

# WORKERS' Power

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## RACISTS ATTACK BLACK WORKER-UNION DEFENDS HOUSE

by Stan Wilkerson

MELROSE PARK, Ill.—Members of UAW Local 6, employed at International Harvester here voted unanimously to form a union defense guard for protection of the family and the house of C.B. Dennis. Dennis is a member of Local 6 who has worked at International Harvester for over nine years.

Dennis and his family, who are black, have been attempting to buy a house in predominantly white Broadview, a western suburb of Chicago. However they have been prevented from moving in because the house has been firebombed three times since February. The most recent fire on April 11 caused thousands of dollars of damage.

The Broadview police have done nothing. They claim that the fires are the results of kids, even though the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis have been active in the area. Similar racist attacks have occurred in southwest Chicago.

### RESOLUTION

Local 6 members rallied to Dennis' support and passed the following resolution at their union meeting on Sunday, April 13:

"Whereas racist hoods have attempted to burn down the house of our union brother C.B. Dennis in the town of Broadview; and whereas scum from the Nazi party have been terrorizing black families in a predominantly white neighborhood in the southwest side of Chicago; and

"whereas defense of black people's rights and struggle for integration of blacks in housing, education and jobs is in the vital interests of the entire working class; and whereas the racists and the viciously anti-black, anti-semitic and anti-labor fascists are the sworn enemies of the labor movement as a whole; and

"whereas the police serve the employers and cannot be depended upon to defend the rights of blacks or of the trade unions, some of them even being members of fascist groups;

"therefore be it resolved that our local immediately contact labor organizations, black groups and sympathetic community groups to prepare to mobilize a mass labor and black defense to protect the family and house of brother Dennis; and further be it resolved that this defense group be prepared if requested to aid in the defense of the threatened families on the southwest side of Chicago."

### VOLUNTEER GUARDS

After the resolution was passed, about 20 volunteers promised to take turns guarding the Dennis' home. Since that evening union members have been spending the

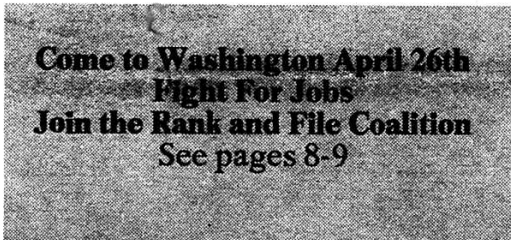
night at the Dennis' home.

During the following week a special union meeting was called. A rank and file steering committee was selected to conduct the defense work and try to get more volunteers to guard the house as long as is necessary.

These united actions are particularly important for Local 6 members. The plant has been the scene of many racist actions. Foremen for years have been openly discrim-

inating against blacks and Latins. Currently, International Harvester has been trying to force a speed-up and overtime to prepare the way for layoffs. United actions such as this can show how to successfully fight the company and not each other.

The Dennis' are quite happy about the defense efforts and have vowed to fight until they are allowed to peacefully settle in their new home. They seem confident that they will win. □



## Steel Workers Say No To Layoffs

by Tim Matthews

"We don't want to be caught like the auto workers, on the streets with no preparation for our union to fight for jobs."

That was how Ken Doran of Rank and File Team (RAFT) explained a picket line in front of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) headquarters in Pittsburgh last Monday.

The picket, of around 30 rank and file steelworkers marched and chanted for their union to begin now to fight rising unemployment.

### OPPOSITION CAUCUS

RAFT is a national opposition caucus within USWA. It stands for Militant, democratic unionism. It opposes the company-minded leadership of USWA, which gave up, last year, the most basic of workers' rights: the right to strike.

The picketers main demand was 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. Spread the work, not poverty; create, don't eliminate jobs, were their slogans.

As one RAFT leaflet pointed out, the companies have increased productivity by 40% in the last decade. That means they get 67 hours work out of every 40-hour week.

RAFT demands that the union fight to get some of that gravy back. □

Another major demand was to abolish the no-strike deal. The Abel leadership has credited the relatively good employment situation that steelworkers enjoyed until recently to the no-strike deal (called the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement.")

By giving up the strike option, they say imports are lessened and jobs saved. But now with depression crashing down all over, it is obvious that imports are not the problem. The real problem is the steel companies themselves.

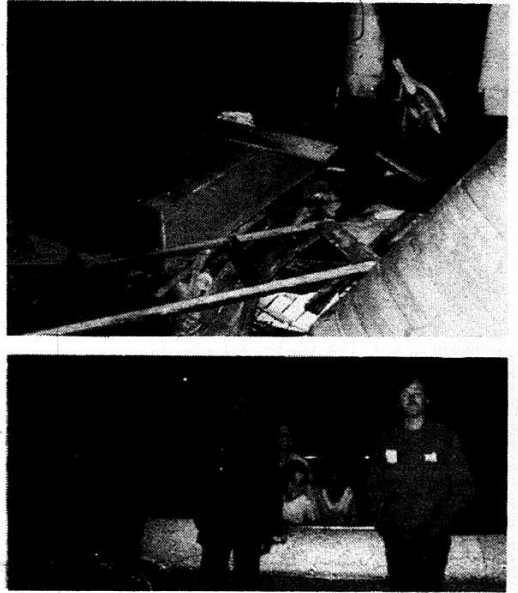
They are beginning to lay off in ever-increasing numbers. Sharon Steel in Sharon, Pennsylvania, for example, has 50% of its people laid off.

### FRAUD

The ENA no-strike deal is a fraud. It doesn't save jobs, it just ties the union's hands. Steelworkers will be unable to fight back for more jobs without this basic right to strike.

Already, a wildcat strike wave in Youngstown and Steubenville, Ohio, have challenged the ENA in practice.

When the RAFT pickets challenged the USW leadership's policies the well-dressed, overpaid "leadership" was nowhere to be seen. Abel and his staff men, uncomfortable even around ordinary steelworkers, could not face this small group of militants. □



Top picture shows the effects of three firebombings on the outside rear wall of the Dennis house. Bottom picture shows members of the union defense guard with C.B. Dennis.

Depot have been fired for passing out leaflets calling for defense of the Dennis house.

Racist harassment has also escalated. A skull and crossbones and the words "Nigger Beware" were painted on the front door of the UAW Local 6 union hall.



# American Democracy In Action

## ...At Home And Abroad



### "OPERATION BABYLIFT" - KIDNAPPING

"Don't take off, you have no clearance," shouts the angry air traffic controller.

The pilots answer is to run the four jet engine in defiance and turn his DC-8 onto the unlighted runway.

The pilot, strong, virile and American with a heart of gold, is fighting bureaucracy to save the children. Seconds later he takes off. Our hearts are with him as the background music builds to a crescendo. Operation Babylift is born.

The houselights come on and the credits appear superimposed over the plane soaring upwards. They say:

"The war in Vietnam has been brought to you by the US Government. It has been a humane and just war. To prove our intentions were always good the US Government is evacuating hundreds of Vietnam orphans."

#### ANYTHING GOES UNDER IMPERIALISM

But the final tragedy occurring in Vietnam is not a romantic John Wayne movie brought to us by Hollywood. The pain, and the blood are real, the intentions were never honorable and the script was written in Washington.

Operation Babylift is a cruel, cynical ploy to create popular support for continued US involvement in Vietnam.

Hundreds of children, packed like sardines in planes designed to carry arms have already been spirited off to the US. They are being sold to parents, desperate for a child, at \$1500 apiece.

At least 150 have already died in one of the most devastating



MYTH (above): America opens its heart to war-stricken orphans. REALITY (right): Tens of thousands of children's lives shattered by American war machine.

crashes in aviation history.

Those who have made it arrive near death.

Dr. Stalcup, chief pediatric resident at the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco described the first plane load of children arriving as "the most incredible scene of deprivation and illness I have ever seen."

Many of the children are not orphans. They were placed in orphanages by parents attempting to protect them against starvation. Many were wrenched from Vietnamese foster parents.

The purpose behind this final bestiality towards the Vietnamese people—kidnapping their children—was stated clearly by US Ambassador Graham Martin.

Martin stressed that "this evacuation... will create a shift in American public opinion in favor of the Republic of Vietnam.

Especially when these children land in the United States, they will be subject to television, radio and press agency coverage and the effect will be tremendous.

The effect Martin hopes for is mass support for Ford's request for \$722 million in aid to the corrupt regime in South Vietnam.

And even if the money is not granted, the comings and goings of the US evacuation project provide the cover to continue pouring in weapons.

Planes bringing babies out have been bringing arms in. □



## War Vultures Begin New Vietnams

While US imperialism is being forced out of Indochina—its agents are being sent to the Middle East. Most got their training in Vietnam.

1000 American former military men have been sent to Saudi Arabia to train that country's 26,000 man national guard. The 1000 military advisors had been contracted by King Faisal through the Vinnell corporation.

#### MERCENARIES

The Vinnell corporation was described in the press as a "nearly bankrupt California construction firm which built the Dodger Stadium in LA and did \$200 million worth of business for the US military in Vietnam."

Most of the business in Vietnam, however, turns out not to have been construction.

According to a middle level Pentagon army official Vinnell is "nothing less than a mercenary army. When I dealt with them in Vietnam, they didn't even own a typewriter. All they were was a list of names on a piece of paper... they performed for us what we conveniently termed 'clean-up.' What they 'cleaned up' or how they 'cleaned up' was pretty much up to them... they followed us out of Vietnam and did the dirty work we didn't want to do for ourselves. They had a free hand.

#### VINNELL CORP



US Mercenaries: "They did the dirty work we didn't want to do for ourselves."

"They could hit any Viet Cong left hanging around the area. They could demolish any US installation the South Vietnamese forces weren't scheduled to use."

"When we wanted to pull something quasi-legal, so far as military appropriations was concerned, we used them.

#### LEADING THE PALACE GUARD

"Now with Vinnell going over to Saudi, that is nothing less than the US sending over our own mercenary army. I don't care what the press releases say. Sure they'll train Faisal's palace guard, but if push comes to shove over there, they'll be in a position to lead his palace guard... the people they'll be sending there are all ex-military men with specialties in the field of counter-insurgency."

The Saudi Arabian ruling class and the US ruling class know that the Arab masses will not continue to live in poverty indefinitely while their rulers live in untold

splendor. So the US government protected first the late King Faisal and now King Khalid and the oil fields from the Arab people.

The US began its direct involvement in Vietnam by sending in "military advisors." The only protection against a Mideast Babylift in twenty years is a workers' revolution that ends the imperialist systems that now rule the world. □

## DEPORTING STUDENTS

Years ago, people immigrated to the United States to escape repression and tyranny in their own countries. They believed that in America they would find freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and a chance to begin a new life where all people are equal.

Well, we all know how mistaken they were about the last part, and daily we find that more and more of the "freedoms" that we thought we had are disappearing.

An example is the case of seven Vietnamese students at MIT. While here in the "free" US, Nguyen Huu An and six others believed it their right and duty to speak out against the terror and repression of the Saigon regime.

They participated in teach-ins and demonstrations. They spoke out publicly for an end to US involvement and financing of that government. They were involved in a sit-in at the Vietnamese consulate in New York City demanding the ouster of Thieu.

#### DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

In South Vietnam, anyone who dares criticize the government or who is suspect for any reason is imprisoned and tortured. In the

US, the government is not quite so ruthless.

Nguyen Huu An and the other six Vietnamese students will not be imprisoned for their criticism of American foreign policy and of the Saigon government. Instead, their scholarships, financed by the Agency for International Development (AID), were terminated. Their visas were revoked. They were told to pick up their tickets at the airport.

They are threatened with deportation to Saigon, where they will experience first-hand the repression that they speak out against. They have requested temporary asylum in the US, but up to now their request has been denied by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

For American citizens who criticize their governments, the punishments are a little more subtle. You might have your phone tapped, your taxes audited or your sex life monitored—but who knows what is next. □

Susan Ellis

[For information on how to support or make contributions to the case of these seven students, contact: Vietnamese for Peace, 698 Mass. Ave. Box 125, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. (617) 492-3900.]

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# Battling the Western Coal Giants

by Anne Larson

GILLETTE, Wyoming — Less than three hundred surface miners at the Belle Ayre mine here have squared off against the Amax Coal Company, the sheriff's office, the courts, and the state police in a bitter strike. It's a battle which may prove critical to the United Mine Workers' efforts to organize in the West.

Amax is the sixth largest coal producer in the country, coming right after US Steel on the list. It already operates many UMW-organized mines in the East. The company's unwillingness to sign a contract with the Belle Ayre local indicates a clear decision to try to block the union's progress in the West.

## IMPORTANT

It is crucially important, however, that the UMW win the organizing drives currently underway in the Rocky Mountain states. The base of the coal industry is slowly shifting from its present stronghold in the Appalachian deep mines to the strip mines in the West.

From 1971 to 1975, the proportion of coal produced in the West rose from 4 to 11 percent—and it will rise much higher. Many operators are attracted to the West because the UMW has no base there and because strip mining profits are much higher than deep mining.

"As coal moves West, the UMW has to move with it or we're finished as a union," was how Tom Pysell, UMW Organizing Director and former rank-and-file leader, put it. "The companies plan tremendous, high-production strip mines in the West and if that tonnage isn't produced under UMW contract our bargaining leverage is down the tube."

The Belle Ayre mine, for instance, is not insignificant even though it employs so few miners. It produces enormous amounts of tonnage with sophisticated, new stripping equipment. Plans for expansion at the mine call for the extraction of 30 million tons of coal annually within the next few years. That's about five times what the largest mine in the country can produce today.

The strike has been on since January 12. At that time miners at Belle Ayre and fourteen other Western strip mines went out, demanding UMW representation and wage and benefits improvements.

Ten of the struck companies, bargaining as a unit headed by Peabody Coal, capitulated March 3 and signed the UMW contract. But the others didn't fall into line as expected.

## STRIKE-BREAKING

Instead, Amax, apparently backed by the other hold-outs, systematically set out to break the



The coal industry is moving West—and so is the miners' union. These strikers are fighting for union recognition.

strike. The company hired the notorious Burns Detective Agency, deputized many sheriffs, took out warrants for the arrest of pickets, and launched a back-to-work movement in the surrounding, mountain community.

"They've deputized and armed half the country," said Jim Marketti, the union's Western organizing director.

With this kind of backing, the operators were able to discourage many strikers. They have been able, in the last couple of weeks, to convince some of the miners to go back to work. Others, however, are attempting to maintain the picket

lines, and the future of the strike is still uncertain.

## FULL AND TOTAL SUPPORT?

On March 26, UMW President Arnold Miller told the strikers that "the full and total support of the resources of this union at every level are behind you."

The union has filed unfair labor practice charges against the company, provided strike benefits and legal backing, and started a fund to support the strikers' families. But, the union has been unwilling to take the more important and decisive steps, such as pulling out

miners at Amax mines in the East. Since the union leadership would not take the necessary steps, the miners did.

On April 8, 600 miners at seven mines owned by Consol (one of the hold-outs, along with Amax) in Illinois and Indiana walked out in an unauthorized strike in sympathy with their union brothers in Wyoming. Although Consol has sought back-to-work injunctions, more such strikes will probably follow if the companies do not give in.

With this sort of backing, a picket sign carried by the wife of a striker at a Western mine takes on special meaning. "WE AIN'T DOWN YET," it read. □



## Putting the Squeeze on Gallo

For several weeks, public relations personnel and salesmen for the Gallo Wine Co. have been joining United Farm Workers' picket lines in Detroit. They're counter-picketing and trying to destroy the effectiveness of the UFW's Gallo boycott. The UFW has been on strike against Gallo and boycotting Gallo wine products since the company signed a sweetheart contract with the leadership of the Teamsters union in 1973. Before that, the UFW had contracts at Gallo.

In addition to picketing, Gallo has taken to newspaper and TV advertising to try to counter the effects of the boycott. Statistics from the Michigan Liquor Control Commission show why. For February 1975, Gallo sales are down 23% over February 1974 in the state. During that time, the general wine market increased 9%, and sales of Gallo's nearest competitor (United Vintners—Italian Swiss Colony) rose 290%.

UFW picketers in Detroit think the counter-picketing has actually helped the boycott. Ann Moring, boycott coordinator for the city's east side, told Workers' Power: "It's a clear indication they're hurting. The more of them come out to picket the more UFW supporters come out, and it's just building."

## Los Angeles CLUW

# ELECTION STRUGGLE

LOS ANGELES—In one month, the LA CLUW chapter has grown from 89 members to 216. Unfortunately, this phenomenal growth was not due to any action on the part of the chapter to reach out to new members.

Instead, it resulted from a massive campaign to pack the April 10 elections meeting to insure the victory of a slate of union bureaucrats.

## RANK AND FILE SLATE

A rank and file slate campaigned on the issues of democracy in CLUW; recruitment of rank and file and minority women; and taking action to fight unemployment and to organize the unorganized.

On this slate were Jackie Goldberg, AFT; Lorraine Darrington, CWA; Mary Deaton, Teamsters; and Mary Renaud, Stove and Furnance Workers.

The official program of the bureaucrats' slate limited itself to a run-down of all the union offices, appointive positions and committees the various candidates hold.

Two of the women, Ophelia McFadden, Service Employees International; and Sharon Wilkes, CWA; have only attended an occasional CLUW meeting and never served on any of the task-forces or standing committees.

When it became clear in March that the rank and file slate was being formed, the bureaucrats, who control the chapter steering

committee, reversed a previous decision that women who joined the night of the elections would not be allowed to vote.

This guaranteed their victory, since they had the time and connections to round up supporters.

## MILLER SLATE VICTORY

Polling an average of 130 votes per ballot, the four woman slate headed by Ruth Miller, International representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, consolidated its official control of the chapter at the election meeting.

The rank and file slate had to rely on support from dedicated CLUW activists. It did not import any votes. Yet it polled a significant average of 77 votes.

The impetus for the organization of the rank and file slate came in reaction to the activities of Ruth Miller.

Serving as chairperson of the steering committee, Miller has been using CLUW as a platform to push for her appointment to the state Industrial Welfare Commission, a body which determines wages, hours and working conditions for the state's unorganized workers.

## SPEAKING CURBED

In steering committee meetings, she has refused to allow members not on the committee to speak in discussions.

During the fight over chapter by-laws, Miller opposed the formation of a Minority Womens Rights Committee.

The elections not only succeeded in bringing many rank and file women together to oppose Miller, but also forced an apparent split in the CWA CLUW caucus.

Dina Beaumont, International vice-president, had committed the caucus to supporting Miller without vote of the membership.

However, the women of Local 11513, including local vice-president Carmen Hernandez and Area Steward Lorraine Darrington led the fight to have the caucus go to the elections uncommitted to any candidate.

## UNCERTAIN FUTURE

With the elections over, the chapter faces an uncertain future. If the Miller regime has its way, only the most limited action, sanctioned by the County Federation of Labor, will be taken. Her supporters will control the executive board.

The only opposition members expected to be on the board are Deaton and Renaud, elected by their union caucuses after their defeat in the chapter election.

Their task will be keeping rank and file women active and organized in the chapter, to make CLUW fight for the needs of women like themselves, and fulfill its potential as an organization of working women. □

# U.S. HOLD CRUMBLES IN INDOCHINA

A few weeks, or less. That is all the time that is now left for the crumbling US puppet regime in Saigon.

In Cambodia, the war has ended. Days before Phnom Penh fell, the US evacuated its embassy. A ring of US marines in full battle gear, M-16s at the ready, stood guard to protect the departing Americans—from small Cambodian children playing peacefully across the street.

The US government warned that when the Khmer Rouge marched in, the slaughter would be horrible. But there was no slaughter in Phnom Penh.

As the fighting reached the edge of the city, the government simply surrendered and helicoptered itself out. The Khmer Rouge forces marched into the city for a victory parade—and soldiers from the

defeated army of Lon Nol joined in the celebration.

Lon Nol himself left weeks ago. But just before the capital fell, he arranged to draw out for himself \$1 million of his country's money from the National Bank of Cambodia, through the Irving Trust Bank in New York.

Although the war in Cambodia is over, Washington's last-minute maneuvers there were planned as a dress rehearsal for a far more brutal finish in Vietnam.

Plans were set for up to 40,000 US combat troops to go back into Vietnam. Their assignment was to be controlling a 40-mile corridor from Saigon to the port of Yung Tau, to evacuate thousands of Americans who were being deliberately left in Vietnam until the last minute.

The promise of US troops was designed to keep Theu's regime in power as long as possible. This maneuver, however, seems to have collapsed. The American people will not tolerate any pretext for sending troops back in, and the military rout in Vietnam is complete.

## THE LAST ACT

The last several weeks of fighting have pointed up the central fact of the war in Vietnam. There is no one in the country who will fight to defend the US-backed Saigon government. There is, in fact, practically no one who wants to see it survive.

Thieu and his generals remain in



Cambodians greet Khmer Rouge. US is defeated in Cambodia—Vietnam is next.

power only so long as US funds pour into Saigon to line their own pockets and those of their hangers-on. For years, their only program for South Vietnam has been police terror, backed up by US money and military might.

The masses of people in Vietnam—workers, peasants, and refugees who have fled from the fighting or from marauding Saigon Army

troops—want the war to end.

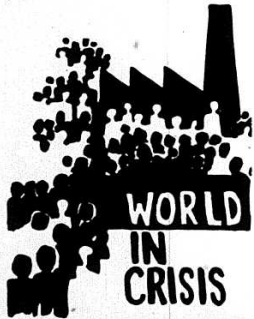
They want the United States driven out of Vietnam. The overwhelming majority also want to see their country re-united.

What is happening today in Vietnam is the last act of a war of national liberation. The imperialists who have tried for decades to hang onto Vietnam are suffering their last defeat.

The war in Vietnam has shown

that the most powerful imperialist power in the world, the US government, can be defeated. It was defeated because the masses of Vietnamese people fought against it—and because its own people turned against the war.

The tragedy is that this war has lasted so long—and that the imperialist system in Vietnam destroyed so many millions of people before it was smashed. □



# PORTUGAL ...will workers take power?

The Portuguese working class is now face to face with destiny. Its struggles will determine the outcome of the greatest revolutionary crisis to hit any industrial capitalist country in decades.

The decisive question—which class will rule Portugal—is now being fought out.

So far, there is no armed civil war in the streets. For the most part, things appear calm.

But the battle for power is raging nonetheless—in the factories, in the army, and within the military government. Every plant, every big country estate, every military barracks is a front line in the struggle.

## Companies Nationalized

Since the attempted right-wing coup of March 11, Portugal has been hurtling down the road to revolution.

The government's decree of April 16 marks another watershed. Oil, steel, transport and shipping companies were nationalized. The banks and insurance companies had been taken over by the government immediately after March 11.

The next companies to be nationalized will be the critical manufacturing, chemical, construction and enormously powerful pharmaceutical corporations.

The power of big domestic capital in Portugal is being broken, bit by bit.

The military government and the Communist Party control the state machinery and are taking over the economy. At the same time they

are taking steps toward suppressing the working class.

Ever since last April there have been numerous actions by rank and file workers—from militant wage demands to unauthorized purges of factory managers. Many have been denounced by the Communist Party as "plunging into the hands of the fascists."

Now the government has gone further. Along with the nationalizations, austerity measures have been announced. The Prime Minister has demanded that "everyone must work harder and better."

To meet mass working class pressure, the government is setting price controls and promising to create jobs for some of the 300,000 unemployed. But it also appears that wages will be controlled as well.

## MILITARY RULE

The week before the government decreed that all real political power for the next five years will rest with the military. The Communist Party leaders enthusiastically supported this measure, and helped introduce it.

Military government in Portugal will ensure the Communist Party's growing political influence in the government. It will guarantee the full support of the government for the Communist Party's grip on the unions and the organized working class.

The present government in Portugal is a middle-class military regime which relies heavily on the support of the Communist Party. It is rapidly breaking its ties with Portuguese capital.

It is also taking the first steps toward re-organizing the economy along new lines—even though it would take many months, even years to complete this process.

Its strategy is becoming clear—to consolidate its power, and step by step to take over Portuguese industry from the top. But the

Communist Party and its military allies have nothing in common with socialist revolution, or putting power into the hands of workers in the factories.

If they retain control, the nationalized industries will not be vehicles for liberating the working class. They will become the base for a new bureaucracy to rule and exploit the workers.

There is still another question, however. Will Portugal's revolutionary workers let the power they have won in the factories be taken away from them? □

## Factory Occupations

Workers do have some power in Portugal today—but not in the existing government. Workers' power in Portugal today lies in the factories.

In dozens of occupied plants, revolutionary workers have demanded that their industries be nationalized to prevent layoffs and capitalist sabotage. However, nationalization is not the end of the struggle. It is only the beginning.

Before the March 11 coup, there was a wave of worker factory occupations. Now there is a deluge.

Workers in over 400 factories in the Lisbon area have built a joint workers' council, which has called actions against the wishes of the Communist Party. In the army, soldiers' rank and file committees have begun creating links between one unit and another. In some units, they obey only their own elected officers.

Examples of factory occupations multiply every day. Workers in several huge banks are demanding control over the banks' operations, refusing to leave it to army-appointed administrative boards.

The Lisbon water company, a Firestone factory, a supermarket chain were just a few of the work



Portuguese workers demonstrate for unity against the right wing, which attempted a coup in March.

places seized by workers' pickets in one week. Luxury homes and mansions are seized and turned into day care centers, workers' housing or revolutionary headquarters.

The key center of the struggle in Portugal now will be the industries which have been nationalized. Already, elected workers' committees are running production in dozens of individual factories.

These committees can be linked together, to spread the fight to every factory and to the countryside, to bring the entire running of the economy under direct workers' control.

## REVOLUTION

The government's strategy will be to keep workers in separate plants and industries separated from each other. Later, the government will dismantle the factory committees and the workers' control over the running of the plants.

But if the struggles for workers' control in thousands of factories throughout the country can be brought together, they can lead directly to workers' revolution, which can challenge the military

rulers for state power.

The joint workers' council in Lisbon, called the Interempresa, could become a crucial unifying force. But a revolutionary leadership will be needed to realize this potential. If the battle for workers' power and socialism is to be won, a revolutionary party to lead the fight must be built very quickly.

The revolutionary left is powerful, but divided. It will survive only if it creates a party that will call on workers to rely only on themselves and on revolutionary rank and file soldiers—not the promises of the Communist Party and the army officers.

The revolutionary party would fight to unite the factory committees into powerful workers' councils to take over control of all production and distribution.

Every factory occupation, every fight for higher wages in nationalized industries now run by the government, is now tied to the struggle for power.

There is no alternative left. If the socialist revolution is organized today, the power of Portuguese workers have won after 50 years of fascism will never be stolen from them again. □



# Auto SUB Fund Bust—Short Week Pay Lost

by Bill Hastings

DETROIT—Fifty thousand Chrysler workers learned last week that both employed and unemployed workers are suffering from the depression, and need to fight it together.

The unemployed were hit when the Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund ran

out. There will be no more payments for months to come for 45,000 laid off Chrysler employees.

But the end of the SUB fund hurts those still working. When the SUB fund ended, so did the short work week benefits. The auto companies had to pay these benefits when a UAW member works less than 40 hours in any week. It amounted to 80% of regular pay.

The companies must still pay short work week benefits when they schedule short weeks in advance. But when they send workers home due to parts shortages or breakdowns, they no longer have to pay. Any plant manager who wants to keep his job will simply stop scheduling short weeks in advance. Instead, they will manufacture excuses of parts shortages or other such problems at the last minute.

## SENT HOME EARLY

Previously, Chrysler thought twice about sending the workforce home early due to parts shortages or breakdowns. Now it is to their benefit to do so, and the workers have no protection against this.

Some workers at the Mound Road Engine plant have already been sent home early—and their paychecks will be short on Friday.

When the SUB fund ran dry, Doug Fraser, UAW Vice President for Chrysler, said that there was nothing the union could do. If he makes similar statements about the short work week payments, we can expect to see Chrysler take further advantage of the unemployment. They will start to abuse all sorts of rights, whether in the contract or based on past practice.

But in this new attack, Chrysler may actually have helped to unite auto workers. Both need to be fighting to restore the SUB fund, which also means guaranteeing the short work week payments. □

# Steubenville Steel Strike Settled

STUEBENVILLE, Ohio—The wildcat strike at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel works here has been settled. The strike began when railway engineers reported off sick in a dispute involving job assignments and classification. The company fired seven engineers.

At one point more than half of USW Local 1190's 5400 members were off "sick" in support of the engineers. They returned when a Jefferson County Judge ruled that Wheeling-Pittsburgh could not fire the engineers. The strike lasted one week.

The company still claims the right to suspend individuals who reported off sick, though at this point there has been no discipline.

The job assignment which led to the dispute in the first place is still in arbitration. In the meantime, however, most militants feel they have won a partial victory and taken a step forward.

In the last strike at Steubenville, a wildcat in 1969, several workers were fired. This time, the engineers' jobs were defended, and the rank and file was strengthened. □

# IRISH WORKERS FIGHT WAGE CONTROLS, TOO

Irish workers are again fighting Ireland's version of wage controls—the National Wage Agreement.

The Agreement is between the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (similar to the AFL-CIO) and the national employers' association. It holds all wage increases below a fixed amount.

Under the last two National Wage Agreements, Irish workers have suffered a declining standard of living due to Ireland's mammoth inflation. The proposed new Agreement is even worse.

## Students Protest School Rules

BROOKLYN, NY—Two hundred angry students at Prospect Heights High School marched out in protest against new school rules. The new rules required passes to go anywhere in the school. Students who accumulated a "high" number of unexcused absences would be failed.

Robert Couche, the school principal, said students also wanted the right to smoke in the cafeteria as do

the teachers, but this was rejected outright.

Couche stated, "We can't run a school like that." Couche is apparently determined not to let the students have any influence whatever over school conditions.

But the student marchers are equally determined not to let him get away with eroding their rights. □

# DAT SUN



Members of CLUW and UFW supporters joined UAW strikers on the picket line in front of Progress, Oregon Datsun parts warehouse.

# Datsun Strike Ends

PORTLAND, Or.—Members of UAW Local 492 on strike against the Nissan Motor Company parts plant in Progress, Oregon, returned to work with a new contract April 14.

The strike, which began January 20, centered on demands for wage parity with other members of the local working at nearby GM and Chrysler plants, and the favorable settlement of all outstanding grievances.

Nissan refused to bargain in good faith and hired scabs to replace the 35 picketing clerical and office workers. It was clear

then that the main issue was the very existence of the workers' union rights and jobs.

A prejudiced NLRB ruling blocked the strikers' attempts to spread the strike to dealerships and shipping docks. Their International offered no support.

## BOYCOTT

However, members of the Portland Organizing Committee of CLUW, supporters of the United Farm Workers, the Portland Rank and File Committee, and other militant unionists began a boycott

picket of local Datsun dealerships in support of the strike.

When the picketing spread to dealerships in other cities, Nissan agreed to negotiate.

The final contract was short of the original demands, and some previously won conditions were compromised. Yet it is a victory. The Nissan workers have returned to work far better organized and more militant than before the strike began.

For the members of UAW Local 492, the fight does not end with the signing of a new contract. □

# Miners Win Victory

by Cal Williams

Wildcat strikes which have involved up to 10,000 miners in Ohio and Northern West Virginia have apparently been settled, and the miners have won.

Nearly two weeks ago, the UMWA and the North American Coal Company (NACCO) announced a new agreement, giving the miners a clear cut victory.

The dispute had involved the assignment of safety observers to roof bolting machines. According to latest agreement, there will be safety observers on duty at all times the machines are in operation.

## SEVEN WEEKS

The strikes lasted nearly seven

weeks, despite efforts by both the union and the company to get the miners back to work.

At one point, the union was subject to fines of as much as \$135,000 a day, as a result of Federal Court injunctions.

The strikes would have ended nearly two weeks earlier if Consol (Consolidation Coal) had not announced disciplinary action against 26 miners at its Rose Valley, Ohio mine for alleged picketing in support of the NACCO miners.

This action led to even more strikes, and the possibility of a general miners' strike in the district.

At this point, Consol has agreed to limit its action to four-day suspensions with the miners staying off one day per week.

While many miners deeply resent accepting any discipline, it seems likely that most will return to work this week.

## VICTORY

In spite of these suspensions, however, the settlement represents a great victory for rank and file miners. In fact, Consol's actions were probably calculated to undercut the miner's triumph.

The victory was entirely due to the initiative and strength of the rank and file miners. They refused to bow to company threats and they ignored the advice of their union leaders, who consistently argued for compromise.

Refusing to compromise on safety, they stayed out, and they won. □

# New York CLUW Holds Hearings On Layoffs

by Joan McKiernan

Members of NY CLUW voted recently to hold public hearings on how the economic crisis affects women. This will be the first action in NY CLUW's campaign to fight the mass layoffs. The hearings are scheduled for May 18.

They are intended to bring testimony from rank and file women explaining how the economic crisis is affecting them.

CLUW will present to public officials the demands of its National Coordinating Committee as their program to fight layoffs. The education committee of CLUW is going to study the general effects of the crisis as well as find out if there is any harassment, productiv-

ity drives, or overtime while there are layoffs where women work. It was also decided that the committee should investigate what is happening to women in formerly all male industries and look for places where women are in struggle against the layoffs. The chapter also voted to support the upcoming march against racism in Boston.

## PROBLEMS

The potential for NY CLUW is enormous, but there are problems with the present leadership.

The executive board had done very little to build the meeting so there were only about 300 people at the meeting, which is small for a chapter of 684.

Many of these were brought by bureaucrats just to vote in elections. These women who aren't interested in building CLUW left as soon as the election results were announced.

Their early departure was one reason that the motions for actions around unemployment were able to pass.

Rank and file women do have a chance now to move NY CLUW forward. They can get involved in building the public hearings and move on to support women who are fighting the layoffs.

Well publicized hearings attended by rank and file women can do much to start CLUW on the road as an organization that is going to get actively involved in the struggles of rank and file women. □

# labor notes

by Jim Woodward



Members of the Communication Workers of America might be interested in the new contract 10,000 non-CWA telephone workers in British Columbia, Canada have won. If the conciliator's recommendations are approved, they will get a wage increase of 18.5% this year and another 14% next year. Current base rates are \$7.21 an hour for installers and repairmen and \$4.75 for operators. There's no reason it can't be done here.

UAW leaders, faced with the collapse of the Chrysler and General Motors Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds, say that SUB was never intended "to meet a catastrophic situation like this." But Walter Reuther had a different line when he sold the plan to auto workers. In 1967 he said it brought auto workers to "within an economic inch" of a guaranteed annual wage. You might try telling the landlord you're only an economic inch away from paying the rent.

TV and newspapers gave big coverage to what they said was a convoy of miners in Washington April 10. The group was protesting strip mining legislation in Congress which calls for stricter reclamation standards. Actually, the men in the group were not miners at all, but coal operators, local businessmen, and independent contractors who don't want to pay to rebuild the land they are devastating. There were also some non-union miners who had been coerced to go along on the expedition by promises of a room at the Hilton and \$50 a day expense money and threats of losing their jobs. The United Mine Workers, which considers strip mining a "divisive issue," took no action.

I.W. Abel, president of the Steel Workers, is sending a representative to Britain to peddle the virtues of his no-strike deal. Abel is sending Bruce Thrasher, an international rep who was active in setting up the USW's productivity program. Thrasher will meet with representatives from the British steel industry and the trade union movement. But it's not too likely British trade union leaders will be able to give away the right to strike like Abel did.

United Steel Workers District 15 has gone on record for a 30-hour work week with no loss in pay. Joseph Oderich, the district director and now an Abel supporter, said the union would "undertake a vigorous program to make the six-hour day a reality." He didn't explain how he intends to get the steel companies to cut the work day by 25% without the right to strike.

Steel Workers District 38 director Frank McKee is trying to undercut the defense of Juan Chacon and Israel Romero. Chacon and Romero are officers of USWA Local 890. They were fired by Kennecott Copper for leading a strike last year after an almost unanimous strike vote by the local's membership.

McKee recently sent a letter to District 38 members attacking the two local leaders. And while the union is officially arguing their grievance, McKee has engineered the selection of Leo Kotin as arbitrator. Kotin is known as a "hanging judge" in arbitration cases involving rank and file leaders.

Public employee unions in California, which currently do not have collective bargaining rights, are attempting to get a law passed to grant them such rights. But they are so anxious to get something passed that they have indicated they are willing to give up the limited right-to-strike provision which the first draft of the law contained.

The administrators at Jewish Hospital in St. Louis are illegally trying to prevent workers there from distributing union literature in non-work areas. The hospital's personnel director recently barred an employee from passing out leaflets at the elevator leading to the employee parking garage. He said that was a "public area" and no literature could be distributed in "public areas." A rank and file group is fighting back by publicizing the administration's action throughout the hospital and by filing unfair labor practice charges.

Joseph Rauh has a reputation as a bright, hard-working lawyer who has only the interests of his clients at heart. Besides being a prominent liberal Democratic Party lawyer, he has handled the legal work for reform union candidates like Arnold Miller of the miners and Ed Sadlowski of the steel workers.

Well it turns out that Rauh isn't quite so self-sacrificing as his image has it. After Miller successfully defeated Tony Boyle in the UMW, Rauh presented his bill for \$700,000. The new union leadership refused to pay such ransom, and Rauh finally had to settle for \$125,000. Now Rauh and three other lawyers are suing the USW for a minimum of \$114,550 in legal fees for representing Sadlowski. Rauh says that's at the poverty level rate of only \$100 an hour for three of the lawyers and \$50 an hour for the fourth.

"I did not say 'goddamit,'" said Leonard Woodcock. Or at least, he says, "I am reasonable certain I did not say this at the IAM Legislative Conference." The UAW President was apparently upset by the way he was quoted in the UAW Washington Report of February 3rd. He asked for the expletive to be deleted, or at least corrected, in a subsequent issue of the union's newsletter. We wish he was as concerned about the promise he made at the same Legislative Conference to bring a quarter million auto workers to the streets of Washington this spring to fight for jobs.

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

## Philadelphia UAW

# Ranks Say No to Rizzo

PHILADELPHIA—United Auto Workers Local 1851 has taken issue with their union's endorsement of Mayor Frank Rizzo's campaign for re-election. At their April 12 general membership meeting, the local passed a resolution rejecting the Philadelphia area UAW-CAP Council's decision to support Rizzo.

In a letter sent to all the major Philadelphia area newspapers, the membership said they rejected Rizzo because of his racist and anti-labor record. The resolution noted that Rizzo's support was based among "labor bureaucrats" and that he "has consistently failed to stand up for the interests of rank and file workers."

It said Rizzo has "failed to deal with the declining quality of life in most of the city's neighborhoods." "In particular," it continued, "we feel support for Mayor Rizzo is a slap in the face of the Philadelphia black community, but in truth means that neither white nor black working class areas will receive the attention they need."

### "LAW AND ORDER"

Frank Rizzo, who has received national attention as a "law and order" candidate, has always masqueraded as a friend of working people while actually representing the interests of business in the Philadelphia area.

He has won the support of the AFL-CIO Council, the Teamsters and the UAW by wooing large sections of the labor bureaucracy. He has freely handed out patronage jobs to these people, making himself invaluable to what are, in many cases, the most racist and reactionary leaders in the Philadelphia labor movement.

He has this labor support despite his record on the 50-day Philadelphia teachers' strike of 1973. As mayor, he led the opposition to the strike. 800 pickets were arrested and fines of \$10,000 a day were imposed. In protest, the Central Labor Council called for a general strike which was cancelled only because of a last-minute settlement.

It would be misleading not to realize that many workers in Philadelphia, particularly white workers, are still under the illusion that Rizzo truly represents their

## Students to March

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ—A rally to protest state cutbacks of services was held on the Rutgers University campus here on April 9. 200 people heard speakers from on- and off-campus organizations agree on the need for students to join working people in the April 26 AFL-CIO rally in Washington, D.C. to demand jobs for everyone.

Speaking for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Council, Archer Call encouraged the students to come to Washington, since students will be needing jobs that won't be there when they graduate.

The students' group that organized the rally, the Coalition to fight the Cutbacks, is involved now in organizing busses from Rutgers to Washington, D.C. for the April 26 day of job demands.

Florence Feinstein

interests. But support for Rizzo is not total, as the Local 1851 resolution shows. His support is certainly not as great as it was in 1971.

### NO ALTERNATIVE

Local 1851 noted that their opposition to Rizzo does not imply "support for any other candidate." Rizzo's opponent is Lou Hill, a

wealthy Democratic state legislator.

Since the labor bureaucracy has refused to break with Rizzo and build an alternative—a labor party which would represent the workers of the city—it's quite likely Rizzo will be able to retain his office for another four years. But the Local 1851 resolution shows that an opposition to Rizzo is both needed and possible.



"... support for Mayor Rizzo is a slap in the face of the Philadelphia black community," said statement from UAW Local 1851. The area UAW-CAP council gave the slap of support.

# U.S. Auto Giants Return to Chile

Ford, GM and Chrysler corporations have made bids to expand and modernize Chile's auto industry. This isn't the first time these companies have intervened in that country.

Several of the auto companies abruptly withdrew from Chile after Allende's government reformed the Chilean Labor Code to provide increased rights for workers and unions in 1971.

But that government was overthrown in a rightwing coup and replaced by the military junta that rules Chile today. And in today's Chile unions are illegal.

This is more than just a lucky break for the auto companies, which can make higher profits where unions are outlawed and workers have no rights.

It has now been proven that when the US firms pulled out of Allende's Chile, they were doing it to "destabilize" the economy—and make way for the CIA-directed coup.

Plans for a world boycott and protest of the auto plan are under way. They are being led by a committee formed to force investigation of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) for its participation in planning the coup. The AFL-CIO is a member of AIFLD.

Members of the committee have contacted the offices of the exiled leader of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT), the Chilean national union federation.

This article is based on information from Rodney Larson.



Before the coup... Chilean workers play cards in Ford plant they seized when management closed it. Now unions are illegal in Chile, auto companies returning.



## NEW FROM PLUTO PRESS

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## Steel Company Forced To Bargain

McMINNVILLE, Or.—The workers at Cascade Steel Rolling Mills in this small town southwest of Portland knew well in advance that when their contract came up at the end of December they would have a fight on their hands.

The company had let it be known as early as last July that they were planning to "starve the union out." Even before the old contract expired, the company had begun to lay workers off.

Claiming a slowdown in market demand, they laid off the entire workforce and ran the mill on a reduced production schedule using extra supervisory personnel they had just happened to have hired.

After ten weeks, the company made a take-it-or-leave-it "offer" and tried to call workers back to work. The workers unanimously voted against the offer and decided to strike on March 12.

When the company advertised for scabs, the strikers, aided by steelworkers from Portland, threw up a 200-strong picket line in front of the plant.

Only a court injunction limiting the number of picketers allowed the scabs to enter the plant.

### NEGOTIATIONS

With new orders coming in and green help in the plant, however, it was not long before Cascade was sitting down at the bargaining table with the strikers.

Negotiations continue as the union, USW 8378, tries to win the same wage other workers receive for producing steel; a COL, a SUB fund, and medical benefits.

They also want to end a whole set of arbitrary company rules that had

been used to harass the workers. The strikers know that Cascade's union-busting is only part of the attempt by the local business community to keep McMinnville non-union and low wage as it changes from a farm and college town to an industrial center.

There are a few other changes the strikers have in mind for McMinnville—and they are willing to fight for them! □



## Cruising Pickets Stop Taxi Scabs

MADISON, Wi.—There are no Yellow Cabs on the streets of Madison these days. Yellow Cab drivers, members of Teamsters 695, have been waging an effective strike here since their contract expired on March 31.

The company's offer had included a substantial wage cut, and revocation of the health plan. Drivers demanded a supplement to workman's compensation and more flexible schedules.

### CRUISING PICKETS

The striking drivers have maintained 24-hour picket lines at the main building as well as cruising squads of pickets. There has been nearly 100% attendance of strikers on the lines.

The company's attempts to recruit scabs have been remarkable unsuccessful. Most scabs were turned away at the lines; those that went out were followed by the cruising pickets and persuaded to return.

### TEAMSTERS FOR DEMOCRACY

Striking drivers maintained shifts at the bus station and airport, dissuading customers from riding with Yellow and offering free rides to elderly or sick customers.

The strike at Yellow is the result of years of work to organize the company. Much of the organizing was done by Teamsters for Democracy (TFD), a rank and file group in 695.

TFD was instrumental in bringing suit against the IBT when 695 was put into trusteeship two years ago. They were able to force the IBT to hold elections for leadership of the local. It is this kind of rank and file organization and militancy that has forced the bureaucrats of 695 to support the strike at Yellow.

### SPIRITS HIGH

The spirit remains high on the lines, even though the company has recently gone to court to try to get an injunction against the strike on the grounds of harassment of scabs.

A woman driver pointed out, "The real issue here isn't money. The owner has already lost more money from the strike than we wanted to begin with. That jerk would rather run this company into the ground than admit that he has to deal with us."

Another driver agreed, "The real issue in this strike is who runs the company. We know we do, and we're proving it." □

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## Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

# Courts and Class Struggle

(Last of a Series)

Many movements have tried to use the courts, the National Labor Relations Board or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to get some justice. More often than not, it doesn't work. These legal institutions exist solely to protect capitalist property. Cases are tied up for months and years, more are lost than won. Workers' movements that rely on government institutions seldom win any real victories.

### DIRECT ACTION

When a mass movement is engaged in direct action the government is more willing to grant concessions to workers or oppressed groups. Militant action has won more court cases than any Philadelphia lawyer.

The government and its courts are the product of class struggle. That struggle forces the rulers to construct a way of holding the lower classes in check. The government, including the army, police and secret police is their way. Naturally, the ruling class designs the government to suit its needs and not those of other classes.

But the government has to have the appearance of a neutral body. People are not fools, so the ruling class must actually make some concessions from time to time to preserve the basic system of class rule. So, occasionally individual employers are slapped on the wrist for being too cheap with their employees or for being too racist or sexist. But it is only this or that employer, and only over this or that small part of exploitation, discrimination or oppression.

### CLASS INFLUENCE

What the capitalist class does—and gets away with—depends on the strength and aggressiveness of the workers' movement. The better organized and more powerful the movement is the more it will win from the capitalists and their government.

A strong, well-organized workers' movement, however, cannot rely on capitalist justice, capitalist good will, or capitalist legality. It should be independent of ruling class influence.

Every trade unionist knows that it would be folly to allow the bosses into union membership. Yet, even good militants think they can outsmart the bosses by relying on various government agencies or smart lawyers. Top labor leaders don't have influence in the Democratic Party because they are nice to those capitalist politicians. They have that little bit of influence because the politicians, bosses, and judges are afraid the labor leaders may stop being nice. Capitalist government, like capitalist rule in the work place, could not last one day if the

masses of workers didn't go along with the program. In Canada, workers have been striking aggressively for the last couple of years. Canadian workers have kept their wages ahead of prices. In the US labor leaders have politely begged for this or that improvement. Strike activity has been relatively low. The result? Wages in the US have dropped back to the 1965 level. Ten years wiped out.

When the ranks of labor stop being nice, stop going along with the program, the capitalists, politicians and judges do make concessions. The more powerful and aggressive the workers' action, the more they will give away just to keep the system intact. In a period of economic decline, however, the capitalists have less to give away. That means that the workers must be more organized and aggressive.

### CHANNELS

The whole liberal strategy of winning things by going through channels, sticking to the rules and "presenting the facts" is a fraud. In periods like today, it takes massive, sustained action just to win reforms.

In Italy, the economy is in complete bankruptcy. Industrial workers have conducted mass strikes and revolutionary demonstrations since 1969. In spite of an inflation rate worse than the US, Italian industrial workers have kept their wages ahead of prices. No begging, no "presenting the facts," no labor statesmanship. Mass militant action against the bosses and their government. Action that relies on the strength of the workers.

American workers have a history of militancy. Like Italian or Canadian workers of today, American workers in the past were able to defend their living standards by militant action—in good times and bad. Even with leaders who are more concerned with the health of the companies than that of the workers, American workers have used their unions to fight and win. But there is also a deep-rooted faith in the capitalist system. This faith leads many workers to rely on the government or some other force. Too many workers in the US have not learned what their Canadian or Italian brothers and sisters already know. The working class must rely on itself.

In the class struggle, the working class must be able to be tactically flexible. Workers must be able to outmaneuver the bosses. Like any war, the class war—even in its smallest day to day skirmishes—can't be won just by frontal assaults. Workers need to snip and harass like any army. Government agencies or court suits can sometimes be used to harass the bosses. But it is a fatal mistake to confuse harassment with a winning strategy. The strategy is independent, militant mass action. □



American workers have a history of militancy. Detroit auto workers fight against Chrysler's plan to close Jefferson Assembly.

# April 26th

# RALLY FOR JOBS

by Gay Semel

On April 26th over one hundred thousand workers will come to Washington from factories, mines, trucking barns, schools and offices across the country to rally for jobs. They will travel hundreds of miles in buses, cars and trains.

The rally, called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, will be the largest demonstration by working people since the thirties.

Hit with real unemployment of well over 10% and a rapidly declining living standard, rank and file workers are up against the wall. They are angry. They want action.

Tragically, the most they will get from the labor bureaucrats on April 26th, will be words.

The labor leaders have called this demonstration, not out of a desire to fight, but because of pressure from their increasingly militant rank and file.

At the same time, they want to contain and control that militancy. They are as frightened of the potential of a hundred thousand

angry workers marching on the capital as are the bosses and the government.

So frightened, in fact, that George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has refused his endorsement and has continually pressured to have the rally called off.

The rally itself has been planned for inside RFK stadium rather than a march on the capital, so that the participants can be controlled.

Before the rally, and under protest from Meany and many of the rally's planners, a coalition of New York and New Jersey trade unions will march from the Capitol to the stadium.

Only those wearing official patches, issued by the unions will be allowed into the stadium.

With 10 million unemployed, the labor leaders' biggest concern is making sure that only the "authorized" jobless attend their rally.

Those lucky enough to get into the 55,000 capacity stadium will be barraged with an endless stream of talk from electioneering Democratic Party bigwigs, and bankrupt

labor officials pretending they are doing something.

For example: featured speakers will include I.W. Abel, president of the USW (United Steelworkers Union). He is responsible for giving away the steelworkers' right to strike until 1980. Unemployment is already 10% in steel and steelworkers have lost their most powerful weapon.

Glenn E. Watts, head of the CWA (Communications Workers of America) will also speak. The CWA has done nothing about the thousands of phone workers already laid off. These are the biggest layoffs in

the telephone industry since the 1930's.

Along with these shining examples of labor leadership will be various Democratic Party hopefuls and has-beens, including Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Senator Richard Schweiker (D-Pa.).

They will blame the Ford Administration for the crisis and promise a better deal with a Democratic Party president in 1976.

## NOTHING NEW

The message isn't new. Like a broken record that repeats at two year intervals, prior to elections, they've said it all before.

# BUILD THE

# RAN

There is an alternative to the do-nothing speechifying offered by the trade union bureaucrats.

A Rank and File Coalition of organizations and individual militants has been formed and is organizing its own contingent at the march preceding the rally.

The Coalition's leaflet states: "The April 26 Rank and File Coalition was organized because we refuse to accept this demonstration as sufficient. We demand real action, now and in the future."

"We are rank and file trade unionists—steelworkers, communications workers, teachers, teamsters, autoworkers, and many more. We are militant workers who are already fighting in our unions and who will continue when we return home."

Some of the leading groups behind the formation of the Coalition are:

• **Concerned Rank and File Teamsters (CRAFT)** is a newly formed opposition group in IBT Local 249, Pittsburgh. At the local's general membership meeting April 20, CRAFT members won Local 249's endorsement for the Rank and File Coalition.

• **Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union** is a rank and file opposition group in the Chicago

Truck Drivers Union.

The Concerned Truckers are involved in a campaign to win back jobs of 230 laid-off Republic car-loading workers (see page 16).

• **Rank and File Team (RAFT)** is a national rank and file group in the steel workers union which stands for militant democratic unionism. RAFT has run national opposition candidates against I.W. Abel and his sell-out policies. At the last steelworkers convention RAFT led in organizing opposition delegates.

RAFT has led the fight against the ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) which gave up steelworkers' right to strike until 1980.

RAFT has just begun a campaign to fight lay-offs in steel (see page 1).

• **The United National Caucus (UNC)** is a national opposition group in the UAW and is leading the fight against the massive layoffs in auto.

The UNC was formed in 1967 over the issues of union democracy and the 1967 contract fight. Recently the UNC helped organize the 1973 contract rejection by the Ford Skilled Trades, the fight against overtime and the militant floor demonstration at the recent UAW

In '74 their promised solution was a Democratic Party-controlled Congress.

That year the Democratic Party won its largest majority in Congress in over 20 years. Still the economy declines. Still more and more workers are being laid off.

The rally will end with the labor leaders demanding things they won't fight for and the politicians making promises they won't fill.

100,000 frustrated workers will then be herded back into buses, cars and trains and sent back to the unemployment lines. The labor leaders and politicians will hope that having vented their anger, workers will now keep quiet.

## LIST OF SPONSORS

### ORGANIZATIONS

**Rank and File Team (RAFT)**, United Steel Workers; **Unit'd National Caucus (UNC)**, United Auto Workers; **IBT Local 249**, Joint Council 40, Pittsburgh; **Alliance of Concerned Teachers**, DFT Local 231, Detroit; **United Action Caucus**, CWA local 1101, New York; **Concerned Rank and File Teamsters**, IBT Local 249, Pittsburgh; **Concerned Truckers For a Democratic Union**, Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Chicago; **Rank and File Caucus**, AFT 2334; **Workers for Collective Progress**, Louisville, Ky.; **UNC Mack Ave. Stamping**, UAW Local 212, Detroit; **Gear and Axle Justice Committee**, UAW Local 235, Detroit; **Alliance of Concerned Teamsters**, IBT Local 135, Indianapolis; **Rank and File Coalition**, UAW Local 6, Chicago; **United Action**, CWA Local 10310, Louisville; **AFT Local 3220**, Madison.

### INDIVIDUALS

(organizations listed for identification only)

**Ed Mann**, Pres., USW Local 1462, RAFT; **Jordan Sims**, Pres., UAW Local 961, Co-Chairman UNC; **Pete Kelly**, UAW Local 160, Co-Chairman UNC; **Anna Palmer**, APWU Local 164, Ohio State Conventor; **CLUW**; **Edie Fox**, UAW Local 3, Exec. Board UNC; **John Barbero**, Vice President, USW Local 1462, RAFT; **Stephanie Batey**, Detroit Federation of Teachers (AFT Local 231), Alliance of Concerned Teachers; **Harold Kincaid**, Steward, CWA Local 10310, United Action; **Bob Grant**, Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union; **Sidney Lens**, SEIU, Local 329, Author; **Vivian Kinnebrew**, National Federation of Licensed Practical Nurses, National Coordinating Committee, CLUW.

**Doug Stevens**, UAW Local 595, Linden Auto Workers (LAW); **Rosalyn Baxandall**, Steward, New York State United Teachers, Long Island CLUW; **Ellen Dickner**, Distributive Workers of America District 65, NY CLUW Exec. Board; **Don Cox**, IBT Local 249 Committeeman, Concerned Rank and File Teamsters; **Joanne Steiner**, IBT Local 249, CRAFT; **Bob Faglione**, IBT Local 249, CRAFT; **Barbara Winslow**, AFT Local 1941, Secretary, Cleveland CLUW; **Ken Doran**, USW Local 1462, Secretary, RAFT; **Lester Williams**, IBT Local 407, TURF; **Ron Banks**, UAW Local 22, Cadillac UNC; **Enid Eckstein**, Recording Secretary, Unemployment Committee, UAW Local 51, UNC.

**John Anderson**, former Pres., UAW Local 15, UNC; **Francis Burns**, NY Taxi Drivers Local 3036, Taxi Rank and File Coalition, National Coordinating Committee, CLUW; **Tom Robbins**, NY Taxi Drivers Local 3036, Taxi Rank and File Coalition; **Nancy Romer**, AFT Local 2334, Rank and File Caucus; **Harry Putnam**, UAW Local 6, Secretary Rank and File Coalition; **George Feldman**, Steward CWA Local 1101, United Action; **Jim Cook**, IBT Local 407, TURF; **Lous Pall**, Committeeman IBT Local 249, CRAFT; **Mel Packer**, IBT Local 249, CRAFT; **Tom Tucke**, IBT Local 249, CRAFT; **Danise McFadden**, IBT Local 249, CRAFT; **Jeff Eichason**, IBT Local 135, Alliance of Concerned Teamsters.

**Dan LaBotz**, Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union; **Fred Hobby**, Workers for Collective Progress, Louisville; **Wendy Weinberg**, UAW Local 235, Justice Committee; **Dennis Shattuck**, Rec. Sec., UAW Local 1851; **Todd Smith**, Rec. Sec., IUE Local 777, Workers of Westinghouse; **Mark Levitan**, UAW Local 3, Chairman, UNC Unemployed Committee; **Jack Weinberg**, UAW Local 212, Editor Network; **Tom Mullen**, Pres., AFT Local 280, Grassroots.

"It's not just a matter of supporting the April 26th demonstration. Sure, that's important. We have to have a strong presence there to make it a militant protest and not a bureaucrats' convention. But we are interested in building a movement across the country—no question about that."

"This is preparation for the time when all the rank and file groups can sit down together in a convention and get organized. We don't have to look for the issues, they are already there. But we have to take them on together. On the 26th we will be saying to every militant worker... 'You don't have to fight by yourself.'"

—Bob Grant, Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union, Chicago Truck Drivers Union

"I'm going to this rally to demonstrate our need for jobs for everyone. We need some real mass action to make our union leadership act in a responsible manner, and do what is necessary to produce full employment in steel and all other industries."

—Ken Doran, Secretary, Rank and File Team (RAFT), United Steel Workers

rally in Washington. UNC candidates at national conventions have been the only opposition to the UAW administration.

The UNC has organized a city-wide committee of unemployed auto workers in Detroit. The unemployed committee has held demonstrations at Solidarity House and publishes a newsletter, "Hard Times."

• **United Action (UA)** is a rank and file group in the CWA in New York. It has been in existence since the seven-month New York telephone strike in 1971.

During that time UA fought for militant action to win the strike. Since then UA has fought for union democracy and a militant policy.

UA is helping other rank and file groups get started elsewhere in the CWA and publishes a national newsletter, "Long Distance."

"Long Distance" has been publishing the truth about lay-offs in telephone and demanding that the CWA fight.

• **Workers for Collective Progress** is a group of rank and file black workers in Louisville, Ken-



Ken Doran





Edie Fox

"This demonstration is the first action of this kind by the AFL-CIO since the 30's. The government is doing virtually nothing while the situation continues to get worse. It will take massive actions by the workers themselves to move the Powers That Be. This March on Washington on April the 26th is only the beginning and all unemployed should join it.

"The UNC has been advocating such actions. We demanded that the UAW join in this demonstration on a nation-wide basis, not just in one eastern region. The largest UAW group of unemployed are in Michigan and the UAW has excluded them from participation. The UNC also called for a one day labor holiday to back up the demands for jobs of the demonstrators.

"We have been pressing tight along for Local Union Unemployed Committees that will be links in a chain of the organized unemployed prepared to act on its own behalf."

—Edie Fox, United National Caucus, UAW

"I see something is wrong with the Teamsters. I know other Teamsters are gonna be in Washington and I want to find out what's going on in other places. I want to tie into the whole national rank and file Teamster thing.

"Other trade union activists should go to Washington too—we've all got to get together to take this situation back into our hands!"

—Cornelius Morris, Teamsters Local 783.



Cornelius Morris

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# RANK AND

tucky. Members are from various industries, including trucking, auto, hospitals and teaching. Workers for Collective Progress is concerned with fighting racist harassment on the job and taking up community issues.

## **JOB SONS**

The Coalition plans to carry its own signs and banners. The program of the Coalition is:

- Jobs now—guarantee full employment now, Share the work at full pay—30 hours work at 40 hours pay.
- Ban all overtime while there are layoffs.
- End military aid to Cambodia and Vietnam. Use war budget to provide jobs and social services.
- Fight racism—Fight sexism.
- For independent political action to build a labor party.
- For a one-day strike to back these demands.

Instead of rallies that do nothing more than build election campaigns of Democratic Party hopefuls and Ken-

# FILE COALITION

"We want this demonstration to be just the first step toward a real fight for jobs. The AFL-CIO must organize even bigger demonstrations than this.

"If necessary millions of workers, both employed and unemployed, must come to Washington and stay as long as it takes. All this should be back by strike action, a one day national strike of employed workers. This is where our power lies."

## **FIRST STEP**

April 26th must be the first step of a serious struggle against the economic crisis and its effect on working people. To do this, work-

ers will have to fight to change the unions.

"In truth," concludes the Coalition's leaflet, "the fight for jobs will not be won by today's leaders and today's unions. We need democratic, militant unions, dedicated to the interests of the rank

and file, and nothing else.

"If we are to win, we must fight, we must be organized, and we must use our strongest weapons, including the right to strike. Now is the time to begin."

A rally called by the Coalition will be held, following the one at

RFK stadium, at 4:00 pm. The rally site is the Lincoln Park United Methodist Church, 1310 N. Carolina Ave., four blocks from RFK stadium.

The Coalition urges all militants to attend.

# WE THINK



# WHAT

The April 26th rally for jobs called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO shows both the incredible weakness and incredible strength of the American labor movement today.

With little serious preparation and on relatively short notice a reluctant labor officialdom can mobilize 100,000 workers.

The strength lies in the potential of those 100,000 workers and the class they represent.

Whether or not working people get their jobs back depends on what the labor movement does after the march.

If the unions involved were to call for a one day work stoppage to back up their demand for jobs, jobs would be found. And the power of the working class would be obvious to all.

But if the union leaders just send everyone home, and refuse to unleash that power, this march will lead straight back to the unemployment line.

The weakness of the labor movement is that this is what the leadership will do. They have all been selling out their members for many years. Nothing they have done in preparing for this march indicates that they are going to change now.

Today's labor leaders will not fight because they understand that to fight for what working people need means to threaten the profits of the corporations. It is either them or us. And they

have chosen them.

But at the same time that the intensity of the crisis shows the treachery of the labor leadership, it also helps create its solution.

Rank and file workers are being forced to fight. They are being forced to organize because just getting by now demands it.

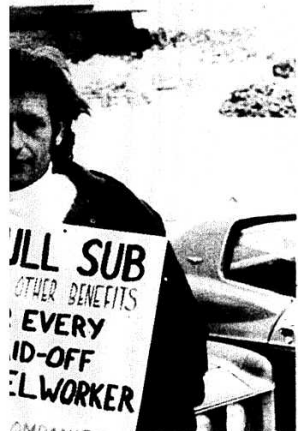
In workplaces across the country rank and file groups are being organized. They are still small—but as the crisis deepens, they are growing in numbers and strength.

Until now these groups have been isolated and fragmented. Each group has fought alone. But the crisis affects every industry from coast to coast—in fact beyond. Therefore the fight back must be national and multi-industry in scope. It is essential that these groups link up with each other.

The April 26th rally provides the first opportunity to come together. And the formation of the Rank and File Coalition for the April 26th march is a first step.

But it must be seen by the individuals involved as a first step. Communication and joint activity should continue.

Those involved must see themselves as a beginning in building an alternative, fighting leadership for the workers' movement—a leadership that worries about workers' needs—not bosses' profits. A leadership that chooses us—everytime.



Bob Grant

TALKING ABOUT SOCIALISM

... AND ECONOMIC CRISIS



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Capitalism always has the tendency to get itself into economic crises like the one we face today, but it isn't always in crisis. It couldn't grow or last if it was. But capitalist crises always get worse and worse, at least until World War II.

The Great Depression of the 1930's was the worst. The capitalists had been able to get out of earlier slumps in the "normal" way—by forcing down wages, by concentrating capital into larger, more efficient units, by forcing down prices of raw materials and machinery until production became profitable again.

But this time it didn't work. Massive state intervention—the New Deal—was needed just to save millions of working people from starvation and thus head off a revolution. But even the New Deal couldn't return the system to "normalcy." By 1938 it was sliding into a new crisis.

WORLD WAR II

But then World War II started. War contracts rolled in and the economy began moving. The US got into World War II and mass unemployment was replaced by a labor shortage that brought millions of women into industry for the first time.

World War II ended in 1945 but the Cold War—the preparation for World War III—soon got under way. The permanent arms economy—massive arms spending as a normal part of the government budget—was born.

Twenty-five years of almost unbroken prosperity followed, and the arms spending was a major reason for that.

The permanent arms economy wasn't consciously invented by clever capitalist planners to solve their crises, however. It began because of World War II and the struggle for world domination between the US and the USSR that followed it. But once it came into being, the permanent arms economy took on a life of its own.

For almost a generation, the permanent arms economy was able to perform a number of functions for capitalism as well. It was able to provide full employment, to slow down the decline of the rate of profit, and to keep what economic downturns there were very mild.

How did it do all this? At the height of the permanent arms economy, no less than half of the profits available for investment were going into the production of arms.

WASTE PRODUCTION

From the point of view of Marxist economics, as well as common sense, the production of missiles and tanks is waste production. Missiles don't go back into the production of more values by being consumed by workers or by being used to produce more goods.

The capital invested in them is drained out of the system and destroyed rather than being channeled back into it.

Capital is thrown away instead of being invested into building newer, more expensive steel plants or auto plants that would require fewer workers to work them.

Industrial growth slows down and so does the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. The capitalists avoid the overproduction of goods that lead to economic crisis.

Instead of competing among themselves, big capitalist monopolies protect their spheres of influence with military might.

The permanent arms economy also softened the effects of the business cycle by providing a market that wasn't affected by it. Recession or boom, the market for weapons and the machines to build them was still there: the government.

This helped prevent unemployment from spiraling as workers who produced machines were laid off and then the workers who produced goods were also laid off.

DEPRESSION AGAIN

But today this structure has stopped working. The world capitalist economy is sliding again into a real depression as the contradictions that always existed in the permanent arms economy get out of control.

For one thing, all capitalist countries didn't pay for the permanent arms economy equally. The United States, England and France paid for most of it.

As a result, the economies of West Germany and Japan, which had been utterly destroyed during World War II, were able to grow at an incredible rate.

Their capital was invested into building up modern industries using the most advanced technology instead of into building missiles. They began to challenge US industry on the world market and in the US market.

As the threat of foreign competition grew, the US was forced to cut back the percentage of its resources that went into arms. The production of missiles replaced the production of tanks.

As a result, the new technology produced couldn't be used in civilian industry and a few skilled workers were employed instead of masses of unskilled workers. Full employment was no longer guaranteed.

BUSINESS CYCLE RETURNS

Arms spending has shrunk and the old-style capitalist business cycle is in full swing again. The rate of profit is once again on the decline.

The inflation that went along with the permanent arms economy is so much built into the system that prices are rising even as the economy is going downhill.

The capitalist system is headed down. It may recover from this crisis but the boom that follows will lead to an even greater crisis.

The 1950's-style prosperity will not return. Working people are faced with the choice of putting an end to the system once and for all or of going down with it.

Boston Bus Plan Yields To Racists

by Mike Hirsch and Karen Kaye

BOSTON—Seven months after busing began here to fulfill a court-ordered desegregation plan, the situation is nowhere near an adequate settlement.

A panel of "masters" appointed by Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity, the architect of the original provisional busing plan, has submitted a series of new recommendations on school integration.

The NAACP and the liberal Massachusetts School Board charged the Master's plans with a "failure to meet constitutional standards" of desegregation.

The Master's report would create nine geographical subdistricts and one city-wide district. Busing would occur only within districts. Its aims would be that the racial composition of each school reflect

that of its district, not the city as a whole.

GUARANTEES SEGREGATION

As the NAACP has pointed out, this plan would integrate districts where both blacks and whites live. But it would guarantee segregated schools for the many districts that are largely black or white.

The plan would also close run-down schools in black areas. Black children will be bused to integrated "magnet" schools. Of the 35 schools the report recommends be closed, 21 are black or minority schools.

Tom Atkins, head of the NAACP, pointed out that this places most of the burden of desegregation on blacks. Most white children will be able to walk to the neighborhood magnet school.

Atkins criticized the report as unacceptable, and charged that it is a capitulation to the racists. He also warned that it will create violence.

...it guarantees greater friction and conflict, since most of the violence was in areas to which blacks were being bused rather than areas in which blacks lived."

DEMONSTRATION

In response, the NAACP is calling for a national demonstration in Boston for May 17 "to commemorate the 21st anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision on school integration."

Their call is "Come to Boston May 17, to support Quality Education and the Constitution."

Atkins and the NAACP are correct in labelling the new plan a capitulation to the racists, and in attempting to mobilize opposition to it.

But, their emphasis on the Constitution is treasonous to black people. The US Constitution is the document that made slavery at various times legal and illegal. But it was the racism built into this society that made slavery exist.

By calling the demonstration under the name of the US Constitution, the NAACP is making its own capitulation to the racists, in order to appear patriotic to a system that will betray them any chance it gets.

The NAACP has boxed itself into this corner because it has never been willing to attack racism in Boston straight on. Black people in Boston need a new leadership that will be willing to do so, and not simply try to argue law with their oppressors.



The real issue in Boston: racism.

CHICANO COLLEGE FIGHTS TO LIVE

by David Hall

PORTLAND, Or—Colegio Cesar Chavez, the only independent Chicano college in the nation, is threatened with an eviction order from the US Dept. of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

The Colegio was unable to meet a \$10,000 escrow payment due on February 15 and was asked by HUD to "peacefully surrender" the property.

Instead the staff and students of the Colegio occupied the buildings on a 24-hour a day basis and were granted in court an extension on the foreclosure until April 28th.

The Colegio was started in December 1973, when a new staff took over the operations of Mt. Angel College, which had lost its accreditation and credit rating under its Catholic administration.

The campus is located in an area where large numbers of Texan Chicanos have immigrated in the last 10 years.

petitioning the US Dept. of Housing and Urban Development to forgive the amount owed on the Indenture and award the Colegio freely to the Chicano community of Oregon... we want the Dept. of HUD to fulfill an obligation to the US Citizens of Mexican descent by eradicating the debt once and for all."

The staff and students of the Colegio have decided, and rightly so, that the Colegio is theirs and will resist any efforts to evict them and shut down the school.

Over 200 people marched 11 miles on March 29 in solidarity with the Colegio. Benefits have been held in both the Eugene and Portland areas to raise food and money for the Colegio.

The Colegio Cesar Chavez is asking people to show their support by building a national demonstration at the State Capital in Salem, Oregon at noon, April 25th, and by coming to the campus on the 28th to stop the eviction.

[Please send all donations in support of this struggle to establish an educational institution run for and by minority and working class people to: Colegio Cesar Chavez, Mt. Angel, Oregon 97362. Phone 503-845-2234.]

L.A. Demo Hits Dayan

LOS ANGELES—500 marching and chanting demonstrators had hostile greetings for the Zionist spokesman Moshe Dyan outside the UCLA hall where he spoke on April 7.

Confrontations threatened to erupt between the demonstrators and members of the anti-Palestinian Jewish Defense League.

Hundreds of police were on the scene or in reserve nearby.

The demonstration included contingents from the Arab and Iranian student organizations, and from several American left groupings, including Los Angeles IS and Red Tide organizations.

Inside the hall, Dayan praised the imperialist diplomat Kissinger as a "first class personality" and repeated the obvious: "We like your (US) arms—you have first class tanks."

Dyan, a member of the Israeli parliament, flatly denied the national rights of the Palestinian people: "There is no room for another state in the Middle East."

Outside, demonstrators chanted "Free Palestine," and other slogans. Political discussions and arguments among demonstrators, passers-by, and those attending the talk were many.

Unfortunately, members of the Stalinist-Maoist "Revolutionary Union" threatened and on one occasion assaulted members of other American left groups. This could have easily given the large numbers of police in the area a pretext for attacking the demonstrators as a whole.

This incident weakened the defense against the JDL and the police, and lessened the impact of the demonstration. Fortunately, a strong anti-imperialist and pro-Palestinian sentiment still came through.

Lewis Michaels

Fight For Jobs! Go To Washington April 26

MONEY CRISIS

The current crisis results from the financial mess the Colegio inherited.

At a press conference in March the Colegio stated: "We are hereby



# REPORT ON STRIKES IN OHIO VALLEY MINES

I am writing to inform you and your readers of what's going on here in the Ohio Valley. I'm told there is no press coverage outside the local area.

As you know, there are ten thousand coal miners out on strike in 30 mines (deep and strip). It started at North American Coal Company, over safety issues. They tried to take the roof bolter's helper and put him on other jobs.

The result would be to get two jobs done by one man, and to leave the bolters alone under unsupported roof.

It spread from there to other companies. Just when a settlement was reached at North American, Consolidation Coal Company (second largest in the country) sus-

ended 28 miners for 90 days for picketing in support of North American miners.

This started everything up again. Now the companies are backing down again.

During this time, miners and their wives in various communities have also marched on local welfare offices because they were being denied benefits.

In Moundsville, West Virginia 400 marched. The next day most of the miners received emergency relief.

What I'm trying to point out is that this kind of thing happens fairly regularly down here. It shows that when a group of workers are organized and ready to take action

(as coal miners are), there is nothing they can't win.

It's a lesson that workers in other industries can learn from.

L. P.  
United Mine Workers  
Wheeling, W. Va.

Letters

to

Workers' Power

## SEEN THIS AD?

You may have seen different versions of this ad on subways, buses, or in magazines. But they all say the same thing—if we all work harder we can lick inflation and unemployment and beat out foreign competition.

Well, whenever someone tells me to work harder an alarm goes off in my head. I know that my working harder will make

him richer and me just more tired. In fact, if I work too hard I might just work myself out of a job. That is the hidden threat in the words, "we'll be protecting jobs here at home." If we don't play along we'll be laid off. By whom? By the same friends who are bleating about cooperation.

L. M.  
New York

Ad  
Credit

## Would you hire you?

Of course you would. You work hard. Care about what you do. And you know your job inside and out.

That's what everybody says. And for most of us, it's true. But it's also true that we could all do better. No matter what kind of work we do. And we'd all have more to show for it.

More money, for one thing. Because we'd be giving each other our money's worth for the products, the services and even the government we pay for.

For another thing, we'll be giving America better ammunition to slug it out with our foreign competitors. That should help bring the lopsided balance of payments back onto our side. And help make your dollar worth more.

Best of all, as we hit our stride, we'll be protecting jobs here at home. And we'll have a deeper sense of pride in the jobs we've got.

All this can happen. And more. Think of what you can do to make it happen.

**America. It only works  
as well as we do.**



Miners in Ohio and West Virginia voted to ratify the new contract in December. But unsafe conditions forced them out on strike again in March. For more information on this strike, see article on page 5.

## MASS ACTION: IS IT ENOUGH?

Kim Moody's "either/or" approach to the struggle for union democracy is clearly mistaken.

In his March 27—April 7 discussion of resort to the courts as a means of challenging the union bureaucrats, he repeatedly puts down any strategy that does not rely solely on mass action. While it is correct to say that no rank-and-file movement worth its salt will ever accomplish much if it fights only in the courts, Moody would be hard pressed to cite an instance in which "mass militant strikes" alone ever lifted a trusteeship, overturned an election, or enforced

any of the individual rights set out in Landrum-Griffin.

True, the law was not passed for the benefit of the workers. But it can be used to do more than "buy time" or "get publicity." It has been used in the UMWA to make a genuine rank-and-file victory possible. What the Mineworkers case demonstrates is the need to combine legal and political tactics—and, of course, keep rank-and-file organization alive after this dual approach puts a new administration in power.

Steve Early  
Washington, D.C.

## Workers' Power: It's A Great Newspaper!

Workers' Power is a great paper and I would like to increase my order to 20 of each issue.

When are you going weekly? A weekly paper is much easier to organize around because a regular round can be established. One gets

Editor's Note: It is the support of readers like McCowan that will allow Workers' Power to become a weekly newspaper this fall. Other readers interested in distributing Workers' Power should contact us.

Phil McCowan  
Miami

## ORGANIZE THE HOCKEY PLAYERS

Great article on hockey. I've played hockey since I was six and have been pissed off at what the owners have done to the sport for a long time. It's really good to read an article on sports by someone who knows what he's talking about—and at the same time likes the game.

These owners will do anything to make a profit. The team in Washington can hardly skate up the ice. It's amazing, the rulers of this world don't let anything go

untouched by their rotten system. But, hell, even with hockey you can't take this lying down. We should get some Workers' Power hockey players and have them organize against this nonsense. Bill Walton isn't the only player who knows what capitalism is all about.

B. Sullivan  
Pittsburgh

## Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

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

But please be brief.

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

## Portuguese Correction

Your record of accurate reporting is so overwhelming that I was absolutely amazed to read in your current issue an outright mistake. You said the Portuguese Communist Party and its supporters "control the crucial Foreign, Economic Planning, Transportation and Interior Ministries—including the police and the machinery for the April 25 elections."

In fact the CP does control Transportation, its supporters in the MDP control Economic Planning, but the Ministry of the

Interior (which controls the police and election machinery) is headed by Major Antonio Metelo, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs is Major Melo Antunes whom you so accurately describe a couple of paragraphs later.

Barbara Adler  
New York City

Editor's Note: Major Melo Antunes was the author of the original economic program of the Armed Forces Movement government. He is considered to be an ally of the Socialist Party.]



Portuguese Communist Party rally in Porto.

## Power Struggles And Foot Dragging

Power struggles and footdragging by the leaders of New York State's Civil Service Employees Association continue as one strike deadline after another passes.

In March, the state refused to bargain on the contract's wage re-opener. The union responded with a protest march of 35,000 on the state capital and at a meeting following set a job action for April 15. It was quietly shelved.

They have provided no word about negotiations and fact finding in progress. Instead, the leaders are fighting among themselves for more power.

For example, the state leadership has set up a separate chapter for some workers in New York City. Their purpose is to weaken the

NYC regional president, who will not control the new chapter.

Now a new union grouping, the Public Employees Federation, is trying to get CSEA members to sign for a new collective bargaining election.

For CSEA members, the main issue is the wage re-opener and possible strike. Rank and file members must focus on these, because the leaders are obviously interested only in their power plays which are allowing other forces to divide CSEA members. Fortunately, there are militant members that are still trying to organize around the basic issues.

G. Williamson  
New York

## European Workers' Power Subs

Through special arrangement with I.S. Books (London), European subscribers to Workers' Power can now receive their copies of the paper quickly and at low cost. A bundle of Workers' Power will be shipped to London by airfreight each issue, and then mailed to our subscribers.

This new shipping method will take effect for current subscribers with this issue (#119). Others may subscribe by writing directly to: I.S. Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N.4., England. The cost of a 22-issue subscription within Britain is 4 pounds. Write to I.S. Books for rates elsewhere in Europe. Make checks payable to "I.S. Books."

# THE BLACK PANTHERS

## From Revolution...

## ... to the Democratic Party

by Marilyn Danton

Elaine Brown is a leader of the Black Panther Party. She is currently running for a seat on the Oakland, California City Council. She is an official Democratic Party candidate. A recent newspaper article described her campaign in the following way: "Ms. Brown campaigns with the air of a gracious suburban housewife. . . . That sentence sums up the changes the Black Panthers have gone through since their beginning in 1966.

The Black Panthers were once the leaders of the revolutionary wing of the black liberation movement. Today they are no different from various community groups attempting to provide services to black folks: free breakfasts for children, free transportation for old folks, free sickle cell anemia tests, and the list goes on.

### SUPPORTING POLICE

The Party today supports the Democratic Party, black capitalism, the black church and black policemen. In several articles in a recent issue of their paper, the Panthers have supported the Oakland Black Officers Association. The Association is fighting against police department racism and for improving community relations between the Oakland police department and the black community. What a change! It was in opposition to these same Oakland policemen that the Black Panther Party first organized in 1966.

Then they called themselves the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, and organized around police terrorism in the Oakland ghetto. Guns at their sides, the Panthers would stand at the legal distance and inform any black person being harassed of their rights. They became nationally known when, in May 1967, they went to Sacramento, California to protest legislation aimed at ending these patrols by outlawing the carrying of loaded guns in the city limits.

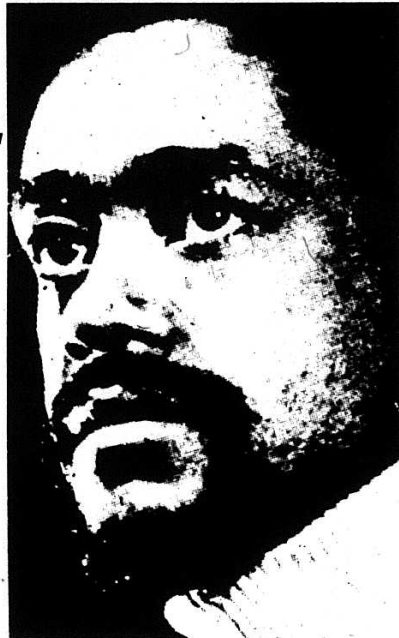
The sight of a dozen or so young black men dressed in black leather jackets and berets entering the capitol building was a terrifying sight to the white legislature. It was only an indication of things to come.

### MORE THAN GUNS

The legislation passed overwhelmingly and the patrols stopped. But the Panthers were more than those armed patrols. The Panther Ten Point Program took up the problem of economic justice for black people, housing, education, jobs and political prisoners. Above all, it called for the right of black people to control their own communities and to determine their own destiny free of the oppression of a white racist society.

Despite the way the press at that time portrayed the Panthers, armed self-defense was only one point of their program.

The Panthers led the new direction of the black movement in America. The movement was no longer willing to simply march and non-violently protest the daily indignation and oppression that black people



Bobby Seale was the first Black Panther to run on the Democratic Party Ticket.

received at the hands of white society. It turned to Black Power. The movement emphasized pride in being black and demanded justice in America with black people defining justice for the first time.

The Black Panther Party represented the best of the organized groups. They organized black people to fight for their own interests, not against all whites, but against anyone who oppressed or exploited the ghetto, black or white.

They judged black politicians by this principle; for what they did and did not do for black people. If black politicians didn't measure up, they were criticized like any white politician. Moreover, the Panthers knew how the Democratic Party behaved in the black community—how it used blacks at election time, only to ignore their needs when in office. The Panthers refused to support politicians, black or white who ran inside the Democratic Party. And, in 1968, they ran several of their own numbers in the newly-formed Peace and Freedom Party against these politicians.

While the Panthers called themselves revolutionaries and Marxists, the organization wasn't clear on what many of those ideas meant. The Panthers thought that the poor and unemployed living in ghettos would lead the revolutionary forces. They did not understand the first principle of Marxism—the central role of the working class in leading the revolutionary movement.

The Panthers didn't understand that being a revolutionary Marxist meant they had to organize and lead black workers in their struggles in the workplace—against the companies, against the trade union bureaucrats.

The Panthers thought they could ally with white revolutionary groups as a substitute for building a movement among black workers and a revolutionary party out of that movement.

### PARTY ATTACKED

As a result of their success in organizing and their national growth, the Panthers came under heavy attack by the police and the courts. Leader after leader was arrested, harassed and killed. Some, like Eldridge Cleaver, were forced to leave the country. In response to this attack, and because their politics were not firm, the Party went from one extreme to another.

At first, they welcomed the armed confrontations, but as they were clearly no match for the power of the state, they retreated full force. In the summer of 1969, they began to move to the right politically. Since that time they have become more and more conservative.

Today they have dropped their Ten Point Program, and substituted a "program for survival." This program sums up the services they provide for Oakland's black people. They have the support of local Democratic Party groupings, some trade union leaders, and black policemen. Even most of the revolutionary talk is gone, replaced by moderate talk about some of the problems that black people face.

The economic crisis today is bringing to birth a new black movement. And this time one direction of the movement will be Marxist, and will argue that workers must lead the revolutionary forces. Already this new direction is being popularized by one-time nationalist, Amiri Baraka, and a number of the Pan-Africanist groups. Under the impact of the worldwide crisis of capitalism they are forced to reject their earlier nationalist solutions to the problems of racist oppression in this country.

There are no get rich quick schemes for revolution. For all their Marxist talk, the Black Panther Party never adopted a Marxist analysis and strategy. They moved from terrorism, to conservatism, to the liberal do-gooders they are today. They never understood that the only means to overthrow the capitalist state is through the self-organization of the working class, black and white, the building of a rank and file workers' movement and revolutionary party. These are the questions that the new black movement must understand if it is not to go the way of the Black Panthers, and finally become irrelevant to the black liberation struggle. □

# UFW Attacked

by James Morrison

California Democratic Governor Brown and large sections of the state Democratic Party have effectively joined the growers and the Teamster bureaucracy in the war on the United Farm Workers.

The UFW has been seeking a collective bargaining law in California to give farm workers the right to select their own union. They want the law because the leadership of the Teamsters has been able to sign sweetheart contracts with the growers, without even so much as speaking to the workers involved.

Brown has introduced a farm labor collective bargaining bill which he calls a "compromise." Actually the bill seriously undercuts the strength of the UFW. Some of its worst provisions are:

- The Brown bill allows the State Agricultural Relations Board to carve up farm work into crafts. This would make it extremely difficult for the Chicano migrant field workers to advance into the more skilled jobs and would perpetuate

this racist division of labor in agricultural work. It would also make it more difficult for the UFW to effectively bargain with the giant agri-business because the work force would be divided.

Further, if the UFW only represented the semi-skilled fieldworkers, as mechanization in agriculture increases the UFW would be weakened. This would be encouragement to growers to speed mechanization.

- The Brown bill effectively does away with the right to use the secondary boycott by placing so many restrictions on its use. For example, if a store was buying grapes from scab growers, no secondary boycott could be used if it was also buying grapes from one union ranch under UFW, or even Teamster, contract.

- The Brown bill allows growers to recruit scabs to break strikes.
- The Brown bill does not limit the injunction powers of rural courts, which are notoriously friendly to the growers.

- The Brown bill prohibits recognition strikes which in many places, given the seasonal nature of

agriculture, will mean more than a year between the elections and actually striking to get a contract.

- The Brown bill is so vague about the status of current Teamster sweetheart agreements that there is no guarantee there will be immediate farm worker elections for union representation. It is probable that present sweetheart contracts will stay in effect for two or three years until they expire.

### DUMP THE BROWN BILL!

Brown's bill is so bad that the UFW has had to oppose it. The union is calling a rally against the bill in Sacramento on May 5.

Understandably the growers and the Teamster bureaucracy are more friendly to the bill. Although they would prefer their own versions of the bill, they want a collective bargaining law to stabilize agriculture. The Brown bill effectively gives them most of what they want.

For a long time the United Farm Workers has looked for a California collective bargaining bill as the main solution to its problems. While Reagan was Governor, the



Democrats' farm labor bill is opposed by UFW.

union was waiting for the Democrats to win. Now that the Democrats are in office, the UFW is going to have to begin the fight all over.

No longer can the UFW hope to get a good collective bargaining law this year. The best it can hope for from the legislature is to defeat the Brown bill.

Sometime soon a lesson may come clear. The new Governor Brown is no different than the old Governor Brown, his dad, who was in office before Reagan. The Democratic Party this time around

is no different than the last time, when they shafted the farm workers just as effectively.

And the UFW's policy of relying on liberal Democrats will get the same results even if they give the Democratic Party will another "last chance."

It should be clear now that the rank and file of the UFW must fight for an alternative to the Democrats—an independent party of labor. Until a labor party is built, there will be a never-ending stream of "Governor Browns" ready to sell out the farm workers. □



# ALICE DOESN'T LIVE HERE ANYMORE



[Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore; starring Ellen Burstyn and Kris Kristofferson; directed by Martin Scorsese; Warner Brothers.]

What do you do when suddenly you are alone?

You have lived all of your adult life with one man, been a mother to your child and a housewife. He wasn't much—had a quick temper, beat the kid and never paid any attention to you. But when the phone call came that afternoon and his supervisor told you he had an accident on the freeway and was dead, you whole world fell apart.

## A NEW LIFE

"Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore" is the story of one woman's fight to build a new life for herself when the old one was destroyed by a twist of fate. Alice is pretty ordinary. She's short, overweight, finished high school, and then sang with a band for a few months before she married a truck driver.

Alice is faced not just with a chance to live a different life, but the necessity to feed, clothe and house herself and a twelve year-old son. She decides to pursue a long-forgotten dream—to be a singer.

Remembering her growing up years in Monterey, California and the first audience that paid to hear her voice, Alice determines to make it back to Monterey and have her dream come true.

She embarks on an odyssey which will teach Alice something about dreams, something about independence and something about love.

Alice lands a job as a cocktail lounge singer in Phoenix. She's pleased with herself because she had the persistence to do what she wanted to, but her stay is cut short. The boyfriend she aquired at the bar turned out to be married and the type who likes to keep his women in line by pulling knives on them. Alice and son leave Phoenix.

Their next stop sees the dream begin to fade. Alice can't get another job as a singer so she becomes a waitress. She hates it. She hates the people she works with, she hates the lousy wages and she hates the loneliness which begins to creep over her as Monterey and her dream seems further and further away.

## NEW AWARENESS

Alice discovers that independence and dreams for a working class woman are better than dependence on a husband who never listens to you and a boyfriend who threatens to kill you. But independence and dreams are still a far cry from the free and satisfying life Alice wanted to find.

It is at this point Alice meets David, the soft-spoken rancher played by Kris Kristofferson. Loneliness draws her to him, but fear of once more having her life and her dreams consumed by a man makes her resist. She wants to be loved, but she doesn't want to give up her new awareness of herself.

She doesn't have any illusions that love conquers all. She just knows that life is a whole lot easier to get through if you have somebody to share it with.

What Alice discovers, and what lifts

the film out of the category of love story, is the possibility of a relationship between a man and a woman that allows the woman to maintain her dreams, her sense of herself as a whole human being and her insistence on a life built around her own needs.

David is a man who is willing to compromise—to give up his own dreams so she doesn't have to give up hers. To convince Alice he really wants to understand her, he offers to sell his ranch and go to Monterey with her and help her

become a singer.

In the course of the film, Alice never becomes a feminist. For those who demand purity in their women's films, this one will fall far-short of their standards. Alice ends up with a man. But what the purists will fail to see is that Alice takes a gigantic step forward in understanding herself and her needs and learning to demand her right to her dreams.

Mary Franklin

# A Network of Militants

There's a new magazine out and if you're in the UAW it's for you. If you're not, there's still a lot for any worker to learn from Network, Voice of UAW Militants, an independent bimonthly publication.

Network's editors, who are members of the UAW and of the United National Caucus (UNC), said in the first issue: "Management communicates and shares experiences, plant to plant, and company to company, in order to keep us down. The UAW bureaucracy has its network of communications. We need ours."

In its first two issues, Network is filling the need it cited.

The major issue auto workers face today is unemployment, and the many problems that grow from it: the SUB fund running out, management taking advantage of unemployment to erode working conditions, and the weak-kneed and inadequate response of the UAW's leaders.

Rank and file autoworkers are tackling these problems in local caucuses and groups throughout the country. Network provides a place for the sharing of experiences that is necessary in building a strong national movement.

## ECONOMY

There are articles that examine the economy from the working person's point of view. Working people need to know how the government and the companies plan to raise profits—since they plan to do it at our expense, not theirs.

Other pieces offer practical tips—how to get foodstamps; how the complicated SUB fund works and why it runs out.

But besides understanding the situation, autoworkers need to know how to fight back and not become its victims, so that foodstamps won't be needed.

In February, the UAW held a rally in Washington, D.C. against unemployment. Network's second issue contains reports from workers who were there.

They discuss the program the UAW presented there:

tax cuts, a modest public works program, and credit; and why that won't be enough. The United National Caucus, a UAW opposition group, on the other hand, presents a program that really could bring back the jobs, with demands like short work week at full pay. And Network tells why the UAW won't take on the corporations with demands like that.

## REPORTS

The reports from many active rank and file opposition caucuses and unemployed committees across the country show how workers are fighting back.

"How Chevy Ranks Built a Rank and File Caucus" is the story of Local 235's Justice Committee. The United Black Workers of Local 906, Mahwah, N.J. report on their group. How Corvette workers fought GMAD in St. Louis is described. In "Skilled Trades Organize to Fight," the origins, program and goals of the Independent Skilled Trades Council (UAW) are

explained. These are just a few.

Finally, there are reports from the United National Caucus, the only one of the opposition groups with a national base. Building a strong national rank and file opposition to the bureaucracy will be the way to fight the corporations and win at the national level.

Network provides an opportunity for the various rank and file groups, many of which include UNC members in them, to strengthen their ties through communication.

Finally, Network addresses issues of concern to UAW members in articles like Malcolm X—Ten Years Later; and the Coalition of Labor Union Women Fights Layoffs.

The publication is off to a good start and will be valuable to every UAW militant.

Karen Kaye

[Network can be ordered from: Network, c/o Jack Weinberg, 16020 Second Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203. Price is 50¢ per copy or \$3 for a year's subscription. Write for bulk rates.]



Exchanging ideas and experiences will strengthen the rank and file movement.

# "I.S. knew how to actually build the struggle by relating it to people's experiences."

Neil Davies joined the International Socialists of Great Britain in 1971, among a wave of workers who had been educated by the struggles of the British trade union movement during that period. These workers became convinced by their struggle of the need for a revolutionary change of society. A common theme in these struggles was that the trade union leadership sold them out for less than could have been won if the solidarity of the workers had been the major factor.

Along with other workers who joined IS during that period, Davies is a member of the IS National Committee. He is a full-time organizer in North London, and works closely with the factory branches and the construction workers' fraction of which he was a founding member.

Below are some of Davies' comments, made during a trip to the United States last month.

I'm 26, left school at fifteen. I was a carpenter's apprentice, but couldn't get anywhere, was unemployed. I did four years in the army, volunteered because there were no jobs.

And all I got in the army was a rifle and target practice in foreign countries: Aden, Cyprus, the Persian Gulf. I ended up in the construction industry at a time when I started getting interested in politics.

The thing that moved a lot of soldiers in those days was a great respect for the Black Panther movement and Che Guevara. That was all linked with somebody with a gun doing something about the bastards we all hate: the bosses and the officers.

Then I met IS, through reading "Socialist Worker." [Ed. Note—newspaper of the British IS.] My attitude then was IS was very good, but they weren't very political. All they talked about was how we can succeed in our factories, why we should organize in our unions, why we should build a rank and file movement.

It took me a few months to realize that what the IS was talking about was real Marxism: a class analysis of society, the working class against the ruling class.

IS knew how to actually build the struggle by relating it to people's experiences. Someone's working in some rotten factory, they thought they had no hope. The union was corrupt. Suddenly the IS gives

They all want to know about building a rank and file movement. In the building industry, starting from nothing we really built an incredible rank and file movement in a few years.

That movement got people talking about socialism and workers' control. And it won a lot of victories in the face of hostility from the union and management.

The workers I've talked with here say, "well, that's nice," but how do we build it more. And to me the obvious answer is that you've got to join a political movement, the revolutionary socialists. You've



Neil Davies

## INTERVIEW WITH BRITISH SOCIALIST

got to join the IS.

None of the rank and file movements in Britain were built without revolutionary socialists. It's always Marxists who are in the leadership, who have a class analysis of society.

Because we have an overall view of society, we can sort out what details are important to pay attention to. How to build a movement in the day-to-day informal, local way that it's done. You have to join the party to get an education. You have to be involved in an organization with other people so that your ideas are constantly being sorted out by activity and helping each other.

What it boils down to is that if you're trying to do something and you're confused, then you're not going anywhere. You have to be able to see through all the crap, like you were seeing through 12 different channels on the TV.

If you can see through the garbage, and you know where you're going, then it's going to become much easier. Especially if you're organizing with other people. □

them some hope. The IS says—Do something in the union, build a rank and file movement, push for better conditions, get some momentum and build a movement that can involve hundreds of thousands of people.

Through rank and file papers, through Socialist Worker, through leading strikes and getting known as revolutionaries. IS in Britain is building that movement.

And because a shop steward is in IS he or she really knows how to lead a strike and win. That's because he's got politics and can see outside the factories. This is very important.

### RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

I've met a lot of workers here in the United States, teamsters and steelworkers and auto workers.

# Attica Brother Speaks In L.A.

A series of forums on the Attica prison rebellion held in West Coast cities last month attracted enthusiastic audiences and built support for the Attica defendants.

Dalou Asahi, indicted Attica brother, and Jack Trautman, IS National Executive Committee, spoke in Los Angeles, Oakland, Portland, and Seattle.

During the LA forum, announcement came of the conviction of two of the brothers, the first major setback in the trials. The audience responded with increased donations to the defense fund, and for bail to keep Asahi out of jail pending his trial.

### CAMPAIGN

Issac Richard of the Pasadena

Community Information Center told the audience of a campaign to stop police harassment in the black community of Pasadena.

That forum was sponsored by the International Socialists, the Red Tide, Attica Now, Pasadena Community Information Center, and the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the Attica Brothers.

Fund raising in the Los Angeles area will continue. To make a donation, contact the Los Angeles International Socialists, PO Box 110, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

In Oakland, besides the talks, a film about Attica, A View From the Inside, was shown. The event was sponsored by Attica Now, the IS, and the Red Tide.

A collection was taken to support the Attica defense. □

## March For Jobs In Mass.

NORTHAMPTON, Ma—About 200 unemployed people and student sympathizers marched April 15. They were protesting layoffs and welfare cuts. Unemployment in Massachusetts is officially 11.9%—actually nearly 20%.

The demonstration was timed to coincide with the Federal Tax deadline. It was organized by the Coalition on the Economic Crisis, an alliance of local community action groups and political organizations.

The Pioneer Valley (Mass) International Socialists has been working with the Coalition and helped organize the demonstration.

After speeches at the Northampton Unemployment Office the demonstrators held a highly successful "Alternatives to Capitalism" Fair in the town center. IS comrades and friends sold 50 copies of Workers' Power and a quantity of literature. □



# 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 unions. 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 contract wages. Against unemployment, layoffs, and speed-up. 40 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone.

\*Organize the unemployed. 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 child care, 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 Wallace 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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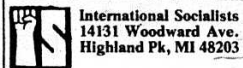
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# CAPITALISM CAN'T FEED US ALL!

by Nigel Harris

Why is it that tens of millions of people in dozens of nations face death by starvation? Some analysts say there are too many people. Some say poor people are too backward to feed themselves. Others say that some nations are naturally rich and other naturally poor.

All of these ideas are false. Millions die because there's a capitalist world market, which

creates underdevelopment and starvation in the endless search for more massive profits.

This article is based on a speech by Nigel Harris of the British International Socialists. It presents the socialist explanation of why there is poverty and starvation—and how to end it. The speech was part of debate held at the London School of Economics.

Yet in October and November something like 150,000 Bengalis died of starvation. We don't know how many died in India, because the government of India prevented foreign correspondents from going into areas to find out.

But how is it possible, when there is so little physical shortage of food, for so many thousands of people to die? How is it possible? We know why it is. It was

because the rich peasants of Ranpur district in Bangladesh preserved their profit margins. It is because the Bangladesh government chose to preserve their profit margins.

## PROFIT MARGIN

Why did they do that? Because the United States was preserving its profit margins.

This is not my account—this is the account of the US Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz. He said: "The central priority is maintaining the market incentives of American farmers (high prices). This is the method by which we can achieve large food output."

In India and Bangladesh, food output in fact is rising. But the price charged for that food output makes it beyond the ability of most people to buy. That is the problem. Meanwhile 150,000 people die. That is the cost.

Whenever we look we find that food isn't seen as an opportunity to feed people, but as an opportunity to make profits. Earl Butz said not long ago: "Food is a tool in the kit of US diplomacy." Not a method of feeding Bengalis—a tool in the kit of US diplomacy.

## TOO MUCH GROWTH?

Today some famous professors tell us the problem is that the world pursued economic growth and sacrificed "human welfare."

They tell us we have arrived. There is prosperity; the standard of living has risen. They propose that we stop economic growth—that we pull up the ladder when a majority of people are not even on board.

These professors also tell us that the way to do this is by relying on market forces. They say the market is still the most effective way to meet people's needs.

If this were true, there would be no food crisis today.

We know that adding one ton of fertilizer to agriculture in Asia will increase the food grain output by ten tons. Adding the same ton of fertilizer in Western Europe will increase output by three tons. So if output were the real goal, fertilizer would be added to Asian agriculture, not European.

But it's not. Why? Because Asian profit margins are not high enough.

The problem is not poor countries versus the rich, or the economically backward countries against the advanced ones. It is that this system cannot incorporate the population of the world, whether it's in Britain in terms of the poor, in India in terms of the poor.

They are simply wrong when they say that people have been pursuing economic growth at the expense of welfare. If the system had been pursuing economic growth there would not be 7½ million unemployed in the United States. There would not be 1.2 million unemployed in West Germany.

## BASIC SERVICES

We hear from these same professors that instead of economic growth, we must improve what they call "the quality of life." For example, one of them tells us we should improve the basic services "at all times and in all places."

Public services? Basic services? Electricity, sewage, water, to the villages of South West China, to the villages of Indonesia, to the villages of India? And without economic growth? What world are we living in?

Even providing drinking water in the Indonesian villages would be a fantastic step forward, without worrying about garbage collection and other luxuries.

Without tackling the central problem of economic growth—the private profit system—and without

**"They cannot meet our needs. Satisfying human needs is only an accidental by-product of the system under which we live."**

tackling the gross inequality it causes, talking about the quality of life is a wild daydream.

When they tell us we have achieved prosperity, they mean the fragile, precarious prosperity of some people in some countries. And even that little toe-hold on prosperity is now threatened.

7½ million unemployed in the United States, 60,000 forced to work part-time in the Lancashire textile industry (Britain), 6,000 laid off. Talk to them about how they've "arrived."

We're now looking at a system in crisis. The rate of profit keeps falling, and economic development—for profit—is becoming impossible. More and more countries have stopped planning their economic development, or do it only as a public relations exercise.

## CLASS POWER

So what are they doing? They spend their money on defense. The fastest growing sector of the developing countries today is their defense sector.

And why? Because they need weapons to defend themselves

That's the diagnosis. The question is the solution.

The resources are available: there is no physical shortage. The technology is available. The people are available.

## MEETING PEOPLE'S NEEDS

But they cannot meet the actual needs. Satisfying human needs is only an accidental by-product of the system under which we live. The prosperity is an accidental by-product.

The potential to feed the world's people cannot be realized while we suffer under this system.

There's now a crisis pushing down real wages, attacking a way of life, attacking the whole structure of the world. It is banging against these petty boundaries called national borders.

That's the reason for the hysteria of the ruling classes. They see the forces unfolding beneath them which are capable of overthrowing them.

And they should be overthrown. Because of the scale of the crisis, for the second time this century we have the potential for building a

**"Earl Butz, US Secretary of Agriculture, said not long ago: 'Food is a tool in the kit of US diplomacy.' Not a method of feeding starving people—a tool in the kit of US diplomacy."**

against their own people. At the moment these countries spend \$200—300 billion a year on the means to destroy people. That's another product of preserving a privileged position—because the core of the system is class power.

It's a world class. Some of its members are white, some black and some are other races. Their survival depends on defending privilege and profit. National power and private profit.

Unless that system can be dismantled and overthrown, it's very difficult to see how there won't be 150,000 Bengalis dying. It will probably be half a million. Or, as in the 1943 Bengali famine, three million dying.

## BOOM AND BUST

Capitalist economists argue there will be an upturn in the system in the closing months of 1975 and through 1976. That will lead to a boom in 1977.

That boom will have a super-inflationary effect on the world monetary system. It will wreck the currency structure, and the slump which comes in 1977—78 will be of catastrophic proportions.

Of course they still have a police force, an army, and a centralized bureaucracy. They'll hang onto their privileges, even though their hearts bleed for all the poor dying somewhere or other.

world order which will meet human needs.

But this change requires forces other than the ruling class, because the ruling classes won't saw off the branch they're sitting on.

That force is the working class. It is the generator of profit, and it is under the most savage pressure around the world. The pressure may be fairly mild here in Britain, but fantastically savage in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America.

To feed the world's people we must build a revolutionary party, separate from the profit structure and absolutely opposed to the system which makes profit from starvation and famine.

Let's be clear. The alternative to working class revolution is barbarism. After the failure of the working class revolution of the 1920's, their alternative was Nazism, fascism, and a second world war. Never again.

Massive unemployment in the industrialized countries, and fantastic poverty imposed on the backward countries, and war. That is the face of their alternative today.

I see no answer in a manifesto of despair that says we have too much growth.

The only perspective now is a working class revolution, and an international revolution which will break the national boundaries and break the ruling class. □



**"The problem is not poor countries versus rich countries, the economically backward countries against the advanced ones. It is that the system cannot incorporate the population of the world, whether it's in Britain or in India."**

# Workers' Power

# Truckers Fight Chicago Lay-Offs



Members of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union demanding action on layoffs. Family members joined the picket lines (right).

CHICAGO—25 members of the Chicago Truck Driver's union and their families were attacked by officials of the union on April 18, as the rank and filers picketed to get back the jobs of 230 laid off Republic Carloading workers.

The scuffle broke out when the CTDU members found the entrance of the union hall blocked by union officials, led by business agent John Johnson. The pickets demanded the right to enter their own hall and talk to Executive Director, Ed Fenner.

The officials then rushed the group of black, Latin, and white workers, forcing them out onto the street where they defended themselves and their children.

## COPS

The Labor Detail of the Chicago Police Department soon stepped in to break things up. The business agents went back into the hall and the cops took their place, blocking the door. The rank and filers, still unable to talk to Fenner, resumed picketing.

The pickets were attempting to get something done for 230 CTDU members laid off when Republic Freight was bought out by Yellow Freight.

Merging of the seniority lists was denied and Republic workers were laid off. These workers lost all seniority, as much as 24 years worth.

Because of the buy out, the

workers were transferred to IBT Locals 705 and 710. None of the unions involved are fighting for the Republic workers who are unemployed in spite of the fact that Yellow had a '74 profit rate of 24%. It is the most profitable company in the industry.

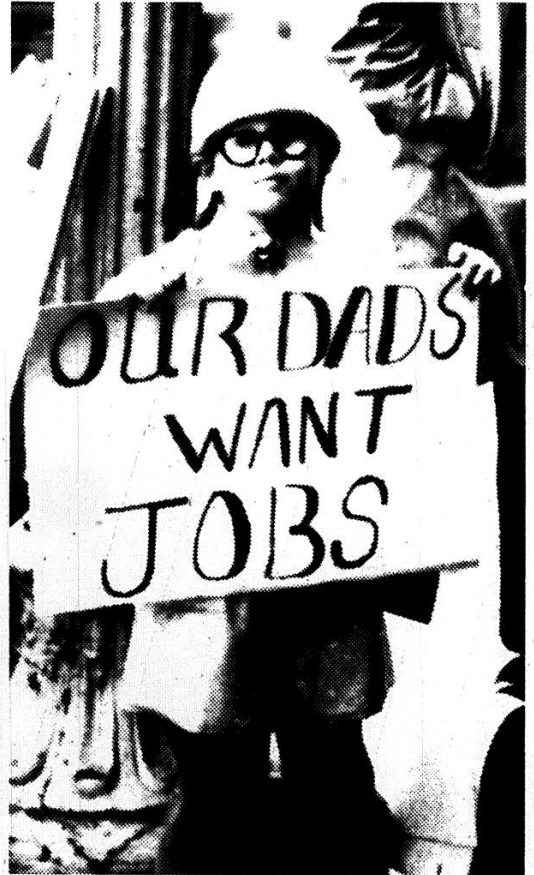
## CONCERNED TRUCKERS

This demonstration was the latest in a series of protests by

CTDU members. The actions have been called by Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union, a rank and file caucus in the union.

The Concerned Truckers, and the Republic workers demand that Yellow rehire all those laid off at both Yellow and Republic and that the seniority lists be merged.

Unemployment can be solved with a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay, no overtime and sharing the work. □



# FBI SPY EXPOSED IN ATTICA CASE

An ex-FBI spy has publicly announced that she infiltrated the Attica Brothers' defense. She states that she fed secret defense plans to the federal authorities.

Mary Jo Cook told a Buffalo, New York press conference that she agreed to work for the FBI in

June, 1973. Her first assignment was to join and spy on the Buffalo Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization.

## TRUSTED

Through her VVAW/WSO connections she became a trusted participant in the Attica Brothers Legal Defense. She had extensive discussions with defendants and lawyers.

Cook submitted up to 40 written reports a month, and many more oral reports. She also turned over internal defense documents. She was paid \$400 a month, and submitted her last report in December, 1974.

Cook offered to cooperate with the defense organizations she had spied on because she became convinced she was harming people who were victims of US society.

## INMATES INDICTED

The Attica Rebellion occurred in September, 1971. Black and white prison inmates rose up against the brutal repression of the New York State prison system. Forty-one inmates and hostages were murdered, and scores of prisoners were injured, when a massive assault on

the prison was ordered by then-Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Many inmates have been indicted, but no troopers or guards—despite ample knowledge of their abuses of prisoners. New York State is determined that the Attica inmates must pay heavily for their rebellion—in order to prevent future prison rebellions. The Brothers are just as determined to continue fighting for freedom.

The trials have been going on for some time, but many charges were dropped because of the flimsy evidence. The first setback happened recently, when two defendants, Charley Joe and Dacajeweah, were convicted.

Now even the mask of "fair trials" has been swept aside by Cook's admission. William Kunstler, defense attorney, said, "If we had a government agent in our camp, we are entitled to a dismissal of all charges against these two men."

Attica Now, the prisoner defense and support committee, has named April 28 a National Day of Support for the Attica Brothers. They demand the officials immediately stop all reprisals against the Brothers and drop all indictments. □

Kay Stacy



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