

WORKERS' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

MAY 24 - JUNE 6, 1974
NO. 98

15c

POLICE BLITZ L.A. GHETTO



LOS ANGELES, May 18 — On Friday evening, May 17, the Los Angeles Police Department and the FBI launched a massive assault on the hideout of the Symbionese Liberation Army in South Central Los Angeles, in the ghetto. Despite lies spread by the police and the capitalist press to the contrary, the whole operation showed a flagrant racist disregard for the safety of black people who live in the neighborhood.

When the police moved in on the SLA and the shooting began, the neighborhood had not even been fully evacuated. Though the police say people were "ordered to leave," no real attempt was made to move them out.

A crowd of 200 people was only a half block away when the gun battle erupted.

People were still being evacua-

ted just around the corner from the SLA position at the height of the shootout. Many people in the neighborhood only realized they were in the middle of a battle zone when bullets started flying through their living rooms.

Everyone at the scene kept saying it looked "just like a war."

"Just like Viet Nam." And it did. The police and FBI fired at least 1000 shotgun, M-16 semi-automatic rifle, and pistol rounds into the SLA hideout. Teargas cannisters set it on fire.

The house and the apartment building on each side of the SLA position were also destroyed in the flames.

The LA Police Department fired more rounds within a concentrated space of time than ever before in its history, including during the 1965 Watts rebellion.

In the middle of the shootout, the SLA released Christine Johnson, a black woman they had been holding hostage. Newspapers mentioned only that she was "rushed away" by police, but live television coverage showed her being "dragged along the ground and kicked by them."

Though Johnson had been cut and burned in the building, she was immediately taken away to be interrogated. The police obviously considered her guilty until proven innocent.

When the shooting stopped, people tried to return to their homes. Many families had gotten separated in the shooting, and people were trying to get back to their friends and relatives who had not been evacuated. An "unlawful assembly" was declared, and police forced them back.

Later the police and FBI went house to house, interrogating people about the SLA. Some radio reports mentioned doors being broken down and people being harassed and roughed up by police.

In short, the police operated in a way that would have been unthinkable if the SLA had been hiding out in a white or middle class neighborhood.

A white neighborhood would have been fully evacuated long before the police delivered an ultimatum to people they believed to be armed with machine guns and automatic rifles. People would not have been prevented from returning to their homes, and then harassed and intimidated when they did.

The way the attack on the SLA unfolded was a real reflection of the anti-black and anti-radical hysteria

that has been whipped up around the SLA and the so-called "Zebra killings" in San Francisco.

Though the mayor of Los Angeles, Thomas Bradley, is a black ex-cop put into office by the votes of the black community, he made no attempt to keep the cops from getting out of hand in their seizure of the SLA hideout.

Bradley's role in the whole affair has shown him to be nothing more than a stooge of the white-run Los Angeles power structure.

As mayor, Bradley could have prevented the police from moving into the black community with such massive, uncontrolled force. He could have seen to it that every single person in the neighborhood was evacuated before the police called on the SLA to surrender. He could have prevented lawmen from illegally harassing innocent members of the community.

But Bradley did none of these things, and has not said a word in criticism of the way the police acted. He has shown that he has no objection to massive police raids and repression against the black community which put him in office.

The Socialist Collective, a black revolutionary organization, called a demonstration in the black community on May 18 to immediately protest this police terrorism.

The leaflet which the Socialist Collective passed out the morning after the shooting stressed the need for people of all races to take a stand against the entire world system of oppression which causes such acts.

The Los Angeles, East Bay, and Seattle branches of the International Socialists are also taking action to organize demonstrations in those cities against police repression against the black community. ■

Bernard O'Higgins

NOW THEY TELL US?!

"The idea of the freeze and Phase II was to zap labor, and we did."

That's from Arnold Weber. If you don't remember, he was the first director of the Cost of Living Council during the "wage-price freeze" back in 1971.

There was a lot of talk back then about "equality of sacrifice." Both businessmen and workers had to make sacrifices in order to stop inflation, said the government.

Now that's shown up for just what it was: a lie. The government was, as it always is, on one

side: the side of big business.

How did it start? "Business had been leaning on Shultz and McCracken [Nixon's economic advisors] to do something about the economy, especially wages. The idea of the freeze and Phase II was to zap labor, and we did," goats Weber.

Weber's statement should start a few heads rolling in the labor movement.

Back in 1971, George Meany, Leonard Woodcock, Frank Fitzsimmons, and every other top labor leader were parroting the government's line about "equal-

ity of sacrifice." They all took seats on the Pay Board, which consistently held wages to the minimum.

Now, three years later, we see the results: labor has been held to raises of 5.5%, inflation is above ten percent, and corporate profits continue to set new records every quarter.

Meany isn't stupid. He knew then what was going on. He knew what the purpose of wage controls was. He knew labor was about to get "zapped."

He knew, but he still cooperated. So did Woodcock, Fitzsim-

mons, Abel, Hall, and the others, without exception.

Around Washington these days, there's a tendency for one expose to lead to another. We'd like to see some more White House tapes revealed - those of Nixon's conversations with Meany, before the wage freeze.

Then there's another task before the rank and file of the labor movement: to zap Meany and his cohorts. That's the first step in trying to repair the damage they've done in the last three years.

Black Struggle In Steel pp.8-9

What We Think

The Real Mid-East Terrorists

Once again, the news media is expressing "shock and outrage" over Arab guerilla attacks on civilians in Israel. After all, it's easy enough to share grief for the deaths of innocent school children. And for many people - not only Jews, but many others who long for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East - the grief and sense of loss are very real.

But as the cries of grief, carefully orchestrated by the US and Israeli governments turn to howls of revenge, it becomes even easier to lose sight of who the real terrorists in the Middle East are.

Israel's much more massive and bloody raids into Lebanon after this incident show where the real roots of terrorism lie. All Arab peoples, both Palestinians and others, are continuously drawn into the murderous dragnet of Israeli reprisals. Over 50 Arab civilians were killed and hundreds wounded as refugee camps, apartment houses and villages were bombed, strafed and blown to bits.

The three Arab guerillas whose seizure of the school at Maalot, Israel resulted in their own death and the death of 20 children, are not the cause of the terror which has ravaged the Middle East for over 25 years. They are no more responsible for it than their victims.

The real terror in the Middle East is the dispossession of an entire people - the Arab Palestinian nation. In the guise of creating an exclusively Jewish state falsely titled a "Jewish homeland," the Zionist establishment which rules Israel has driven this Palestinian nation off its land, out of its own country and categorically refused to recognize its very existence. That is what the Middle East conflict is about.

As socialists, we are not neutral in the conflict between the Palestinians - with their small, isolated organizations, living in refugee camps always exposed to murderous Israeli attacks - and the Zionist state of Israel with its massive army and air force supplied by the United States.

The Palestinians have every right to fight for their stolen land. To do so, they must fight not only Israel but also the present Arab regimes, whose concern for the rights of the Palestinian nation stops at the boundaries of their own diplomatic interests.

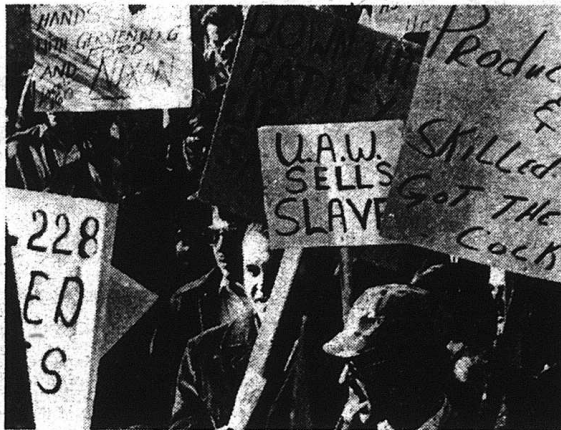
But the raid on the school, like the attack leading to the deaths of 17 Israeli athletes and Arabs at Munich, accomplished nothing. It reflects the desperate political crisis in which the Palestinian movement has been placed by Israel, US imperialist diplomacy and the Arab states. Secretary of State Kissinger hops between Jerusalem and Damascus, negotiating truce lines which solve none of the issues in the war. The Palestinians have discovered again that their fight for freedom is being betrayed.

It is clear that the proposal most likely to emerge from these peace negotiations is the idea of a powerless Palestinian mini-state crushed between Israel and Jordan. Even this sell-out proposal is unacceptable to Israel's rulers. In desperation, some Palestinian groups are attempting provocative raids in a futile effort to blow the peace talks apart.

These acts of terrorism are politically hopeless because they offer no way of organizing either the Arab or Jewish peoples against their own rulers. But it is the ruling classes in the Middle East, and especially Israel, which must be held responsible.

Those who apologize for Israel's denial of Palestinian nationhood, its exclusionism and its criminal acts as "defensive" are only helping to perpetuate the crisis which Zionist policies have caused - the crisis which threatens the survival of the Arab and Jewish nations in the Middle East.

AUTO: Skilled Trades in Crisis



Skilled tradesmen at anti-Woodcock demonstration

Angry skilled trades workers throughout the UAW are disgusted with the failure of the Woodcock regime to deal with their problems and are looking for new solutions.

Unfortunately, many are being led into dead ends by a reactionary opportunist leadership.

Skilled trades in all of the Big 3 have been hit hard by corporate attacks and inflation. Workers in the small shops are even worse off.

Working conditions and harassment are getting worse as management drives for higher profits. Inflation has made overtime a necessity, but runaway prices are leaving wages further and further behind.

Throughout all of this the Woodcock bureaucracy has done virtually nothing to aid either skilled or production workers.

The 1973 Ford contract was rejected by the tradesmen overwhelmingly. But the UAW Executive Board ignored the rank and file's rejection, refused to renegotiate the contract and declared it ratified.

This was a kick in the face to skilled trades, who according to the UAW Constitution have a veto power over new contracts.

The skilled trades have played a contradictory role in the UAW. They have been a highly conscious and organized force in the union. They often have been among the first to rise up against the Bureaucracy's policies.

At the same time, however, they have supported the corporation's and the International's actions to keep black workers out of the skilled trades. This reactionary racism has been a major reason that skilled trades movements have failed so far to reach real solutions.

Many skilled trades workers in Chrysler's Detroit area plants are supporting a movement for a separate, multi-plant skilled trades local. They are fighting against the failure of both the International and local unions to meet their needs. Their frustration is real, but their solution is not.

This movement is being led by

rotten opportunists like Joe Kozma of Local 3. These are the same people who have sold out the skilled trades year after year.

Splitting the workers in one plant into separate locals on a craft basis is a direct attack upon worker solidarity and industrial unionism. It will not increase the tradesmen's strength, but weaken them.

Chrysler will be able to play the skilled local against the production local, even more than they can now. Both of us will lose.

Most important, while production workers in Chrysler are overwhelmingly black, skilled trades are almost all white. The separate local drive is fueled by racism, especially by its leadership.

In the late 1960's, when black workers fought for better conditions for themselves, the UAW International opposed them and found strong support among high-seniority white workers, especially skilled trades workers.

Today, the opportunist leaders of the separate-local movement - just like the International leaders they claim to oppose - are trying to pin the blame for skilled trades problems on black production workers. They don't want to fight the International, which is really responsible for the mess auto workers are in.

The UAW International has too idly by for years while the auto companies' hiring and upgrading program excluded black workers from the skilled trades.

RACIST EXCLUSIONISM

A separate skilled trades local will only perpetuate this racist exclusionism, while not solving any of the skilled trades workers' real problems.

Some skilled workers want to withdraw from the UAW and join the International Society of Skilled Trades (ISST). The ISST made an unsuccessful play toward UAW tradesmen several years ago. Now it's coming back.

The ISST has launched a big-money campaign to exploit the skilled trades workers' disgust. Again, the disgust is real but the solution is a trap. With two unions in every plant, the corporations would run wild.

It is a fact that skilled workers and production workers face separate problems. The UAW International has done nothing to help either group. Instead they have joined with the company in playing skilled workers off against production workers.

All auto workers belong in the same union. But both skilled and production workers must have their own representatives to deal with their special problems.

The establishment of independent Skilled Trades Council and Production Workers Council would be a step in the right direction. Many UAW members, particularly the United National Caucus (UNC), have pushed such proposals.

An independent Skilled Trades Council would be made up of representatives elected directly by all UAW skilled trades workers.

There would be representatives from the Big 3, and also from the small shops usually ignored by the International. The same setup would exist for production workers.

The anger of the skilled trades will grow and spread to production workers. The Woodcock regime has betrayed both groups, and it must be the target. Skilled tradesmen won't get anywhere by splitting up the UAW. ■

Dennis Richards

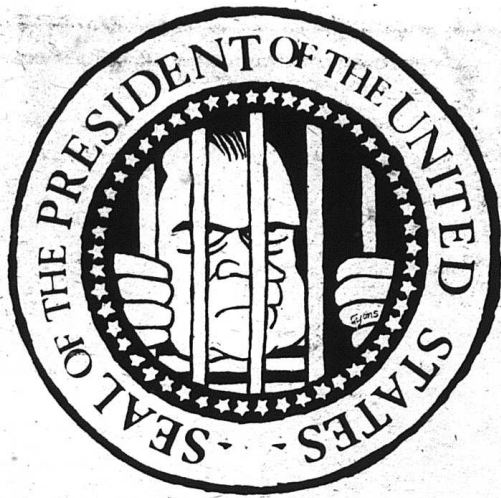
Workers' Power 98

Copyright © 1974 by the International Socialist Publishing Company. Editor: Kit Lyons. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons. Business Manager: David Katz.

Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue,

Highland Park, MI 48203. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Workers' Power, which are expressed in editorials.

Workers' Power is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and microfilmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Series Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.



JAIL TO THE CHIEF

Richard Nixon's early departure from office is now taken from granted by practically everyone in the United States.

At one point, just after the selectively edited White House tape transcripts became the greatest runaway best seller since Peyton Place, it appeared that Nixon's sudden resignation might be only days away.

Last week, however, that prospect again vanished for the time being, and a new phase of the bizarre Watergate struggle began.

Resignation or impeachment? This is the current debate. As it drags on, the crisis of confidence in ruling class politics - already being ripped to pieces by what has been revealed - will deepen.

THE GREAT DEBATE

Nixon declares these famous transcripts "tell the whole story" of his innocence, and therefore "supply Congress with everything it needs" to immediately acquit him. Their release was designed as a huge smokescreen.

It was apparently Nixon's feeling that, as millions of people eagerly rushed to paw through his carefully selected innermost top-secret conversations, Republicans would rush to support his claim that enough had been released, enough damage done to the White House, and that no more tapes or documents should be demanded.

This turned out to be his biggest mistake since the Saturday Night massacre. Nixon nearly blew himself out of the water.

True, the conservatives agreed that enough was enough. But they are badly split and most proposed that Nixon end the affair by resigning immediately.

Leading the attack was the very powerful and ultra-conservative Chicago Tribune. Its May 9 editorial stated that moral confidence in Nixon is shattered:

"The key word here is immoral. It is a lack of concern for morality, a lack of concern for high principles, a lack of commitment to the high ideals of public office that make the transcripts a sickening exposure of the man and his advisers.

"He is devious. [Surprise!] He is vacillating. He is profane. [Shocking!] He is willing to be led. He displays dismaying gaps in knowledge. [Not to mention in the tapes.] He is suspicious of his staff. His loyalty is minimal. His greatest concern is to create a record that will save him and his administration. [No!]"

The Tribune concluded that either resignation or impeachment would be "legitimate and would

satisfy the need to observe due process." But the paper left little doubt that it would prefer to see immediate resignation.

Further, the Tribune argued, a confrontation over the limits of executive and Congressional power - "limits of power which are probably better undefined" - would be a disaster.

For a few days, it seemed the chorus of Republicans calling for resignation was becoming irresistible. But when the Democrats responded, a strange twist occurred.

From Mike Mansfield and Carl Albert to Robert Byrd, the Democrats refused to press for resignation and demanded instead an orderly impeachment hearing.

Russell Baker, writing in the New York Times in an apparent direct reply to the Tribune, stated: "A group of politicians deciding to dump a President because his morals are bad is like the Mafia getting together to bump off the Godfather for not going to church on Sunday. It just isn't done in such circles.

"By any reasonable moral standard, the Nixon of the Watergate tapes seems a fairly decent fellow compared with the Nixon of the Christmas bombing of Hanoi, or the Nixon who made war by personal decree on Cambodia."

So, at a time when a Congressional resolution demanding Nixon's immediate resignation could probably have received overwhelming support, Nixon remained in office because the Democrats left him there.

The incredible vacuum of effective leadership in the political establishment of this country has never been more glaring.

NO SOLUTION

The Congressional leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties are proving to the American people they have no control over the Watergate crisis.

They were not able - even if they had wanted - to control the activities of the White House, Justice Department and other executive bureaucracies - as agencies of political espionage and sabotage, conduits for corporate bribes and influence-peddling, tax evasion, and criminal campaign practices.

They could not prevent the White House from acting as the organizing center for a gigantic cover-up of these crimes, and of unrevealed others.

And after all this, Congress cannot arrive at a speedy, effective

way of solving the Watergate crisis.

Conservatives have made a major effort to bomb Nixon out of the White House, to force his resignation with a mighty blast of moral outrage and hypocrisy.

They are afraid that allowing Nixon to drag out the struggle endlessly, which now seems to be his strategy, may mean more than just an off-year election defeat. It could mean the destruction of the Republican Party - the party which enjoys the confidence of most of big business in this country.

Every day that Nixon remains in office means a spreading infection in the Republican Party. It is now reported that William Simon and former Attorney General Elliot Richardson - one of the Republicans' few remaining knights in shining armor - were involved in negotiation with John Connally over the \$2 million milk trust bribe.

It's not just a question of a spreading scandal, however. Many Republicans no longer want to take responsibility for Nixon's policies.

In his efforts to avoid impeachment, Nixon must shift his political base so that his support rests firmly on the 34 votes he needs in the Senate - the most right-wing men in the Senate, men like Dixiecrat-turned-Republican Strom Thurmond. Many Republicans fear that if this drastic rightward shift is allowed to happen, infection in their party may turn to gangrene.

The Democrats, however, have their own worries. It appears that they are afraid of a violent backlash if they seem responsible for driving Nixon out of office and making him a Republican martyr.

Therefore, they are calling for the impeachment process to run its full course - in order to make the Republicans take joint responsibility for purging Nixon.

The result of all this is one of the most striking displays of cowardice in recent years. The Republicans are diving overboard to get off Nixon's ship, while the Democrats who could sink it try to keep it floating a while longer.

Neither of these capitalist, imper-

ialist parties has suggested a democratic solution to the Watergate crisis which has destroyed Nixon's Administration. That solution would mean not only Nixon's impeachment, but a new Presidential election to replace him by popular vote.

A SOCIALIST ANSWER

In a new election, we would call for no support to either the Democrats or Republicans. Instead, we would fight for the labor movement to run its own independent slate and to begin to organize a new political party representing the needs of working people.

No independent political alternative exists today, but the idea of building one could very well gain considerable support - especially if new elections were used to completely expose and discredit what these parties of corporate power stand for. They've already done three-quarters of the job for us.

David Finkel

Mass Famine Looms

Four to five hundred million children will suffer severe malnutrition and starvation in the next year, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has announced.

In poor countries "living conditions may slip from the barely tolerable to the desperate."

Four hundred million children will starve, some to death - a horror so great it is impossible to fully grasp. Most will be black or Asian.

Almost as shocking is the accompanying statement that under normal conditions 10 million children annually suffer severe malnutrition, starvation and possible death.

The situation is deteriorating so rapidly that UNICEF is "considering declaring an emergency." But this would only be a meaningless, empty gesture of despair.

Food and fertilizer shortages are given as the cause. No doubt this is correct, but it's not so simple. Why are there food and fertilizer shortages?

Some hysterical news columnists are saying the world's resources are coming to an end. But the truth is that our natural resources are not drying up, and that advancing technology continually increases

the potential capacity of existing resources.

Doomsday predictions based on the "population bomb" hysteria are little more valuable than astrology or fortune telling.

The world's peoples are going

deliberately reduced the availability of petroleum.

Prices for petroleum products, including fertilizer, raced upward quickly out of the reach of poorer nations. At the same time, world food prices have skyrocketed, making food imports for these countries nearly impossible.

The result is record profits for the oil barons - and 400 million starving children.

The only solution offered by the UN is population control and increased requests for charity, thus simply freezing the relationship between exploiter and victim.

But there is an alternative - world revolution: a movement to replace capitalism with socialism and production for human need, not profit, on a world scale.

The so-called underdeveloped nations are starving because their economies have been ruined by imperialism. Their agriculture has been destroyed, because the giant capitalist corporations make machinery and technology too expensive for them.

The foulness of the capitalist system is painfully etched in the faces and bodies of these starving children. Its destruction is long overdue.



hungry because of an economic system that produces for private profit, not human need.

The fertilizer shortage is a direct result of the manufactured oil shortage. Because they wanted to increase their profits the oil giants

WORLD IN CRISIS



Worker Wins 600,000 Votes



The results of the May 5 first round of the special election to replace France's dead President Pompidou brought several surprises and possibly an important shift in French politics.

The most important factor in the election was the sharp decline of the established Gaullist ruling coalition. In the past this coalition, supported by big business, dominated French politics. This year the coalition's vote was badly split. The Gaullist candidate ran a poor third with only 15 percent of the vote.

The result is a second round between the two top candidates - the right wing Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing and the Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand, supported by the Communist Party and the trade unions, who received the most votes (but fewer than 50%) in the first round.

The second round vote is expected to be extremely close. It may be decided by as little as 1% of the electorate. If d'Estaing wins the votes of those who supported the Gaullist Chaban-Delmas, he will

win. To gain these votes he is waging a "red scare" campaign because of Mitterand's Communist support.

Meanwhile, Mitterand is trying to capture Gaullist votes by moving further to the right himself. He is wrapping himself in nationalist rhetoric, recalling the days of the middle 1940's when General de Gaulle himself brought the Communist Party into the government. And he is attempting to prove that his policies will be the most efficient in maintaining the strength of French capital.

There's been a curious footnote to the campaign. Moscow, far from supporting its satellite Communist Party in the elections, openly backed the Gaullist loser in the first round and d'Estaing in the second.

The Russian bureaucrats prefer to see a right wing government in power in France.

They favor a government which, while more blatantly anti-working class, will also be more nationalistic and hostile to the US, Russia's superpower opponent.

This incident provoked the French Communist Party to openly attack the Soviet Union for interfering in another country's affairs (which it did not do when Russia crushed the reform movement in Czechoslovakia with an armed

invasion in 1968).

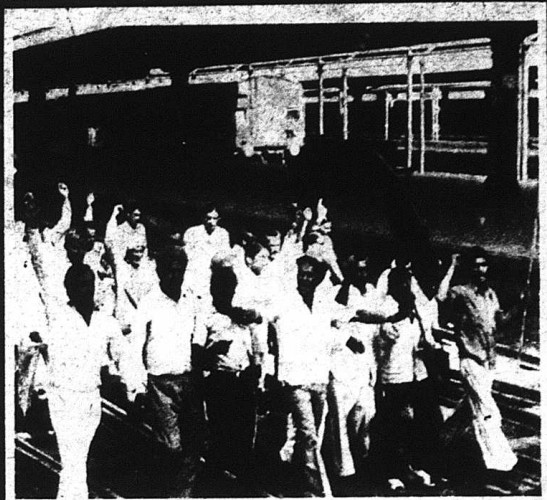
The revolutionary candidate Arlette Lagullier - running as a worker, a fighter for women's liberation, and a revolutionary socialist - won 2.5% of the vote in the first round - in the neighborhood of 600,000 votes.

This is an exceptionally high vote for a revolutionary candidate, and shows the growing influence and credibility of revolutionaries in the French working class.

The second round offers French workers at best a poor choice. There is no genuine workers' candidate. The fact that Mitterand is trying to win by appealing to the right wing anti-labor traditions of de Gaulle is a hint of his policies in office.

Nevertheless, French revolutionary socialists are actively campaigning for a vote for Mitterand - with no illusions about what he stands for. A victory for Mitterand, like the victory of the British Labor Party in the recent British election, would politically strengthen the working class and force its leaders to take responsibility for the reforms they promise.

It would quicken the pace of the class struggle and open up new possibilities for building a genuine revolutionary left in the workers' organizations.■



Rail Strike Shakes India

The railroad strike in India has become a major test for the repressive government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The week before the strike, Gandhi's Labor Minister had 700 railroad union leaders and activists thrown in jail. Even this massive police action failed to prevent the strike.

The government claims that freight and passenger trains are still running, but reports indicate that disruption of train service is considerable. Major cities like Bombay are said to be facing "economic strangulation."

Gandhi has clearly chosen to make the rail strike a test case. As the Indian economy slips toward the brink of total chaos, she can hope to retain power only if every important union can be either smashed or defeated in attempts to win significant wage gains.

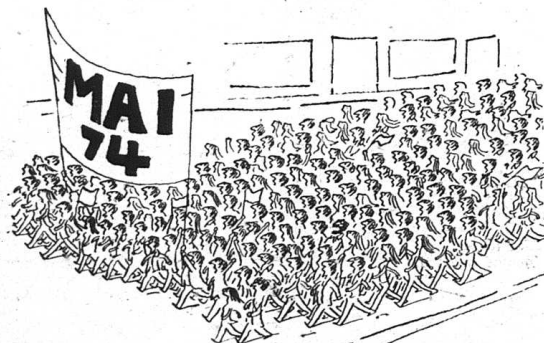
The government's political tac-

tic is to blame the railway workers, who make \$26 a month, for the threat of mass starvation and economic collapse. If this tactic succeeds in breaking the strike, an all-out effort to stabilize the economy through union-busting and wage-cutting is certain.

Despite this, the leaders of the railroad unions have offered to continue negotiations while still in jail. The government's offer to union leader George Fernandes demands total surrender - in return for release from jail, the union leaders, must call off the strike and resume negotiations in which Gandhi has already pledged that no concessions will be made.

If this offer is accepted, Indian capitalism may be able to once again strengthen its grip - while hundreds of millions of people slide closer to catastrophe.■

15,000 Revolutionaries On May Day March



French poster

Sempe

PARIS — This May Day saw 15,000 revolutionaries demonstrating in the streets of Paris.

A festival atmosphere, with spirited singing and chanting, accompanied the march which stretched for blocks. Red flags were everywhere, and so were banners proclaiming the presence of Palestinian, African and other immigrant worker groups.

The Chile Solidarity and Women's Liberation movements were also out in force. High school students and the political groups brought up the rear.

About 2000 marched with the contingent of Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle), a revolutionary socialist group, with the banners of Renault, Lip watches and other factories prominent.

In the Paris Sports Palace the night before, a meeting with Lutte Ouvriere Presidential candidate Arlette Lagullier packed the hall with 6000 sympathizers.

Radical Students Battle Police

Spanish students demonstrated and fought with police protesting a new plan to keep left wing students from being admitted to Spanish universities in years to come.

The demonstrations are the first open sign of the shock waves spreading from the overthrow of the neighboring fascist Portuguese dictatorship. The support gained by students in their struggle is seen as an important test of the possibility of a struggle against the Franco dictatorship in Spain.

Unlike Portugal, the first revolt is not likely to come from the army. Spain is not bogged down in

colonial wars, which are destroying the Portuguese army and economy.

Despite this, however, a powerful wave of student and worker action in Spain could crack the fragile unity of the government, perhaps weakening it to the point where a mass revolt would be possible.

A Spanish revolt would tremendously strengthen the workers in Portugal. So long as they face the potential danger of intervention by the neighboring fascist regime in Spain, it will be extremely difficult for Portuguese workers to organize their own struggle for liberation.■

CLUW Must Fight To Unionize Women

Organizing the unorganized is one of the goals established by the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) at its founding convention in Chicago last March.

Women are 40% of the workforce yet only 12% unionized.

All working women are discriminated against on the job - and in the unions. That is why 3,200 women came to Chicago.

But women in non-union jobs suffer worse harassment with less protection.

Millions of women work in restaurants, offices, hospitals, small factories and retail stores at little more than minimum wage, with no benefits, few raises and arbitrary harassment and firing.

Second class status for women workers is justified by bosses who claim women are not permanent workers and are only working for "a little extra."

Second class status for women in the unions is justified by male officials who claim that women are only a small minority in the union movement.

When women trade unionists complain about the sexism they face they are told, "What are you complaining about? You've got it a lot better than most women workers."

Organizing the unorganized therefore is an extremely important goal in the fight for equality for women workers. Unionization offers women protection, higher wages and benefits.

Growing numbers of women in the union movement, demanding a real fight for equal pay, equal access to jobs, paid maternity leave and child care will turn the unions around.

TOO UNSTABLE, TOO IGNORANT

For years male union leaders have failed to organize women workers because they say women are "too unstable, too ignorant, too unsomething."

The rare attempts male officials have made to organize traditionally "women's" jobs are unconsciously designed to prove their sexism.

Often male organizers come in telling women not to worry their "pretty little heads" and "let the men, or union reps, or some other male do it."

They think all they have to do to get support from a woman is tell her how pretty she looks.

When the organizing drive fails the bureaucrats have a ready-made excuse: "women are too unstable, too ignorant, too unsomething to be part of the union movement."

But the trade union leadership is not only sexist, it is exceedingly conservative. Little serious organizing of any kind has gone on it decades.

The few exceptions, such as the organizing of the United Farm Workers, has taken place in spite of these bureaucrats.

George Meany has gone so far as to say when asked if he would prefer a larger proportion of the



CLUW delegates debate in workshop

labor force organized: "Not necessarily. We've done quite well without it."

CLUW LEADERS ILL PREPARED

Forcing these men to put up the money and the resources to conduct massive dynamic organizing campaigns of women workers will be no easy task.

Unfortunately the CLUW leaders seem ill prepared for the job.

One reason is their positions in various unions are dependent on the good will of male leaders. Except on the question of women, they have few differences with the traditional trade union officials.

In addition, the founding convention provided no direction for the completion of any of the established goals and the top CLUW leaders are stalling the formation of local chapters.

Although stating support for

organizing the unorganized, the national guidelines state membership is open only to women trade unionists.

It seems a defeating contradiction to exclude from membership in CLUW the women CLUW is dedicated to organizing. What are the CLUW leaders afraid of?

LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

If a serious campaign to organize the unorganized is to be waged it will have to start in local chapters.

Local CLUWs must demand the AFL-CIO, UAW, and IBT put up the money to hire enough women organizers to organize the unorganized.

More important, local CLUWs will have to challenge the sexist ways the unions have tried to organize women workers.

The struggle against oppression of Chicanos is very much a part of the organization of the United Farm Workers. The fight against racism has been part of successful organizing among black workers in the South.

The fight for women's equality must be part of any serious organizing drive of women workers.

WHAT TO DO

1. Local CLUW's should adopt a target industry with large numbers of unorganized women workers.

Women in industries with history of struggle or already unionized in

other cities will probably be most receptive.

2. Local CLUW's should set up committees to organize the unorganized. Women from the target industry should be contacted and invited to join the committee.

3. A committee should work out a proposal to be presented to trade union movement for numbers of organizers and amount of money needed to organize the target industry.

4. The committee should attempt to gain support within the local labor movement for the proposal: CLUW members should present it at local union meetings, and attempt to get resolutions of support passed;

They should circulate petitions in support of the proposal at union meetings and on the job;

They should write articles for local union and rank and file papers on the importance of organizing the unorganized and the local CLUW proposal.

5. The committee should call press conferences on the importance of organizing the unorganized and CLUW's role in the campaign.

6. When support is built, a petition and proposal for organizers and fund should be presented to the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, the UAW, and the IBT.

7. Once the organizing drive gets off the ground CLUW can help the drive itself by holding classes on organizing, labor history, and the fight for women's issues.

Gay Semel

Bosses relax-workers pay tax

April 15th has come and gone, painfully documenting that most of us work two hours out of every eight for Uncle Sam.

After cursing our plight and mumbling platitudes about death and taxes, we can take solace knowing that, in total, taxation is progressive. We pay a lot, but the rich pay more - right? Wrong!

Recent studies by economists at the Brookings Institute and elsewhere have shown that when all taxes are included - sales, property, corporation, excise, city and payroll taxes, as well as income taxes, we are all supposed to pay about 25% - you, me, Nixon - everybody.

UPPER CRUST CROOKS

But the story is even worse. Not only is progressive taxation a myth, Richard Nixon is not the only big time cheat.

In the last two years the IRS has lost \$49 billion in tax fraud, and the amount keeps growing.

Although working people may cheat a little, wealthy people cheat a lot. The Philadelphia Inquirer reports a secret IRS study shows that the greater the wealth, the greater the fraud.

Taxpayers earning less than \$10,000 owed, on the average, \$178 more after audit, or a little over 1 1/2%. For taxpayers earning over \$50,000 the average sum was \$8,631 or close to 20%.

Well. Now that the IRS has done this secret study on who cheats and who doesn't, they should be able to go after the big timers and the \$49 billion owed. But don't hold your breath.

The IRS mainly goes after working and middle class people. A far greater amount of time is spent, proportionately, looking for the missing \$178's than the \$8,631's.

And once they've caught you, the more owed the less of it you have to pay.

The IRS collected \$3,200 in back taxes out of the disability checks of

a woman recovering from a heart attack. It wrote off as "uncollectable" \$375,129 owed by a Wall Street stockbroker who continues to maintain homes in New York and Florida.

Sometimes the IRS does go after the rich: when the Service is being used as a political tool to get someone, as Nixon used it, or as it was eventually used to get him and Agnew.

BEHIND THE INCOME TAX

So as it turns out taxation is not the great equalizer, shortening the distance between the rich and the poor. But then again it was never meant to be.

Income taxes did not come into being until 1909. And then they were a relatively minimal tax on the upper classes.

FDR's New Deal did not spread the wealth but it did spread the tax burden, bringing income taxes to middle and working class people. The reason was simple - World

War II. Military expenses grew rapidly and had to be paid for.

And the war heralded more than a tax on working class incomes, it brought wholesale tax evasion on the part of the capitalist class.

As taxes on income rose, the capitalists arranged to receive less income. Rather than pay out large dividends, corporations plowed earnings back into capital gains.

While they would not receive taxable income in dividends, the absolute worth of their stock grew. Thus their wealth grew - untaxed.

PERMANENT ARMS ECONOMY

The expense account came into its heyday and continued to thrive.

In one year in the early 50's, one corporation president spent \$17,000 on a safari, \$65,000 on jewelry, \$22,000 on liquor, \$35,000 on nightclubs, \$25,000 on gifts, \$16,000 on boats for a grand total of \$180,000 in non-taxable income.

When the shooting in World War [continued on page 15]

labor briefs

I. W. Abel, President of the United Steel Workers, continues to come under fire for his no-strike deal from local union officials who are feeling the heat from the ranks. At formal contract signing ceremonies in Pittsburgh May 3, a number of local presidents refused to sign the document.

Meanwhile, **USW Locals 1174 and 1193** at the Sharon (Pa.) Steel Corp. voted down a proposal to extend the no-strike agreement to their plant, and the 2,000 members of **USW Local 1981** in Los Angeles passed a resolution condemning it. In Clairton, Pa. the membership of **USW Local 1557** forced its executive board to cancel plans to attend a May 6 banquet honoring Abel.

The government is backing down on its own job safety regulations in two important areas. The Labor Department is planning to revise its rules for power press operations. Under a rule which was supposed to be effective this August, a worker would never have had to put his or her hands in the operating areas. The Labor Department now plans to modify that rule, thus ensuring continued amputations of fingers and hands in these dangerous presses.

The Interior Department is backing down on enforcement of safety rules at 500 small Appalachian coal mines. The mines had been given a four-year extension - ending March 30 - to comply with mine safety regulations. But the safety rules are still not being enforced. A spokesman for the Independent Coal Operators Association said, "**Jim Day leaned over backwards to help us. He gave orders to go easy on us.**" Jim Day is acting administrator of the Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration.

West coast longshoremen will get an additional 30c an hour as of June 1. The 30c is to make up for a similar amount denied dockers by the Pay Board in 1972 and later by the Cost of Living Council. The new wage agreement follows a one-day strike May 1st. However, the wage adjustment will not be retroactive.

The **Voice of Chrysler Workers** opposition group at UAW Local 3 (Dodge Main plant) has voted to endorse the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The Detroit Free Press May 7th asked, "**Have you had it with our two political parties?**" 58% of those answering said "yes!"

More than 25 percent of all businesses with 15 or more workers hire no blacks, according to a government study released by a member of the Federal Reserve Board. At the same time, several giant corporations are fighting to prevent the government from releasing figures on their hiring of minorities. Among the corporations involved are Westinghouse, Sears Roebuck, and Gulf Oil.

Irving Bluestone, UAW vice-president in charge of General Motors, recently admitted he did not expect the layoffs that came just after the GM contract was negotiated last fall. "The downturn came so suddenly that it took many of us by surprise," he said. There was "no hint of any disaster striking this industry, no hint of any cutbacks."

Another reason to read **Workers' Power**, Mr. Bluestone. In July - five months before layoffs began -- we said: "But the [auto] boom will not last. As in the economy as a whole, a recession, perhaps quite serious, is expected next year. Many auto workers will be out of jobs, and not just new hires."

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



RUBBER COMPANY RUNS ON SCABS

There are 550 men and women, Chicanos, whites and Latin Americans in **United Rubber Workers Local 621** in North Hollywood, California. They have been walking the picket line for fifteen months.

Some of them try to live on \$25 a week strike benefits from their International union. Some of them have taken other jobs and walk the line during their week-ends.

The strike is against the **R & G Sloane Manufacturing Company**, a subsidiary of the **Susquehanna Corporation**, once one of the nation's largest producers of plastic plumbing and pipefittings.

Today, R & G Sloane's stock has dropped from number one in its field to number 12. The workforce has been reduced by half.

To keep the plant running seven days a week, the company has scabs working three machines instead of one.

Scabs are paid \$50 for recruiting other strikebreakers. And labor contractors are paid unknown amounts of money to smuggle Mexican nationals across the border. The Mexican nationals make even less than the scabs.

In spite of declining profits, the company refuses to negotiate with **Local 621**. Offers they've made to the union would only take away more and more of the workers rights and benefits.

The one thing obvious in this strike is **Sloane's determination to break the union, at whatever cost. Because it is part of a much larger corporation, R & G Sloane's losses can be absorbed by Susquehanna and written off on their taxes.**

The striking workers, though, have no such option. You can't write off hunger or the loss of your rights and dignity on your income tax.

Since the strike began the company has continually proposed settlements that offered even less than the original rejected offer.

To back up the strike, **Local 621**

has won approval from the **AFL-CIO** for a boycott of **R & G Sloane** products.

Teamsters have refused to cross the picket line in front of the plant, but scab truckers are taking the products to warehouses under a Teamster contract where the law prevents the union from telling its members not to handle the "hot cargo."

The consumer boycott faces problems - many people do not know what a plastic plumbing or pipefitting is or how to identify the **GSR** branch. [See illustration]

Besides being used in the construction industry, **GSR** products are also sold through retail outlets such as **Montgomery Wards**.

They are used by many small contractors in remodeling homes, repairing electrical wiring and plumbing and putting in lawn sprinklers. They are widely used in the plumbing and electrical systems of recreational vehicles.

Los Angeles has never been a strong union town. Many of the Sloane strikers are aware that their fight to defend their union is only one small battle in the fight to spread unionism to the thousands

of unorganized workers in Southern California.

The strikers are aware there is no guarantee of victory. The leadership of **Local 621** has very little experience in trade unionism. Meetings are often chaotic and decisions are made by the executive board without discussion among the rank and file.

What the inexperience and confusion of both the leadership of the local and the rank and file has finally resulted in is the **President of 621, Hiram Rivera**, taking the initiative to ask the **International URW** bureaucracy to put the local under partial trusteeship.

At the membership meeting of **May 6**, **Tony Rodriguez**, a **URW** International representative recently promoted to the position of **District 5 Director**, announced the partial trusteeship to the members by saying: "Members of this local have been attacking each other as well as the International... now we are going to get things done."

There was no opposition to the trusteeship raised from the floor of the meeting. The week before, criticism and opposition to the International's do-nothingism had been quite vocal.

Rodriguez did not bother to explain to the membership just what the trusteeship would mean, except that no longer would anyone be able to collect their strike benefits without proving they had shown up for picket duty.

Rivera obviously made a mistake by asking for the trusteeship. However, it is clear that his initiative in this action resulted not from any desire on his part to strangle rank and file dissent, but rather was another result of his own inexperience and a sincere desire to get the local out of the mess it was in.

In a time when the working class movement is quiet and its traditions of militancy and democratic rank and file control of the unions have been stripped away, it is not unusual to see people putting forward and accepting bureaucratic solutions to their problems.

It was the lack of a democratic structure and the lack of democratic control of the local, coupled with the absence of a trade union leadership which knew that the interests of the International are not the same as the interests of the Sloane workers, which led to the acceptance of the trusteeship.

The **International's interests in this struggle are to prevent the discontent with its role in this fight from being spread to other rank and file rubber workers. It also is anxious to end a long and costly fight that it feels has little chance of winning.**

The **Sloane** workers, however, need a militant and aggressive leadership which is not afraid to take its case to the workers of **Firestone**, **Goodyear** and **Goodrich** and ask for the support of their brothers and sisters in the union.

Mary Franklin

CHILE

The Road to Disaster

by Walt Castle and Marilyn Danton

The violent outcome of **Allende's "Peaceful Road to Socialism"** has raised all the critical questions facing revolutionaries today. This pamphlet from the **International Socialists** lays bare the dynamic that led to the reactionary coup and draws out the lessons for the workers movement internationally.

I.S. Book Service
14131 Woodward Avenue
Highland Park, MI 48203

50c, plus 15c postage

DON'T BUY OR USE



GM MARK OF UNEMPLOYMENT

GM SUB Fund in Jeopardy

The first real danger to auto workers' SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) Fund has come at GM. As Workers' Power has been saying, the SUB Funds are underfinanced and, as a result of the high layoffs, may begin reducing payments.

Now the top leadership of the United Auto Workers union has taken note of all this. In a letter to GM local union officers dated April 23, 1974, UAW Vice President Irving Bluestone describes the present state of the GM SUB Fund.

Under the terms of the contract, when the Fund drops below a certain level, workers are charged more than one credit unit for each check received. (This means that their SUB benefits will not last for as many weeks.)

That critical level is quite close and may well be reached, according to Bluestone, "... sometime during the month of June or July, 1974. Should this occur, then lower seniority workers would be required to cash in more than one SUB credit in order to receive one SUB benefit."

The first to be hit will be those on lay-off with 1-5 years seniority. They will be charged 1.11 credit units for each SUB check.

Bluestone continues: "Thereafter, we must contemplate a further drain on the Fund as model change layoffs take effect."

As the layoffs continue and the Fund drops further, those with 5-10 years are charged 1.11 units and

those with 1-5 years are charged 1.25. These figures could increase until workers are charged 10 credit units per check.

Bluestone then addresses the real questions involved with the Fund. He points out that the GM Fund was only 34.4% funded as of the end of March, 1974. But then he goes on to admit:

"The SUB Fund was designed to meet the normal fluctuations in the economy. It was not designed to meet the crisis of depression-like layoff circumstances such as currently exists in General Motors."

SUB: AUTO WORKERS' RIGHT

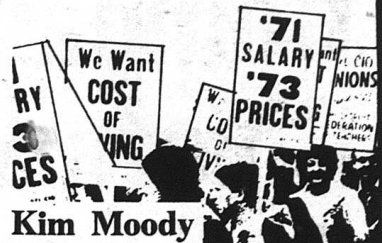
As Workers' Power has said before, SUB payments and protection from layoffs, are an auto worker's right. Bluestone fails to explain why the Fund is inadequate for the current crisis.

In fact he and all the other UAW leaders are responsible. They negotiated for and boasted about the SUB Fund, knowing full well that it could not cover severe layoffs. Meanwhile, those laid off must pay the penalty.

As long as we live in a society where profits are the most important thing, it will take a fight to win full employment and full protection from layoffs. An important step in that fight will be sweeping away Bluestone and the rest of the present UAW leadership. ■

Bill Hastings

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

From Rebellion To Revolution

Rank and file union members don't wildcat, vote down contracts or organize opposition caucuses and committees because any of this is fun or seems natural. It's a lot of slow, painful, hard work.

The reason that a world wide rank and file rebellion goes on - not only here, but also in countries like Britain, Italy and Japan - is that more and more workers see no other way out.

In the 1950's and early 60's, the economies of the industrial capitalist nations moved along pretty well. While they didn't grow fast, the vast arms budgets of the US and other countries kept profits up and business going.

In this relative prosperity, the leaders of most unions were able to win regular wage increases without getting too militant, and without threatening the profit system.

It's true that often these labor leaders, like Walter Reuther, David MacDonald of the Steel Workers, Meany, and the rest traded off working conditions for wage increases. It's true too that blacks and Latino workers did not get much of the "prosperity."

It's also true that the ranks fought for union democracy and tried to prevent deteriorating working conditions.

Indeed, there were even militant strikes and struggles during this post-war prosperity. But for the most part the official leaders of the unions were able to lead and contain these fights.

There was still enough fat on the old economy to let them win things without rocking the boat.

In the late 60's and certainly in the 70's things started to go wrong. The very arms budget that had given capitalism prosperity began to produce uncontrollable inflation.

Inflation produced one monetary crisis after another. And nowhere in the world did wage controls succeed in stopping, or even really slowing down, inflation.

World capitalism was entering the very crisis it had tried to buy off with the permanent arms economy.

In this atmosphere the labor leaders, well tamed from years of good behavior and the good life, could no longer produce the goods for the ranks.

In the late 60's prices outran wages year after year. Working

conditions in many industries were getting worse.

Still the employers wanted more. They wanted smaller wage increases and less union control over working conditions. The ranks rebelled.

Through the late 1960's America and most of Western Europe witnessed a growing rebellion against the official union leadership and its timid, pro-capitalist policies.

This rebellion, however, was not directed against the capitalist system as such, at least not in the U.S. It was directed against the fact that the union leaders just wouldn't fight to win.

Starting in the middle 1960's, a significant number of contract rejections and unofficial strike actions began to take place.

Without organization and without any clear program, this rebellion was clear on one point: this rotten overstaffed labor leadership had better stand aside.

This basic idea was shared by rank and file supporters of very diverse groups, from the Miners for Democracy in the United Mine Workers to the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement in auto.

Thus, today's rank and file rebellion has two basic sources. The first is the crisis of capitalism. The second is the inability of the old labor leadership to defend the workers' living standards.

This movement has faced several set-backs, particularly in the U.S. When the government slapped on wage controls, the movement lost a lot of steam. Still, its basic goal remains - to replace today's decrepit labor bureaucracy with a new breed of

unionist and to make the unions once again a vehicle for militant struggle against the bosses.

Revolutionary socialists believe that the ranks of labor can throw out the rotten, company-minded labor bureaucracy and rebuild a fighting labor movement.

Furthermore, such a union movement could defend the working class from the effects of the capitalists' crisis. But we also recognize that the same dynamic that creates the rank and file rebellion must carry the working class beyond militant unionism to revolution.

Side by side with the rank and file movement against the conservative union bureaucracy is the emergence of a revolutionary trend among the workers.

However small this revolutionary current may be right now, it is a response to the intensifying crisis of capitalism. It is an attempt to find a real "way out."

For the International Socialists, the growth of the rank and file movement and of revolutionary trends in the working class are not just developments to be observed. They are political tasks.

We believe that the crisis of capitalism, and the resulting attack on the working class, can be met only by both a mass rank and file movement and a revolutionary workers' party fighting to defend and advance the cause of the workers, indeed of humanity.

The best trade unionists, the most effective rank and file militants, are also the most consistent revolutionary socialists. We work to build both. ■

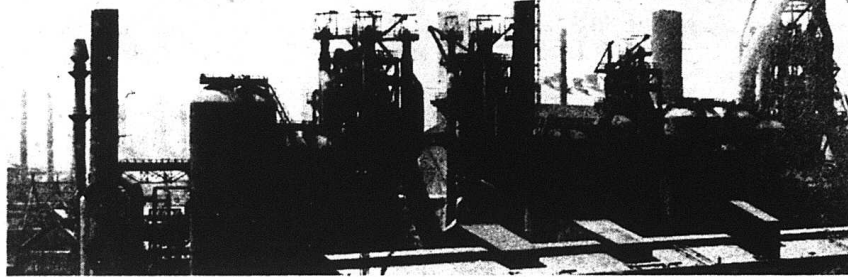


WORKERS LEAVING NEW JERSEY GM PLANT



Rank and file auto workers demonstrate at 1973 UAW Convention

Companies, Union Chiefs Whitewash Racism in Steel



The history of the steel industry is one of racism and discrimination.

The departmental seniority system has allowed the companies to hire blacks and other minorities into the worst departments and to keep them there. Like many industries, they have excluded women. Now, however, a Consent Decree worked out in court by nine of the big steel companies, the Steel Workers Union (USWA), and the government is supposed to change this state of affairs.

THE FACTS

Under the Consent Decree, the companies agreed to hire 25 percent women for new production and maintenance jobs; to fill 25 percent of new craft jobs with minorities and women; and to fill 50 percent of the promotions to craft and trade jobs with minorities and women until they hold the same percentage of those jobs as they do in production.

Workers trapped in traditionally black (and more dangerous and dirty) departments will now have the opportunity to transfer to jobs in other, more desirable departments - on the basis of their years in the plant rather than their years in a particular department.

A worker transferring to a lower-paying job in a better department will have his or her pay frozen ("red-circled") at a higher rate, but only for two years.

The second aspect of the decree concerns compensation for the discrimination suffered by black workers in the past. Workers hired before 1968 will be eligible for back pay awards of from \$250 to \$700.

WHAT'S THE CATCH?

"[Steel] executives and union leaders seem to be trying to do the minimum the law requires in order to escape shelling out huge sums in back pay to blacks who have been kept from advancement in the past."

Time, Dec. 17, 1973

In the 1960's black steel workers stepped up their fight against second class status. They organized, appealed, wildcatted, sought representation through the union and took their case to court.

At each step the union leadership, the companies and the government have resisted. They've

studied, commissioned and promised, but little has changed.

The current Decree is an effort to head off greater black militancy and to clean up their image at the minimum cost.

They also want to use the Decree's maze of legalistic qualifications to keep changes in their own hands and to keep the workforce confused, divided and afraid.

BACK PAY

There are many loopholes and catches in the Consent Decree. In back pay, the total amount is insignificant compared to the wages actually lost by minority workers in the past.

It provides no help for the health damage suffered in the more dangerous departments. An award of \$700 comes to only \$14/week for just one year.

Previously, the Ohio Civil Right Commission had concluded that Republic Steel should pay its black workers in the Cleveland District coke and BOP (Basic Oxygen Furnace) departments \$6½ million.

But Republic's share of the total

set by the Decree for the whole industry is a mere \$3½ million for all of its black employees.

The amounts allotted in the Decree are a token and nothing more.

To get this token amount, a worker must waive all other claims. The government agrees to try to get all existing suits settled for the token amount, not to take the companies to court for five years, and to side with the company in any court action brought by an individual worker.

Thus, it is quite likely that the companies will have less to worry about than before.

HIRING AND TRANSFERS

More important than back pay, what will happen to those blacks presently trapped in the worst jobs in the mills?

Many parts of the Consent Decree are very vague, with legal qualifications and escape clauses. As we will see below, many provisions are simply inadequate.

Enforcement of the Decree is entirely in the hands of the persons

appointed by the same district-level union officials who have sat by for years and ignored or connived in discrimination.

Therefore, whether black workers can gain any real relief under this Decree remains to be seen. If past examples are any guide the outlook is not bright.

In 1971 black workers at Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna plant won a court case. The settlement included procedures to make transferring easier for some 1,600 workers in predominantly black departments.

The employers feared wholesale transfers. The Wall Street Journal, two years later, reassured businessmen. It said only 70 workers were actually able to transfer.

But what does this mean in human terms? Anyone who has ever worked in a steel mill knows conditions in some departments are simply unhealthy. Most notorious are the coke plants, where a much higher incidence of cancer and heart disease gives coke workers a substantially shorter life expectancy.

A recent government study showed that 15 out of every 132 workers on top the coke batteries could expect to die of lung cancer. Naturally, most workers would transfer out of such departments if given the opportunity.

But the Lackawanna plan failed. Few transferred, and the effects of racism and discrimination remained. Chances are that unless black workers organize to demand relief, the present Consent Decree will end up the same way.

Other specific problems with the Consent Decree include:

The percentage of minority new hires are goals only, not quotas. The companies are merely required to use "good faith" to be in compliance.

Both transfers and new hires into the crafts will still be required to take tests which have been one means of screening out minorities. Legal proof of discrimination will be difficult for any individual.

The provisions to protect the income of a transferring worker until he or she can work up the job progression scale in a new department are a joke. The protection lasts only two years - in most cases not nearly long enough to work up the scale.

The maximum level of protection is job class 11 - far below the top classification of 32. Therefore, it will cost many workers money to transfer out of the predominantly black and unsafe departments.

The back pay provision provides for some payment of damages from union funds. Rumor has it payment will come from the Strike Fund.

This weakening of the union's ability to fight is an extra bonus for the companies. There has been systematic conniving by the whole union bureaucracy in the racist hiring practices of the companies. But the union does not make billions in profits. To pay out of funds contributed by the membership does not penalize those responsible for the discrimination.

This compromise Decree - inadequate as it is - may provide some relief for black, Latin and women workers. Its small gains result from the movements of these groups in the 1960's, as they exposed and fought against the discrimination rampant in the whole society.

It will take the same thing to enforce the Decree and to gain real equality for minorities and women and decent conditions and dignity for all workers.

It will take organizations of the rank and file who are strong enough not to rely on the whims of courts, the promises of officials, or the "good faith" of the companies.

JIM CROW: STILL A AND W IN BIG S

The government, steel executives and leaders of the United Steel Workers recently signed a court order - called a "Consent Decree" - which is being billed as a major breakthrough in the fight against racism in the steel industry.

To hear government and industry executives talk, you would think this agreement compensates black and other minority workers for racist practices in the past, and guarantees everything will be fair and square in the future.

The reality is closer to the opposite.

As the accompanying article indicates - and as any black worker can demonstrate through personal experience - American industry is founded on racism.

All that will not change with a court order.

Worse, the Consent Decree is another example of collusion between industry, government, and top union officials to maintain the system and its racism, and to let the steel industry off the hook as cheap as possible.

FIGHTING RACISM

Even the minimal concessions in the Decree would not have been granted were it not for the organized pressure from the late sixties black liberation movement and the militancy of black steel workers.

It will take similar organized militancy to enforce and extend the gains won in the Decree.

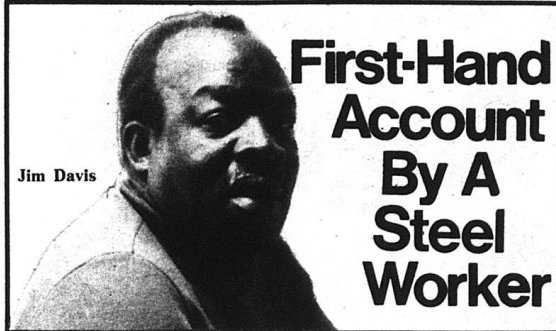
At the same time that the union leadership has accepted and promoted racism and discrimination, it has completely abandoned the fight for better wages and working conditions.

Indeed, in signing the no-strike agreement with the steel compa-



Pittsburgh steel workers leaving plant

Black Workers Fight for Justice



Jim Davis

First-Hand Account By A Steel Worker

[Jim Davis is National Chairman of the Ad-Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, a loose national group of black steel workers. The Ad-Hoc Committee is challenging the recently-announced discrimination settlement between the government and steel industry.]

Davis has been a member of the Steel Workers Union for 27 years. He is a member of Local 1462 (Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Briar Hill Workers, Youngstown, Ohio), chairman of the local union Civil Rights Committee, and Grievance Chairman for the Mason Department.

Workers' Power spoke with Brother Davis about the history and current situation of blacks in the steel industry.]

Workers' Power: Black workers in steel have always had the hardest, dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs. How has that happened?

Davis: For blacks there was a conspiracy here that the only thing they'd offer you at Sheet and Tube was the coke plant, blast furnace, and laborer jobs. It was the same thing at Republic and the same thing at US Steel.

There are blacks with greater seniority on lower paying jobs than white co-workers. If I hired into Youngstown Sheet and Tube and found myself locked into a situation where I couldn't transfer to a better department, there was no point to quit and go to Republic because the same damn thing was waiting on me.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

White workers who find themselves in a bad department merely transfer to another department, or even quit one building and move to the other. They were able to move.

But for blacks it didn't make any sense to move. So you stayed and accumulated long years of service.

If they went by a strict plant-wide seniority basis, instead of department seniority, there would be movement. That would be the only fair way. . .to have straight across-the-board plant-wide seniority.

And that takes the whip out of the company's hand. As long as the company can pick and choose and pit one man against another, then

produce more, for the same amount of money."

Workers' Power: What has the role of the union been?

Davis: Back to the beginning of the Steel Workers union, steel could never be organized because the companies used racism. Locally, the history is that whenever the white workers would organize, the companies would go south and recruit black workers and bring them in to break the strike.

It was in 1936 or '37 when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee began to move out and take a correct position. That is, they established a non-discriminatory bar in the constitution of the union.

They held this out to the black worker. He was certainly suspicious, because normally the only time he could work was when the white workers refused to work. One of the conditions for white workers coming back to work had been to fire all the black workers.

So you have this built-in racism being practiced by the corporation, therefore keeping all workers down.

UNION WON'T FIGHT

What really happened in the plants is that even though the non-discrimination clause was in the constitution, it never became a reality. Black workers began to be hired into the plants in separate seniority lines and departments and that brings us up to our problem to date.

It became a matter of competition. The white workers, any time they controlled the union, would sit and connive with management and

be a party to the very discrimination.

At the time of the 1959 strike, we had the advent of automation and cybernation and that has taken its toll. So basic steel has been shrinking and it created more competition.

But it stands to reason that if the union is doing its job there can be no discrimination. The union had an obligation it never fulfilled.

Workers' Power: What direction do you hope to see the rank and file movement taking in the Steel Workers Union?

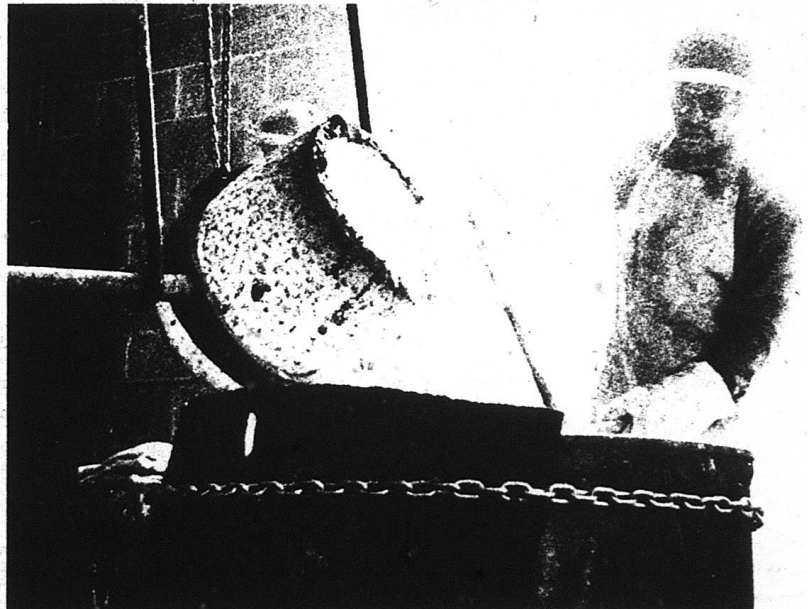
Davis: One of the reasons we have this Consent Decree and also the ENA (no-strike agreement), both negotiated secretly, is that all members of the Steel Workers are crushed by the hierarchy.

There is no longer any democracy in the union; there is no input by the workers. The result is these kinds of deals which are not what the members need. So I see black workers having a big stake in the fight to make the union more democratic.

To do this we hope to build the Ad Hoc Committee into a black caucus - into a solid mass of black steel workers - which can then seek coalitions with white steel workers.

While black workers must be pro-black - must organize to defend their own interests - that doesn't mean anti-white. We're at most 25 percent of the union and we can't win alone. Also, of course, we face the same companies and many of the same problems.

I'm pleased to say that we're finding more and more pockets of white workers who are moving and organizing and who realize that if black workers aren't free, then nobody's free.■



**LIVE
TELL
STEEL**

nies. USW President I. W. Abel abandoned the most basic trade union principles.

The fight to win the union back, the fight for union democracy, the struggle to turn the USW back into a fighting organization, to regain lost wages and improve unsafe and unhealthy working conditions - all this must go hand in hand with the fight against racial discrimination in the steel industry if either struggle is to be successful.

RACISM AND DEMOCRACY

Racism is the great divider. As long as white workers are willing to accept the discrimination practiced by the company and supported by the union, no one will be able to fight effectively for economic gains and against the Abel dictatorship.

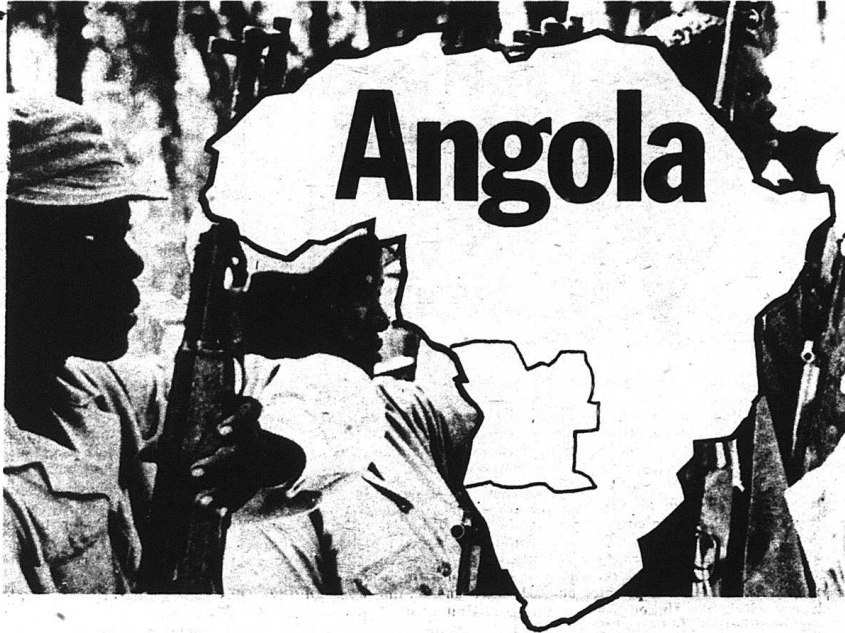
Eliminating racism in the industry and bringing democracy to the union are not two separate tasks. A democratic union, controlled by the rank and file, is a necessary tool in waging a successful fight against discrimination.

The first steps have already been taken. Small, but important rank and file groups exist in the steel industry, fighting for union democracy, an end to the no-strike agreement, and against racism and discrimination.

Jim Davis' Ad-Hoc Committee of Concerned Steel Workers is one of these groups. On these pages we present Davis' comments on racism in the steel industry and the road forward for black and white steel workers.■

This centerfold was prepared by Cal Williams, Steve Carter, and Victor McDougal.

An Eyewitness Account: Liberation Struggles in



[The military coup and political upheaval in Portugal have focused attention on the struggles of black Africans for independence in Portugal's colonies - Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Of these colonies, the richest and most important is Angola, where 50,000 Portuguese troops are stationed.

Workers' Power reporter Joe Fine spoke with Charles Smith, an American black liberation activist who has travelled widely in Africa and lectured on national liberation struggles there.

He has worked as a reporter for **Muhammed Speaks** and **Afro World Associates** news agency.

His first-hand observations of the struggle in Angola are the subject of this interview.]

Workers' Power: You've seen at first hand the war against Portuguese imperialism in Angola. Could you give our readers an eyewitness account of the forces and events there, and the goals of the participants?

Charles Smith: The Portuguese have been in Africa for about 500 years. They refused to negotiate with the colonies in the same way as the other imperialist countries have.

They can't, they don't have the economic facilities to do it. Portugal is not as economically progressive - in terms of advanced capital it's a very backward country.

So they have to stay in and fight it out, in a very backwards way. Other western capitalist countries have just negotiated the people a

flag and a statehouse - keeping puppet leadership.

There were a number of us who went into Angola, journalists and

some members from the central committee of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). Every four years they hold a conference inside the liberated areas. These were representatives coming from Europe and North Africa, who were going to attend.

It's mandatory that the people on the central committee representing a country abroad come back inside the country.

We started the trip in Zambia, near the Angolan border, walking about 25 miles a day. It took 18 days till we reached the most distant spot inside the liberated territory, where the conference was held.

COUNTRY STAGNATES

Compared to some of the other African countries, Angola has an abundant supply of water and fruit, and good crop land.

But the Portuguese import most of their crops from other European countries, and have been doing so ever since they've been there. They do not spend much effort to either domesticate animals or raise crops.

The industrial level is very low. In the eastern province there is none. They call that part the end of the world.

WP: What is the present relationship of forces between the guerrilla forces and the Portuguese? What did you see in the areas controlled by the national liberation forces?

CS: Comparing what we saw in Angola with what we saw in Zambia, which has been independent for nine years, I'd say the peasants in the liberated area of

Angola were doing much better. Their livelihood is much better than the situation of the peasant in Zambia, which is a neo-colonial state.

WOMEN IN SCHOOLS

You seldom see peasant schools in Zambia. Outside the cities, the peasants have a very small-scale development of schools, housing and water supply, with no irrigation or hospitals.

On the other hand, in the liberated area in Angola, very large hospitals inside the bush each serve as many as 70 or 80 people a day. I don't know how many there are. I went to two in one province.

I visited two school complexes there, each one having at least ten buildings. About 40% of the school population were women and that was rare in Africa.

The guerrillas don't talk of how much land they control. The concept of liberated territory is very vague.

There is no area in the country where fighting is not going on. You can't say any area is exclusively yours, or exclusively theirs, the struggle is going on all over.

In the area where guerrillas have the most influence, they claim a million people. That would be a fifth of the population.

Outside that area they're agitating and organizing folks of the provinces further east. In the city they organize the workers, but they wouldn't consider that a secure military area.

WP: What relationship do the guerrilla struggles have to the black workers' movements in South Africa?

CS: There were guerrillas who went into Angola with us who were not from Angola but from South-west Africa, Namibia. They belong to the South West African Peoples Organization.

OPEN ORGANIZING

They travel regularly through Angola to get to locations inside Namibia. It takes them about two months of walking to reach their destination.

They say the situation in the labor camps has good qualities because they're able to organize people in the open. Only men, without their families, live in barracks. In an integrated situation they wouldn't be able to do it, because there would be too many police around.

South African labor camps are for all types of laborers. They travel from inside Namibia and from neighboring countries. Even people from Zambia go work in the mines, so you have a migratory proletariat.

Generally after a big strike the workers organize. Then the South Africans try to get people from somewhere else to come in and work.

The workers organize those
[continued on page 14]

LISBON GENERALS TRY TO FIRM UP GRIP

In their first weeks in power, Portugal's new ruling generals have been working to strengthen their grip on power and construct a stable political base.

The job will not be easy. National liberation forces in at least two of Portugal's African colonies have rejected or ignored the government's request for a cease-fire.

At the same time, white settlers in Angola and Mozambique are holding rallies to demand white supremacy be maintained. "We want independence for ourselves, not the Africans," said one white woman gas station operator in Mozambique.

The junta is encouraging the development of a so-called "moderate" party - in other words, a right wing middle class and professional party - to back Spinola's colonial policy and support repressive measures to keep Portuguese workers in line.

But these elements were politically atomized for so many

years under the old dictatorship that such a middle class party has to be started from almost nothing.

At the moment, in fact, Spinola's most active support comes from the Portuguese Communist Party, the strongest and best-organized political force in Portugal today.

Communist Party union leaders have already postponed a major strike that would have closed down Portugal's largest steel plant. They are also backing Spinola's demand that public employees stop throwing out their old fascist supervisors and leave everything up to the new government.

The Communist Party is calling, as it did in Chile, for "national unity and discipline." Its leaders are offering to channel mass actions in harmless directions when they cannot be stopped entirely.

In return, Spinola may well decide to take Communist Party ministers into a government. The generals know they need a

political force with working class support. From Spinola's viewpoint this support is well worth hiring, as long as the price is only a few cabinet posts and some "progressive" noises.

Many important facts are being swept under the rug by the leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party in their rush to join the new government:

The army was the mainstay of a fascist dictatorship for 40 years.

General Spinola is about as sympathetic to socialism as General Franco - for whom he fought in the Spanish Civil War.

The junta is the political weapon of Portuguese capitalism - trying to save itself and its colonies.

Soon, no doubt, all this will be dignified by phrases about a "Portuguese road to socialism" and the uniquely "progressive" nature of the Portuguese army - the same phrases which preceded the slaughter of workers in Chile.

Union Heads Back Prison Slavery

LEAVENWORTH FEDERAL PENITENTIARY — Teamster bureaucrat Fitzsimmons opens up his "goon-bag" and sends his strike-breakers out to California - in an attempt to break the spirit of the United Farm Workers.

AFL-CIO bureaucrat George Meany beats the drum in Washington by sending out letters urging support of the UFW. None of this provides the needed money and manpower to support the position of the United Farm Workers.

First of all, Fitzsimmons does not speak for all the rank and file and if Hoffa finds a loophole to run for office, this shall be proven at the next election.

Nor, does that spineless blabber mouth who sits in the number one chair within the AFL-CIO and rendered support to Nixon, speak for all the union members within the AFL-CIO.

While these two bureaucratic union do-gooders would have their

People believe they favor a liveable minimum wage bill, and other features to supposedly enable people to survive in America, both of these bureaucrats sit on a Corporate Board, and, in effect, control a conglomerate where the slaves are paid wages ranging from 23 cents per hour to a high of 56 cents per hour.

These two labor leaders are not the only two union leaders who foster and condone the practice of slavery within the United States.

In an attempt to hide the slavery conditions that exist in the prison system, labor leaders were selected to sit on the Corporate Board of the Federal Prison Industries Inc. They were told to create an image for the public "that prisoners were not being exploited," rather, "they were being taught a trade."

The Federal Prison Industries, Inc. is a conglomerate engaged in the production of military war goods - everything from electrical

components for missiles to Army shoes and blankets.

SLAVE LABOR

The slaves confined to the prisons where these factories are located, find themselves gased, clubbed, and thrown in the "hole" when they refuse to work under the conditions that exist.

A case in point occurred on July 31, 1973 inside the walls of the largest United States prison, located at Leavenworth, Kansas. This slave revolt was referred to as a rebellion by some, and as a riot by the would-be slave masters.

This slave revolt has resulted in indictments being returned, charging seven pre-selected prisoners (slaves) with "capital" crimes. Of these seven prisoner-slaves, four are black, two Chicano and one white, and all vibrate togetherness and brotherhood.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons

The Leavenworth Seven have been cut to six. Brother William Hearst was found dead in his cell May 10.

Hearst had been moved to a separate prison by police because they claimed he had attempted suicide.

The Brothers' Defense/Offense Committee has evidence to the contrary, but are not releasing it pending an independent investigation of this atrocity.

Hearst was found dead, hanging by his shirt from his cell bars.

His death is a severe blow to the Committee's efforts. A victory for the Brothers was won, however, in a Topeka courthouse the following week.

The Leavenworth Brothers, inmates of that federal penitentiary, are charged with murder and kidnapping following a rebellion there last summer.

The Brothers have all suffered brutal physical and mental abuse at the hands of prison guards while awaiting their trials.

One Brother, Odell Bennett, had filed suit against the federal government for the treatment to which they have been subjected.

The day before he was to appear in court for his suit,

Bennett was viciously attacked by seven or eight prison guards, performing their "official duty" - a recital search.

The guards had first carefully closed the windows of all other prisoners' cells so they could perform their intended rape and beating unobserved.

As a result of this atrocity, Bennett was charged with four counts of assaulting a prison guard and one charge of mutiny, which was later dropped.

When the jury in the trial requested re-hearing the testimony of two federal officers, the judge told them somebody else could do the job if they couldn't, and he [the judge] was a busy man. He then sent them home.

The next day, after rehearing the testimony, the jury acquitted Bennett of one charge, convicted him of one, and were a hung jury on two charges.

The hung jury verdicts were a result of the efforts of one black woman, who refused to vote guilty, despite the pressure of the judge and fellow jurors.

The accompanying article was written for **Workers' Power** by one of the Leavenworth Brothers.

Kay Stacy

has now embarked on a seldom used scheme (until the Nixon era), the indictment, sham trial and imprisonment of any slave who dares question or objects to any government policy.

The prison staff deliberately created the conditions that brought about the confrontation of July 31, 1973. The result was the death of one prison guard and the holding hostage of four other guards until the head slave keeper, Warden Loren Daggett, was ordered to make an appearance and listen to the reasons for the seething discontent among the slaves.

The Warden has yet to act on any of the complaints made by the slaves. The only reaction on the part of the government has been in having indictments returned against seven pre-selected prisoner-slaves. "The Leavenworth Seven."

The pre-selection process was based on the removal of black, Chicano, and white prisoners who are either political or writ-writers and question prison policies.

With the general public already conditioned to believe the slave is the protagonist, because he must take more or make the first move to break the chains that bind him, trial on any charge by the federal courts in an unbiased atmosphere becomes an impossibility.

BEATINGS

Not satisfied with the indictments against the Leavenworth Seven, individual prisoners were victims of selected assaults by prison guards, while confined to the hole.

In a protective measure aimed at stultifying charges of guard brutality, new and separate indictments were returned charging the prisoner(s) with assaulting federal guards. While in the hole no-less,

No cage door, in any prison hole setting, is ever opened unless there are more than enough guards to beat to death the human caged within the cell. This holds more true at all federal prisons.

These latest indictments resulted in a fast trial and conviction, with the slaves receiving eight and ten year sentences to commence at the expiration of the sentence now being served. The charges of July 31st are held in limbo until an image is created to reflect a monster type slave of The Leavenworth Seven.

Since slavery is outlawed in the United States, with the exception of the slaves employed by the Federal Prison Industries Inc. and large land-holders who grow grapes and other produce, and slaves choose to strike because of oppressive conditions that the government fosters, the government has decided on a path of indicting pre-selected prisoners on charges of "inciting a riot" or "mutiny."

On April 23, 1974 prisoners who refused to work in the Federal Prison Industries 48 hours a week were removed from the Industries, and in effect had their sentences extended through loss of good-time.

All these prisoners were black prisoners, slaves who comprise 25% of the population within Leavenworth. No black prisoners are assigned as clerks within the industries, another ploy on the part of the keepers to create ill-feeling between white and non-white prisoners.

RACISM

If an outsider were to take a tour of Leavenworth, the impression would be that no black prisoner can read or write. No blacks are assigned as clerks in any of the cell

[continued on page 15]

Attica Brothers Beaten

Defendants in the up-coming Attica trials were beaten and maced on their way to a pre-court hearing last month in Buffalo, New York.

The attack occurred when prisoners were being led from the jail, through a dark, pot-hole filled tunnel, to the court building. Their hands were shackled behind their backs, and their legs were chained.

The prisoners refused to enter the tunnel because on previous occasions they had tripped and been beaten and harassed by guards while inside.

The prisoners' refusal launched the guards' attack. One inmate, who had lost a leg in the Attica rebellion, was maced in the face and received a fractured arm in the beating.

Guards would only agree to take him to the hospital for treatment if he agreed to have his wooden leg shackled to his other and his

fractured arms chained behind his back. The defendant refused.

The next day the prisoners and their lawyers objected to the treatment in court, but the judge refused to order the passage through the tunnel discontinued. He claimed he had been through it, and did not consider it hazardous.

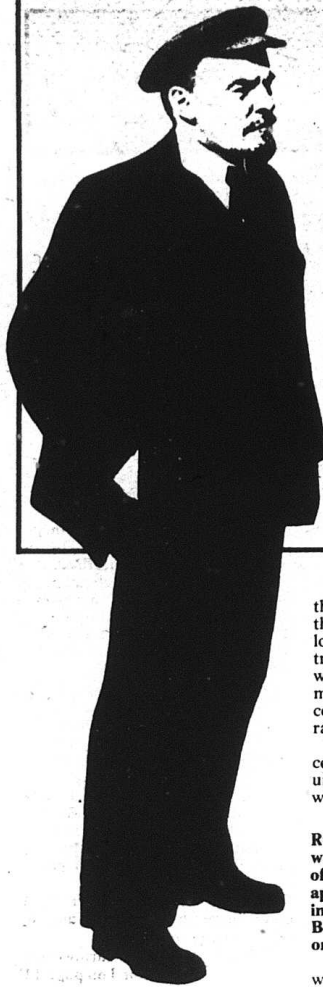
In a related development, the New York State Troopers Benevolent Association has become part of the growing opposition to the formation of a second grand jury to investigate the events surrounding the 1971 rebellion.

The first grand jury confined itself to citing and indicting only prisoners. The second grand jury is to explore and possibly indict state troopers along with some of the higher-up state officials responsible for the massacre, which resulted in the deaths of 43 inmates and guards. ■

Dotty Grant



Attica brothers in 1972



LENIN'S PRAVDA: A WORKERS' NEWSPAPER

Lenin wrote in 1911: "At present the real position of the Party is such that almost everywhere in the localities there are informal, extremely small and tiny Party workers' groups and nuclei that meet irregularly. . . . They are not connected with each other. Very rarely do they see literature."
Zinoviev, very close to Lenin, could say in retrospect: "at this unhappy period the Party as a whole ceased to exist."

It took a long time for the Russian workers to heal the wounds they received in the period of reaction. But signs of a cure appeared in steadily growing form in 1911 and 1912, although the Bolsheviks still hardly existed as an organization.

In 1908 the number of strikers was tiny, 60,000 and in 1910 was even lower, 46,623. In 1911 it rose to 105,110.

The Conference of Bolsheviks in January 1912 noted: "the onset of a political revival is to be noted among broad democratic circles, chiefly among the proletariat. The workers' strikes in 1910-11, the beginning of demonstrations and proletarian meetings, the start of a movement among urban bourgeois democrats (the students strikes), etc., are all indications of the growing revolutionary feelings of the masses."

The movement got a great push forward with the terrible massacre of striking gold miners in Lena on April 4th, 1912, which aroused the anger of the working class throughout the country. Street demonstrations, meetings, and protests occurred, with up to 300,000 workers taking part in protest strikes, which merged with the 400,000 strong May Day strike. Other political strikes followed.

CENSORSHIP

Lenin employed many methods to adapt the Bolshevik Party with only hundreds of members to the rising tide of struggle.

He used the Duma (the pseudo-Parliament the Czar allowed), a Social Insurance campaign, and the launching of a daily paper. The first issue of Pravda appeared on April 22, 1912 - 18 days after the Lena massacre.

Again and again the Pravda premises were raided, issues confiscated, fines imposed editors arrested, the newsboys selling the paper harassed.

But still the paper continued to appear. From April 22, 1912 to July

8, 1914, 645 issues were published.

This was made possible largely by the ingenuity of the staff in circumventing prosecution, the financial support of the readers, loopholes in the press law, and the inefficiency of the police.

Using parables and code words enabled Pravda to discuss the issues of the day without risking automatic confiscation. Nominal editors were appointed who would go to prison while the real editors remained free. There were approximately 40 of these "editors," many of whom were quite illiterate.

In the first year of Pravda's existence they spent some 47½ months in prison. Of the 645 published issues, the police tried, unsuccessfully, to confiscate 155, and 36 issues drew fines.

Half the copies of Pravda were sold in the streets by newsboys, and half in the factories.

In big factories in St. Petersburg, each department had one person in charge. He distributed the paper, collected funds and kept in contact with the editors.

The distribution of Pravda outside St. Petersburg met with great difficulty. It is true Pravda had 6,000 postal subscriptions, but to distribute these was not as easy as may appear.

Copies had to be packed in calico for protection, and mailed from five or six different post offices which were changed daily to throw the police off the track.

In addition, bundles of Pravda were delivered to the provinces by a number of intricate routes. Party members or sympathizers working on the railways would throw bundles along the route in especially arranged spots where other comrades would wait for them.

A REAL WORKERS' PAPER

The circulation of Pravda was quite impressive, especially if one takes into account the illegal status of the Party publishing it. It was between 40,000 on weekdays and 60,000 on Saturdays.

However, Lenin was far from satisfied with the circulation. Thus he wrote in April 1914 an article entitled: "Our Tasks": "Pravda must be circulated in three, four and five times as many copies as today.

"The chronicle of the organizational, ideological and political life of the class-conscious workers should be expanded many times over."

Pravda was not a paper for workers; it was a workers' paper. It was very different from many other socialist papers, written by a tiny group of sometimes brilliant journalists.

Lenin described one such paper as a "journal for workers, as there is not a trace in it of either workers' initiative, or any connection with working class organizations."

As against this in Lenin's Pravda, over 11,000 letters and items of correspondence from workers were published in one year, or about 35 items per day.

A few months after the start of publication, Lenin made clear his concept of what a workers' paper is:

"The workers' newspaper is a workers' forum. Before the whole of Russia the workers should raise here, one after another, the various questions of workers' life in general and of working class democracy in particular."

The paper was an organizer not only because thousands of workers read it, wrote for it and sold it, but also because it encouraged the formation of workers' groups to collect money for it.

Both the Pravda and Luch, the Menshevik daily, published regular reports of collections and donations for the paper.

In Pravda of July 12, 1912 Lenin wrote: "From the point of view of the initiative and energy of the workers themselves, it is much

more important to have 100 rubles collected by, say, 30 groups of workers than 1,000 rubles collected by some dozens of "sympathizers."

"A newspaper founded on the basis of five-kopek pieces collected by small factory circles of workers is a far more dependable, solid and serious undertaking (both financially and, most important of all, from the standpoint of the development of the workers' democratic movement) than a newspaper founded with tens and hundreds of rubles contributed by sympathizing intellectuals."

During 1912 Pravda received contributions of money from 620 workers' groups while the Menshevik paper got donations from 89 groups. During the whole of 1913 Pravda received 2,181 contributions from workers' groups while the Mensheviks received 661.

In 1914 up to May 13, Pravda had the support of 2,873 workers' groups and the Mensheviks of 671. Thus the Pravdists organized 77 per cent of the workers' groups in Russia in 1913 and 81 per cent in 1914.

The formation of groups to collect for Pravda compensated for the lack of a legal party. And Lenin quite correctly drew the conclusion: "Thus four-fifths of the workers have accepted the Pravdist decisions as their own, have approved of Pravdism, and actually rallied round Pravdism."

Pravda was almost completely dependent on workers' financial support. Thus of all the donations to the paper between January 1 and May 13, 1914, 87 per cent came from workers' collections, and 13 per cent from non-workers (as against the Menshevik paper, where 44 per cent came from workers and 56 per cent from non-workers).

But this was not good enough for Lenin. He wrote in 1914 that "5674 workers' groups united by the Pravdists in less than two-and-a-half years is a fairly large number, considering the harsh conditions obtaining in Russia. But this is only the beginning.

"We need, not thousands, but tens of thousands of workers' groups. We must intensify our activities tenfold."

The war broke out a few weeks later, and Pravda never managed to achieve the target set by Lenin.

However, the paper had been central in making the Bolshevik Party in 1914 into a mass party, with tens of thousands of members and hundreds of thousands of supporters. ■

Tony Cliff

[Building a strong revolutionary workers' organization requires an effective working class newspaper to fight for revolutionary ideas. For such a revolutionary organization, the newspaper plays the most central role in bringing the ideas of socialist revolution into the day to day struggles of working people.

The following article explains the way in which the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Lenin, was able to carry out the publication of a revolutionary workers paper during the struggle against Czarism. During much of this period, the Bolsheviks' newspaper, Pravda, was the most important organizing tool through which the revolutionary party gained and measured its political influence in the working class.

This article is an abridged version of a chapter from a book by Tony Cliff on the ideas of Lenin, which will be published later this year.]

The concept of a workers' paper as an organizer was developed most fully in theory and in practice by Lenin. We can learn a great deal from Lenin's use of the Pravda as an organizer in the years 1912-14.

The Bolshevik Party was very weak indeed in the years of reaction following the Russian Revolution of 1905.

In 1907 it had 46,000 members. A few years later it hardly existed and the movement was in a complete shambles. Figures for the Moscow District show: for the summer of 1905, 1,435 members; for mid-May 1906, 5,320 members; for mid-1908, 250 members; end of 1908, 150 members.

ПРАВДА

ЕЖЕДНЕВНАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ГАЗЕТА.

№ 1. Воскресенье

ОТКРЫТА ПОДПИСКА
НА ЕЖЕДНЕВНУЮ РАБОЧУЮ ГА.

Masthead of the first issue of Pravda

reviews

books

Working In America

[Working, by Studs Terkel. Pantheon (New York), \$10 cloth, 589 pages.]

There is a sea of books which use numbers and graphs and statistical compilations to tell the world that "work," the jobs people must do to make a living, is alienating, unsatisfying and degrading.

Into this sea has finally come a book which proves the point more strongly than any other of recent vintage, and does it with the words of real people.

Using the stories of 133 men and women interviewed over a period of three years, Studs Terkel does, probably unknowingly, presented a damning indictment of what the capitalist system has done to the lives of the people who weld its cars, roll its steel, wait its tables and mop its floors.

Terkel, in the introduction to Working, says quite pointedly:

"This book, being about work, is, by its very nature, about violence - to the spirit as well as to the body. . . . To survive the day is triumph enough for the walking wounded among the great many of us."

Terkel has included in the pages of interviews some corporate executives, stockbrokers, a lawyer and some well-known personalities from sports and the arts.

But he concentrated on people who work not because it gives them pleasure or provides a creative outlet or makes them wealthy or gives them status in society, but because they must work if they are to live.

WORK IN AMERICA

As they talk, the workers of Terkel's book make two things clear: work in our society destroys minds and bodies, but, more important, it does not destroy the desire of human beings to find a better way to live their lives.

Phil Stallings, a spot welder at a Ford plant in Chicago: "I don't understand how come more guys don't flip. Because you're nothing more than a machine. . . . They give better care to the machine than they will to you."

"They'll have more respect, give more attention to that machine. And you know this. Somehow you get the feeling the machine is more important than you are."

Stallings' complaint is a common refrain among the interviews. These workers are aware of what is being done to them. They have few illusions about their work.

To compensate for the degrading and monotonous conditions of work, people dream and joke:

Francis Swenson, switchboard operator: "We sit and we joke,



'Wouldn't it be great if we could just take this hand full of plugs and just yank 'em?' (laughs) We think of it, we think of it. Like I said, you get so tense. . . if we could just pull 'em. (laughs) Disconnect them and see what happens."

Frank Decker, steelhailer: "Truckers fantasize something ter-

meatous. . . . I've seen fellows build up such a dream when they come into a truck stop they start to pour it out, get about three minutes of animated description out of it, and all of a sudden come up short and realize it's all a bunch of damn foolishness they built up in their minds."

Much of what they dream is not simply fantasy designed to keep themselves sane, or schemes to get themselves out of the situation they are in.

They also dream about what it would be like if work were organized differently.

Mike Lefevre, steelworker: "If I had a twenty-hour work week, I'd get to know my kids better, my wife better. Some kid invited me to go on a college campus. On a Saturday. It was summertime."

"Hell, if I have a choice of taking my wife and kids to a picnic or going to a college campus, its gonna be a picnic. But if I worked a twenty-hour week, I could do both."

Some of the most fascinating stories in Working are those people tell about the times, and there are many, when they fought back. Phill Stallings describes a sit-down over the firing of a fellow worker:

"Jim Grayson, the guy I work next to, he's colored. Absolutely. That's the first time I've seen unity on that line. Now it's happened once, it'll happen again. Because everybody just sat down. . . . Everybody and his brother were down there. It was really nice to see, it really was."

Roberto Acuna, a farmworker [continued on page 14]

movies

Inside Attica Revolt

"Attica" will probably not be an easy film to see. Cinda Firestone's documentary isn't likely to get to neighborhood theaters or to receive much publicity.

But it is worth going out of your way.

Most striking about the film is its ability to convey the extraordinary emotions of the Attica prison rebellion in September 1971, and to convey them in such a way that the audience itself experiences them.

First, and for me the strongest, was the glimpse of a new world that the prisoners felt as they took control - even inside a prison - of their lives.

The dizzying certainty that anything is possible, that all lives and hopes can be transformed, jumps at you from the faces and voices of the rebels, and from the recollections of the observers.

Even the hostages comment on it over and over; something has changed in these men. Things about human possibilities that were only nice theories yesterday have become powerful forces that motivate and change people beyond their own recognition.

When you read about the Russian Revolution, and how people felt then, or when you participate in a strike or some other struggle alongside others, you get some of these same feelings.



Of course, the world cannot change behind the walls of a prison, and everyone at Attica understood that. But they also understood what solidarity means, and what it means to fight together to free yourself.

The film makes you feel other things as well: the day to day brutality and hopelessness of prison life - the food, the indignities, the beatings.

The experience of racism, and how important racism is to main-

taining repression comes across, as well as how racism began to break down among the rebels.

The role of the "decent" parts of society are seen too: Governor Rockefeller - art collector and gentleman - ordering the murderous assault, in absolute disregard for any human lives - including those of the hostages.

The press is shown accepting at face value, without ever checking, the complete inventions the authorities feed them.

They report the slit throats of the hostages only to find that every single victim died of police gunfire. (After all, why should they doubt the word of those with whom they have so much in common?)

Then there were the intermediaries: Kunstler, Tom Wicker of the NY Times, the Young Lords, and others. They come off better in the film than they deserve, I think.

They tried to stop the assault they knew was coming, but did they ever tell the prisoners whose confidence they had, that an assault was certain?

Did they simply allow events to take their course, when a warning might have helped the rebels at least better defend themselves against rifles, shotguns, and even dum-dum bullets.

(Until the state troopers opened fire, say most of the inmates, the

rebels thought the police would come in with nightsticks. No one really thought they would simply open up at random.)

The film's impact is very great. The still photographs of the prisoners still inside are extraordinarily expressive.

So is the dignity and sense of resolution of the survivors of the uprising: their seriousness, the self-respect they have gained.

They understand what they have been through - the short moment when all seemed possible, and the terrible hell of this society's revenge.

You understand that they have been transformed - they have become the best that they could be.

The film does not suggest any solutions, other than the repeated refrain of many of the prisoners: "People have got to wake up."

But it is not necessarily the function of a film to find solutions.

It is enough that it makes us feel - and feel strongly - both the brutality of this system, its unconcern for human needs or even human life, and also the embryo of the alternative: the revolutionary movement which creates, in the course of its struggle, new forms of human relations - the liberation of the human spirit. ■

Ken Morgan



NEWS

Bernadette Devlin Speaks At IS Rally

CLEVELAND — On Saturday evening, May 4, Bernadette Devlin, the Irish civil rights activist and revolutionary socialist, spoke to nearly 200 people in Cleveland.

The meeting was organized by the Cleveland International Socialists.

In her talk, Devlin explained the recent developments in Northern Ireland. She explained that the civil rights movement had developed from the example of the civil rights movement in the United States.

She said that in Ireland, the movement had collapsed because it failed to offer Catholic and Protestant workers a means of fighting for their common interests.

UNITED WORKERS' REPUBLIC

The task for revolutionaries now, she said, lies in the building of revolutionary workers' organizations in the United States, in Ireland, and internationally, and she pointed to



the success of the British International Socialists.

The solution to Ireland's centuries of suffering and struggle, she concluded quoting James Connolly, was "a united Irish workers' republic."

The meeting was a great success, with many people staying to discuss both the Irish

situation and the International Socialists.

Several machinists from an IAM local invited Devlin to speak at their union meeting the following morning. There she spoke to more than 100 members on the struggle for socialism in Ireland. She received a standing ovation. ■

UAW Rank and Filers Building For Future

DETROIT — The election of delegates to the 24th UAW Constitutional Convention is winding to a close. Several locals in this area have just completed elections.

At UAW Local 7 (Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant) there were several slates running. The two most influential of these, the Progressive and Independent slates, campaigned in the traditional way - on personalities, on "experience" and on unspecified past accomplishments.

Ignoring the fact that 1700 Jefferson workers have been laid off, these groups reacted to the problems of auto worker with paper promises and lots of personalities.

Instead of this focus on personalities, the "Dump Woodcock Slate" addressed itself to the most pressing and important concerns of the rank and file. The Dump Woodcock Slate concentrated on the issues of workers control of the union, the need to fight unemployment and the decline of the UAW.

Because Jefferson makes the largest Chryslers, workers there have suffered most from lay-offs this year. The Dump Woodcock Slate's response to the unemploy-

ment was to call for full funding of SUB backed by the complete company assets, permanent recall rights regardless of seniority, no overtime while there are layoffs, and a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay.

UNITED NATIONAL CAUCUS

At Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping Plant (part of Local 212) the United National Caucus (UNC) slate was the only organized opposition. The Administration slate at 212 is very well organized, as this is the home local of International Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey.

The Administration Slate campaigned on personalities, experience and slanderous charges against the UNC. The oppositionists campaigned on the issues: economic issues, union democracy, opposition to racism and sexism and the actual problems workers face every day.

The UNC also discussed national political issues, calling on the UAW convention to demand immediate nationalization of all energy sources. But the UNC rejected the

UAW leadership's approach to politics - lobbying with Democratic Party politicians.

Instead the UNC slate called for a labor party to fight for the needs of working people and oppressed minorities.

The UNC slate included five Local 212 members who had been fired for participation in the health and safety strike last fall, one of whom is still on the streets.

The Dump Woodcock Slate received only a small percentage of the vote in Local 7. In Local 212, the UNC did well. Of the in-plant workers (as opposed to retirees), the UNC got about one-third of the vote.

The growth of these political and militant opposition slates and groups within the UAW is essential for the development of the rank and file movement. Such a movement should reject the method of campaigning on personalities and instead fight on the real issues - as the Dump Woodcock Slate and the Mack Avenue UNC have begun to do. ■

Bill Hastings

Struggle In Angola

[continued from page 10]

folks, and then they strike. That's a continuous education process going on, spreading to wherever these workers return.

The South African regime is trying to move north. The government talks about terrorists coming from neighboring Rhodesia and Namibia.

They say the governments supporting these terrorists will receive their punishments. So they launch bombing attacks on Tanzania and Zambia and they join in with the Portuguese fighting the guerrillas in Mozambique and Angola.

WP: How is the US involved in Portuguese imperialism in Africa? What is the relationship between capitalism and colonialism?

CS: The US is the last imperialist power to get involved in Africa, and Africa is basically the last large area capitalism has not totally penetrated.

It's about the only new market capitalists can go to. So they need to exploit the independent countries in Africa as much as possible. That is neo-colonialism.

So Gulf is in Angola, along with other countries in Africa and the Middle East. Gulf has tried to hire some Afro-Americans to go to Mozambique because they're trying to build a dam which the guerrillas are trying to blow up.

The Portuguese want the dam to get white settlers from Portugal to come down and stay - to increase the white population in Mozambique.

So they've been having a lot of trouble building the dam because the guerrillas are shooting at them all day. So they say, "Well, if we can get some blacks from the States to come over here, maybe the guerrillas won't shoot at them."

So Gulf is trying to recruit blacks now. And they will be very highly paid.

Ford Motor Co. is recruiting blacks to go to work in South Africa, as skilled laborers. Maybe they will give them the status of honorary whites, like they do the Japanese.

In conclusion, the whole issue of African colonialism came about after slavery was no longer favorable for European capitalists.

It was more favorable to them to

have colonialism - a more efficient method of exploitation based on European capitalist development. So we have to eliminate all of this - colonialism, slavery, racism - It all goes together with capitalism.

It's all the same line of development. The main allies of black workers here would be black workers in Africa and the revolutionary movement.

And revolutionary movements in general would be the basis of alliances with white workers, if white workers are progressive, if they are revolutionary. ■

Prison Slavery

[continued from page 11]

blocks, the Hospital, the Shoe Factory, Brush Factory or the Educational Department.

Blacks seemed to be classified for the ends of a shovel, broom or some other task such as painting a tower, or perhaps the base of a handball court.

The keepers' refusal to bring about change within the prison system is deliberate and was intended to bring about the slave revolt of July 31, 1973.

It was done as a means to justify the request to build more prisons to house more slaves to be employed in the Federal Prison Industries Inc.

The Government has set the stage to prove what shall happen to any slave that dares to object, or question prison conditions that exist inside Federal prisons.

We as prisoners find ourselves unable to communicate with the public because of the "mail rip-off" that exists at Leavenworth and the Warden's refusal to allow newspaper interviews.

We ask the People to support The Leavenworth Seven from the frame-up trial that is about to begin by contacting one of the following:

The Leavenworth Brothers
Offense/Defense Committee
P.O. Box 5818
Kansas City, MO 64111
(816) 753-1619

Attorney Albert Riederer
223 E. Ninth St., Suite 103
Kansas City, MO 64106

Or your local chapter of the
VVAW/WSO. ■

John P. Alkes
For The Leavenworth Seven

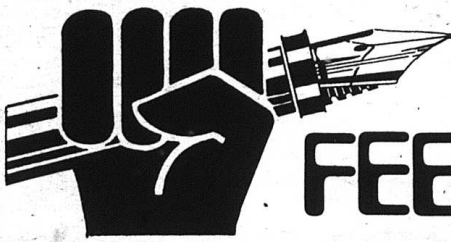
WHAT'S ON

Seattle, May 28—"Struggle of Women Workers and CLUW." Gay Semel, Workers' Power staff writer, trade union activist, and member I.S. Women's Commission. Immanuel Lutheran Church, 7:30 p.m.

Detroit, June 2—"World in Crisis - The Socialist Analysis." Seven governments have toppled in the last two months, with more to come. Joel Geier, National Chairman of the I.S., will speak on the growing world economic and politi-

cal crisis and its implications. 14131 Woodward Ave., Room 225, Highland Park, 7:30 p.m.

Los Angeles, June 7—"Coalition of Labor Union Women - a Step Forward for Working Women." Gay Semel, Workers' Power staff writer, trade union activist and member I.S. Women's Commission. Urapon Room, Culver City Veterans Memorial Auditorium, 4177 Overland, near Culver Blvd, 8:00 p.m. For child care or transportation, call 837-0842 by June 5.



FEEDBACK

UFW OPTIMISM

The readers of Workers' Power who are concerned about the fate of the United Farmworkers Union might be interested to know that not all UFW officials and friends are as optimistic about the chances of success this summer as Eliseo Medina was in the interview you carried in issue #97.

In a press conference in L.A. May 2, Chavez said there are only 1500 people on picket lines at this time. When I was in Coachella May 4 and 5, the one picket line there had no more than 150 people on it. About 60 of those pickets were bussed up from Calexico and were not workers from Coachella.

To project a picture of this summer's strikes as rosy as Medina does, or to praise the ability of the product boycott as highly as Cesar has been doing lately can lead to dangerous consequences.

There is no guarantee of victory. The loss of the secondary boycott and the less militant and smaller picket-lines in Coachella have hurt, not helped, the union's position against the growers and the Teamsters.

In the past, Workers' Power had been the only paper on the left willing to voice any pessimism about the future of the UFW, while at the same time actively supporting the union and trying to present a strategy for the union which makes victory more possible.

I believe it is a mistake, in a period of the union's history as crucial as this summer, to try and protect the union leadership's

errors in strategy and tactics from criticism and, instead, reinforce their own unrealistic optimism by not commenting.

If the struggle is to be won, the methods of fighting it must change. Many rank and file farmworkers in Coachella know that. They are skeptical of the sanity of their own leaders when they hear them glossing over the union's problems and passing off defeats as victories.

When they read Workers' Power, do you want them to also doubt your sanity?

Mary Franklin
Los Angeles

HOLES IN THE MAIL NET

First of all, I wish to express my thanks for placing my name on your subscription listing. Several issues of the paper managed to slip through the mail net and are being masticated by the prison population.

It isn't often that we are permitted to read what the keeper refers to as "underground" newspapers. We are only supposed to read one side of the story, theirs.

All the articles were super, the one about the mayor of Detroit backing down on supporting the United Farm Workers proves once again the need for a complete change in the present power structure. We must have a party of the People.

Hopefully, your paper can help our plight, and make known what is about to happen with the Leavenworth Seven.

I have hopes that before this trial is complete, all the deaths and

clubbing of prisoners shall be brought to light and the keepers made known for what they are, "sadistic keepers of slaves" whose only answer upon being questioned as to why certain conditions are allowed to exist is, "I just work here," a statement they learned from reading about the Nuremberg trials.

John P. Alkes
Leavenworth, Kansas

[Editor's note: An article by the author appears on page 11 of this issue of Workers' Power.]

HARRASSMENT OF BLACKS

I'd like to compliment the staff of Workers' Power for the fine coverage you did on "Cops Hit Blacks in Terror Drive," Workers' Power #96.

How long will the Black People of this and other countries have to be harassed like this. When slavery was so-called "legal," one could expect the white man to do his dirty deeds towards the Black man.

Although the constitution forbids unreasonable search and seizure, plus so many other things, it don't give him the right to break these laws even if he wrote them himself.

I am in prison from one of these white man frame-up charges. I hope that a Black Man don't have to stay locked up in his own home with his wife or his girlfriend coming over and they watching a T.V. movie to avoid harassment by the police if he takes her out to someplace nice.

Bro. Frankie
Raleigh, N.C.

Workers Pay Taxes

[continued from page 5]

It ended, the military budget did not. For thirty years, fabulous war budgets have been growing every year. The bill this year is almost \$90 billion.

And this is what income taxes on working people are, consciously designed to pay.

Underneath all the jive about progressive taxation and democracy is another giant boondoggle. They get richer and we break our backs.

Think about this the next time you get paid and wonder who you're working for.

It's not some bearded old man in top hat and striped pants, or some abstract conception of "citizenship." **It's to make sure that GM, AT&T DOW and the others continue to make guaranteed super profits from government contracts in arms production.**

Think about it, and as you get madder and madder take solace in knowing that one of these days we're going to take it all back. ■

Rose Vevlaka

Working In America

[continued from page 13]

and an organizer for the UFW: "You'd see the people on the picket lines at four in the morning, at the campfires, heating up beans and coffee and tortillas. It gave me a sense of belonging. These were my people and they wanted change. I knew this is what I was looking for."

Frank Decker, the steelhailer, is also an organizer for the Fraternal Association of Steelhailers (FASH) one of the leading groups in last winter's truckers' strikes. "... we feel that we're a revolution. There's people's power here and truck power. . . . If you want the

stakes are high. . . . All of a sudden you feel catapulted into that level of decision-making that I never dreamed I'd reach. All of a sudden, you found your own sense of self-respect."

In the end, it is self-respect that people want most - the sense their work is meaningful and their lives are meaningful. If some of the men and women of Terkel's book seem to accept the current condition of their lives, it is because they have yet to see an alternative.

Working does not pretend to offer a solution. It advocates nothing. It merely describes, in compelling stories which cannot be ignored, the necessity for finding a solution, for doing something about a society which destroys human beings.

The stories which fill this book destroy the myth that the American working class is apathetic, "bought off" or resigned to its fate.

For revolutionary socialists, Working is a confirmation of the belief that people want to change their lives and are capable of doing it. ■

Mary Franklin

International Socialists

We stand for:

• **International Socialism:** the replacement 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.

• **World-wide opposition to imperialism and exploitation:** for the self-determination of all peoples - for an end to US domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power - for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes - **for workers' power East and West to build international socialism.**

National Office: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203

Bay Area: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, CA 94701

Bloomington: 4237 Penn Ct., Bloomington, IN 47401

Boston: P.O. Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114

Chicago: P.O. Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Station, Chicago, IL 60611

Cleveland: P.O. Box 02239, Cleveland, OH 44102

Detroit: 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park.

Los Angeles: Box 110, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, CA 90024

Louisville: P.O. Box 19094, Louisville, KY 40219

Madison: 706 Hill Street, Madison, WI 53705

New York: 17 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

San Francisco: P.O. Box 1045, San Francisco, CA 94101

Seattle: P.O. Box 9056, Seattle, WA 98109

St. Louis: P.O. Box 24135, St. Louis, MO 63130



International Socialists
14131 Woodward Ave.
Highland Park, MI 48203

I would like more information about the International Socialists.

Name

Address

City

Occupation

SPECIAL OFFER

The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman

BY Alexandra Kollontai

Only \$2
Hardcover edition
Originally published at \$5.95

I.S. Book Service
14131 Woodward
Highland Park, MI 48203

Coachella: Battle Lines Are Drawn

COACHELLA, Calif. — United Farm Workers union strikers in the Coachella Valley are preparing for the beginning of the grape harvest in mid-May. Workers there say that it will be a big crop this year and they hope to keep it on the vines.

UFW picket lines have grown since the first of April. Every day a busload comes up from Calexico, and the lines are often joined by workers from the Freedman ranch, who just won a renewal of their UFW contract.

In explaining why he had given his Saturday to picket a scab field, one of the Freedman workers explained that they had only won 10c an hour raise this year (they won a 30c an hour raise last year) because they were afraid the grower would go Teamster. He hoped that the UFW would regain lost ground this summer, so that Freedman workers could get a better deal next year.

Even with only a 10c raise the Freedman workers make more than field workers under Teamster contracts. And, unlike almost all other Teamster contracts in any industry, UFW contracts have clear and definite job descriptions, along with the elimination of the labor contractor system, chances for job



training and upgrading, vacations, and pesticide control.

In addition, the contracts are written clearly and simply, so that

anyone can understand their provisions without having to consult a lawyer.

The UFW is also on the march further north in California, in the Central Valley. Growers have been spreading rumors that the union is dead. To counter this the Farm Workers have been dispatching roving picket lines in the Arvin, Lamont and Fresno areas.

Not only has the UFW been picketing fields in those areas which are beginning pre-harvest work, the union has been holding mass marches in the towns of the area. In the fields the stage is being set for a big summer in California.

UFW BOYCOTT STRATEGY

However, it is not clear that the leadership of the union intends the strike to be the most important focus of struggle.

At a recent press conference in Los Angeles, Cesar Chavez, President of the United Farm Workers, stressed the consumer boycott as the thrust of UFW strategy. He said he was excited by what was happening on the boycott, that "there is a tremendous amount of activity. . . and I predict we will be successful and sooner than we expected."

In fact, the boycott has been weakened in most places in recent

weeks. Meany's pressure to give up the secondary boycott, in exchange for official AFL-CIO endorsement, was an important loss for the union.

In many cities picket lines have been smaller and less spirited since the secondary boycott was ended.

AFL-CIO assistance in boycott cities has been minimal, and even that minimal help is slow in coming.

All this is clear to boycott staff and supporters alike. Hiding these facts will not change them, but will only make it more difficult to draw the correct conclusions from them.

Losing the secondary boycott means that, more than ever, the strike must be the central focus of UFW strategy. That should mean bringing boycott staff back to California to help with the strikes this summer, if necessary.

The UFW Executive Board has apparently decided not to do this, but it has taken other steps to lay the basis for effective strikes. It voted to seek a half a million dollars in loans for the strike fund.

A strike fund is essential, as farm workers have no reserves to draw upon when on strike - the union must find some way to support the thousands that will be striking.

Half a million dollars is only the beginning of what will be necessary to conduct a massive and successful strike in the fields. In five weeks last summer, the union spent \$1.6 million that the AFL-CIO had donated.

It is up to the rest of the labor movement to support this organizing drive with more than pious phrases about organizing the unorganized.

Some unions have made donations or pledges to the UFW to support the strike. The UAW in the Bay Area, for example, promised to call laid-off auto workers, suggesting they help the Farm Workers while they are unemployed.

In most cases, however, such pledges have contained more promise than substance. Most labor leaders know how to support the UFW on public occasions, and put it off when the time comes to deliver. Rank and file workers have an obligation to see to it that their leadership comes through on any promises it makes to the UFW.

The summer of 1974 will be crucial to the success of the United Farm Workers. If significant gains are not made this summer, the task before the union will be much harder.

The field workers want to fight. It is up to the rest of the labor movement to support them. ■

Dugan Wheeler



Teamster goons stand guard

Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting: \$5. Institutional: \$5. Foreign: \$5. Domestic first class (sealed): \$7. Foreign first class: \$10. Foreign air mail (unsealed): \$15. Introductory subscriptions: \$4 for 3 months.

I enclose Please send me a subscription to Workers' Power.

Name

Address

City

14131 Woodward Ave.
Highland Park, MI 48203