how to begin to prove that we can do something to change the way things are.

The theme of the conference, honoring International Women's Day, was that we can fight back, we can build a movement of working class women that is part of the whole working class movement and we can win.

Danton's speech traced the growing crisis of capitalism. She discussed how the irrationality of a system based on profit and competition led to continual booms and busts.

World capitalism was saved by World War II and massive arms spending. But today, billions spent on military production is no longer enough to keep the system out of crisis.

The result Danton explained is inflation and depression—something they told us could never happen.

## BACK INTO THE HOME

Danton pointed out that it was not yet another Great Depression—there would be a recovery—but that there would also be another, bigger bust.

For women the result of the crisis will not only mean mass unemployment,

but that those in control will once again push the idea that a woman's place is in the home.

They will say that women should not work and that happy healthy women see themselves as second to their men. This is nonsense, Danton said. Women work today because they have to. And their ability to work brings them into society on a basis equal to men.

**Expulsion from jobs does not mean the return to the modern kitchen and an easy life. It means poverty and hardship for working class families. For single mothers it means welfare and being treated like dirt by society.**

And in the home the other aspect of the crisis hits. For if working women feel the crisis in unemployment, it is in the home they feel the crisis of inflation. Higher prices mean greater difficulty in feeding and clothing a family.

But women are beginning to fight back. The rest of the conference discussed how.

Joan McKiernan, member of the Distributive Workers of America, District 65, New York and laid off due to the crisis, and Anna Palmer of the Postal Workers, Cincinnati, discussed CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women). CLUW is a national organization of women trade unionists begun one year ago.

McKiernan discussed the conflict between the limited perspectives of the national CLUW leadership and the needs of the CLUW rank and file.

The CLUW leaders are all top women officials in their unions, McKiernan said. Although they want an organization of women unionists, they don't want an active one. Any activity might embarrass them in front of the male bureaucrats who are not interested in fighting for women or men workers.

## WOMEN ARE ORGANIZING

Therefore the CLUW leadership has done everything it can to stall and sabotage CLUW's growth.

Even so, women rank and file have begun to organize actions and demonstrations. One example, discussed by McKiernan, was a series of demonstrations against the layoffs organized by CLUW chapters on International Women's Day, March 8. The proposal for the demonstrations came from a rank and file CLUW National Coordinating Committee member.

These demonstrations called for shorter work week, no layoffs, SUB pay for all workers, no overtime, and an end to harassment. They were held throughout the country.

**McKiernan pointed out that it is the rank and file women in CLUW, the militants and the revolutionaries who must build CLUW—the bureaucrats will not.**

It will not be easy. But it is possible, she said. "And when rank and file women are brought into CLUW, it is then that CLUW's real potential will be realized."

Anna Palmer, State Convener of CLUW in Southern Ohio discussed how the Cincinnati CLUW chapter was able to build, even against the wishes of the local bureaucrats. Palmer pointed out that "in the process we lost a few bureaucrats that we didn't need."

She called on rank and file CLUW members to fight that



"I'm a black woman. Half my friends are on welfare. And part of the concept that the power structure issues out is that all welfare people are laying on their asses sucking up all our taxes."

"And I think a lot of us, if we don't know it will know it if this recession pushes us hard enough."

"That most of the people on welfare are there because they've got to be there."

"A lot of women are there because of the jobs that they can get, such as one woman who made 95c an hour as a waitress. She had to pay a baby-sitter \$5.00 a day to keep her 4 kids and the baby-sitter was making more than she was so she had to get on welfare just to be a mother to her kids."

Anna Palmer

CLUW gets the trade unions to organize the unorganized. She also stressed that women and men workers must work together to fight for better conditions for all workers.

## THE ENEMY

"I hope that the women in this room will go among their co-working sisters and brothers and help organize a unified effort among working people as to who is actually our enemy—the capitalist people who control us are our enemy."

"We are not each other's enemy," she concluded.

Greetings were extended to the conference by representatives of the United Farm Workers Boycott staff, the Canadian Independent Socialists and the Red Tide, youth section of the I.S.

One of the most exciting discussions at the conference was a panel on women workers.

Members of the Teamsters, Communications Workers, Steelworkers, Autoworkers and Teachers unions discussed conditions on their jobs and in their unions. Many of these women are in industries that have previously excluded women. They discussed how they had fought their way into their jobs, the overwhelming sexism of the companies, the attitudes of their male co-workers, and the failure of their unions to fight for them.

**The women stressed the need to work with their male co-workers in building rank and file groups and fighting to win back the unions and turn them into fighting organizations for all workers—women and men.**

They also discussed what the growing crisis meant to their industry and future prospects of

employment. The two women from auto and steel had already been laid off.

The fifth member of the panel, a member of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, held the one traditionally women's job.

She discussed the social role of education—to train children to fit into capitalism.

**The "unspoken curriculum" tracks children according to class and sex. It teaches them both to accept society as it is, and to accept their role in it, she explained. "If you are working class you are taught to obey, if you are a child of the rich you are taught how to rule."**

Teachers, too, are pawns in this process, she added. They do not decide the curricula—they just carry it out. She stressed the need to build a movement of teachers, parents and students to control the schools.

Much of the discussion following the panel focused on the similar experiences of many of the women who had come to the conference. Many have already been laid off.

One woman had been one of 350 women laid off from the GM plant in Linden N.J. She explained how the UAW leadership had not fought for the women or the men laid off, and it was only the rank and file groups that were organizing to protect laid off autoworkers.

Another woman, Hester Butterfield, a member of Cleveland CLUW, explained how as the only woman at a GE plant, she had been fired because of sexism. Cleveland CLUW has been organizing to win her job back—against the wishes of the CLUW bureaucrats and her union bureaucrats.

## SOCIALIST HOUSEWIVES

That evening Isabel Nelson. a



"We have to begin to build our own movement here in America as revolutionaries are beginning to build their movements throughout the world."

"We have to build a revolutionary feminist movement that is linked and integrally related to the working class movements and sees itself as integrally important to building the revolutionary party."

"As now the economic crisis deepens the sense of urgency deepens. It becomes more important that we work harder, that we fight harder, that we organize."

Barbara Winslow



# CLASS



Over 200 women and men from more than 17 cities participated.

socialist housewife, discussed how she had become a revolutionary and the role that housewives can play in the growing struggle.

Nelson explained that she had never been political, and that everything in her background seemed designed to keep her from thinking about political ideas. Nelson's description of her struggle to break out of the limitations of the role of capitalist society teaches us is a "woman's place" touched the life experiences of many of the women there.

Her husband had gone on strike. She did not understand trade union politics and resented the tremendous financial burden the strike meant.

She also resented the amount of time her husband spent with his "new" obsession—winning the strike.

As the strike continued her husband Jack became a convinced socialist, something she had been told was taboo.

But after the strike Isabel began going to socialist forums with Jack. She did this, she explained, "Just to get out of the house." At first the ideas seemed crazy and strange—but slowly things began to fit in place.

The ideas of women's liberation were extremely important.

Two years later Jack was involved in another strike—only this time Isabel was a participant. She too had become a socialist.

Gay Semel, Workers' Power Editor, traced several examples of struggles that were hurt or defeated because the women involved were not able to overcome the effects of oppression and their double burden as workers and wives.

"Oppression does more than what it does to the individual woman. It's not just our individual pain. It's not just that we feel shitty about the things we can't do. What oppression is all about is that it holds back the struggle.

"In every one of these cases I've mentioned a struggle was held back because of the oppression of the women involved."

## BUILDING THE MOVEMENT

The solution, Semel said, is to build a movement of working class women that will give women the collective strength to fight their oppression.

Semel discussed how to build that movement. She stressed the fact that it was at the workplace that women have power. And that the conditions of work bring women together.

The growing crisis will put immense pressures on working women as well as men to fight back just to survive.

She pointed out that already working women's groups like CLUW have formed and many of the women already laid off are beginning to organize. This process will continue, she said.

And as these groups grow and call demonstrations and rallies,



"We will not be able to have women's liberation under this society.

"No way!

"This society, capitalism, a society that produces for profit and not human need, will never free the resources to liberate women.

"It will never provide free, excellent, 24 hour childcare. It will never provide communal kitchens, communal laundries. It will never provide equal access to all jobs and it will never provide full employment.

"It cannot provide all the things necessary to liberate women.

"Only socialism, a society that produces for human need, not profit, will free the resources to liberate women."

Gay Semel

their activities will inspire other women to do the same. That is how a movement builds.

"As the movement of working women grows it will take on broader questions like inflation, childcare, housing, medical care. Other working class women, housewives, women on welfare, the unemployed will join the movement."

"And the movement of working class women will grow as part of the struggle of all working people. This has happened in history and it will happen today."

Semel pointed out that as the movement grows, it will become apparent that capitalism cannot solve the problems of the working women or the working class.

"Today we are fighting for equal pay, equal jobs and childcare. But we must go beyond that. We must

be fighting for socialism—because that is what it will take."

Semel concluded by calling on the conference participants to join the IS and help build the working class women's movement and the fight for socialism.

Classes on Women and the Law, Marxism and the Family, and Women's Liberation and the Revolutionary Party were held the next day.

A talk by Barbara Winslow, member of the American Federation of Teachers and officer of Cleveland CLUW, ended the conference.

Winslow began by saying that Karl Marx said "Men make their own history. We believe that women make their own history as well; this conference is part of the process of creating the working class women's liberation move-



"Out of our experiences my husband and I learned that our struggles weren't separate but part of a common oppression.

"While at first there were problems, my being here today demonstrates that the problems of bringing working class housewives into the struggle can be overcome and my belief in the importance of women in the fight for socialism.

"I want to help other women follow the path I've already taken, and there will be many!"

Isabel Nelson



"For women in general, and for black and latin women in particular, the situation has become close to impossible.

"Now, we have two choices. Accept this like a snow storm and say there is nothing we can do about it.

"Or we can fight back!"

Marilyn Danton

ment."

She traced the history of the revolutionary feminist movement in Germany, Russia, England and the United States.

Winslow stressed that in each case the working class women's movement grew as part of the workers' movement.

"And in each case it was revolutionary socialist women who led and built the movement."

Winslow explained that revolutionary Russia did more to free women than any other point or place in history, before or since.

The Stalinist counter-revolution destroyed those gains along with

the workers' state. With the destruction of the revolutionary feminist movement and revolutionary parties, the belief that liberation could be achieved only through the self-organization and activity of working class women and men fighting for it, was lost. That explains why people look elsewhere for a model for women's emancipation—"In the '30s it was Russia, the '40s Finland, the '50s Sweden, the '60s Israel and today it is China. But we cannot look elsewhere. There is no country where women are emancipated."

"We must begin the task now. We have a world to win." □

PHOTOS BY J. EVANS AND G. ALIKAR

# FROM SHUTDOWN TO SITDOWN

Over one-third of all auto workers are laid off. Chrysler is threatening to close three plants and cut capacity by 40%. Layoffs are hitting steel, trucking and even civil service. In this kind of crisis, is there anything that can be done?

Workers at Hyster Fork Lift Manufacturing plant occupied their plant for 30 hours and won all their demands. In Britain, where the economic crisis is far worse than here, workers have been occupying factories and saving jobs.

In fact in the 30's, during the Great Depression, sit-down strikes built the industrial unions of today. Almost 40 years ago auto workers occupied a General Motors plant in Flint, Michigan, demanding recognition of the UAW. The workers held the plant for 44 days. Auto workers from throughout the Midwest came to defend those inside. Wives and friends battled the police and the National Guard.

In the end the workers won. GM recognized the union and the UAW was born. For the next several years hundreds of plants were occupied across the United States.

Times were hard in 1937—harder than they are today. It was still the Great Depression and many workers were jobless. Yet the workers in Flint were able to beat the largest, most powerful corporation in the world. Led by revolutionaries and fighting for their lives, auto workers in Flint were willing to challenge the most basic assumptions of the capitalist system. They took over the private property of the bosses and held it until they won.

They understood that in times of high unemployment and factory closures, striking is not enough. A cut in production is often precisely what the bosses want. But by holding the capitalist's property as ransom workers gain additional leverage. The bosses may be able to give up production but they will not give up their machines.

Today we are faced with a similar situation. The economy continues to unravel and working people are being made to pay, in loss of jobs and ever worsening conditions. But the trade union leadership does nothing. Thirty years of relative pros-

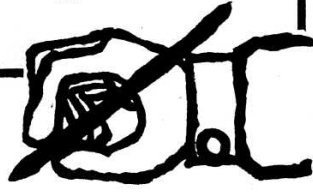
perity has allowed them to become stodgy, winning increased wages at the bargaining table while trading off working conditions. They have forgotten how to fight and after years of having been bought off they have lost the will to re-learn. Today's labor leaders accept the capitalist motto, "What is good for business is good for the workers"—even if that means plant closures and mass layoffs.

But layoffs and plant closures can be stopped—jobs can be saved. As in the 30's we can win.

What is necessary is to build the kind of organization that is capable of occupying a factory. The Hyster workers have led the way. Other workers will follow—because times demand it. As in Britain the tactic will deepen and gain strength.

Once again the role of militants and revolutionaries is to lead in building the organization that can organize the struggle. □

## Dear Workers Power, Here



### FREE DAVID RICE

Here at the Nebraska State Pen, it has been part of the regular visiting procedure that prisoners go through a strip shake-down following visits. On January 21, those of us prisoners who had visits were in for a bit of a surprise.

We were led behind the screen, two at a time, by three guards. As each of our turn came up, we were told, not only to take off all clothes (including socks and underwear), but to lift the penis and accompanying sac, to open the mouth and stick out the tongue, and bend over and spread the cheeks of the ass. Aside from that, the guards ran their fingers through our hair.

I did follow the instructions to bend over, but, when asked to spread the cheeks, I informed the guards that I was no animal, that I had already cooperated more than I felt I should have, and that I would not further demean myself. I let it be known that if the pigs wished to have my cheeks spread, one of them would have to do it himself. There were no takers.

Since my first such experience, other prisoners have refused to spread the cheeks, and some have refused to lift their penises. The number of prisoners refusing to

number of prisoners refusing to cooperate in this demeaning procedure shall continue to grow. We know what it's all about.

It's a matter of administrative response to criticism from certain quarters in regards recent drug and drug-related deaths and injuries. Prison officials are putting on a little show to give the impression that they are truly concerned about the drug situation. But it is no more than a sham.

Any prisoner who has been here awhile can tell you that the drug traffic in here is not rooted in smuggling through the visiting room, but in guards who feel they need a little side money and in the situation of medical services here.

If prison officials truly wished to do something about the drug problem in this place, they would hire a doctor who is willing to provide actual treatment instead of just passing out medication. They would set up a meaningful program for providing psychological help to prisoners with emotional or psychological problems. And they would set up a genuine screening program for the hiring of guards and other personnel.

In the meantime, a swiftly



David Rice

growing number of prisoners are unwilling to cooperate with the perverted extent of this institution's theatrics. The warden can put on a show if he so desires, but not at our expense.

We will go along with the strip shake-down to the extent that the procedures are reasonable. However, if prison administrators are desirous of our receiving complete physical examinations following our visits, we strongly suggest that they hire qualified medical personnel for that purpose.

David I. rice  
Lincoln, Nebraska

### THANK YOU

I wish to express my (our) deep appreciation for the ongoing subscription to the Workers' Power newspaper. Workers' Power is one of the few papers in the country that manages to cover all areas of the ongoing struggles by the people. Through your efforts, a change shall be brought about by the people, rather than a change by a few, for the people.

The Workers' Power is feared by prisonrats as evidenced by the dual censorship of the paper. All tyrants attempt to still any voice of dissent, as evidenced by my transfer to the Arctic Concentration Camp.

I am due for mandatory release from the monster on May 1st, which of course is pretty auspicious, being International Workers' Day. Of course the lackeys in this country refer to it as law day and dare to claim that the law works. Perhaps it is, for Nixon and those other boot-lickers in Washington.

Enough—know that you are busy and main purpose was to have you change over the subscription to a fellow prisoner, so that prisoners could keep abreast of the happenings around the world. Again,

many "thanks" for providing the paper.

John Alkes  
Marquette, Michigan

### 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.

### BABY ALIVE—A DOLL AND HER DIAPER SERVICE



Well, folks, only in America, as they say.

Last Christmas, one of the biggest selling gimmick dolls in America was Baby Alive. She eats. She drinks. She shits.

She shits? No shit, or rather, yes, shit. The cartoon crowd turned from their TV sets to their parents and the reps of the Fat Man to ask for it.

In Scandinavia you can get a boy doll with a penis, and now in the US you can get shit.

It blew my mind. But I thought maybe it was a good idea. Facts of life and all.

Well, Baby Alive sold out in our area long before Christmas, so I promised it for a birthday gift. The other day I came through on the promise, and the saga of Baby Alive began.

First of all, she only comes as a blond, blue-eyed WASPy girl. Then the lady says, you'll need

batteries. What? To energize her so she can eat. It sets me back twenty-one bucks. Me and my promises.

We put the batteries in her back and open the kit. We find 9 small packets of food, three diapers, a dish, bib, spoon, and bottle. The instruction booklet says to mix the food powder with water.

It really looks like baby food. "Cheery Cherry," "Bitey Banana." Press down on her mouth to get her to chew, then watch her eat.

And she eats. She honest to god chews and swallows. After a while the food is pumped on through and comes out in a mess on her diapers.

Now here's the catch. Baby Alive eats only her own food and you can buy it at the rate of 9 three-gram packets for \$1.25, which is over twenty dollars a pound.

Then we look in the fine print and see that Baby Alive is sold by

General Mills. I get it! Those bastards have sold me another mouth to feed!

The food label reads: "Banana, cherry, lime, sorbitol, alginate, imitation flavor, potassium sorbate, fumed silica, US certified color." If you are a label-reader, you see that Baby Alive's food doesn't sound too different from a lot of food General Mills sells to the rest of us. Not different enough, that is; they sell us all phony food.

A strange feeling comes over me as I watch this plastic blond American eating machines chewing away while people all over the world are starving. A fake baby that can eat while millions of real babies cannot eat.

It's grotesque in a peculiarly American way. Consuming society's consuming robot. Now, ain't that some shit?

Yvonne  
Berkeley, Ca.



# Cops Attack Crowd At Indians' Trial

Five of 43 Indians arrested after the occupation of an abbey in Gresham, Wisconsin are on trial in Shawano County Court.

Before the trial could even begin the police violently attacked a small group of the defendants' supporters.

The five defendants were led, handcuffed and gagged, into the courtroom. When supporters objected to the extent of the bonds, the police attacked.

The people inside the building were forced out. Police used tear gas and rifle butts to disperse the crowd, which included many children.

This incident is not outstanding. Racist oppression and brutality are common experiences for the Menominees.

It led them to seize the abbey, and hold it for one month in a sometimes violent occupation. The building, owned by the Alexian Brothers, is located on lands signed over to the Menominees in a 19th century treaty.

The Brothers received the abbey free of charge from the National Biscuit Company. They were demanding, however, that the Indians pay \$750,000 for the abandoned building.

## GOAL: HEALTH CARE

The Warriors' slogan was "Deed or Death" and the Brothers finally gave in. The Menominees plan to use the building for a health care facility.

During the first week of the occupation, white vigilantes were armed and deputized by the Shawano County Sheriffs Department. They laid siege to the monastery, shutting off the power and food supplies.

National pressure forced Wisconsin governor Patrick Lucey to replace the vigilantes with 250 National Guardsmen. But the spor-



Armed police surround a group of Menominee Indians, protesting racist oppression and brutality against Native Americans.

adic shooting incidents were becoming more frequent as negotiations wore on.

The vigilantes have organized a group called "White Concerned Citizens" and called on the police to smash the Indian's militancy. They advocated using violence even against children to remove the Menominees, and are now cheering on the prosecution.

The Menominees will have to show the whites they are willing to keep fighting against racist oppression and brutality.

## SUCCESSFUL

The occupation was successful—the hospital and healthcare facility

will tremendously improve the living conditions of the Menominee and the month-long occupation brought national attention to the oppressive conditions all Native Americans suffer. It has been termed "the second Wounded Knee."

The Menominee Warrior Society however, now faces probably years of trials and appeals and prison sentences. The American Indian Movement (AIM), which assisted in negotiations, is organizing support rallies for the occupation. It is currently taking responsibility for the Menominee defendants' legal expenses.

Kay Stacy

## British Workers Occupy Factories

(continued from page three)

thing of a fiasco when used by 8000 ship-yard workers in Glasgow. They finished up on a "work-in," relying on trade union collectives to pay wages to finish ships which were then sold to boost the bosses profits.

But even this gentle pressure was sufficient to stop the closing of the yards. The sight of workers taking effective control of production, proving they could do it without the bosses, was too much for the government.

The government was afraid that other workers would learn the lesson. So it stepped in to save three-quarters of the jobs—though at the price of a no-strike clause for many of the remaining workers.

From there things could only get better. The Liverpool occupation proved that total victory was possible.

The simultaneous occupation of thirty factories in Manchester in 1972 proved that tens of thousands of workers could be convinced to take-over their factories to force increased wages—even when their jobs weren't threatened.

The later take-over of expensive giant cranes on major building sites proved that the weapon could be used in non-factory situations with equal effectiveness.

## ORGANIZATION AND SOLIDARITY

When the occupation tactic was being developed in Britain in 1972, it was found to require a high level of rank and file organization. It needed the growing solidarity of workers in plants not directly

affected. And it was dependent on keeping the trade union bureaucrats at bay. For these roaches, who make their living by selling out their members, were swift to understand that the occupation was more effective than the strike and would have to be sold-out even quicker.

The occupations that failed between '72 and late '74 went down to defeat because the bosses do research and development too. They found that there were ways to undermine the effectiveness of occupations... particularly with the cooperation of the union bureaucrats.

The depth of the crisis in Britain is now giving birth to a new version

of the occupation weapon. Ever broader layers of workers are organizing to use it.

Already clerical workers near Coventry have used the threat of occupations in six cities to save 400 jobs.

The understanding of the need for effective solidarity action by masses of workers and the belief that all workers, even those not directly involved in production, can fight back will make these new occupations something to be feared by every boss in the country.

When American workers begin to make more extensive use of this tactic, American bosses will know the fear their British counterparts are already experiencing.

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TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

... AND "THE NATIONAL INTEREST"



## BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Whenever there's a big strike going on, the radio, television, and newspapers constantly complain about how the strikers are blackmaling "the nation."

President Ford loves to appeal to our patriotism in his attempts to get us to go along with his policies. We shouldn't oppose his huge oil tariff and higher prices on gasoline, because "the nation" needs the money in order to be economically self-sufficient.

Ford's big brother Nixon sent in the National Guard to break the independent truckers' strike during the phony "energy crisis" because he said it was hurting "the nation."

But who is "the nation?" What is "the national interest?" Who or what do these high-sounding terms really refer to?

"The nation," literally, refers to the United States of America. But all kinds of people live inside the boundaries of the United States. There are working people, and people who don't have to work, unemployed people, men and women, black people and white people, retired people, people of every racial and national background.

If there is such a thing as "the national interest," which of these groups decides what it is? We don't have elections to determine "the national interest."

## CLASS INTERESTS

The overwhelming majority of the population is made up of people who work for someone else in order to make a living, or who are looking for work—the unemployed, or who used to work but are now too old to work—the retired.

This group of people is the working class, which produces every product and performs every service that is produced or performed in the United States. It is made up of men and women, of whites, blacks, Latins, Asians and Indians.

The "Gross National Product" refers to the total of the socially useful activities performed by this class.

The other major group is made up of people who don't create the wealth of society, but who receive the better part of it because they own and control the factories, banks, and mines.

They and their executives and other servants make up at most 10% of the population. The cream of this group, the richest 1% of the American population, own 25% of the country's wealth.

These people are overwhelmingly white and largely of Northern European descent. They are the capitalist class.

What kind of "national interest" could possibly bridge the gulf between two such different groups of people? How could their interests possibly be the same?

Some people will say that the simple fact that they are all Americans is what gives them common interests. Yet the fact that all these people are Americans doesn't mean that the lives they live are very similar. The difference between the life of a black auto worker and that of the chairman of the board of General Motors is a lot greater, and much more significant, than the cultural gap between an American executive and his European counterpart.

A Detroit auto worker who makes Chevrolets has a lot more in common, in terms of real life experiences, with a German auto worker who makes Opels than with an American capitalist.

Other people will say that there is such a thing as "the national interest" because both workers and capitalists get their wealth from the same big economic "pie."

That's very true. Workers produce all wealth, but the capitalists take most of it away.

## WHOSE NATION?

What is usually called "the national interest" clearly refers to the interests of the most economically powerful group in society—the capitalist class.

This class is also politically dominant, especially because both major parties, the Democrats as much as the Republicans, are committed to preserving its power all over the world.

There's no way wage increases can be against "the national interest" of the workers who make up the overwhelming majority of the nation. They can only be against "the national interest" of a capitalist class that feels its profits are threatened.

A cut in useless war production in order to create more jobs isn't against "the national interest" of workers, but against "the nationalist interest" of the capitalists who grow rich on arms contracts and hope to intimidate the rest of the world with their military might.

There are other important examples. It's very much against the interests of American capitalists if an imperialist corporation like the United Fruit Company of Guatemala is seized and taken over by the people of that country.

Such an action, however, is actually in the interests of American workers, because it weakens the power of the same ruling class that exploits them and strengthens the power of workers everywhere.

Many workers agree with most of this, but have a lot of trouble dealing with one final argument in favor of "the national interest." This argument, which we hear all the time from many union leaders, is very simply that if the capitalists' economy collapses it's the workers who suffer the most.

Therefore, we're told, we can't "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs," even though the capitalists get most of the gold.

The only way to answer this is by realizing that it isn't the capitalist class that "lays the golden eggs," but workers. Production could go on very well without capitalists except for the fact that they own all the factories and raw materials.

Today it is the capitalists who act and speak for "the nation." In doing so they don't defend our interests, but theirs.

The "national interest" will cease to be the capitalists' interests only when workers become the nation. This means that we will have to take the factories and resources away from them and make the working class, the majority, the collective master of society. Only when we've done that will the "national interest" really be our own.

# THE FIGHT FOR UNION DEMOCRACY

by Sandy Boyer

[The TUEL was a militant rank and file labor organization that existed in the 1920s. The first two articles in this series traced its origins and early history. Its leaders were members of the Communist Party, which at that time was a revolutionary organization committed to the interests of working people. The TUEL organized rank and file workers to fight for industrial unionism, creation of a labor party, and recognition of the Soviet Union. These activities challenged the conservative trade union bureaucracy who determined to crush the TUEL. This column describes that struggle.]

To the labor leaders of the 1920s the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) was a dangerous group to be eliminated from the unions as fast as possible. These leaders were intent on proving to big business that American labor was safe, sane and very conservative. The last thing they wanted was an active rank and file movement led by revolutionaries.

Many of the first attempts to drive the TUEL out of the unions by calling it "red" backfired. When the TUEL local group in Chicago was first organized, a right wing bureaucrat denounced them in a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor. He said these people want all the workers in the printing industry to be in the same union. Workers in the hall shouted back "That's what we want." When he read an account of the first Chicago meeting from the TUEL magazine people started asking when this organization met and how you joined.

In the 1923 AFL convention the bureaucrats were on safer ground. It was a thoroughly tame convention since the vast majority of delegates were union officers or staffers. The AFL leadership decided to attack the TUEL by expelling from the convention William Dunne, a delegate from the Butte Montana Central Labor Council. Their grounds were that he was a Communist. Before expelling him they made the mistake of allowing Dunne to speak in his own defense.



"The miners wanted organizers to actually organize the unorganized miners instead of being used against political opponents in the union."

He answered them with a devastating attack on the entire policy of the bureaucrats. He said, "I understand the real reasons for the attempt you are now making [to expel me.] You want to prove to the employers that you are more conservative than they are, that you love the wage system even more ardently than they do."

"You have succeeded already in gaining a good deal of immunity for yourselves, but this immunity does not extend to the organizations you are supposed to represent... In six months the same papers that are now applauding you for casting the Communists into the outer darkness will be denouncing your organizations just as bitterly as you now denounce me. You may save yourselves but you cannot save the unions unless you change your policies."

Dunne's expulsion from the AFL convention was followed by attacks on the TUEL throughout the labor movement. In practically every union where the TUEL had any support, prominent left wingers were expelled from the union. The bureaucrats charged that the TUEL was a dual union organization.

The expelled militants replied that the TUEL was in no way a union—it did not bargain with employers, signed no contracts, and did not even collect dues. It vehemently opposed dual unionism and worked to prevent splits from the existing unions.

Instead the TUEL was trying to educate the rank and file in militant class struggle unionism. As sixteen expelled carpenters in Los Angeles declared, this policy—not dual unionism—was what the union leadership feared.

The carpenters' statement on their expulsion said, "They [the bureaucrats] would seal our lips and prevent us from doing any progressive work in the labor movement in Los Angeles. Every union man knows that there is only one reason for belonging to a Labor Union in Los Angeles, and that is to be a Live Wire and keep on fighting both on the job and in the Local Union for a better organization and better working conditions."

## UNION DEMOCRACY

The TUEL fought the expulsions by taking their demands for reinstatement to the rank and file. Whenever possible they turned their defense against expulsion into an attack on the union leadership. They would go beyond the expulsions to raise the whole question of union democracy. The most important fights against expulsions took place in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the United Mine Workers (UMW).

The leaders of the ILGWU had good reason to be afraid of the TUEL. TUEL supporters won control of the NY Joint Board, the largest in the union, in 1923. The predominantly Jewish garment workers were the most radical workers in the country. On street corners in the New York Garment Center workers would gather to argue about whether workers should support the Communist Party or the Socialist Party.

The International leaders finally found an excuse to expel the NY Joint Board. The Joint Board had a Communist Party speaker at their May Day rally who spoke of the need for a socialist revolution in America. The International promptly expelled the NY Joint Board for subversive activity.

The garment workers were enraged. 30,000 stopped work to come to a rally in Yankee stadium to protest the expulsion. It was made clear to the employers that they were still going to have to deal with the NY Joint Board unless they wanted a strike. The Joint Board went on collecting dues but stopped sending the International its share. The International bureaucrats reversed themselves and reinstated the NY Joint Board.

John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers ran one of the most dictatorial regimes in American labor. In 1921 he expelled Alexander Howat, the President of the Kansas district, from the UMW for leading a strike against a Kansas law requiring binding arbitration of strikes. The Kansas district was put in trusteeship and about half the locals dissolved. The district went from 100% organized to under 60% organized in a year.

The TUEL began a fight to get Howat reinstated. He went around the country speaking to UMW locals, district conventions, and meetings of rank and file miners. Three districts voted to have the International call a special convention to reinstate Howat and other expelled militants.

Back in Kansas Howat succeeded in leading about 3,000 miners back into the UMW resisting pressures to start a dual union. As soon as the Kansas district was permitted to have a convention they not only voted for reinstatement but to pay Howat back salary.

The UMW left wing, the Progressive International Committee, was able to develop the fight for Howat and the other expelled militants into a fight on the issue of democracy in the miners' union.

One of their most popular demands was to have locals and districts elect union organizers instead of having them appointed by the International President. They wanted organizers to actually organize the unorganized mines instead of being used against Lewis' political opponents in the union. They also demanded that union officials be paid no more than working miners.

## DRAMATIC CONFRONTATION

The most dramatic confrontation over Howat came at the 1924 UMW convention. Howat's case was the last item on the agenda and both sides knew it would be the decisive issue. William Z. Foster writing at the time described what happened. "The Grievance Committee simply reported that the matter had been taken care of at a previous convention and so was not before this one. A row of indignation went up. Denying Howat the floor Lewis put the resolution to a vote. It was lost overwhelmingly, but Lewis declared it adopted. He ignored all demands for a roll call and in the midst of pandemonium declared the convention adjourned."

The majority of the delegates refused to leave the hall. Howat addressed them. They passed resolutions calling for a special convention to reinstate Howat and impeach Lewis.

## CHANGES

The campaign of expulsions combined with the general decline of militancy came with the prosperity of the 1920s. Together they substantially weakened the TUEL in the middle and late 20s. The TUEL was unable to mobilize the widespread support throughout the union movement they commanded in the fight for industrial unionism and a labor party. Instead they were forced to concentrate in a relatively few unions.

The expulsion campaign also compelled a change in TUEL strategy. Originally they had concentrated on propaganda campaigns for industrial unionism, a labor party, and recognition of the Soviet Union instead of directly challenging the bureaucrats for control of the unions.

Now it was clear that they couldn't ignore the bureaucrats because the bureaucrats wouldn't ignore them. The TUEL began organizing rank and file caucuses to challenge for leadership of the unions wherever they still had strength. The next article in this series will be about those rank and file caucuses.

# Madar Red-baits CLUW Opposition

On February 28, members of the National Coordinating Committee and chapter officers of the Coalition of Labor Union Women received a strange letter from Olga Madar, president of CLUW. It read, "By this time you should have received the CLUW Newsletter and a letter from me. We are now providing you with an opportunity to read another viewpoint."

The "other viewpoint" was a reprint from The Guardian, an independent radical newspaper which had a long article about the

future of CLUW. The article discussed CLUW, the role of Madar and other bureaucrats, as well as discussing the failures and accomplishments of certain left groups.

Madar, however, is not at all interested in providing CLUW leaders with another viewpoint. Rather, she was using the old tactic of red-baiting.

Madar's edited description of the Guardian reprint said that "'Party Affairs,' published by the Communist Party, states that the

Guardian is the open direct mouthpiece of the Chinese, of the open and direct effort to form a new Maoist party." Madar is hoping to "warn" people about the dangers lurking within CLUW; of the reds under the beds and in the meetings. She was hoping that this subtle approach of hers would educate the faithful about who should be run out of CLUW.

Madar's red-baiting is not new. At the September National Coordinating Committee meeting she ranted and raved about left-wing

influences with CLUW, produced her own "subversive" list of left-wing and other organizations active in CLUW, to prove the dangers within CLUW.

Members of the International Socialists, as well as other left-wing groups are active in CLUW. In fact, it has only been through the activity and initiatives of revolutionaries and militants that CLUW chapters have done anything. It has been the revolutionaries who have been trying to build CLUW into a fighting organization and not Olga

Madar.

Madar knows this, and so must resort to red-baiting. All members of CLUW should be vocal in their condemnation of her attempt to weed out her political opponents, by fostering disunity and distrust.

Red-baiting has been used in the past to wreck the union movement. We cannot allow Madar to get away with this, for it will only lead to the destruction of CLUW.

Cella Emerson



# THE WARRIOR

[The Warrior, by Ipi 'N Tombia, featuring Margaret Singana. Distributed in the US by Stax Records. STS-5516.]

"I don't expect to become a citizen of this planet./It takes too long."

Sun Ra

We're all trying to make citizenship of this planet a birthright of every human being. Right now there are plenty of birth certificates few of us would claim, given a choice: Indochinese peasant, black miner in South Africa, Spanish worker.

Yet a lot of the people who "drew" these birth certificates have shown great courage to the rest of us. One clenched fist in the air over the sea of suffering humanity is a new recording out of South Africa, "The Warrior," by Ipa 'N Tombia.

How it was recorded in Johannesburg is something of a mystery. This record is a piece of revolutionary art in the same sense that "Attica Blues" and "What's Goin' On" are revolutionary art. They are totally conceived works that tell the truth and move the heart and soul of the hearer. They help inspire a community of feeling from which we can draw the strength to act.

The record is presented as folklore, perhaps as a smokescreen for the censors. The censors surely could not have listened to the last words of the title song, about the Battle of Bloodriver, in which 10,000 Zulu warriors armed with spears were defeated by far fewer Boers armed with guns:

The fight's over, and the deed is done;  
The fight's over, but which side has won;  
The fight's over, or has it just begun?

## MUSIC

Music was sent to the New World in the hearts of the slaves, as almost their only luggage. It nurtured them and was in turn developed and sent back to Africa from the concrete jungles of the Caribbean and the US.

All over the world in smoky little clubs, rented halls, and living rooms, people get down to music produced by transistor radios, records, cassettes, and their own instruments. Things are being said in music that are not yet being said to such a wide audience any other way.

The music on the album is known in South Africa as Urban Black Music, as opposed to folk music, because it is sung in English and addresses urban problems.

Native South Africans live either in the Tribal Homelands or in Townships, which are settlements 5-10 miles outside of the

cities. From the Townships they must travel to work by train. They are not allowed to own property.

Townships used to be shantytowns, made mostly of corrugated tin. Lately the government has torn down many of the shanties and replaced them with tenements, "some of which have running water." Then the government says, See what we have done for you.

The Townships have few clubs. Mostly people gather in apartments and backyards to play instruments and dance. In recent years blacks have been allowed to buy liquor. They drink a sour beer called Peri which comes in milk cartons and can be bought in black-only sections of some liquor stores. Weed is illegal, but reportedly there is plenty around.

This type of music is not ordinarily heard on the government's so-called black radio stations. These play tribal music, to remind people that they come from tribes. There is a conscious intention of preventing them from learning a common language and communicating with one another.

## MARGARET SINGANA

Urban black music received the attention of the music world about 15 years ago at a university jazz musical put on in Johannesburg. (At that time multi-racial audiences were allowed. No more.) A record of the musical, called King Kong, became a big seller. It's star, a young woman who was discovered working in Johannesburg, was launched on her career. Her name was Miriam Makeba.

This record may well launch another talented young South African woman. The richness of her voice and the variety of moods, styles, and emotions that lead singer Margaret Singana can handle are astonishing.

There is a lot of life on this record: many different tastes of the life of black people in South Africa. There is a wedding song, a song about coming of age, and some "Saturday Night Township Jive."

There are songs about cultural change: conflict between tribal religion and Catholicism, a song about a young girl who is lured from the tribe to the fast, corrupt city, a poignant song about the generation gap. "It is a crying shame; our parents aren't to blame." There is the title song, The Warrior, with enormous energy, and there are two songs about the quality of life for South African workers.

One is about a miner's wife who gets a letter from her husband saying he is coming home from his stint in the mines. Only she has gotten involved with someone else in his absence and doesn't look forward to his return. In the last cut an old laborer tells his son he wasted his life.

According to the National Geographic, South African gold mines go down 11,000 feet, or over two miles. As the mines bore further down into the hot core of the earth, the heat and humidity increase. Hot rock under great pressure can explode without warning.

National Geographic's own reporter suffered symptoms of heat stroke while researching his story, and had to come back to the surface. The workers, of course, stayed below.

Some 375,000 African tribesmen work in the mines. They are paid poorly by white standards, but very highly by oppression's standards for blacks. They go through rigorous training to prepare



for the heat and humidity of the mines.

"For four hours at a stretch in a heated room they step onto a block and down again, starting at 12 steps a minute. In eight days those who complete the regimen are racing at double speed, a sign they have built up the heat tolerance necessary for working below."

Those who get on sign up for six months at a time. They go home with gifts and money. National Geographic shows a photograph of a worker proudly showing off a battery-powered stereo destined for the tribal homeland—music again! However, "an electrician's helper from Malawi says he'd like to bring his wife a sewing machine, but how can he, the price in the trading store has doubled." It's an old familiar trap.

You won't have an easy time finding this record. It will be in the imports section of your record store, or you may have to order it from Stax. (98 North Avalon, Memphis Tenn.)

Hopefully, the world will get out so that people will experience this music on its third crossing of the ocean. Feel its energy, dance to it, and share in its determination to end the alienation expressed in the old digger's song:

Memories weep  
That once I lived  
I was alive  
And now  
I only survive

Hea ya ho  
I live but where is my place  
Hea ya ho  
I smile but is this my face  
Hea ya ho  
I cry but where are the tears  
Hea ya ho  
I die the death of no fears.

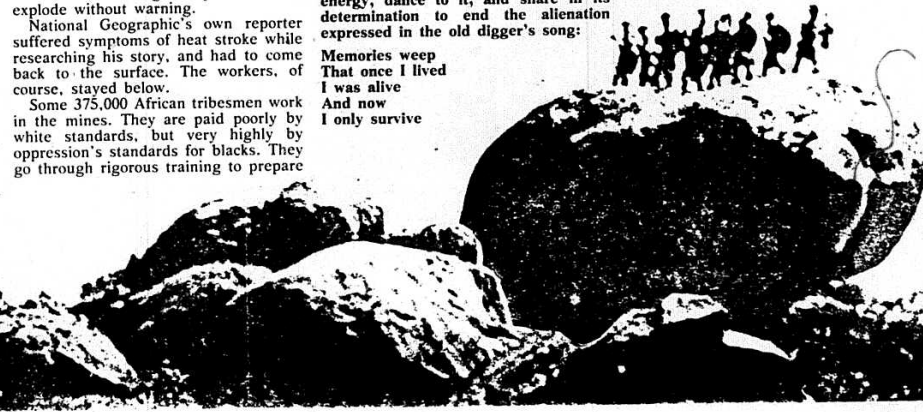
Memories weep  
And in my mind's eye  
Memories flash by  
Sadness, o sadness, who am I?

I chose on shame  
And man can stand strong  
But life still goes wrong  
So tell me Lord, who's to blame.

Well, the young miners in South Africa know who's to blame. Over 10,000 of them, surely the most oppressed and exploited people on earth, have been striking and organizing. South Africans are raising their voices, their fists, and the very hell they work in.

All around the world, the fight's not over; it's just begun.

Yvonne



# UNEMPLOYMENT, SOCIALISM, AND YOU

[John W. Anderson is a retired former president of UAW Local 15 (Fleetwood General Motors) in Detroit. His activity as a socialist militant in the auto workers' movement has spanned over 40 years.

In 1933, John Anderson helped to organize the historic Briggs strike. In 1937, when a wave of sitdowns to win union recognition swept the auto plants, he led the sitdown at the Fleetwood plant.

He became president of the Fleetwood Local. In the 1946 GM strike he was a member of the Strike Committee which organized and directed the battle.

In later years, he returned to the plant to work until retirement. He has remained active, both among retired auto workers and in the fight to build a rank and file movement in the union through the United National Caucus. Today he is continuing his activity as both a union militant and a revolutionary socialist.]

by John W. Anderson

To be a young American with a college degree and hoping to become part of the establishment, to break with such a dream took many cruel economic blows. Many of the unemployed today will soon learn what I mean. The worker who becomes unemployed and sees no chance of getting another job receives the shock of his life.

Numerous studies have been made of the unemployed. They show the unemployed more susceptible to all forms of illness, physical and mental. The divorce rate multiplies; families break up. Men and women lose their self esteem. Young people wanting to get married find it impossible.

As one of the unemployed during the depression of the '30s I experienced most of these misfortunes. I could see little purpose in life. By chance I happened to be working at the Briggs Manufacturing Company in Jan. 1933 when those workers were provoked into a strike.

As a member of the strike committee I met members of the Socialist and Communist Parties and other radical groups.

The officials of the city and state governments, both Democrats and Republicans; took the side of the employers. The Communist Party was the larger party and played the leading role in the strike. I didn't like their tactics in the strike. I

joined the Socialist Party instead.

## SOCIALIST PARTY

I learned about their program calling for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, the 30 hour week in industry, and for organizing the unorganized. They taught me the need for a planned economy and production for use not for profit. They were for the equality of the races as well as of the sexes. They were against all forms of discrimination. These ideas are now generally accepted but then you became an outcast if you advocated them.

Accepting these ideas and their program and meeting young men and women who advocated them gave me a new interest in life and hope for the future. Meeting these young people and being able to discuss with them the problems of the day made me more sociable. My problems didn't loom so large when I began thinking about the larger social issues.

As I look back on the last 41 years of my life I feel thankful that I joined the Socialist Party in 1933. I became disillusioned with the SP when I saw so many of its members, like the Reuthers, become supporters of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. They gave up their socialist principles when they got easy well paying jobs in the UAW. Most of them like Walter



Reuther, Emil Mazey and Leonard Woodcock became labor bureaucrats. They became the enemies of socialism.

The McCarthy period and the cold war put most radicals to supreme test. In January 1938 I joined the Socialist Workers Party. In that party I was to get most of my political education. It was in the SWP that I gained confidence and the understanding that enabled me to play an important role in the UAW. It gave me an understanding of domestic and world affairs.

As I grew older I could no longer carry on all the activities expected of a party member. Some of the activities I didn't agree with. The red-baiting of the cold war period made it impossible for me to continue my active role in the UAW but I retained my socialist ideas.

Now that I am retired with all the benefits the workers won through the UAW I am happy to renew my activities in support of socialism through the International Socialists and with others who want to learn from my experience.

The unemployed worker must discount any optimistic statements made by Democratic and Republican politicians or by businessmen and their economist flunkies. They are no more to be trusted today than were their predecessors of the thirties.

They too were always predicting an upturn in business. A recent statement issued by the University of Michigan Consumer Research Center said that consumer confidence has reached the lowest point since the Center was established 25 years ago.

Capitalism has nothing to offer the unemployed. They can only recover their self esteem and job security by changing our society from capitalism to socialism. □

## IS Forum Celebrates International Women's Day

DETROIT—60 people celebrated International Women's Day here at a film and discussion led by the International Socialists.

The film was "The Inheritance," a moving account of the struggles of working people over the last 100 years for decent jobs and lives.

Marilyn Danton, National Secretary of the IS, discussed the history of International Women's Day. She pointed out that women have always struggled for their freedom, and that their struggle has been most effective when it was combined with the fight for socialism.

The discussion centered around the crisis capitalism is now in and the revolutionary alternative.

Speakers pointed out that the factories and workers were available, and that people needed the products that could be made. Only the bosses greedy profit drive kept people unemployed.

"We can run them better," one laid-off auto worker said. "And that's what they don't want us to find out." □



# What We Stand For

The International Socialists is a revolutionary socialist organization. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and work as a member of our organization to achieve them. These principles are:

## INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Socialism must be achieved by the independent action of the working class. The liberation of the working class can be won only by the struggles of workers themselves.

## SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

Both capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism (the system of dictatorship in Russia, China, and the other so-called "Communist" societies) must be replaced through working class revolution. This will create a socialist society, controlled democratically by mass organizations of all working people. The wealth produced by labor will be controlled collectively by workers and used to produce a decent life and freedom for all.

## DESTROY THE CAPITALIST STATE

The state is a weapon of capitalist class rule. Its institutions like the legislature, army, police and courts cannot simply be taken over by the working class and used to build socialism. The working revolution must destroy the old state and create one of an entirely different kind. It will establish direct rule by the masses of people based on workers councils elected at the workplace.

## MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The trade unions are today the only mass organizations of the working class. To make the unions fighting instruments of workers against the employers, we work to build their struggles, and fight for rank and file control.

## INTERNATIONALISM

The socialist revolution must be international. We fight for solidarity with workers in other countries. We oppose all racism and imperialism, and fully support the struggles of all oppressed peoples, in this country and worldwide. We call for international solidarity and cooperation among unions in different countries. We oppose all immigration controls, protectionism, and strike-breaking by workers in one country or one union against those in another.

## AGAINST BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVISM

The first successful socialist revolution was made by the Russian working class in 1917. But the revolution was isolated, and destroyed by a counterrevolution led by Stalin. Today Russia, China, and the rest of the "Communist" countries are not socialist, but bureaucratic dictatorships. We support workers' struggle in these countries for democracy and freedom and call for revolution against the bureaucratic ruling class.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To create socialism, the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The party does not represent an elite to rule over the workers "in their interests." It is a political force helping to organize workers and leading them to take state power and control society as a class. The activity of the I.S. is directed toward building such a party. Building a rank and file movement based on the principles described here strengthens the consciousness, self-confidence and organization of the working class, and is the road by which a revolutionary party will be built.

## WHERE WE STAND

- \*For rank and file control of the union. No secret negotiations. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight, and national rank and file opposition caucuses in the International unions.
- \*For class struggle, unionism. Abolish all anti-labor legislation. No restriction on the right to strike, picket or boycott.
- \*Defend working conditions. No control on wages. Against unemployment, layoffs, and speed-up. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone.
- \*Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.
- \*Equality for all oppressed peoples. Full support to their liberation struggles.
- \*For the right of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, police harassment and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

for their own demands. Independence for Puerto Rico.

- \*Abolish all forms of sexual oppression. For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion. For a working class women's liberation movement. End discrimination against gay people.

- \*Against imperialism. East and West. Against all nuclear weapons and imperialist alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. For unconditional support to all national liberation movements, against both US and Russian imperialism. We support the military victory of the National Liberation Front over US imperialism in Vietnam, but we give no political support to the anti-working class dictatorship the NLF represents.

- \*No support to Republican, Democratic and Wallaceite parties and candidates. For an independent political party of the working class, based on the unions and controlled by the rank and file, to struggle against the capitalist parties.

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# Franco's Spain - The Beginning Of End?

by Manuel Fernandez

Franco's Spain has been facing its most serious crisis ever in the past few weeks.

Even the Conservative-Monarchist daily newspaper, ABC, was driven last month to note that "Spanish society is giving off a smell of decomposition."

The Spanish ruling class has been hit by the world economic crisis over the past year. Several big companies have collapsed, leaving massive debts. The cost of living has risen by 20 per cent, and unemployment is on the rise.

The result has been a massive upsurge of working class struggle. All this has happened while the ruling class was already deeply divided over how to deal with its problems.

One part of the ruling class would like a limited "liberalization" of the regime. This would make it easier for Spain to join the Common Market, and give the various groups within big business the ability to promote their interests politically.

At the same time, the state would remain intact to crush any real organization on the part of the workers.

A year ago, the government announced a new law which would permit the formation of certain political groups. But when this "law of associations" came into force, it allowed organizations only for those who accepted the principles of the fascist movement.

## WHO CONTROLS?

The problem for the liberals within the ruling class is that most of the state is still firmly in the hands of the most right-wing elements. These right-wingers are again shouting the fascist slogans from the Civil War of the 1930s, and demanding the most brutal methods for crushing the working class.

The right has no real popular support—only 200 people showed up for one of their recent demon-



Four of the Carabanchel Ten are shown here inside the notorious Madrid prison where the fascist regime of General Francisco Franco has held them for over two and a half years. Left to right are Miguel Angel Zamora, Francisco Acosta, Pedro Sanisteban and Fernando Soto.

strations—but they do effectively control the police and much of the army.

The so-called "liberals" do not dare break completely with the right. They fear that a real break would bring about the collapse of the power of the hated police, and a really massive development of working class organization.

The government of Premier Arias Navarro has balanced between these groups. First, it makes the occasional move toward "liberalization," like the law of associations. Then it takes the most

blatantly repressive measures to satisfy the right.

That is why despite all the talk of liberalization, last year saw the execution of the anarchist Puig Antich, who was put to death despite an international outcry.

At present several socialists are on trial for their lives. These include four members of the underground Maoist group FRAP, and others who are charged without any evidence with assassinating the former prime minister Carrero Blanco.

The portion of the national budget devoted to the political police and civil guards shot up by 35% last year. It is greater than that of other ministries such as housing.

## POWER STRUGGLE

The effect of the crisis within the government and the ruling class has convinced large numbers of people that the regime cannot survive much longer. There are reports of even the most ardent supporters of Franco preparing to survive his overthrow by smuggling money out of the country.

Others are trying to insure themselves in a different way, by forming some links with the existing left wing parties—so that whatever happens there will be someone around to protect them.

A recent speech by Communist Party leader Carrillo made it clear that he does not foresee a revolutionary overthrow of Franco. "If we are moderate, it is because it is the only way for Spain today," he said.

The struggles between the different factions within the ruling class is undecided. Its outcome will not be determined so much by the arguments in the corridors of power in Madrid, but rather the growing radicalization in the factories and streets.

## 100,000 On Strike Against His Regime

Over 10,000 workers defied the Spanish police and went on strike in February. Their action shows that the Spanish working class has overcome the immense demoralization produced by the defeat of the Civil War which brought fascism to power in 1939.

Spanish workers have again discovered that unity and militancy can be more powerful than one of the strongest and most vicious repressive state machines in the world.

Some industrial struggles began in 1970, but were confined to isolated factories. But within a couple of years general strikes began to occur—in the cities of Ferrol and Vigor in 1972, and in the largest industrial zone in Spain, Pamplona, in 1973.

A hunger strike by political prisoners in the Basque area of Northern Spain before Christmas brought 200,000 out on strike. At the same time massive struggles developed around the giant auto plant SEAT, and other factories in Barcelona.

In these struggles workers rejected the fascist "syndicatos", which are state-controlled fake unions. They demanded the right to be represented by delegates at their own meetings.

## STRIKE WAVE SPREADS

Since last summer more than a million workers have taken part in strikes, even though they are officially banned. All sections of the working class, from construction workers to actors, are involved.

Over the past few weeks the strike wave has spread to include 500 Asturian mines, civil servants in Madrid government ministries,

10,000 workers on strike or locked out in Bilbao.

When the audience in a Madrid theater was told there would be no performance because of a strike, they rose to their feet and applauded. Unrest has shut universities all over the country. These include the naval and technical schools which give priority to students recommended by the fascist movement.

100,000 workers struck in mid-February in solidarity with the Carabanchel 10. The 10 were workers' representatives who were sentenced to 15-year prison terms for "illegal" union activities.

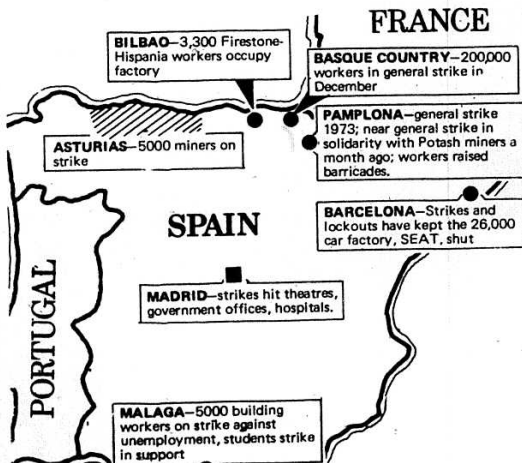
## REGIME SPLITS

The government has responded to the strikes with mass arrests. At the same time, it has been forced to recognize the power of the workers. The majority of those arrested have been released and the sentences of the Carabanchel 10 reduced.

The militancy of the workers has pushed the government on the defensive, and opened up the splits in the ruling class. If this militancy were organized and directed on a national scale, it could quickly lead to the collapse of the Franco regime.

Most of the strikes have been for economic, not political reasons. Workers do have one clear political aim, however—to break the power of the fascist police and to establish their own genuine trade unions.

For this reason all sections of the revolutionary left in Spain agree on the need to spread the local strikes into a general strike. The problem is there is not yet a unified, national organization that can do this.



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## MINORITY JOBS AT STAKE

# BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS CLOSE CONSTRUCTION SITE

by Jim Forrest

**SEATTLE**—John Jimenez, a Chicano heavy equipment operator who learned his skill in the army in Vietnam, returned to Seattle to find out his army training was useless and he had to start at the beginning to find an operator's job.

But after going through the training program, he still couldn't find work. He found himself at the bottom of the seniority list.

Workers must get their jobs through the union. Individual solicitation of work violates the union contract.

But only those at the top of the list have call-back rights. Contractors can rehire them without following seniority.

Because minority workers have been excluded from the union by racist officials, they have no seniority. They are prevented from getting work in their trade on their own and so have no work.

John paid a large initiation fee to get into the union but has had only five months work in two years.

His cousin Mike Jimenez has also sought work through the union. He went through the oilers trainee program, established in 1970 to bring minorities into heavy equipment operating jobs.

He worked 500 hours to qualify as a journeyman oiler. That was last summer and he hasn't worked since.

### CONSENT DECREE

Five years ago consent decrees were signed between contractors and unions to employ more minority workers. Yet the percentage of third world workers in the industry is still less than one percent. Blacks, Chicanos, and Asians constitute 16 percent of the general population.

As unemployment in the construction industry mounts, racial integration into the building trades has become touchy and complicated.

The official unemployment rate for Washington state in the industry is 18 percent. Jobs are at a premium.

White workers feel they must protect the jobs they have. Non-white workers are demanding an equal place in an industry that has long denied them access.

The union officials don't want to rock the boat. As long as they can keep whites employed and exact

large initiation fees and dues from their members their place is secure.

### ASSOCIATION FORMED

Within the building trades 200 minority workers have been organizing through the United Construction Workers Association (UCWA) begun in 1970.

The Jimenezes and others turned to the UCWA. Since the original consent decree was not working, the UCWA in December began to picket the National Construction Co. sewer project, hoping to force the union to negotiate.

Finally a federal court ordered the UCWA, the contractors, the union and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to work out a new agreement.

After two and a half months the union agreed to move 50 minority workers per year into the operating trade. They would be allowed to solicit work on their own and would be given call back rights.

It also agreed to hire a minority coordinator with consent from the UCWA and the EEOC.

But the UCWA refused to sign the new agreement when the union abruptly hired a minority coordinator without consulting the minority workers.

The coordinator was white, a relative of a union official and knew nothing about the consent decree, the industry or discrimination.

### RESUME PICKETING

Convinced the union was not serious about carrying out the agreement, the UCWA resumed picketing at National Construction last month.

A militant protest picket of 200 UCWA members and supporters successfully closed down a sewer project after the white workers on the job agreed to suspend work.

Several of the white workers, high seniority members of Operators Engineers Local 302, agreed to meet for informal talks with the

# Workers' Power

UCWA.

"We had two productive meetings in which we talked with each other for the first time about many issues affecting all of us," the UCWA said in a leaflet. "But the (white) workers did not show up for the third meeting Friday afternoon."

"This has put us back in the position of talking among ourselves and concentrating on how to get more jobs for our people whether white people lose their jobs or not."

The UCWA called another demonstration to close three construction sites in the predominantly non-white Central District, demanding a majority of the jobs for minorities.

### BLACK-WHITE UNITY

The demonstration was aimed at forcing the union to negotiate in good faith but it was also directed toward white construction workers.

The UCWA was successful in drawing three young white workers to a meeting to discuss a strategy for ending unemployment for both whites and blacks, instead of fighting each other for existing

jobs.

"The union hasn't educated white workers about the consent decree," said John Jimenez. "It will be signed without them ever knowing about it. They will think people are just coming in to take their jobs."

"The union just takes the workers' money and doesn't tell them anything," said Mike Jimenez. "They don't tell the workers about layoffs or why they are happening. We have to open their eyes."

"We don't want to take jobs from white workers but we'll be forced to if they won't back us in a struggle for more jobs."

The UCWA is now trying to organize rank and file workers from several unions to get their locals to support a three percent tax on corporate profits to provide unemployment relief and create work.

They are appealing to white workers to join them in the campaign. Until they do the demonstrations at the construction sites will continue.

The minority workers are determined that they should not have to pay now for past discrimination. □



Seattle minority workers protest racism in the construction industry.

## Announcement Not Yet Public

# Teamster Pensions To Be Cut

by Richard Stockman

**LOS ANGELES**—The west coast Teamster pension fund plans to cut pensions. The reduction will be effective for members retiring after January 1, 1976.

The cut has not yet been publicly announced, but one Los Angeles secretary-treasurer announced it at a membership meeting. He advised all eligible Teamsters to retire this year without waiting any longer.

The official announcement of the amount of the cut will not be made until April of this year. So far the International is withholding all information.

The issue of pension reform has

always been a big issue in the Teamsters union. A few years ago there were "500 at 50" clubs around the country. They demanded a monthly \$500 retirement pension at 50 years of age.

It was these clubs which joined together to form TURF, a national rank and file organization. TURF's main issues were the \$500 at 50 pension demand, sweeping pension reform and union democracy.

### EXCUSE

It has not been announced if this pension cut is going to be national or not. But if it is, there will likely be national unrest over the cut.

The excuse the International is giving for this cut is that it was necessary to bring the pension fund in accordance with the new federal pension law. However, there is nothing in this new law which requires the union to cut down on retirement benefits. This is just a convenient excuse which Teamster President Fitzsimmons found.

Effective this June 1, a \$5 per member per month increase in employer payments to the fund will take effect. This makes the cut in benefits even more blatant.

The Teamsters' pension fund has come under repeated attack, not only for being inadequate but also for being mismanaged, both by the

union and by its agent, Prudential, the world's largest insurance company.

The \$460 million fund pays out over \$2 million in fees and commissions. This includes \$150,000 to a "pension consultant" whose Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles branches are all in the same Seattle office building.

### CORRUPTION

Many loans from this fund have been made to companies with reported Mafia connections. After receiving huge loans from the fund, these companies promptly declare bankruptcy and do not have to pay back the loans.

Numerous other charges of embezzlement have been made regarding the handling of the fund.

This cut in the pension will not be swallowed by the rank and file in the Western Conference of Teamsters. At a time when prices are rising out of sight, pensions need to be increased—not cut. Regular adjustments should be made to keep up with the cost of living.

The top Teamster officials who are pushing through this cut should be put out to pasture on a Teamster pension themselves. Then the union can turn to the important task of fighting employer-inspired layoffs and speedup. □