

# Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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## FUEL STRIKES SPREAD

The center of organized resistance to the government's phony energy crisis has shifted to West Virginia. Following the independent truckers' massive strike for lower diesel and gasoline prices, West Virginia coal miners have given the Nixon administration another big kick in the teeth.

Defying the West Virginia governor, the coal companies, and their own union leadership, 26,000 miners went on strike, demanding enough gasoline to get to work and an end to West Virginia's rationing system.

They have shown all of us what can be done to fight the energy crisis.

The miners first began to stay off the job towards the end of February — simply because they didn't have enough gas to get to work. But as March gas allocations came in and as the government rushed a special allocation to McDowell County, it turned into a protest.

107 mines which produce ¼ million tons of coal a day were closed, threatening to cut back steel production at U.S. Steel Corp. mills.

Carl Bunch, secretary-treasurer of the Beckley, West Vir-

ginia local of the United Mine Workers told *Workers' Power* that the miners were protesting Governor Arch Moore's order that no one with more than ¼ tank of gas could buy more. And although the Governor later offered a compromise for miners who had to drive long distances to work, the strike continued.

The miners understood that they had the power to change the situation, and even the UMW leadership could not shake that determination. Bob Sizemore, UMW District 29 Representative told *Workers' Power* on March 7, "The International Union and the District are urging the men

to go back to work. We're attending their meetings and urging them to go back to work, but they don't seem to be heading."

All working people are in this mess together. The gasoline shortage affects us all. The higher prices affect us all. And the record profits of the oil companies make us all madder than hell!

First the truckers and now the miners have found that we don't have to just accept it all. They have fought back, and slowly working people are catching on.

In Seattle, the King County Labor Council voted unanimously to recommend a general strike unless the phony fuel shortage is ended.

In Rochester, N.Y., AFL-CIO and UAW leaders led a demonstration and called for a one-hour nation-wide strike to fight the energy crisis. The New Jersey AFL-CIO Industrial Union Council did the same.

Five hundred teachers at the

Illinois Education Association convention in Chicago marched on the headquarters of Standard Oil of Indiana demanding a rollback of fuel prices.

And even George Meany hinted he might call for nationalization of the oil industry.

Nationalization is what the oil companies deserve and what we need. It's the only way to prevent them from making superprofits by deliberately restricting production, holding back imports, and keeping supplies hidden in tankers.

They've ripped us off too long. A nation-wide general strike — lasting an hour or a day — would be a giant step toward that goal.

To Meany and to most of the leadership of the trade union movement, these ideas are mere words, all bluster and sham. They'll move only as far as they're pushed.

The number one job of working people today is to push like hell. ■

Jim Woodward



## Victory At Farah!

The 21-month strike and boycott against the Farah Manufacturing Company is over. Willie Farah officially surrendered and agreed to recognize the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW) as the bargaining agent for the 8,000 Farah workers. He agreed to rehire all striking workers as soon as production increases and the effects of the boycott wear off.

The boycott was one of the most successful the labor movement has seen in many years. It was a success because of the hard work done by shop stewards, rank and filers and independent support groups.

The Farah strike was not sim-

ply an ordinary labor dispute, but a strike that will have profound effects on the whole Southwest. It was a heroic struggle by Chicana workers who are fighting for self-determination as Chicano people.

The success of the Farah workers has put the bosses in the clothing industry on notice that unions in the Southwest are there to stay. The door has been opened to organizing. No longer can capitalists in the North look to El Paso, San Antonio and other cities as safe bastions for the super-exploitation of working people.

We salute the Farah strikers for a hard won victory! ■



## HOW TO FIGHT THE CRISIS

**Resolutions:** Introduce resolutions in local unions and area councils calling for nationalization of the oil industry and industrial action to back up this demand.

**Demonstrations:** Organize demonstrations at oil company and government offices protesting the phony energy crisis and demanding a price rollback.

**Support:** Support the miners, truckers, and any other workers who are fighting back by joining picket lines, sending money, and passing resolutions of support.

# Women's Labor Convention p.3



## Editorial

# Nixon's Noose Tightens

Every day, the noose of impeachment and prosecution draws tighter around the neck of Richard Nixon's administration. With all his major advisors, a chunk of his cabinet and a smattering of his own lawyers going on trial, Nixon's denials of guilt sound more and more hollow. Only the restraint imposed by the Special Prosecutor prevented the Grand Jury from indicting Nixon himself.

Nixon has one and only one defense — his refusal to turn over evidence which has probably been destroyed wholesale behind the scenes. His hopes for avoiding impeachment now rest on the cowardice of the Congressional Democrats — the hope that they will leave him in office rather than going through confrontations over the tapes and documents or risking new and unpredictable crises.

For public consumption, the formal machinery of investigation and impeachment is creaking along, with all the "deliberate speed" of a mud turtle. Behind the scenes, it can be assumed a less formal, more efficient machinery is being set up — machinery to handle Nixon's plea-bargaining and retirement from office in a way that will let business go on as usual.

We believe the question that should be asked is "After Nixon, What Next?" Should the power brokers of Congress and big money be allowed to simply replace Nixon with Gerald Ford and continue Nixon's policies without his tarnished reputation? Or is there an alternative that can be demanded?

We think — and most people seem to agree — he should be thrown out as fast as possible. But Nixon's impeachment is no solution to the crisis facing workers in this country. Nixon's policies produced not only Watergate but the energy crisis, soaring inflation, racist brutality against the black and brown communities and spreading layoffs. They must be dumped as well.

There is one way to begin — but it is not the way the capitalist politicians will take. The way to start is by calling for a special Presidential election to replace the corrupt Nixon cesspool. In this election, it would be vital for the labor movement to run independent candidates against the Democrats and Republicans. With the greatest crisis in American politics in over a century, we must form a working class party based upon and responsible to the rank and file. It would represent the only alternative to the policies of profit and repression enacted by the capitalist parties.

We support the demand for a special election to replace Nixon. We don't want Ford, we don't want the Democrats, and we don't want the carnival of corruption and meaningless promises that the two parties call a "Presidential election" every four years. We are for an independent labor party to fight in that election. We want to launch a fight to dump the power brokers themselves — the corporate moguls who give the bribes, not just the crooks who accept them.

# Goodrich Kills: The Vinyl Death

Louisville — In the past several years at least five workers in vinyl chloride operations at the Bells Lane B. F. Goodrich plant have died of angiosarcoma, a rare form of liver cancer.

Two more known victims are alive, undergoing treatment. More cases are almost certain to be uncovered, since medical personnel with the state Occupational Safety and Health Administration are only now rechecking company records back to 1942.

The first records search was reportedly done under extreme company pressure, by nonmedical people. Obviously Goodrich officials didn't want any more

with liver damage and others running around without their spleens."

He went on, "I've seen vinylidene lines leaking out there for weeks with rags wrapped around them. They just wouldn't fix them." Then he added, "You haven't seen any of that in the last month."

It apparently takes 18 years for the angiosarcoma tumor to develop to the stage where it's diagnosable. Then it kills very quickly — "a slow starter and fast finisher," as one doctor was quoted as saying.

Now the company is using that fact to alleviate the fears of workers and the wrath of the public by saying essentially,

appear to implement standards regarding the number of gas particles per million in the plant.

Even now, the company appears to be hedging on its pledge to make real, lasting improvements in plant health and safety conditions.

Despite public denials by Goodrich officials, several workers have charged the company with restricting its operations on the day of the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health inspection tour.

One operator in vinyl chloride said he normally charges six of the plastic-making vessels, but on that day his foreman told him, "Don't charge today because we got an inspection coming through and we want it to look good."

Workers feel that inspection tours should not be announced to company officials — workers need real protection, not meaningless contrived ceremonies!

Goodrich's company doctors are still telling workers with reported blood "abnormalities" and others with spleen and pancreas ailments that "as far as they know" the chemicals aren't the cause.

This does nothing to ease fears of workers long dissatisfied with the company's negligence. Many have suffered an unusually high rate of illnesses and medical problems over the years.

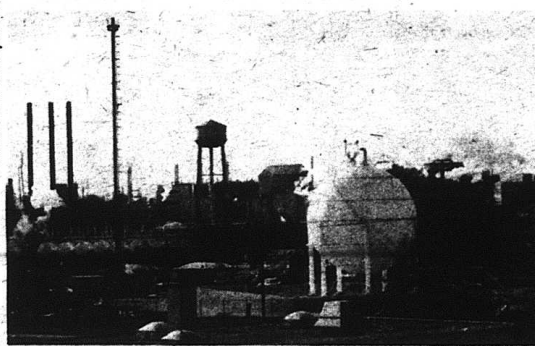
Said one worker just now recuperating from surgery for removal of his spleen, "Sometimes you can't help think there might be something bad wrong, and when it comes close to home, when you get sick and your friends start dying and the company starts investigating things... well, you wonder."

Another worker has had six blood clots removed from his hands since 1962 due to severe damage to his fingers from cleaning plastic vessels in the 50's.

He has worked at the plant here for 18 years and claims he has a pretty good job. "It's

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Workers' Power photo



The B. F. Goodrich plant where vinyl chloride kills workers

evidence of work-related deaths on their hands.

Although this form of cancer is thought to occur in only about 25 persons a year in the whole country, federal authorities and Goodrich officials "still aren't prepared to assert specifically" that vinyl chloride used at the plant is the cause of the high incidence discovered there.

Vinyl chloride used in making plastics has always been known to be a toxic gas. Its suspected cancer-producing properties were detected in a 1970 study.

Goodrich officials admit that recurring leaks inside the plant, where 270 workers are involved in vinyl operations, have "occasionally" caused the dangerous gas to exceed safe levels.

However, it wasn't until last summer, following the second publicized death and several other "little incidents," that the company actually moved to put into effect officially recognized safety standards.

Goodrich employees have been pleading for safety improvements for years. As one disgruntled worker at the Bells Lane plant said recently, "What they're doing now would be fine if they'd have done it 20 years ago. Then they wouldn't have dead people and people

"Well, these were workers who began in the plant years ago before we knew about the gas and when standards were nonexistent."

This implies, of course, that no one who began working there after the early 50's will be affected. The truth is that the five or six deaths currently on record are probably only the beginning of many more to follow — for the next 18 years, seeing as how the company has only now begun to at least

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# WE CAN WIN IF WE ORGANIZE

On March 23, two to three thousand trade union women from across the United States will come to Chicago. Their purpose: to form a national organization, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), that will fight for the rights of working women.

Today women are nearly 40% of the workforce. Women work most of their adult lives. They work because they have to. One out of every eight families is headed by a woman, and poverty is greatest among families with single mothers.

Women work at the worst jobs with the lowest rates of pay. The days are long, the jobs mindless and endlessly repetitive, reflecting the role of women in the family.

The trade union movement has failed to take seriously the question of women workers and most of these jobs are unorganized. Without a union, women are the victims of endless and arbitrary harassment, sexual advances from foremen and bosses, and indiscriminate hiring and firing.

Women who are organized are in male-dominated unions that have failed to fight for women's needs, such as equal pay, upgrades and childcare. Or they have been organized into sweetheart shops where the union collects dues and does nothing else.

And the plight of women workers threatens to get worse.

The women's liberation movement opened up industrial jobs, closed to women since World War II. The numbers hired thus far are not great but they are an essential first step in the process of upgrading the position of women workers.

The coming recession threatens to completely wipe out these gains, as well as laying off hundreds of thousands of women from more traditional female jobs.

Already auto, airlines, teaching and garment — all industries with a substantial female workforce — have been heavily hit by the economic crisis.

Clearly, a national organization of working women fighting to protect and advance the interests of the female labor force is desperately needed.

Until women workers come together and organize to fight for their demands, the trade union leadership will mumble a few platitudes and then drop the subject.

Like black people in this country, women will have to lead their own fight for liberation.

A national organization, drawing in both women trade unionists and women attempting to unionize, could put massive pressure on the giant unions like the AFL-CIO, UAW and the IBT to take seriously the needs of women workers.

It could demand the trade union movement put up the funds necessary to organize women, blacks and other minority workers yet unorganized.

It could organize a national campaign against layoffs, demanding the unions refuse overtime before allowing workers to be laid off.

The corporations are saying that they have less sales, and therefore less work. Meanwhile, some workers are forced to work endless overtime while others are laid off and the corporations continue to make vast profits.

A national organization of women workers could lead a fight for a shorter work week at no loss of pay rather than allow layoffs.

Equally as important, a national organization of women trade unionists legitimizes the struggle of women as workers and as women.

Although in recent years growing numbers of working class women began to support demands such as equal pay and equal access to all jobs, few were willing to openly identify with women's "lib."

The knowledge that a fighting organization of trade union women exists could change all that.

For the first time working women would have an organization that speaks to their needs, fights for demands important to them, and brings them directly into the women's liberation struggle which has never previously been able to speak for them.

The effect could be electrifying.

Women workers across the country could be inspired to form organizing committees for unionization. Women in trade unions could be encouraged to form caucuses within the unions demanding the unions fight for upgrades, childcare, maternity benefits, equal pay and equal job opportunities.

CLUW holds this promise.

Originally called by top union officials to "chat" among themselves, the call for a national organization of women trade unionists has struck a responsive chord among thousands of women fighting on their own.

As support for CLUW grows so do the problems of its leaders.

These leaders, top women officials at the International level of major unions, are sitting on a tinder box. They want to build a base for their fight within the unions for greater recognition and more female leadership. This involves mobilizing a fight for women's rights by rank and file women.

But these leaders are also part of the trade union bureaucracy and are unwilling to seriously challenge their male

counterparts — a necessary step in waging a fight for women workers.

The more CLUW gains the support of rank and file women, the more difficult becomes the leaders' problem. On the one hand, a movement of angry fighting women workers advances their cause — on the other hand, it may sweep them aside.

Already at planning meetings throughout the Midwest, significant sentiment for building a fighting national organization has been expressed. Women in Cleveland voted to call on CLUW to wage a national campaign against recent layoffs. In Detroit, women spoke strongly to the need to organize the unorganized.

Most likely the top leaders will try to keep CLUW within "responsible" union channels. And they will attempt to thwart any criticism of the policies of the labor leadership.

They will push for an organizational structure that gives them almost total control at the top. And they will try to get CLUW to support the Democratic Party.

But they may have a fight on their hands. Women trade unionists serious about building a fighting organization will propose that CLUW become a national membership organization, with a democratically elected leadership, as opposed to an organization of trade union affiliates led by the incumbent female union officials.

They will be demanding that CLUW fight within the trade

union movement for a massive, national campaign to organize the unorganized and fight the layoffs.

They will call on CLUW to support the farm workers' struggle, and they will not be afraid to speak out against the bankruptcy of the current union leaders.

If support for the Democratic Party is proposed they will explain how the Democratic Party has sold out working people over and over again. They will propose instead that labor run its own candidates pledged to fight for the interests of all working people.

The formation of an organization with genuine rank and file control is not likely at this time. Nonetheless, the CLUW conference, and the questions to be raised there, will give added impact to the growing movement of working women. It offers an exciting possibility to build an organization for advancing their struggles. ■

Gay Semel

*[Workers' Power urges all women workers interested in building a working women's movement to attend the CLUW meeting in Chicago, March 23-24.*

*Information on registration can be obtained from: Addie Wyatt, Chairwoman of CLUW Conference Arrangements Committee, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers International Union, 4859 South Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60615.]*

## Domestic Workers Plan Strike



Geraldine Roberts, union founder, hands out leaflets

CLEVELAND — Geraldine Roberts, founder and executive director of the Domestic Workers of America, has worked as a domestic for almost 30 years. She was ten years old when she had her first job; she stood on a box in the kitchen of the Arkansas home where her mother worked and helped her prepare the Christmas dinner.

Now, Geraldine Roberts is working to organize all domestic workers into a union — the Domestic Workers of America.

The DWA was founded in 1965 and has approximately 3,000 members. It is fighting for better working conditions, paid transportation for domestics, a minimum wage of \$3 an hour for all maids, baby sitters and handy men. The union is also fighting for greater job security for its members.

Right now there are six million domestics in this country, "the invisible workers" accord-

ing to Roberts. Domestics earn about \$1.50 an hour, and are rarely treated with respect.

Quite often they are unable to receive any social security benefits because employers pay in cash, making it impossible for domestics to get their social security benefits.

The Domestic Workers of America are planning a work stoppage in order to build their organization and fight for better working conditions.

The exact date of the first stoppage is unknown. However, it will begin on a Friday. According to Roberts, speaking at a rally of the DWA in Cleveland, "that is hair appointment day in the suburbs."

"We won't be there for the house to be nice and clean for the weekend. We want to show the employers how sick and tired workers are of the way we've been treated." ■

Celia Emerson



## Black Strike Wave Hits South Africa



South African workers line up for a meal at a "workers canteen."

A new strike wave by black South African workers, though not yet as large as a year ago when 100,000 workers struck, has already hit the textile and auto assembly industries, dairies and hotels.

The white supremacist regime is reacting with increased viciousness. Beyond issuing new bans to silence its opposition, it has now turned to assassination.

South African agents have murdered two exiled black leaders, Ongkopotse Tiro in Botswana and John Dube in Zambia. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Vorster is engaged in meaningless talks with hand-picked black chiefs loyal to his government.

### Black unions spread

Independent black trade unions are growing fast because of the confidence gained in last year's unorganized strikes and the crippling inflation rate. In the past few months, in the region of Natal alone, unions of blacks working in textiles, metals, clothing, furniture, food, transport and chemicals have been organized.

A strike of 10,000 workers brought the notorious Frame textile group to its knees near

Durban. A walkout at several Durban hotels brought pay increases to 8,000 hotel workers. Two dairies in the Transvaal were closed by workers demanding pay increases. Two thousand workers at an auto assembly

plant in Durban struck to demand a wage rate of \$1.40 an hour.

Beside a predicted rate of inflation of 15% in 1974, and a cost of living increase in Johannesburg of 17% last year, the wage increases won so far are paltry. Even the 70% increases paid to black gold miners in the last eighteen months — while the price of gold itself has more than doubled — gives them an average wage of only \$55 per month, less than half the basic subsistence wage.

While small in material terms, however, the victories won so far are significant. For the first time in years organized black workers are fighting for their own interests. The iron fist of repression accompanies the increased organization and militancy of black workers, but has not stopped them. ■

## Perón Purges Left

Fighting in the Cordoba district of Argentina has turned into a clear campaign by President Juan Peron to crush all independent or opposition forces inside his movement.

The left-wing Peronists are the first slated to be crushed.

Following a right-wing police rebellion and the kidnapping of left-wing Peronist governor Ricardo Obregon Cano, a campaign of terror against his supporters has been launched in the streets of Cordoba.

The situation is described by Obregon Cano's non-Peronist opponent in the last election as "episodes of anarchy, death, destruction, the violation of parliamentary laws and civilian militias." Those who oppose the rebellion can be simply shot on the street without ceremony.

The atmosphere of the campaign can also be judged by the statements of its leading organizers. The leader of the newly formed right-wing Peronist youth movement told a rally of thousands:

*"Peron is our leader because he has taught us to live like machos in a world of cowardly fairies. We are going to crush the leftists because Peron has ordered it."*

Since January, at least twelve known left-wing militants are reported killed, and 20 branches of left groups have been bombed or assaulted by armed right-wing ers.

In fact, Peron has given his full support to the right-wing campaign. His supporters, who control a two-thirds majority in Argentina's Senate, have approved his request that he be allowed to appoint a new governor in the Cordoba district.

Peron's purge of his own movement is aimed toward removing all left-wing influence and assuring the complete, unchallenged control of himself and his appointed successors. The growing chaos and violence in Argentina is carefully organized and tightly controlled from above.



JUAN PERON

To carry out this purge, Peron is relying on a coalition of right-wing union and youth leaders along with extreme right wing elements previously outside his own movement. Bewildered, disorganized and powerless, the once powerful left-wing Peronists and the "moderate" opposition Radical Civic Union have been able to mount little effective opposition.

There are signs that some left-Peronist leaders and perhaps thousands of their active followers, driven out of their own movement, are going over to the dead end of terrorist guerrilla organizations.

The twenty-year myths of "revolutionary Peronism" are being shattered once and for all. An independent revolutionary workers' movement will have to be built outside the framework of the nationalist strong-man ideology of Peron. ■

## CLASS STRUGGLE GROWS IN FRENCH MARTINIQUE



A striking farm worker was shot dead and two others wounded on February 14 in Martinique, French West Indies, when armed police descended on striking banana workers in a helicopter and fired into the crowd.

Two days later the body of another worker washed up on a nearby beach, but the French colonial authorities deny he was murdered by the police.

The banana workers stayed on strike for their wage demand of \$7.50 a day, as opposed to the \$6.20 they received before. When attacked by the police, about 100 of them were on their

way to picket a farm where scabs were working. Within a week of the killing, their demands were fully won.

Many of the strikers and their supporters, especially young people hardest hit by unemployment, are going beyond striking and protesting police murders and are demanding independence for their island. The man who represents the island in the French Senate dismisses this as "the latent disease of youth." About half the island's people are under 20.

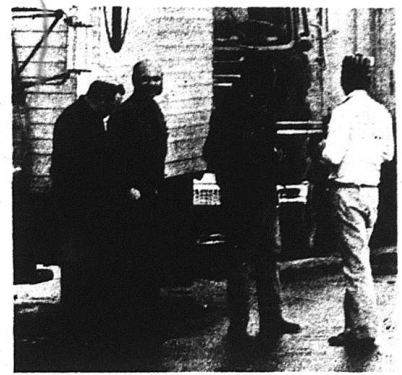
Jobs are scarce, the minimum wage is two-thirds that in France while prices are higher, and a

local oligarchy of big planters and a few industrialists has controlled political life for generations.

The trade union leaders and the Communist Party in Martinique are trying to play down the demand for independence. But growing contacts with metropolitan France have helped in the formation of a revolutionary movement which openly advocates both independence and socialism in the islands.

While revolutionary groups are still small, the capitalist press magnifies their role in the strike movement, probably in order to justify a new wave of political repression. ■

# SPOTLIGHT SHIFTS TO TEAMSTERS...



Over the March 2 weekend about sixty owner-operators representing seventeen certified regional organizations met in Chicago to form a loose organization, the National Independent Truckers' Unity Committee. Bill Hill of FASH, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, who was chairman of the truckers' negotiating team, was chosen temporary chairman for 90 days.

The move for a new strike called for by Mike Parkhurst of *Overdrive* magazine was rejected unanimously, but it was generally agreed the recent settlement with the government was inadequate. Future actions may be called.

This was largely the group responsible for the settlement. At the grass roots level independent haulers are more dissatisfied than sentiments at this meeting. The demand for a fuel rollback, the sticking point in last month's settlement, is still very much alive.

This is one of the many truckers' coalitions and organizations that have sprung up and

continued to grow since the haulers began their militant campaign against the government and its energy crisis.

Now more than ever the independents will need a strategy to win public support and to spread the movement. And they need a leadership willing to carry on when the going gets tough. Last time it was partially the government's tough talk that caused the leaders to settle. Next time they will face more than talk.

A real break for the independents could be the re-opening of the Master Freight Agreement covering 500,000 Teamster drivers and dockmen. It was these Teamsters whose national wildcat in 1970 forced the companies and Fitzsimmons to junk their contract and write a new one.

Under pressure from the strike of the independents to do something, Fitzsimmons has reopened the contract. Fitz says it's to gain increased pay for over-the-road drivers who had their wages cut with the speed limits. But this one issue

is just the jumping off point.

The Master Freight Agreement negotiated last summer was a disaster for the ranks. It met none of the basic demands in wages or working conditions. The 35c wage increase for this year has already been entirely consumed by inflation. Drivers now make less than under the old contract!

Two Teamster rank and file papers, the *Fifth Wheel* in the Oakland area and the *Seattle Semi* have come out for catch-up pay, 100% cost of living protection, and protection against lay-offs through full Supplemental Unemployment Benefits.

Fitzsimmons is hoping to settle the contract quietly with a token increase for road drivers, but the employers are worried that even a token increment would cause city drivers and dockmen to rally around broader demands.

Cost of Living chief John Dunlop doesn't like it one bit: "We don't want the kind of flash point which an upward Teamster wage adjustment could provide."

Any kind of linkup between independents demanding a fuel price rollback and freight drivers refusing to "sacrifice" for the oil monopolies would be a real "flash point."

The corporations, the government and the Teamster bureaucrats have reason to be optimistic they can work something out to save face for Fitzsimmons and

maintain peace. There is no organized opposition in the union, and no local officials willing to lead a fight on the contract.

But they still tread lightly. After the independents' example even the smallest spark could reach the flash point — and touch off a real explosion. ■

Ken Smith

## ...As Gov't Plots Against Truckers

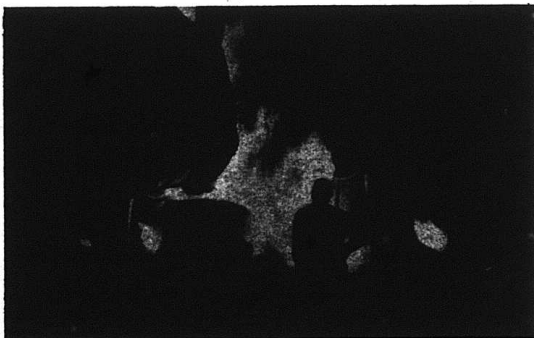
While independent truckers continue to organize, other meetings are also being held. These are by government officials in Washington. These meetings receive no publicity at all, for they are secret discussions of how to smash any further actions by independent haulers.

It seems the government was caught by surprise by the unity and militancy of the truckers, and doesn't want to be caught again. A *New York Times* article reported that "Some of the President's advisors were telling him that the work stoppage was essentially a law-and-order

problem that should be dealt with firmly. There was talk of sending out federal troops (the Army) to keep roads clear and of using C-5A transport aircraft to carry fruit and vegetables into the Northern cities."

The government decided instead on the "moderate" tactics of W. J. Usery, which was to allow a few concessions in hopes of ending the strike. But in the event of further actions by the independents, the "hard line" will be brought out — a national strike-breaking campaign by the federal government. ■

## Abel Runs For Cover



**PITTSBURGH** — A standing-room-only crowd of rank and file steel workers heard I.W. Abel, president of their union, testify that complete secrecy was an essential part of the plan to surrender the right to strike through the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA).

Not only were the ranks kept in the dark, Abel revealed the members of the International Executive Board did not know.

They were notified negotiations were underway 48 hours before a vote was forced through the Steel Industry Conference of Local Union Presidents. The presidents found out after they arrived in Pittsburgh, less than 36 hours before they voted. Abel testifies "it could not have been done" if word had leaked out.

Abel is testifying as a defendant in a court suit brought a-

gainst the union by dissident rank and file steel workers.

All of the legal smokescreen by company and union attorneys was blown away by one simple question asked by Judge Titlebaum, — "What harm would it do to take a vote?" especially since Abel claims that he would win easily. The truth is Abel knows the ENA would not stand a snowball's chance in hell if a fair vote were taken. In last summer's local union elections the only local president to survive in District 26 (Cleveland area) was on record against the ENA.

Dozens of resolutions have been passed in Basic Steel locals, and thousands of rank and filers have signed petitions opposing the Agreement. The court suit by rank and filers against the ENA (after all internal union efforts have been suppressed) has got the heat on Abel. The courts will cool that heat unless even broader and better organized opposition is built. ■

Steve Carter

## TEACHERS BEAT BACK ANTI-UNION LAWS

Last fall, the Provincial legislature of Ontario, Canada put forward a law which would have, in effect, outlawed strikes by teachers. Actually the law would have made mass resignations illegal, as that is one of the tactics they were using.

In response, the teachers unions on December 8 staged a one-day strike of 105,000 Ontario teachers. The strike was accompanied by a mass march of 30,000 of them on the capital.

The result of this outpouring of teacher determination was that the anti-strike legislation was tabled — a marked contrast to many U.S. teacher unions

which have quietly accepted or weakly protested even more vicious legislation here. This is particularly true in New York State, where the Taylor Law imposes a fine of two day's pay for every day out on strike.

U.S. teachers facing anti-strike legislation can take a lesson from Canadian teachers.

If the U.S. teacher movement is to regain its momentum and reverse its declining real salaries and worsening working conditions, it will have to take a page from the Ontario teachers: direct mass action and no reliance on phony politician friends. ■

# labor briefs

Coal miners on strike at the Brookside mine in Harlan County, Kentucky won a victory in court recently. Circuit Judge Dan Ward rescinded an earlier injunction that prohibited more than three pickets at any entrance to the mine.

Many wives and friends of the miners had been arrested for defying that injunction. Judge Ward noted that the injunction was useless since it could not be enforced. The local jails, he said, are not big enough to hold everyone who would have to be arrested.

West Virginia miners are also active. The West Virginia Black Lung Association held a rally of 150 miners in Charleston, the state capital, February 20 to protest legislative attacks on black lung benefits. The current benefits were won as a result of a massive strike of West Virginia coal miners in 1969.

The Black Lung Association's *Black Lung Bulletin* says, "The attack on black lung benefits is part of the overall attempt of the rich class who own the huge corporations to make the working class of people carry the burden of their economic crisis."

The Gallo wine boycott is hurting. Gallo has organized some liquor stores to file for injunctions against United Farm Workers' picket lines. The claims they make in court are very interesting. Jay Vee liquors claimed that when the UFW put up a picket line at one store it lost 90% of its business. Many others argued that the UFW picket lines really hurt business. What a shame!

By shopping around for friendly judges (such as the one who is a former grower), California liquor stores have gotten injunctions limiting picketing. The UFW is defying these injunctions.

Increased railroad business as a result of the energy crisis is having a devastating effect on the safety of railroad workers and passengers. The Penn Central reports 650 derailments during January, up from about 100 in September. Penn Central track is so deteriorated that reduced speed limits are already imposed on 8200 miles of the railroad's 19,000-mile system.

Black workers have won job discrimination cases in Louisiana and Georgia. Uniroyal will pay \$275,000 to 98 black workers at two Louisiana plants, and the Georgia Power Company will have to come up with \$1.8 million for 360 black workers who were victims of discriminatory hiring and promotion policies. Both cases were the results of lawsuits and include such additional measures as plant-wide seniority and non-discriminatory training programs.

A membership meeting of the Lordstown, Ohio local of the UAW passed a resolution calling for a labor party and a nationwide strike of the UAW, Teamsters, and AFL-CIO to force Nixon's resignation.

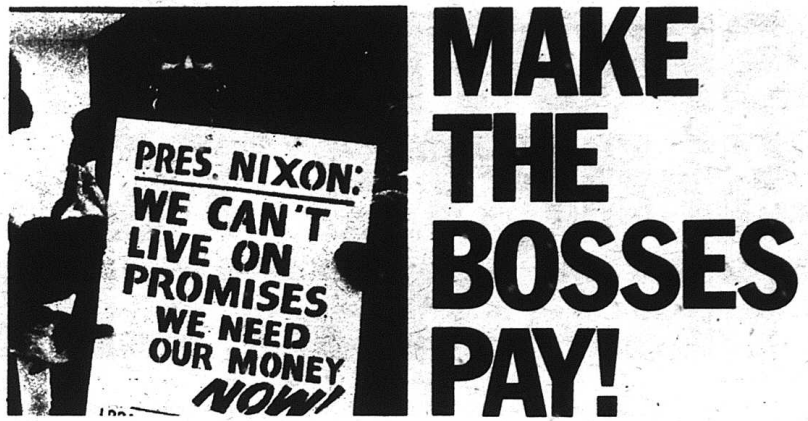
The Columbus Coated Fabrics Co. — that Ohio plant where 15% of the work force was hit by a disabling nerve disease last fall — has threatened to close down rather than comply with union demands. Members of Textile Workers Local 487 have been on strike since their contract expired February 9, demanding health and safety improvements and a cost-of-living clause.

The executive board of the UAW has apparently decided to move toward rejoining the AFL-CIO. The executive board held a meeting February 21 to discuss the question and plans to test out sentiment among local officials before proceeding further. Rejoining the AFL-CIO would require ratification by a UAW convention.

During the independent truckers strike in early February, wives of truckers were very active in Gary, Indiana. One leaflet they passed out was a "True or False" quiz with the following questions:

- I like 60% profits for the oil companies.
- I like the way Nixon stopped inflation by forcing a freight rate increase instead of rolling back fuel prices.
- I think Nixon is innocent of all public charges, that is why he needs 13 lawyers.

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



Racial discrimination in hiring has long been an important issue at the small Continental Can plant in Harvey, Louisiana. A U.S. District Court judge for eastern Louisiana has ruled that because of the plant's historic, racially discriminatory hiring policy, lay-off and recall according to strict seniority at this plant violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

In doing so, he overruled seniority provisions in the contract between Local 2369 of the Steelworkers and Continental Can. This decision, if it stands, will soon have a powerful nationwide impact.

## Whites only

Before 1965, only two black workers had been hired into the Harvey plant: both during World War II when it was impossible to find whites to fill the job openings. In 1966, one more black worker was hired, making a grand total of three black workers out of a workforce of 410.

In 1967 and 1968, under pressure, the company started hiring a few more blacks. Then, from 1969 to 1971, substantial numbers of black workers were finally hired. By 1971, the plant employed 50 blacks out of a workforce of 400, or 12½ percent — still a far cry from a racially equitable employment pattern in eastern Louisiana.

Then layoffs hit. By April 1973, the workforce was down to 152. The layoffs went all the way back to 1951 seniority. With the exception of the two black workers hired in the 1940's, the plant was once again all white.

Furthermore, the first 138 workers on the recall list were also white. It was at this point that the laid-off black workers went to court.

Judge Cassibry ruled in their favor finding: "Employment preference cannot be allocated on the basis of length of service or seniority where blacks, by virtue of prior discrimination, were prevented from accumulating relevant seniority. This principle invalidates the layoff and recall rules in the present case."

The judge stated he would order relief designed to insure that not hiring blacks for 20 years is no excuse for permitting the plant to operate without

black employees for the next decade. The specifics are still to be worked out, but will probably include provisions to recall the laid-off black workers before recalling the higher seniority whites.

The judge also stated that since the company, and not the white workers, has the major responsibility for the "white only" hiring policy, the company should bear the primary burden for correcting the discrimination. He suggested such possibilities as forcing the company to hire a larger workforce than it needed, or reducing working hours.

Workers' Power supports this decision to compensate black workers for past discriminatory treatment. Black workers were justified in demanding that layoffs not deprive them of the employment rights they had won following a twenty year policy of total racial exclusion.

While we support this particular decision, we want to focus special attention on a point made by Judge Cassibry. It is something he may or may not have really been serious about, but it is a point that we can expect very few judges to uphold unless they are subject to strong pressure from workers and our unions: It is the company and not the workers who must be forced to pay the cost for correcting past discriminatory practices.

## Reduce work week

There is a solution to give the black workers their just compensation without penalizing a single white worker for Continental Can's racist discriminatory policies. Local 2369 should demand that the judge order the following kind of proposal:

- 1) Continental Can immediately recall all 50 black workers on the layoff list.
- 2) The work week at the Harvey plant be immediately reduced to 30 hours with all workers receiving full 40 hour pay so long as the layoffs remain in effect.
- 3) Continental Can be prohibited from shutting the plant or transferring its work elsewhere while the short work week provisions remain in effect.

These demands mean that while black workers won't be forced to pay for past discriminatory policies by the companies, the white workers won't remain on the street a day longer than they would have with strict seniority.

It should be clear to all that in order for the black workers in Harvey, Louisiana to get justice, someone will have to pay a penalty for Continental Can's past criminal behavior. Who should it be? Just as clear, it should be Continental Can and not the workers.

In the Harvey case, and in similar situations that arise elsewhere, it is urgently important that workers come together, both white and black, to demand the injustice be corrected, and the criminal — not the victims — pay the price.

## Danger in ruling

Otherwise there is a danger that Judge Cassibry's ruling, however just in this case, can be used to benefit the capitalist racists responsible for discrimination, responsible for undermining the position of both black and white workers. The most common theme in all of American labor history is employers stirring up antagonisms between races and between nationalities to keep workers divided and weak.

This is how unions were kept out of basic industry between the Civil War and the late 1930's. Now, as we enter a period of economic hard times, the bosses are looking hard for ways to divide and weaken the working class. And the courts are not neutral in this process. When push comes to shove they will make it clear to everyone which side they are on — the capitalists, not the workers.

There are very few capitalists that have any love for the seniority system. Many would like nothing more than to see it weakened or undermined. It doesn't generally cost a corporation any more to lay off or recall workers in violation of seniority than it does to follow the seniority system.

Workers who justly demand preferential seniority for purposes of correcting racial imbalance caused by past discrimination must always tie this to the demand that the boss, not other workers, pay the price.

It is a likely possibility that only the part of Judge Cassibry's ruling overturning seniority becomes law, and not the part holding that the company must pay the price. When any major corporation is faced with heavy layoffs, it could announce that according to law, they must violate the union seniority agree-

[Continued on page 14]

# SHANKER BACKS MASS TEACHER LAYOFFS

**NEW YORK** — Massive numbers of teachers are being laid off in the New York City Public School system. Approximately 1,100 positions have been lost since November, 1973 — a total of nearly 9,000 teaching positions eliminated since September, 1971.

The Central Board of Education's excuse is the cuts are a result of dropping registers and overspending by local community school boards. (New York City has some decentralized districts.) Isiah Robinson, Central Board member, even went so far as to blame teachers for the drop in enrollment. He maintains teachers rather than decaying schools, large class sizes, and inadequate programs are the cause of school dropouts.

As for the teachers' union, Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), not only refuses to use the union's strength to fight for teachers' jobs, but even condones the cuts.

At the February 13 delegate assembly, he introduced a resolution which called on the Central Board to seek legislation to mandate central control of district budgets "in order to prevent the overbudgeting which has resulted in our present crises." In effect, this law will make it illegal for local boards to hire an adequate teaching staff.

Why did Shanker take this tactic? For three Februaries in a row there have been sizeable teacher layoffs. Each time rank and file teachers in the union, dissatisfied with this situation, protested and demonstrated. These actions are embarrassing to Shanker. They call attention to his do-nothing policies — to his refusal to fight for more jobs.

This year is especially politically awkward for Shanker. The mayor of New York City, Abraham Beame, was elected this fall with UFT support. However, Beame is not supplying the needed emergency funds (a campaign promise), and Shanker refuses to act.

## Budget dries up

Are the massive cuts due to overspending as claimed? How is it that all the community school boards happen to overspend at the same time? The fact is there is less money for education, and the city is tightening the budget. There is not enough money allocated to ade-

quately staff the schools, provide necessary programs and materials, and at the same time meet increasing costs.

In the past when registers dropped the result was a lower class size. Now class size is going up. The UFT class size limitation is being violated all over the city and the UFT refuses to fully process grievances on this contract violation.

The staff cuts are part of an attack on a deteriorating public school system by federal, state, and city governments. This is clearly demonstrated by President Nixon's recent veto of federal funds sorely needed for public education.

## Parents build boycott

The union should have rallied both teacher and community support to fight the cutbacks. But Shanker has long been vehemently opposed to community control and has launched vicious and racist attacks on community movements and leaders. Many parents throughout the city realize cutbacks in school staffing harm the community as well as teachers. They have begun to join with teachers to fight without UFT support.

Despite the union's activity, the parents and teachers of a Central Harlem school district boycotted the schools for one week. Rank and file teachers initiated the protest. The parents then stepped in and led the struggle for teachers' jobs. The parents and teachers demanded a greater say for the community in program changes, hiring, and firing, and demanded no loss of teachers or programs.

Joint militant actions like the boycott are an important step forward in the fight for quality education in a shrinking economy. But with the union leadership solidly against such activities, rank and file teachers must organize in the union as well as the community for support.

Shanker must be gotten rid of. He should be replaced with militant union leadership that will fight for teachers' jobs, that will enforce the teachers' contract to the hilt, and that will actively build united action between teachers and parents. This is the only way to stem the tide of job elimination that has been going on for over 2½ years, the only way to stop the deterioration of education in New York City. ■



# Which Side Are You On?

Kim Moody

## GETTING AWAY WITH IT

**As an activist in the seven-month 1971-72 New York Telephone strike, one of the most frustrating experiences of my life came when Joe Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), pushed through practically the same settlement we had rejected the previous summer.**

I knew even then that this was happening to militant workers in all industries. You reject a contract, walk out, or wildcat and in the end the top union bureaucrats still seem to get their way. How do they keep getting away with it?

Part of the answer is the way bargaining is set up in most unions. While most unions have some sort of bargaining council that represents the local unions, these councils have no real power.

It is the top officials and staff members of the International unions that actually do the bargaining and decide when to settle.

This is exactly what Joe Beirne did in 1971-72. The CWA Bargaining Council decided on the bargaining demands, and said that no one would go back to work until all units in the Bell Telephone System had ratified the agreement. After only five days on strike, Beirne settled for way less than the council had demanded and told everyone to go back to work before they voted on the settlement.

In other words, Beirne just overruled the bargaining council and did what he pleased. New York State stayed on strike by itself. But in the end Beirne had his way.

## Decisions at top

Other unions operate in the same way. The United Auto Workers actually have a large committee of elected negotiators who are supposed to carry out the will of the UAW Bargaining Conventions. As it turns out the elected bargaining committee plays no real role at all.

UAW Secretary-Treasurer, Emil Mazey, who ought to know, said of the 1970 settlement: "The basic decisions were not made by the committee; we make the decisions, the top

leaders of the union. And the decisions are conveyed to the committee and they agree."

In the Steel Workers, the Basic Steel Conference draws up a bargaining program like the CWA Bargaining Councils, but it is the top three or four leaders and a lawyer who do the real negotiating and decide when to settle.

In the Teamsters' big master freight agreements, bargaining is done by regional conferences. These conferences, however, are not democratic bodies.

As one Teamster official explained a few years ago, the conference meeting "is in no sense a convention, it is rather a business meeting of the business representatives employed by the participating local unions." (Quoted in Sam Romer, *The International Brotherhood of Teamsters*, New York, 1962, p. 89.)

Even then, the actual negotiations are carried out by appointees of the International President.

## Ranks have no role

In fact, there isn't a major union around in which the rank and file have even indirect control over the negotiations and final decisions on the settlement.

All the ranks have is the right to reject and send back the agreement — to the same bureaucrats who sold out in the first place. This is one of the reasons that top union leaders can force the ranks to accept lousy settlements even after they reject them.

Today's union leaders follow a policy of collaboration with the employers. So long as they are beyond the direct, day to day, reach of the union membership they can continue to do so. A union that was set up to fight for the needs of the workers, and not those of the bosses, would have a very different structure.

## Build fighting union

One corner-stone of such a fighting union must be the democratic control of its negotiators.

That would mean that the bargaining councils or conferences must be democratically elected from the locals. The council must have binding power on the negotiators. Its demands and program must be carried out by those negotiators. The council must also have the right to recall any negotiator and elect new ones at any time.

This kind of a democratic bargaining set-up would show the company that the union means business. It is the rank and file and its power to close things down, not the slick bureaucrats who run the unions today, that the employers fear.

The employers count on the bureaucrats to hold back the ranks, and they are seldom disappointed. A militant union with a democratic bargaining structure could win far more than the timid take-it-or-leave-it tactics of today's union bureaucrats were ever meant to win. ■



Joe Beirne, CWA President, begins '74 sell-out attempt

# FLINT 1937: MASS ST

*When they tie a can to a union man, Sit down! Sit down!*

*When they give 'em the sack, they'll take him back, Sit down! Sit down!*

So goes one of the songs coming out of the great Flint sit-down strike.

For 44 days early in 1937, auto-workers in Flint, Michigan sat in, fighting for a decent life and union recognition.

At the end of one of labor's most heroic battles, the workers beat the giant General Motors corporation, ushering in a new era in American labor history.

This victory, against incredible odds, marked the beginning of massive unionization throughout American industry.

Workers inspired by the cour-

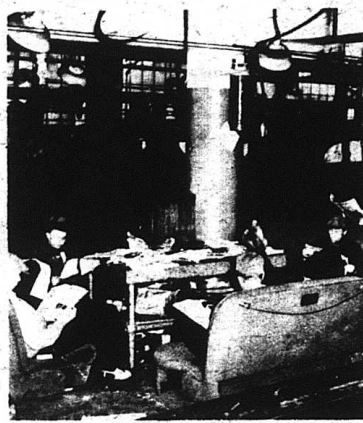
age and militancy of the Flint workers, built the UAW and the CIO over the next decade.

In 1974 Flint is in the news. As layoffs in auto mount, Flint, Michigan again resembles the 30's — massive unemployment has turned Flint into a depression area.

Courage and militancy against incredible odds are again needed. Only this time the UAW leadership refuses to fight.

Auto workers, once again, need to build a union that will take on General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Woodcock will not do this and must be swept aside.

The story of the Flint sit-down shows what is possible. General Motors was brought to its knees once — it can be done again.■



# SIT-DOWN STRIKE PAVED THE WA

At the end of 1936, the greatest sit-down strike in labor's history began. It happened in the city of Flint, Michigan. A company town, Flint was totally ruled by the General Motors Corporation.

The company was enormously rich. In 1936 it made a profit of \$225 million and paid its two top officers a salary of \$375,000 each.

The condition of auto workers was a marked contrast. Their average yearly wage was \$900 and all efforts to organize a union were met with violence, harassment and the use of spies and agents.

In 1934 GM spent \$839,000 for detectives to hunt out-militants.

The situation could not last very long. In 1936 the fight began. During that summer the newly formed United Automobile Workers union (UAW) sent its organizers to Flint.

They had to deal with company agents and spies inside what union organization did exist. Nonetheless, the conditions in the plants and the leadership offered by the UAW organizers produced results.

By the end of 1936 there was a fairly large number of workers in the union. There were also still a significant number of company agents.

The plan of the top leaders of the UAW and the parent organization, the CIO, was to organize the steel industry first.

But the ranks in the auto plants in Flint, Akron, Ohio, and Detroit would have nothing to do with a wait-and-see approach. Conditions were awful, pay was awful, life was awful. Action had to be taken.

At that time there were only two plants in the GM empire that made chassis — the Fisher body plant in Cleveland and Fisher Body No. 1 in Flint.

On December 28, 1936, work-

ers struck the Cleveland plant when the company delayed a bargaining meeting. Two days later the company tried to move the dies out of the Fisher Body No. 1 plant to another less organized plant in Michigan.

When the workers found out, they met and decided to fight. They struck for union recognition, their jobs, and their dignity.

They began by securing the plant against attackers. Workers moved unfinished car bodies in front of all entrances forming gigantic barricades. They welded steel frames around every door with acetylene torches.

Bullet-proof metal sheets were put up to cover every window. Holes were drilled in them allowing fire hose nozzles to be screwed in. Wet clothes were kept ready as protection against tear gas attacks.

Large supplies of metal parts were placed in strategic spots and paint guns for spraying invaders were located throughout the plant.

The sit-in spread immediately to the smaller Fisher Body No. 2 plant and all car body production ground to a halt. GM was horrified.

## Workers build defenses

The 1200 workers in Fisher Body No. 1 continued to organize themselves. They held two mass meetings a day and formed committees to take care of their needs — food, security, information, sanitation and health, safety, entertainment, education and athletics. All of these were democratically elected.

Every worker had a specific duty for six hours a day. A post office was established and a basketball court set up. Film showings were arranged and classes held on labor history. The workers were in the plants to stay.

Outside, the union organization was just as efficient. The responsibility for feeding several thousand workers was enormous. Picket lines were maintained

continuously outside the plants.

Much of the time mass picket lines were set up to protect the men. Women workers were asked not to sit-in.

Help came from all directions. City bus drivers delivered food, a special newspaper was produced, trucks of food from Akron workers came into Flint, and Chrysler workers from all around the area donated an hour's pay each day towards winning the strike.

## Police charge factory

As the strike grew stronger, and the workers' spirits rose, big business showed its true colors. GM turned to violence and attacked on the afternoon of January 11, 1937.

Some of the Fisher Body No. 2 workers were beaten. Immediately several hundred workers rushed to the plant to beat off the assault. Minutes later the police charged the factory.

Inside, workers used fire hoses to drench the advancing cops while others threw two-pound hinges down from the roof. Five minutes later the police opened fire. Fourteen workers were wounded. But even while they were being carried away, others overturned the sheriff's car (with the sheriff in it) and drove the police away.

The next day 8,000 workers celebrated the victory. Thousands joined the UAW. In both factories the defenses were strengthened.

During the battle many of the strikers' wives fought the police and, under the leadership of Genora Johnson, formed the Women's Emergency Brigade. They wore red berets and were invaluable during the struggle.

The entire working class of Flint mobilized for the show-down with GM. It was going to be a fight to the finish.

Michigan's Governor Murphy placed 3,000 national guardsmen in readiness and on January 13 he called a peace conference. GM agreed to meet the UAW but the company refused to

give the union sole bargaining rights.

Instead they wanted to negotiate with other unions as well — particularly company unions and right wing groups. The sit-in went on.

The company launched an all-out drive to smash the strike. Union officials were beaten and terrorized. Plants closed at the beginning of the strike, in order to discredit and demoralize the union, were reopened.

GM took the initiative away from the workers. Only a determined counter-offensive could win it back.

Across the road from the Fisher Body plant stood nine Chevrolet plants. The largest and most important was Chevy No. 4 which made engines used throughout the GM empire. It was heavily guarded by armed thugs, managed by a Nazi sympa-

thizer. It was considered impregnable.

The UAW organizers decided it was necessary to take action and regain the initiative. Ideas came from many sources. Kermit Johnson raised the idea of a decoy. Roy Reuther contributed other ideas. Bob Travis, UAW organizer for Flint, worked out the final details. On January 29 he called a meeting of Chevrolet workers. When the meeting ended he asked 150 stewards and organizers to remain.

Then Travis summoned the men into a darkened room — one by one. Only a candle burned in this deliberately conspiratorial atmosphere. Thirty men were selected as the "most trusted." The others were sent home with slips of paper saying "secret order — follow the man who takes the lead."

The 30 were told that at 3:20 the next afternoon Chevrolet



Machine gun nest aimed at Chevy sit-down strikers



# RIKE THAT BUILT UAW

# WN RS

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## Women's Brigade: The Untold Story

[A highly significant aspect of the Flint sit-down strike was the organizing of a women's brigade.

Organized by Genora Johnson, a revolutionary socialist, wives of Flint workers built mass picket lines outside the plants. At first they were critical of the strike, afraid of the strike, afraid of the loss of a paycheck and the suffering it would cause their children.

In the end they were fighting the cops.

The women's brigade played a decisive role in winning the Flint sit-down. Recently Genora Johnson told Workers' Power how the women's brigade was organized and the effect the wives' militancy had both on the men and the women.]

No. 9 would be occupied. Travis then took aside the leaders from plant No. 9 and told them to hold the factory until 8:10 as actually plant No. 6 was the real target. He told the leaders from No. 6 and No. 4 that plant No. 9 was only a decoy and that plant No. 4 was the real target.

By staging the earlier meeting in a darkened room with secret orders, Travis hoped to convince GM's spies that No. 9 was the real target. If it worked, the company's goons would be taken from plant No. 4 and moved to plant No. 9.

The next day when workers in plant No. 9 yelled "sit-down," the doors were shut and hidden guards, many from plant No. 4, attacked them. At 4:10 the workers surrendered; the company was jubilant. But not for long.

At 3:30 work stopped in plant No. 6 and the entire plant moved over to plant No. 4. They met no serious opposition and immediately started to build barricades. When the thugs returned from their phony victory at plant No. 9 they found themselves locked out. On the 34th day of the sit-down, the workers had regained the initiative.

### One last effort

GM was furious. They decided to make one final effort to break the strike. 4,000 National Guardsmen were brought to Flint and howitzers were mounted on a hill overlooking the factory. Picketing was forbidden and the Women's Brigade forced off the street.

On February 2, the heat was shut off in the plants. Immediately the workers threatened to light bonfires to keep warm. Scared for their property, GM restored the heat.

The lights were turned off. The workers again threatened the equipment in the factory. Again GM gave in.

Tension mounted. By February 8, the company had gotten the National Guard, 1,000 armed

[Continued on page 14]

we had almost a thousand women.

The brigade came as a result of the attempt to break the strike at Fisher No. 2. The police hurled tear gas and stopped the food to the workers. We had picket lines at all these places all the time. [Editor's note: this struggle became famous as "the battle of Bulls Run."]

Regardless of how it is written up there were women down there on that picket line.

The fighting was in the streets but you had to go in and out of the building since the tear gas was so bad. When the guys began to get shot the serious fighting began and all the guys reacted in the same way and herded all the women to safety.

They came up to me and said, "All women to safety. Out of the lines of battle." I said, "What the hell you got to fight with, you don't have arms or guns. I've got as much as you have."

They didn't have time, and they just thought there goes that ornery Genora again, so they let me alone. I was down there with the men.

I said to them, "By god, this is terrible. How are we going to get word out to Flint about what is happening? I feel like going right up and letting them shoot me, a woman, and I'll be a martyr to the cause."

I walked up there and they pulled me aside and said "For Christ's sake, live to tell about it" and they pulled me away.

Then I got my senses. But my first reaction was not one of fear, but a mad desire, or anger and frustration and the feeling that you want to do something.

All the women were herded to safety. We fought in and out of the plant, shooting back the tear gas bombs into the line of cops. The battle went on all night.

Victor Reuther was doing a marvelous job on the sound car. Then the batteries started to go down. He came to us and said, "Looks like we'll lose this battle but win the war. There is nothing we can do, the batteries are going down."

In the meantime the police had barricades on both sides of the plant. The city of Flint had heard there was a big riot going on at Fisher No. 2. There was a crowd that had accumulated in back of the police lines.

When Victor said this I said, "Let me speak." This was the first time in my life that I ever spoke. He said all right, go ahead, and that's when I called the cops cowards for shooting into the bellies of unarmed men.

I also said, "Do you people in the city of Flint know that they are not only cowardly enough to do this but they are shooting into women, the mothers of children?"

You could hear the gasps at the other end of the line. They didn't know there were any women down there.

The truth of the matter was that I was the only one. I deliberately made them feel there were several there.

Genora Johnson



WP: What was the reaction of the men when they saw their wives playing a decisive role in the battle? How did they react to the formation of the "women's brigade?"

GJ: First of all, when I spoke over the loudspeaker at Bulls Run I did not appeal to the men because I knew the police would shoot them. I appealed to the women to break through and join their husbands and sons.

This was really the end of the battle of Bulls Run. This was when all the people streamed in and we set up a bonfire.

That battle was won as a result of the women. That's what encouraged the men and made me know that women could play a role.

When I first went up to the union hall in Flint, they would assign all the women to the kitchen. Women shouldn't always be wearing that pot and pan around their necks.

Because the men would always make passes at you, I would have to wear my hair absolutely straight, no make up, no frills whatsoever.

I had to let them know I meant business. I was up there for a purpose. I got to be known as the sexless woman. They did not know what category to put me in.

This prevailed among some of the men when we first started. Those men thought we were up there for one purpose only. Others were very glad we were there.

The first time the women went out and manned the picket lines in groups. Then when we formed the women's emergency brigade with our red arm bands and hats, we stood in front of the men and dared the cops on many occasions.

WP: How did the involvement of the women change their lives? How did it change the way they looked at themselves and their traditional role as women?

GJ: I am sure it must have had an effect on them. It was a dramatic experience for everyone involved.

There was a comradeship that developed between the man and wife. They had fought together for the economic betterment of both. When it was over the union officials thanked the women for coming out and helping them.

They had not had that much exposure, and they were all happy that the strike had been won. Now they could go back to their homes and be with their kids. They looked forward to getting a regular paycheck and finding their own lives again.

That was the conditioning of the society.

WP: Were there any women in the plants at Flint?

GJ: Of course. AC Spark Plug had a majority of women. There were about 7,000. These girls were working for 12½ cents an hour, and one whole department was treated at the county hospital for VD which was traceable to one foreman.

These girls would have to go out with the foreman in order to keep their jobs. These girls would get out of high school and would have to go to work in order to keep their families going.

They did not dare to lose their jobs. They were terrified.

We sent the sound car down there. We had a lot of help from them as they were imbued with the idea of helping the strikers.

# Miners Topple Heath -

The British miners' strike has ended in victory, and the three-day work week is over. Edward Heath is out of office, and a Labor Party government is back in power by a paper-thin margin. The Tories' highly touted "gamble" to secure a "mandate from the country" for their union-smashing, wage gouging policies has collapsed in ruins.

The entire British working class has won an inspiring and important economic and political victory. It has gone through a confrontation with the rulers, and won by using its own strength, its power to stop production and transportation. But the real crisis for Britain in 1974 is only beginning.

The election results proved that British workers, and even most of the middle class, refused to buy the line that the miners' strike was driving the country to ruin. They correctly pinned the blame directly where it belonged — on the Heath government, which risked throwing British industry into chaos to defeat the miners' demands for a decent living wage.

For the whole three-week election campaign, the entire resources of the British ruling class were used to strong-arm workers into returning another, stronger Tory government. The daily press sank to new depths to insult the unions and paint Heath's rule as "liberal" and "moderate," threatening frightful consequences if he were not re-elected.

The voters didn't buy it. All they saw in Heath's record was three years of failure — years in which the repressive wage freeze, the Industrial Relations Act (Britain's Taft-Hartley law, aimed at crippling actions by unions and their members), and the rest of his blatant profit-boosting policies produced only sharper inflation, a massive balance of payments deficit and deepening industrial conflict.

## Leaders hold back

In many respects, the conditions for workers to struggle for their urgent needs in Britain are much more favorable now. The most important thing is the example set by the miners themselves. Their strike proved that militant industrial action could bring down a government and win most of what they demanded.

In fact, the only thing that prevented the miners from winning a complete victory — and

much more rapidly — was the conservative, conciliatory strategy of their own leaders. Their "soft" tactics of limiting pickets to six, then four or even fewer, and refusing to picket oil-fueled power stations at all, weakened the impact of the strike and the solidarity built up around it.

As a result, the new Labor government was able to end the strike immediately with an offer advertised as double that of Heath, but still less than the full demand.

Aside from the fall of Heath,

for solutions in nationalist or right wing fringe parties.

*Socialist Worker*, the weekly paper of the International Socialists in Britain, summed it up this way: "And so, on Wilson's initiative, an election campaign which had promised to be 'the most divisive ever' degenerated into a pathetic scramble for the political center."

The Labor Party draws its base and its strength from the British unions to which it is directly tied. Therefore, it is forced at least partially to oppose the measures advocated by

capitalists themselves will be demanding that the repressive policies of the Tories be maintained. The crisis that produced the Tories' policies remains, even if it is the Labor Party which is now charged with managing it.

Even if the most blatant measures like the Industrial Relations Act legislated by the Tories are scrapped, this will be only because the actions of the workers have already effectively made them useless.

With British capitalism in a very poor position to compete with the European and Japanese

wage controls, and their so-called "industrial expert" labelled Heath's offer to the miners as overly generous!

The Liberals drew support, however, from an amalgam of dissatisfied people disgusted with both major parties, ranging from middle-class and working voters with left-wing ideas through to the far right — and above all, people with no clear views of any kind.

In a deepening crisis, much of the Liberals' support could go either to the left or toward fascism, depending on whether it is the revolutionaries or the extreme right who develop a strong and credible organization to appeal to them.

In trying to prove how "moderate" and "responsible" they are, the Labor Party leaders cut themselves off from this growing groundswell of discontent.

In this election, the right-wing racist demagogue Enoch Powell (a more extreme version of America's George Wallace) broke with the Tories to adopt a more independent stance. Powell's response to the growing crisis and the relative decline of the major parties may now be to develop closer ties with the extreme right wing forces outside Parliament, based on racist thugs and small businessmen who feel threatened by the influence of the Common Market and the large corporations.

## National organization

The problems and opportunities facing the British workers' movement are greater than they have been in years.

A rank and file national organization must be built to fight the sellouts engineered by the current leaders of the unions. The fight to free trade unionists who were thrown in jail under the Tories for picketing activity must escalate.

Militants in every major union must use the example set by the miners to demand big increases to match inflation and smash the wage guidelines Heath left behind.

Above all, a powerful revolutionary socialist organization must be built to be able to offer an alternative to the entire capitalist system.

The revolutionary party in Britain will have to provide leadership to the struggles of workers defending themselves against the employers, while fighting for a socialist solution to the crisis which will sooner or later throw the Labor Party on the same scrap heap with the Tories. ■

David Finkel



the most striking result of the election was that the Labor Party led by Harold Wilson failed to achieve a majority from the Tories' defeat. While workers overwhelmingly rejected the hated Heath, they saw little or nothing in Labor to inspire them.

Rather than trying to mobilize millions of angry workers for a real struggle, he based his campaign on the pathetic slogans of "Conciliation," "Co-operation," and "Consensus."

The following statement was typical of Wilson's whole campaign: "Trade unionists are people. Employers are people. We must unite these people, not divide them."

As a result, many workers who would have eagerly responded to a campaign to defend the unions turned away in disgust or looked

Heath to cripple the unions' power.

On the other hand, the outlook of the Labor Party leadership is tied to preserving national prosperity and the stability of capitalism in Britain. During their last period in office from 1964 to 1970, their major concern was to hold down wage increases so that they would not be held responsible for throwing the capitalists into an inflationary crisis.

The Labor Party can therefore be described as a "capitalist workers' party" — a party committed to the idea that capitalism can be most effectively managed by politicians who speak in the name of workers' organizations.

The contradiction facing Labor in power will be that the

economies, with fuel prices skyrocketing and the capitalists fearing a major recession, Wilson will be forced by pressure from the employers to introduce the same kind of repressive anti-labor measures by the back door. That is why he could not call upon the workers to use their own strength to break the Tories' back.

## Small parties gain

The election also saw a significant growth in electoral support for previously insignificant parties like the Liberals and the Scottish nationalists. Both these parties represent, in essence, nothing but small versions of the Tories.

The Liberal Party leaders damned the Tories for "dividing the nation." But the Liberals in Parliament supported all Tory

# Face Bigger Battles

# Attacks Mount On Right to Abortion

American women won a major victory a year ago when the Supreme Court ruled that abortions on demand are legal during the first six months of pregnancy. The decision allowed women a greater ability to control their lives as they see fit. Today that right is threatened by a movement led by conservative religious groups and politicians.

The most serious attack on the right to abortion comes as riders (amendments) to congressional legislation. Last month the Senate passed without debate an amendment proposed by conservative Sen. James Buckley to deny use of Medicaid funds for abortion. This proposal was added to the Social Security bill which is now in joint conference.

Buckley's amendment would not even allow an abortion to save the life of the mother. The women who will suffer if this amendment is passed are, of course, working and welfare women who cannot afford clinic fees that begin at \$150 for abortions. The Buckley amendment will return us to a situation in which abortions are available only to those who can pay.

This latest attack points up the serious failure of the women's movement in refusing to fight for free abortion on demand. As long as abortions cost money, they will be out of the reach of many working women. Women on welfare will continue to be dependent on congressional whims.

Anti-abortion amendments were also attached to the Foreign Assistance Act and to the Legal

Services Act. The legal services bill, now in the Senate, would prohibit the use of funds for court cases concerning abortion.

As well, several amendments to the Constitution have been proposed in order to reverse the Supreme Court decision. A second Buckley amendment would extend constitutional protection of the right to life to the unborn and permit termination of pregnancy only when it is a threat to the life of the mother. Recently, 6,000 persons attended a rally in Washington and lobbied congressmen to support the amendment.

This campaign against abortion is also active on the state level. In many states legal abortion never became a reality, and groups have begun to use court suits to force public hospitals to open abortion facilities. But 18 state legislatures have passed resolutions against abortion, in spite of the court's ruling. While these resolutions are not legally effective, they indicate the need for a strong women's movement to force the states to provide safe medical facilities for abortions.

The anti-abortion groups are also directly attacking hospitals that do provide abortion services. They have set up picket lines, carried out an economic boycott by denying contributions through the United Fund, and put public pressure on hospital staffs.

The Right to Life groups that are leading the fight against abortion are well financed and well organized. They have for their use the machinery of the



ASSEMBLYMAN SHOWING FETUS

Roman Catholic church. This includes priests who can give weekly sermons on abortion, parishoners who circulate petitions, and nuns who show nightmarish color films of dead fetuses to young children.

Also available is office space and equipment, even Catholic school buses for going to rallies, and best of all, money. The Right to Life groups have \$500,000 available for the immediate campaign. The bishops of St. Louis and Washington, D.C. sent \$20,000 each.

These funds and equipment are tax-exempt sources and are being used to reverse not only the Supreme Court but, more important, the opinion of

the majority of Americans. A Gallup poll showed 64% of the population and 56% of Roman Catholics support the decision that abortion should be the private decision of the woman involved.

In their campaigns the right to life groups show expensive color reproductions of aborted fetuses. They do not show pictures of the thousands of women who were forced to kill or maim themselves in illegal abortion attempts.

## Women will pay

Women have been the ones to benefit from the availability of legal abortion and it is women who will lose if this right is taken away from some of us. Over 800,000 legal abortions were performed in 1973. The results of legal abortion show declining maternal death rates; declining hospital admissions for botched-up abortions, and declining unwanted births.

A study made after 15 months of legal abortion in New York City showed that the maternal death rate had dropped by one-half in that period, to its lowest level in the city's history — two deaths per 10,000 live births.

There has been relatively little reaction to this latest attack on the right to abortion. The disintegration of the radical women's liberation movement and the absence of any working women's movement has left the Right to Life people with no effective opposition.

On the day of Buckley's anti-abortion rally in Washington, Catholic Women for Free Choice

[Continued on page 14]

# Wounded Knee: The Frameup Crumbles

A ruling by U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol in the trial of American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means lays the groundwork for upsetting a major section of the prosecution's case.

The defense has argued the Wounded Knee occupation began in response to illegal actions by the U.S. government.

The key to the defense's arguments is a 1868 treaty between the Sioux Nation and the government prohibiting federal forces from entering Pine Ridge reservation without approval of the Sioux Nation.

Although the government has

steadfastly maintained it needs no such approval, it did attempt to enter evidence that its presence had been requested by tribal president Richard Wilson, fulfilling the treaty requirement.

The judge ruled the evidence was not legal justification for their presence at Pine Ridge. The judge has not ruled the government was there illegally, just that it hasn't proven that it was there legally.

A Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) policeman has testified that two command posts — one for federal marshals — were set up on the reservation a full week before the beginning of the 71-day Wounded Knee occupation.

Two FBI spies planted in AIM have further weakened the

prosecution's case by their contradictory versions of events, and their inability to accurately identify AIM leaders they testified against.

One spy claimed Means and Banks were at a Rapid City, South Dakota airport when a U.S. marshal's report says they were miles away in the center of town.

The other spy was unable to identify either Bill Means, Russell Means' brother, or Thomas Red Blanket, who he claims told him AIM planned to bring guns and Molotov cocktails into Pine Ridge.

## No ruling on treaty

While Judge Nichol appears to be making rulings sympathetic to the AIM, he has not yet ruled on the Treaty of 1868 — the heart of AIM's defense in this trial. If the treaty is allowed as evidence the actions of the government can be easily characterized as an illegal invasion of the Sioux Nation.

Much of the trial will center around both AIM and the government trying to prove the other was an illegal presence on the reservation. When the trial first began Dennis Banks spoke to the jury of the requests by Pine Ridge Indians that AIM come to the reservation:

"These Oglala Sioux women only asked that the spirit, that the fighting spirit return, so that there would be no reason

for Indian people to drink themselves to death, so that there'd be no reason for Indian youngsters to be slashing their wrists."

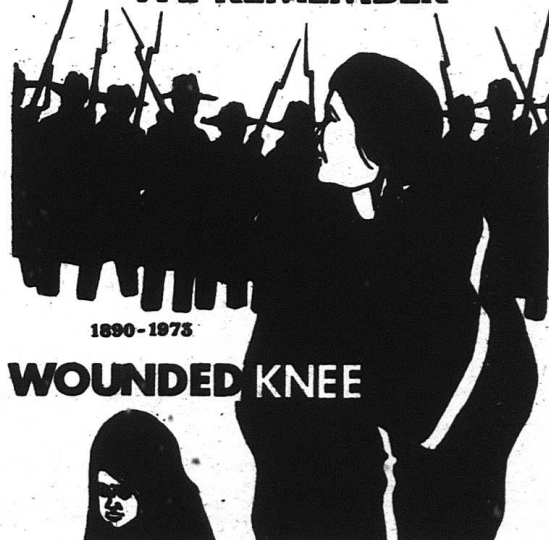
In other events stemming from the Wounded Knee occupation, police harassment of AIM leaders stepped up. Clyde Bellacourt, an AIM executive officer, was arrested for the 47th time since 1968. He is charged with stealing \$3 of sausage from a neighborhood store. Previous

arrests were for such minor charges as driving through an alley with his high-beam lights on.

In trials of some of the other 130 people indicted for Wounded Knee action, FBI evidence seized in an illegal search was thrown out of court. The ruling leaves doubt whether a chunk of the cases can be prosecuted further.

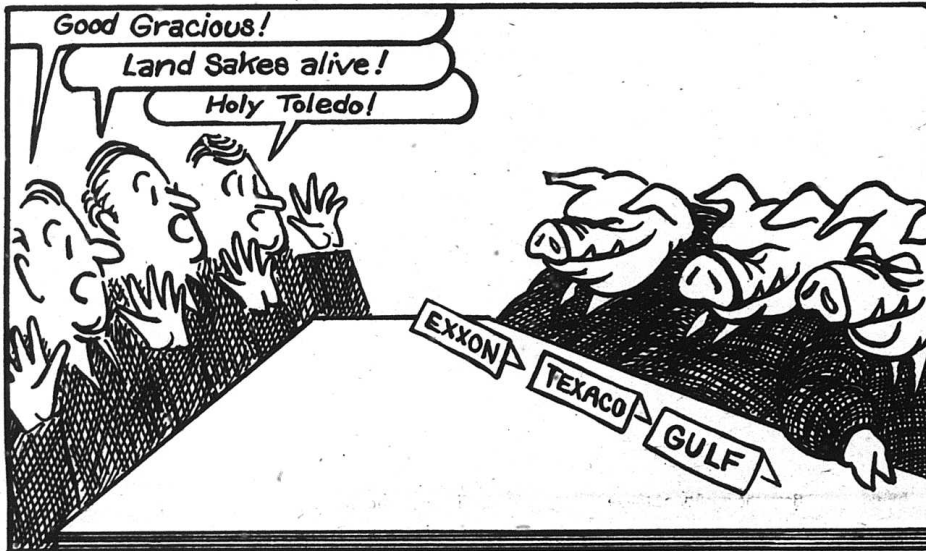
Kay Stacy

## WE REMEMBER



# Tanks, Tankers And Think-Tanks:

## HOW OIL GIANTS RUN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY



The Senate oil hearings were a fine charade, with Presidential aspirants lined up on one side of the table to feign surprise and innocence, and oil executives lined up on the other, like hogs with greed sticking out of their eyes.

Innocence is especially unbecoming to such a venal slug as Henry Jackson, long-time consort of the oil companies, sponsor of the Alaska pipe line, and Senator from Boeing, whose biggest stockholder is the world's foremost oil bank, Chase Manhattan. Innocence is also unbecoming to Charles Percy, former Chase Manhattan director and father-in-law of John D. Rockefeller IV.

Amidst this authentic instance of trial-by-peers came one interesting witness, John J. McCloy. McCloy testified that as attorney for the International Oil Cartel in negotiation with Arab rulers, he took the cartel's potential anti-trust problems directly to President John Kennedy, to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and to every Attorney General since.

This caused Senator Frank Church to lament that oil companies were making their own private foreign policy, by-passing the State Department and the venerable United States Senate. Nothing could be further from the truth. Oil owns the Senate, upon which it depends for such rich tax schemes as the depletion allowance. More than that, oil owns the entire foreign policy establishment, State Department and all.

Consider John J. McCloy, an 80-year-old geological wonder, whose many layers of dirt, blood and oil tell of decades of service to capitalist power.

McCloy's connection to oil comes from his long-time association with Chase Manhattan Bank and the Rockefeller family. Chase, founded on the Rockefellers' Standard Oil fortune, is the oil bank *par excellence*—and the leading bank for coal, nuclear, and all "energy industries." Its trust department, swelling with workers' pension funds from General Motors, Ford and the like, is the largest stockholder in Exxon and several other oil giants. The oil company holdings

of the various Rockefeller family foundations are nearly as sizable.

Chase Manhattan's current board of directors includes the chief executives of four of the world's largest oil companies: Exxon, Royal Dutch/Shell, Standard Oil of Indiana, and Atlantic-Richfield. Executives from most of the same companies, plus Mobil and Texaco, sit on the board of Chase's subordinate but intimate partner in finance capital, Chemical Bank.

McCloy became a partner in 1946 in Chase Manhattan's Wall Street law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy, a position he still holds. McCloy then became board chairman of Chase Manhattan from 1953-1961, during which time he trained David Rockefeller, who is a bit short on brains, to take over the job.

From 1953-1970, McCloy also headed the Council on Foreign Relations, a foundation-backed, exclusive group of capitalists and their foreign policy experts. When McCloy stepped down in 1970, David Rockefeller took over that job too.

The Council on Foreign Relations is one of a tight cluster of proto-governmental foreign policy study groups, that came into prominence during World War II, and flourished through the Cold War and after. America's World War II military establishment had brought the capitalist class flocking into government for war profits until, as historian Elliot Janeway notes, the opinion of the defense establishment "tended to approximate a *Fortune* Poll of Executive Opinion."

McCloy, at the time Assistant Secretary of War, used the Council on Foreign Relations to build his staff. "Whenever we needed a man," he said later, "we thumbed through the roll of council members and put through a call to New York."

Demobilized from their dollar-a-year posts after World War II, the internationally-minded elements of the capitalist class began to flesh out such agencies as the Council on Foreign Relations and its major backers, the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations. The United States' new global position demanded a global

foreign policy, which the capitalist class had a direct and vital interest in formulating.

The major role of these agencies was to formulate a coherent, interventionist world policy for the United States and its capitalist class, and to create a stable milieu of foreign policy makers and experts, to enter the State for advice and service. Thus the capitalist class established a direct and unbroken line of rule over foreign policy.

This line of rule never deviated from oil. Indeed, the ruling class thicket that wound around foreign policy was nourished at its roots by oil.

At the same time as McCloy served as attorney for the oil cartel and architect of their foreign policy, he was also an architect of American foreign policy. McCloy was no grubby lobbyist begging John Kennedy for a few favors. Besides being chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations, he was also chairman of the Ford Foundation—a post he relinquished in 1965, to Kennedy advisor McGeorge Bundy.

Most important, McCloy was a member of Kennedy's National Security Council, the nation's highest foreign policy making body, and he headed the United States' disarmament negotiations with Russia.

While on the National Security Council, McCloy argued strenuously for the resumption of nuclear bomb testing, and ventured his ruling class contempt for the opposition of world opinion. "World opinion?" he said, "I don't believe in world opinion. The only thing that matters is power."

McCloy's closest associate on the National Security Council was Arthur Dean, who headed the test ban negotiations for Kennedy. Dean was a partner in Sullivan and Cromwell, the law firm for Standard Oil of New Jersey, now Exxon.

Dean had personally represented Standard Oil in a criminal and civil case brought by independent oil companies against the oil cartel, during the closing months of the Truman administration. Truman urged that criminal proceedings be dropped "in the interest of national security." Dean asked that civil proceedings be dropped also, since oil company and government documents subpoenaed from the CIA and the State, Defense and Justice departments were "the kind of information the Kremlin would love to get its hands on."

The case evaporated completely with the Eisenhower administration, where Oil and America were vindicated together. Sullivan and Cromwell lawyer Dean, went on to become the United States' chief negotiator of the Korean truce, at Panmunjom.

Sullivan and Cromwell partner Alan Dulles became CIA chief—to be succeeded under Kennedy by oil tanker profiteer and Standard Oil of California director, John McCone—and helped overthrow the Iranian government (which had nationalized Iranian oil in the early '50's) for the oil cartel.

The senior partner of Sullivan and Cromwell, and president of the Rockefeller Foundation, became Secretary of State: John Foster Dulles. Dulles was succeeded under Kennedy by the same man who had taken his place as president of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dean Rusk. Another Kennedy advisor, Chester Bowles, was a Rockefeller Foundation trustee.

Henry Kissinger sprung from this same milieu. Kissinger made his reputation as a director of a Rockefeller Bros. Fund special studies project in the late 1950's, that resulted in a key series of Rockefeller Reports on foreign policy. For many years, he served as foreign policy advisor to Nelson Rockefeller, David's

[Continued on page 14]

# reviews

## music

# Billie Holiday Broadcasts

[Billie Holiday: Broadcast Performances, Vols. 2 and 3. ESP 3003, 3006.]

Just over a year ago, a movie entitled *Lady Sings the Blues* helped to bring about a revival of interest in the music of Billie Holiday.

Unfortunately, the movie itself was a major disappointment, a cheap Motown-Hollywood spectacular. Despite a good performance by Diana Ross, the movie showed little concern for historical accuracy, and even less for the integrity of the music of Billie Holiday and the dozens of important musicians who created it with her.

The worst failure of *Lady Sings the Blues*, however, was its portrayal of Billie Holiday as a hopeless, pathetic figure, constantly dependent on the men around her, with none of the strength that enabled her to survive and fight back against oppression and injustice.

The film did, however, spur on a flood of re-issues and new issues of previously unreleased Billie Holiday recordings. And it is in her music that we can



discern the musical and personal strength that the movie largely ignored.

Billie Holiday and her music, although almost never assuming a directly political form, were first and foremost an expression and symbol of popular black culture and resistance to oppression. While she became an important figure to the organized left for her recording of "Strange Fruit," the black artists who came after her look to her life and work as a whole for deeper inspiration than any one recording could provide.

Among the best of these new releases is a series of four albums which are being issued by the ESP label, consisting of recorded broadcasts of Billie Holiday performances between 1949 and 1958. These performances were largely recorded with small group accompaniment, or in a couple of cases a larger studio band of jazz musicians assembled for the occasion — a welcome relief from the leaden, unimaginative strings which usually accompanied Billie Holiday in recording dates during the '50's.

Both the quality of the recordings and of Holiday's voice

vary widely. Tapes of broadcasts are notoriously unreliable, and in the last years of her life Billie Holiday's voice often showed the tremendous strains imposed on it by years of one-night stands, the heavy drinking that is almost forced on popular performers, and time spent in prison on frame-up drug convictions. Nonetheless the sound is more than adequate, and on most of the numbers Billie Holiday's artistry is enormously rewarding.

Billie Holiday was the greatest vocalist in the history of the music called jazz — and by that token, probably the greatest vocalist in all of American music in the twentieth century. By the late 1940's and early to middle 1950's, she had developed her style to maturity.

Her technique was not based on the physical strength or range of her voice, but rather in her remarkable sense of time and phrasing. This comes through most effectively on slower-tempo performances such as "Don't Explain," "I Cover the Waterfront," "God Bless the Child," and "Porgy."

Those listeners who want to learn more about the musical

evolution of Billie Holiday should also consult her recordings on the Columbia label from the late 1930's. These performances were recorded with small groups led by pianist Teddy Wilson and are considered her most classic songs.

In these early recordings Billie Holiday's phrasing showed more of the direct influence of Louis Armstrong, but also contains the distinctive elements she developed more fully later on. In any case, her music continues to stand among the most powerful in the history of black music.

Of the performances released by ESP so far, the high point is an extended recording of "Fine and Mellow" from 1957, with a band consisting of some of the finest musicians in jazz at that time.

In addition to Billie Holiday, soloists heard in order of appearance are: Ben Webster and Lester Young, tenor saxophones; Vic Dickenson, trombone; Gerry Mulligan, baritone sax; Coleman Hawkins, tenor sax; and Roy Eldridge, trumpet. ■

David Finkel

## movies

# The Harder They Fall

*"Well they tell me of a pie up in the sky  
Waiting for me when I die  
But between the day you're born  
and when you die  
They never seem to hear even your cry.  
So as sure as the sun will shine  
I'm gonna get my share now,  
what's mine  
And then the harder they come  
The harder they fall one and all.  
Well the oppressors are trying to  
keep me down  
Trying to drive me underground...  
And I'll keep on fighting for the things I want  
Though I know that when you're  
dead you can't  
But I'd rather be a free man in  
my grave  
Than living as a puppet or a slave..."*

"The Harder They Come" is a Jamaican film. Produced and directed by Perry Henzell and starring Jimmy Cliff, it is fast acquiring an underground reputation but deserves a much broader audience.

It played for six months at a theater in Cambridge, Mass. and has made it to a few campuses but it has not gotten wide commercial distribution.

Since it has all the ingredients for a commercial success, it seems quite probable that it is being suppressed for fear of the revolutionary, or at least explosive, potential it could have — particularly for black audiences.

The film tells the story of a young man, Ivanhoe Martin, who has come to the big city from the country, determined like so many others to make it to the top of the record business.

We see a beautiful island with wealth and great poverty. Reggae music, a blend of calypso, bossa nova and rock/soul, (which makes a great soundtrack) is king, and the record industry is one of the most important industries on the island.

After practically starving until he accepts a job with a paternalistic, exploitive preacher, Ivan finally gets an audition with the record company boss. He likes the song and offers Ivan the standard rate of \$20.

Indignant, Ivan turns him down and tries to get the record distributed on his own, believing, in the words of another of his songs, "You can get it if you

really want. . .you'll succeed at last."

However, the record boss completely controls the market and Ivan is forced to accept the \$20. The boss tells the disc jockeys not to play the song too often, though it's a clear winner, because Ivan is "a troublemaker."

Ivan turns to the dope trade, another huge island industry. He quickly realizes that his return is chicken feed and someone else is getting rich while he is taking all the risks. He proposes to go it alone, but one of his partners informs on him.

On the run, he shoots a policeman rather than get caught. He had been arrested and beaten before this because of a knife fight with someone who stole his bicycle.

Ivan becomes an outlaw. But the police can't catch him because the people hide him. His dream has come true — he is a popular hero with his song blaring out from every radio station.

Frustrated, the police ban the song and put a stop to the dope trade in order to force the people to give Ivan up. The record boss tells the policeman that this is

crazy because "dope is the only thing that keeps the peace on this island."

A capitalist to the core, the record boss also asks the cop to let Ivan make another record before they string him up. With the money from the dope trade cut off, the people are put under tremendous pressure.

Eventually Ivan's wife and the preacher turn him in. He goes down in a blaze of glory.

Ivan tries for a personal solution to an oppressive system. He is unable to achieve even this except as an outlaw and in death. His dream is a fantasy from beginning to end.

In the final shootout he is picturing himself as the hero of a

western movie he saw. But while the gunfighter in the film kills all his enemies with a machine gun, Ivan faces the police with an empty pistol.

Ivan represents no real alternative to the system that kills him but he represents a great spirit of resistance. He is a symbol of rebellion and even mere symbols are dangerous to oppressors.

*"I'd rather be a free man in my grave  
Than living as a puppet of a slave..."*

With words like that, it's not surprising that reggae music is banned in Jamaica today. ■

Nancy Holmstrom



# Oil

[Continued from page 12]

brother.

After the Rockefeller Bros. Fund project ended, Kissinger became Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy Studies director for the Council on Foreign Relations, under McCloy. His study group included David Rockefeller, and it was through the Council that Kissinger published his most important books. Kissinger then became consultant to the Disarmament agency, again under McCloy.

When Kissinger took over the National Security Council for Nixon, according to journalists Evans and Novak, he immediately "began to populate the cramped quarters in the White House

basement with cerebral experts from the State and Defense Departments and from such foreign policy think-tanks as the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations."

Thus it is fitting that Kissinger's recent triumphal public visit to President Sadat of Egypt was preceded by David Rockefeller's private visit, to offer Sadat Chase Manhattan financing for an Egyptian pipeline. On the same trip, Rockefeller also visited King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, to discuss joint investment ventures.

Certainly, Rockefeller and Kissinger's foreign policy in the Middle East is more flexible than US foreign policy in the 1950's, especially toward oil producing countries' nationalization of oil production. But where dictated by necessity or advantage, capitalist foreign policy will be flexible. Thus even under John Foster Dulles's doctrine of massive retaliation against Russia in the event of war during the 1950's, it was capitalist foreign policy

experts such as Kissinger who began to evolve alternatives, with an eye toward suppressing revolutionary liberation movements without risking atomic war, which led to new doctrines of "counterinsurgency" and "pacification" in the Vietnam wars of the 1960's.

The idea that Richard Nixon (because of his ties to the oil men) represents new, rather than established wealth, is profoundly mistaken. This misconception is based mainly on Nixon's personal inclination toward seamy cronies like Rebozo. The actual line of control that the capitalist class created over foreign policy—and domestic economic policy as well—remains unbroken. The role of oil in this policy has been central for a quarter century. So remains foreign policy's intimate relationship to oil, and to the banking empires of the financial aristocracy that emerged from oil money.

Along with Kissinger, there is the Under Secretary of State who

represented the US at the Teheran oil negotiations of 1970 and 1971, John N. Irwin II. Irwin was then counsel for the Rockefeller Foundation. The Under Secretary of Defense, and the most important man in the Pentagon until he left, was war contractor David Packard, a member of Chase Manhattan's International Council. Nixon's foreign economic relations advisor is Paul Volcker, former Chase Manhattan vice-president.

A recent Wall Street Journal survey of the nation's 381 largest corporations, shows that 19 oil companies account for more than thirty per cent of the total profits. Therein lies the secret of oil's power.

Oil is so vast a part of American capitalism, so profitable and so vital to the United States' world position, that its representatives assume the central positions not only in the capitalist class, but in capitalist government.

The economic networks that bind the rest of the capitalist

world to the United States, in large part originated with oil. In recent years these networks began to loosen, as Japanese and West German capital challenged American.

*The energy crisis has set matters straight. No industrial country can survive without energy. If the United States and the US-based oil cartel no longer control oil's production, they at least control its distribution. The oil companies are now energy conglomerates, voracious hoarders of coal, uranium, oil and gas, and all their reserves.*

With massive government aid, the oil companies and their financial allies intend to sweep themselves and American capitalism once more into a position of unchallenged world power. This is oil's foreign and domestic policy. But it is also American foreign and domestic policy, shaped by the same men, for the same purposes. ■

Charles Leinenweber

# UFW

[Continued from page 16]

UFW but the entire labor movement.

By refusing to use the AFL-CIO's power to back up the struggle for organizing the unorganized and against employer attempts to break unions through sweetheart contracts, Meany has weakened the entire labor movement even if the business-union bureaucracy can feel a little more secure.

The new series of UFW strikes are critical to the union. It needs massive strikes to hit the growers once again where they can be hurt the most — where the grapes are produced. It also needs a massive strike to be able to in-

spire and extend the boycotts in the cities by once again focussing national attention on the UFW struggle.

To be successful the UFW must reexamine some of its policies which have limited its use of the strike.

Last year the UFW called off the field strikes because, it said, it could not protect the workers from grower-teamster violence. (While this year the Teamsters have announced that they are not sending their own "security guards" into the fields, they have demanded that the growers do so to protect their sweetheart contracts.) With all the scabs being brought in to work the fields, it is certain that the growers will try terror tactics to prevent the union from stopping the scabs.

Now more than ever, the UFW must drop its non-violence philosophy and arrange to defend its rights and ability to mount an effective strike even in the face of grower-attempted

violence.

The police and the government will not protect the farm workers as last year has shown. The farm workers must defend themselves and attempt to get massive help from other unions.

In the face of all these problems the UFW has one thing which makes it a powerful force, hard to beat.

The ranks of the UFW are fully dedicated to "la Causa" and committed to struggle for years if necessary. The UFW is more than just a union to these members. It also represents their pride in themselves for doing up "til now what was believed impossible.

A tiny union with almost no financial support is taking on the Goliath agribusiness industry, Teamsters union and the state, and has already succeeded in making them quiver. With support from the labor movement, a victory could come quickly. ■

James Morrison

# Abortion

[Continued from page 11]

held a counterdemonstration. They crowned a woman 'Pope' on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. Others held a street march during which some women were chained to symbolize Buckley's attempts to enslave women by unwanted childbirth. Measures such as these may gain temporary publicity but will not effectively protect our right to abortion. The women's trade union conferences that are being held across the country could take up demands to insure continued free abortion and quality medical care for women. A political campaign must be launched against the Democratic and Republican politicians who are once again giving away our rights.

Joan McKiernan

# Flint

[Continued from page 9]

vigilantes and the Flint police ready to go against the strikers.

Inside the factories the workers were prepared. Daily drills were held. Plans were drawn up on a floor-by-floor basis to resist an invasion. Outside 20,000 workers from GM and the entire Midwest came to support those fighting for union recognition. They surrounded the occupied plants while 5,000 women marched through the town.

Rumors of a coming showdown were everywhere. One worker described his feelings: "It was like we was soldiers hold-

ing the fort. It was like war. I remember as a kid in school reading about Davy Crockett and the last stand at the Alamo. You know, that's how I felt. Yes sir, Chevy No. 4 was my Alamo."

GM demanded Governor Murphy use the national guard against the strikers. He moved troops into Flint and wanted to use them.

But Murphy was afraid that such action would lead to a massive upsurge of workers in the whole state and lead to the end of his career. It was this concern that prevented the use of troops and an armed battle greater than any before.

Finally, with tens of thousands of workers ready for the fight and others threatening to continue the sit-ins forever, GM gave in.

On February 11, the 44th day of the strike, the workers

won. The union was recognized, negotiating rights were agreed to and a pay raise given.

The immediate effects were enormous. In the next two weeks 87 sit-ins occurred in Detroit. Millions of workers joined unions and one after another the giant companies gave in.

The Flint sit-down had led the way. The mightiest manufacturing corporation had been defeated. The actions of men and women like Bob Travis, Roy Reither, Genora Johnson and many more had led the fight for workers' rights.

But it was the tens of thousands of working men and women in the plants, on the lines outside and in the streets of Flint, nameless to history, who are the real heroes of one of the most important battles ever fought for industrial unionism. ■

# Pay

[Continued from page 6]

ment and lay off white workers before black workers out of line of seniority.

The union calls a special membership meeting to decide whether or not to fight to enforce the contract. Union members end up disastrously fighting each other over who should hold onto their job, who should get laid off.

The only way out is for white workers to join with black workers, fighting to make sure that the company and not the workers pay. This applies to any situation where blacks or other minorities have only recently

started overcoming the effects of a historically racist hiring policy in any company, plant, or job category. Unless there is special protection, the layoffs will reverse this advance.

Jobs for all

The fight must be made under such circumstances for minority workers to stay on the payroll regardless of seniority. But no other worker must be laid off as a result of this, who otherwise wouldn't have been.

Workers must force the company to carry extra workers on the payroll. It will take a battle, but the cause is just.

We must force the criminals to pay compensation for the crime. We can not allow the criminal to force the victims to pay. ■

John Weber

# Vinyl

[Continued from page 2]

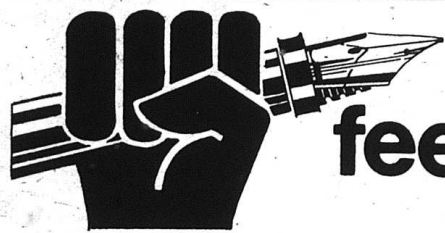
important to make a living," he said, "but health is important, too. If you can't live you don't need to make a living, do you?"

All of this is just another instance of "company doctors" collaborating with bosses and of a company closing its eyes to hazardous working conditions for as long as it can get away with it.

B. F. Goodrich made profits, of over \$50 million last year, up 18% from '72. It is not surprising that Goodrich president, Anton Vittone, said recently that after "thoroughly" reviewing the facts the company has concluded that "the existing situation warrants continued operation of the polyvinyl chloride facility."

And, we might add, all at the continued expense of the health and lives of many Goodrich workers! ■

Mary Michel



# feedback

## Prison Letter

I am an inmate confined on the maximum security block. At this institution, I am also interested in the socialist party movement. I would be grateful for anything that you would send to me.

I have no funds to secure the purchase of your literature. I am trying to educate myself to the current worldly events. I would forever be indebted if you would assist me in this matter.

E. H.

*Editor's note: The International Socialists maintain a special fund to provide free literature and subscriptions to Workers' Power to prisoners who otherwise would be unable to afford it. Anyone wishing to contribute to this fund, or prisoners who would like a subscription or our literature list should write to: I. S. Prisoners Fund, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.*

## Humor and Militancy

I'm in a big rush but just wanted to say that last issue was terrific especially editorial on SLA and cover story which contained just the right amounts of humor, indignation and militancy.

J. M.

## Joachim Maurin

The newspaper *La Batalla* of December announces the death in New York of Joachim Maurin, former national secretary of the United Marxist Workers Party (POUM) of Spain. The new revolutionary generation knows little about this great figure of the Spanish socialist movement.

Maurin joined the anarcho-syndicalist movement when he was still studying for teaching in Huesca. In 1921, he was one of the delegates of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT — Spain's union federation) to the first congress in Moscow of the Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern).

In 1922, Maurin founded *La Batalla* which he edited till 1936. In 1924, with his friends, he joined the Communist Party and became the leader of the Federation of Cataluna and Balears Islands.

Maurin disagreed with the Communist International on the "third period" strategy (which considered all working class organizations outside the Communist Party as agents of fascism), and eventually the CNT broke with Moscow. In 1931, Maurin and his followers formed the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc.

In 1935, this group merged with the Izquierda Comunista (Communist Left Opposition) led by Andres Nin to form a new party, the POUM.

Maurin had already a considerable activity behind him. He had been wounded by the police, arrested and sentenced several times, had gone to exile. He was also the author of several books on the events of 1931-34.

Maurin became the national secretary of the POUM. In February 1936, elected in Barcelona, he was the sole representative of the POUM to the Cortes (Parliament). In July, he was on a speaking tour in Galicia when the Franco rebellion broke out.

Arrested on his way back to Barcelona, Maurin spent more than ten years in Franco's jails. In 1947, after his release, he joined his family in New York. Besides some antifascist journalistic activity, Maurin immersed himself mainly in historical work.

The other POUM leader, Andres Nin, was murdered in a Stalinist jail in June 1937. He and Maurin will live forever as examples of fidelity and dedication to the emancipation of the working class.

## Anonymous

*[Editor's Note: The POUM played a tragic role in the Spanish revolution. The party gave its political backing to a bourgeois regime supported by the Stalinist C.P., which then crushed both the POUM and the Spanish working class. This regime was itself smashed by the fascist armies of Franco. But this political tragedy does not blind revolutionaries to the courage displayed by Maurin.]*

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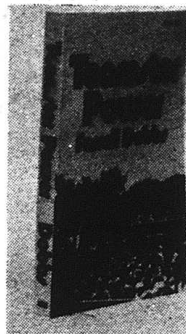
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## TEAMSTER POWER

by Farrell Dobbs



*Teamster Power* tells the story of the organizing drive that led to the unionization of over-the-road truck drivers in the 1930's.

The author was the central strategist of this campaign and a revolutionary socialist.

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\* **International Socialism:** The displacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

\* **Workers' power** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank and file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight — independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties — toward a

workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

\* **The liberation of all oppressed groups:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination — an end to all racial and sexual oppression — the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

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ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI

Two Essays

**ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI**  
**SEXUAL RELATIONS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE**  
**LOVE AND THE NEW MORALITY**  
TRANSLATED AND INTRODUCED BY ALAN HOLL

*Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle* and *Love and the New Morality* were first published as a contribution to a debate taking place in Russia after the Revolution when Kollontai was arguing urgently for her belief that the Bolshevik Party should be taking a lead in understanding and explaining the nature of changes taking place in the family and in personal relationships.

These two essays both examine how the ways in which people relate to each other in the most "private" of personal relationships are affected by the kind of society in which they live.

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## FARM WORKERS PLAN NEW GRAPE STRIKES

The United Farm Workers Union is preparing to resume the grape strikes in the Coachella Valley fields this month. Grape work begins in the Southern California Coachella fields and moves gradually north during the spring and summer. Large numbers of farm workers begin work in Coachella and follow the season north, so the struggles there will tend to set the pattern for the entire grape season. The growers will be watching Coachella very carefully.

Last year, despite the imported Teamster goon squads, the harvest strike was extremely effective in Coachella. Total grape production was severely cut, picking was done by inexperienced scabs and therefore the quality of grapes was much lower.

This year the Union plans to start the strike early during the thinning and suckering (cutting off new shoots). Although fewer workers are involved at this stage, the jobs are highly skilled. The quality of the grapes pro-

duced depends on just the right amount of thinning and it is easy for unskilled labor to damage the vines in the process.

While the growers may be able to find scabs to attempt the work, they are taking a big chance on damaging the vines which take years to develop.

In the strike the UFW is stressing the demand for a union hiring hall as a life or death issue for farm workers to win the support of the new migrant farm workers in the valley.

Grower opposition to the UFW hiring halls is particularly intense because it leads to a stable working force and some control over job safety and working conditions. The alternative — the hated labor contractor system — is fully supported by the Teamsters.

Three major accidents recently have shown how dangerous the labor contractor system is to farm workers. In Florida, in two separate accidents, windowless trucks packed with Jamaican sugar cane workers overturned killing one and injuring 125 others.

Nineteen lettuce workers



were killed and 28 more injured when a labor contractor bus overturned in Blythe, California (Imperial Valley) in January. The bus itself was in poor mechanical condition. The seats were barely screwed to the thin sheet metal floor so that when the bus overturned into a ditch, the seats pulled loose trapping and drowning the farm workers.

The labor contractor in this case, Jesus Ayala, has a long history of exploiting farm workers. He was convicted for failing to carry Workmen's Compensation for his workers and has been cited 14 times for failure to post wage rates (a favorite trick to underpay farm workers.)

### Contractor system kills

The labor contractor system is important to the growers because it allows them to recruit scabs from far away — away from the influence of the UFW. The bus that overturned made daily round trips of 230 miles.

But now the labor contractor's bus is more than just a vehicle for exploiting farm workers and scabberding against the UFW. It now also stands for an organized system of random murder.

The UFW strike in Coachella now faces greater obstacles than even last year. Using the labor contractor system, the growers have recruited nonunion workers from hundreds of miles around, including Mexico.

of Workers' Power have warned.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been insisting that the UFW drop its use of the secondary boycott (Don't cross our picket line. Don't shop at this store until they take the scab products off the shelves.) for the much less effective product boycott (Please, when you cross our picket line, don't buy nonunion grapes as you shop at this store which freely sells them).

### Meany betrays again

At a recent press conference George Meany came out with what amounts to a denunciation of the UFW. He stated publicly for the first time that the AFL-CIO would not support the UFW secondary boycott.

Even Meany's past rhetorical promises for all-out aid "for as long as it takes" were dropped. Now, he said, there is no more AFL-CIO money for the Farm Workers. Finally, Meany suggested that the UFW could not even pull out its own members in strike actions.

Whether this signifies an end to negotiations between Meany and the UFW or is just Meany's maneuver to try to force the UFW into line for further negotiations doesn't really matter. Either way the AFL-CIO leadership has betrayed not only the

[Continued on page 14]

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## What You Can Do

If the UFW does not win, its defeat will be felt by the entire labor movement. Every trade union militant should rally behind the UFW struggle. Militants should attempt to win support in every union local including:

Resolutions: supporting the UFW; supporting the secondary boycott; calling for full union international and AFL-CIO sup-

port; denouncing Meany's betrayal of the UFW and demanding that the AFL-CIO campaign for the right of all workers to use the secondary boycott.

Action: pledging money to support the UFW; forming union committees to raise food and money for the UFW, to contact other unions to do the same, and to actively participate in the UFW boycott pickets.

