

WORKERS' POWER

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MINERS *on* the MARCH!

"You can be sure that when they [the miners] go back to work next week, they won't be making up lost production."

So said a West Virginia United Mine Workers official, commenting on the five-day Memorial Period called by the miners union to cut coal stockpiles and to honor the 100,000 miners killed in the mines this century.

The fight is on in earnest. Miners are on the march. They are being watched very closely.

The great steel companies are nervous. They had enough coal for only three weeks of operation even before the Memorial Period began.

The giant coal-burning utility companies are nervous. They have more coal, but not nearly the 90-day supply they need as the weather turns cooler.

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association is nervous. No coal—no profits. Profits have been big recently. But the BCOA will now either have to take a long, costly strike or grant major changes to the union.

The main issues are safety, sick pay, pensions, and to some extent, wages. All are expensive, but the miners know they deserve everything they're asking for.

You can be sure the government is nervous too. A big victory for the miners would lead to greater aggressiveness on the part of other workers. That would make it harder for the government to lay the cost of controlling inflation at the door of every worker.

The government is particularly nervous because its standard weapons against striking workers may not be effective this time. If the government gets a court order or has Congress pass a law to get the miners back to work, they might not obey it. What then?

But with these nervous gentlemen all around them, the miners are confident.

Three to four thousand of them marched in Harlan, Kentucky August 22 to express support for the striking miners at Duke Power's Brookside and Highsplit mines.

Harlan Mayor Beecher Rowlett refused to grant a parade permit, but that didn't matter much. The miners marched through town anyway. No state trooper tried to stop them.

And no scab tried to enter the Highsplit mine all week either, even though they had tried it several times the week before. On August 21, the union stepped up the pressure even more by striking a third Duke Power mine, Arjay, in Bell



County.

The miners know that nationally they have a lot of pressure to exert, both on the Harlan County situation and on their national contract negotiations. They are allowed another five-day Memorial Period this fall, which could cut coal stockpiles even more.

They have also successfully ousted the corrupt Tony Boyle gang from their union and have created the possibility of greater rank and file control over the bargaining process and over the strike which they all expect.

It's not that most miners have any sort of blind faith in Arnold Miller, their new president.

What they do have is the means of putting considerable pressure on him to provide a militant leadership. His position is not so secure that it could withstand a major sell-out, such as the one telephone workers are now getting.

But if the new union leadership does try to make unacceptable compromises, it's a good bet the miners will take matters into their own hands, like they did when they demonstrated in Harlan County August 22.

Jim Woodward

On Gerry Ford

"Mr. Ford has few visible qualifications as a potential President. He is a routine partisan of narrow views and long but limited experience."

—The New York Times, October 1973

"President Ford's simple, direct approach to people and problems, his unassuming manner, his candor and openness and, we trust, his willingness to accept objective advice from persons in and out of government who are more knowledgeable than he—all these qualities will be of help to him in undertaking the giant task of leadership that now is his."

—The New York Times, August 1974

"It doesn't matter if characters like this are corrupt or not. They rob working people and minority people in bigger ways all the time by supporting the capitalist system."

—Workers' Power, November 1973

"The fact is that behind the media hype is a right wing political hack surrounded by right wing political hacks."

—Workers' Power, this issue

For more on what Gerald Ford is really like, see pages 8-9.





What We Think

Democrats And The Cover-up

Watergate showed a good deal of how the "two-party" system really works. The Republican Party has the reputation of being the party of big business and the wealthy, while the Democrats promote the image of representing working people and minorities.

Particularly when the Republican Party is in office, the Democrats present themselves as an alternative to Republican pro-business policies. The Democrats' campaign rhetoric usually labels Republicans as the party of Depression and special privilege, while they claim to stand for prosperity for the "little man," equality and progressive social welfare.

But during Watergate the Democrats once again proved they offer no alternative at all.

Of course they were perfectly happy to see the Republicans ripped apart as the amazing story of the White House Plumbers, the Watergate burglary, and the cover-up conspiracy unfolded. But the Democratic Party was also very careful to make sure that scandal would not be allowed to challenge the basic "legitimacy" of the whole rotten system of capitalist politics.

When the spreading wiretap scandals implicated Secretary of State Henry Kissinger the Democrats reacted with alarm. Kissinger is regarded as the savior of the imperialist interests of the U.S. in Vietnam, the Middle East and Europe. The Democrats not only approved of the cover-up by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee preserving Kissinger's image as Mr. Clean, they organized this one themselves.

And when the Watergate crisis finally came to a head the Democrats refused to be the straw to break Nixon's back. Instead they stepped aside to let the conservative Republican leadership—including all of Nixon's former defenders—do the job.

Joining in the chorus of praise to the conservatives' new hero, Gerald Ford, the Democrats deliberately gave their full stamp of approval to all of his right-wing policies—the same policies they claimed to oppose under Nixon. Their only disagreement with Ford seems to be that the Democrats want new government-imposed controls to hold down workers' wages.

Their behavior in this crisis was essentially the same as it has always been. Whenever popular anger and disgust in this country threaten to explode, the Democratic Party steps in to channel this anger into safe, respectable, and very ineffective channels.

That is why liberals like Gene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy and George McGovern told the anti-war movement to get off the streets and "work within the system"—while the murderous war in Vietnam went on. That is why Democratic politicians, white and black alike, tell black people to rely on the Democrats for reforms instead of fighting for their own liberation.

That is also why all the Democrats are telling us that Watergate proves that "our Constitution really works," and that no activity outside the system is needed to change conditions.

The main lesson of Watergate should be that the American working class needs its own independent party—not the fraud of two capitalist parties that support corruption, exploitation and oppression.

AMNESTY

President Ford's offer of "leniency" for draft resisters is an insult. His proposal of "earned re-entry"—presumably some form of alternative service—for the 50,000 draft resisters and military deserters says simply, "These men are criminals. If we let them go free, our whole system of law and order will break down."

Now, the Vietnam war is unpopular. Even the defenders of Richard Nixon based part of his defense on the outrageous claim that he ended the war. In fact, he did only what he was forced to. Richard Nixon is the real criminal, and yet it is he who is more likely to get amnesty.

Those soldiers who deserted and the young men who refused induction into the army did more than every politician in this country to get U.S. combat troops out of Vietnam. For them nothing less than absolute, unconditional amnesty is acceptable.

The Finer Points Of Detente

Police departments in the United States have developed extremely sophisticated weaponry.

Periodically they get a chance to demonstrate their arsenal to the shock and horror of the general populace. The brutal massacre of members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, which razed two whole buildings in the process, was one example. Attica was another.

Much of their space age weaponry, however, is hidden from the public eye. This is the James Bond stuff that is used to squelch domestic dissent.

Recently several Congressmen became quite agitated about the

use of these instruments of torture and forced the Nixon administration to block their sale.

The outcry, however, concerned use and sale of this equipment to Russia and China—not here.

Among the equipment earmarked for sale to the Russian secret police, the KGB, were the following items: voiceprint identifiers, psychological stress analyzers, mobile crime science labs (this one included one whole mobile crime unit equipped with an adviser to show the Russians how it works), non-military gas masks and bulletproof vests, "stun" guns, dart and riot guns, infra-red and ultraviolet-ray

film (some of it originally developed for use in Vietnam), special photographic and fingerprint detecting and removing equipment, metal detecting hardware and "other special-purpose searching equipment and restraining devices."

Conservative Republican Senator James Buckley and mainline Democrat Henry Jackson led the attack.

Buckley stated that it was inconceivable to him that police technology "created by free men and women should be sold to the worst tyranny in the world."

Jackson expressed similar sentiments and boasted that he had caught plans for the sale red-handed.

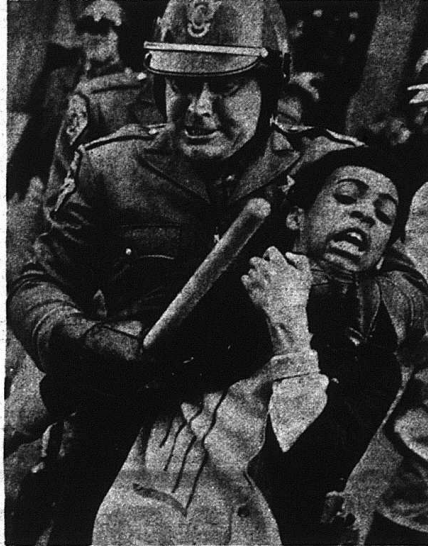
Actually, the exports haven't been stopped—they've simply been placed under controls which will require sales to be licensed for government review and approval.

Eventually many of the sales will almost surely go through. In fact the first batch is already on display in Moscow.

Russian police officials, drooling over the possibilities for using this hardware against Russian dissenters, will certainly appreciate the sale as one of the finer points of detente.

In any case, blocking sales to Communist regimes will in no way affect the giving away of the same equipment to every dictatorship friendly to the U.S. Spain, Indonesia, Brazil, Chile, South Vietnam, South Korea and the Philippines can rest assured, they will continue to be supplied with all the machinery of a modern police state. And Buckley and Jackson are all for this.

Meanwhile, the "free men and women" Buckley spoke of, especially blacks and other minorities, right here in the good old USA, will continue to be the laboratory for improving police technology.



CLEAN GOVERNMENT IN ACTION

At least 20 Congressional offices practice overt discrimination in their hiring practices.

Job specifications from the offices of at least 19 Congressmen and one Senator contain phrases such as "No Minorities," "White or Oriental only," "No Blacks," and "No Catholics."

Racism is not restricted to either party. Both Republicans and Democrats are involved. The Democrats are not all Southern segregationists either—several well known congressional liberals are involved.

•Rep. Edward J. Boland (D-Mass) requested a clerk stenographer. Under "Special Skills and Requirements" is written, "No Southern Accents, White Only."

•Rep. Robert L. Liggett (D-Calif) requested a secretary, specifying "No Minority."

•Rep. Otis G. Pike (D-NY) requested a part-time clerk typist, specifying "No Minority."

All of the above Congressmen

receive high ratings from the Americans for Democratic Action.

- Rep. Al Ulman (D-Ore)
- Rep. Harold Froehlich (R-Wis)
- Rep. James J. Delaney (D-NY)
- Rep. Albert Johnson (R-Pa)
- Rep. Ray Roberts (D-Tex)
- Rep. Robert McEwen (R-NY)
- Rep. Tenyson Gruyer (R-Ohio)
- Rep. Tom S. Gettys (D-SC)

- Rep. Robert Sikes (D-Fla)
- Rep. Bill Nichols (D-Ala)
- Rep. Bill Chappel (D-Fla)
- Rep. Wilmer Mizell (R-NC)

Six and a half discrimination are also practices. Numerous requests state "20's," "Under 50," "Young 20's Only."

Many request young, attractive, and single women only. These are among the Congressmen who many now claim should be granted greater powers in order to help restore moral authority to the United States Government.

They are also some of the men our union leaders tell us are our friends.

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Court Kills Busing

—Twenty years of liberal court decisions on civil rights and equal protection under the law—concessions won because of the civil rights and black liberation movements—came to an abrupt end with the Supreme Court ruling against cross-district busing of school children to achieve integration. Richard Nixon may have both feet in his political grave, but his Court is alive and well.

It is ironically just past the twenty year anniversary of the Brown decision—the ruling that struck down “separate but equal” educational facilities. During that period, but largely in the last decade, southern schools have moved toward integration.

In fact, public schools in the Deep South, once the stronghold of resistance to racial integration, are now virtually the only school systems in the nation that reflect substantial progress towards desegregation.

According to figures released by the US Office of Education, movement towards desegregation of the public schools in the Northern and Western states has all but halted.

Were any school system considering getting a move on it, the Supreme Court just built a stone wall in the middle of the road.

BUSING AND RACISM

The question is, how to desegregate a black school system?

The late US District Judge Stephen Roth took a look at Detroit schools, where over 70% of the students are black, and ordered the district be merged with the predominantly white suburban schools lying next to it.

Specifically Roth ordered the merger of 51 school districts as the only way to eliminate the segregation that had to exist as long as the



school racial populations were so unbalanced. The massive cross district busing across county lines was what the Court declared illegal.

In overturning this ruling, the Supreme Court hypocritically bowed to black people’s “right” to integrated and equal education, but—by eliminating busing as part of a remedy—said there could be no solution.

Detroit school officials, backers of the Roth plan, announced that the only alternative would be to integrate the predominantly white schools on the outer edges of the city, leave the inner-city schools all-black, and compensate the all-black schools by assigning them a larger proportion of the budget.

This, they admit, can only be expected to encourage further flight of white families to the suburbs in search of “quality education.” It is assumed the school population will be over 90%

black within a few years.

While schooling in the suburbs is not in all that good a shape, it is clearly substantially better than in the inner city—mainly because of more money.

The buildings are not nearly as decayed.

Teachers tend to have better salaries, contracts and working conditions. Modernization in learning techniques is superior, as is the variety of subjects, audio-visuals, counseling and teacher-student ratios.

And while neither busing nor integration is a solution to racism in the educational system, black children have an equal right to the best education afforded under this system.

Not all black civil rights organizations, moderate or militant, see the Court decision as a backwards step; not all of them supported busing. But regardless of one’s

political attitude toward busing, it is clear the Court’s decision was based on racism.

The Supreme Court made liberal concessions when black people were fighting in the streets. Today, the wind is blowing in a different direction, and the Court’s decisions now reflect racism and conservatism. This is why real victories for black equality must be won in struggle, not in court.

The court cited as its reason for ruling against cross district busing, the tradition of neighborhood schools and the absence of responsibility for state segregation practices by local school boards. Neither reason holds water.

School district lines are drawn up arbitrarily, with no concessions to the concept of local control. Of the 85 local school districts in the

Detroit metropolitan area 17 lie in two counties, two in three counties. One district serves five cities; other suburban municipalities are fragmented into as many as six school districts. The size of the districts range from 2,000 to 285,000 students. Neighborhood control was no factor here—other than as an excuse to keep black children inside the Detroit city limits.

“NO RESPITE”

In the case of State responsibility for the segregation practices, the justices simply ignored the facts.

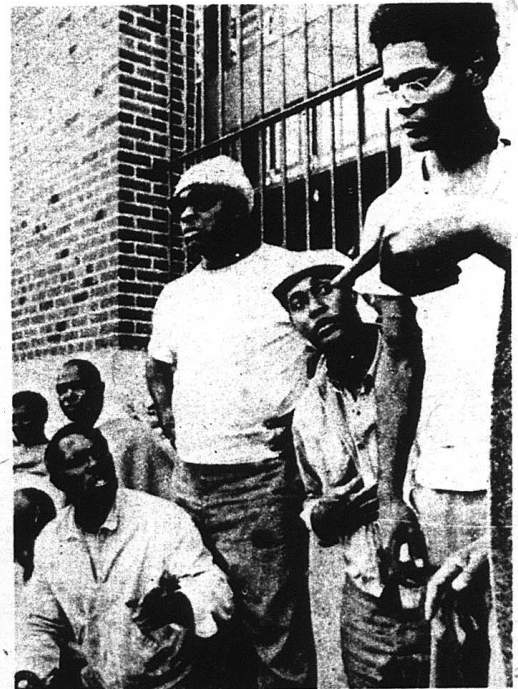
It is not enough to point out that public education is a function of the states in general. Michigan law specifically states a school district is an agency of the State government.

In addition, the Michigan legislature has intervened over the years to disrupt local desegregation plans. School zone lines were drawn to increase school segregation. “Optional attendance zones” were sanctioned that permit white students to escape black majority schools. Decisions were made to build new schools of such size and in such locations as to make them essentially one-race schools.

Incredibly, the Court agreed the Detroit schools were unconstitutional segregated. But its ruling said there is “no respite” until individual black families climb high enough on the ladder of middle-class respectability to afford the move to the suburbs, and the relatively decent schools awaiting them there.

Kay Stacy

New V.P. leads a bloody clan



Nelson Rockefeller, the new nominee for Vice President, comes from a distinguished family that has made its contribution to America.

In the early months of 1914, John D. Rockefeller organized a private army and declared war on Colorado miners. The miners and their families were on strike against Rockefeller’s mining companies. Rockefeller’s army killed dozens of them, men, women, and children.

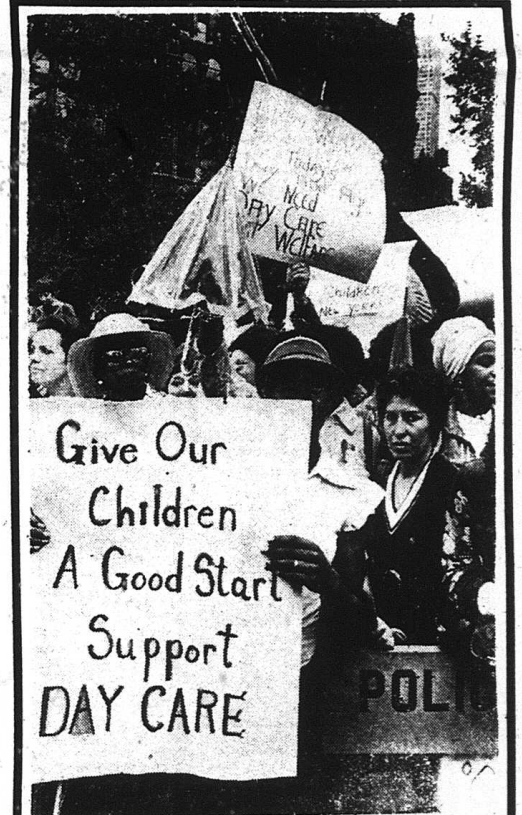
On April 20, 1914, they burned to death eleven children and two women, in the Ludlow Massacre. The mining families of Ludlow had moved from town and set up a tent colony on the outskirts as a sign of protest. The massacre victims were burned in their tents, which first were cut with machine gun fire, then set ablaze by Rockefeller’s army, reinforced by the state militia.

Fifty years later, John D.’s grandson Nelson sent his army to storm Attica prison. Thus came the Attica Massacre, and with it Nelson Rockefeller took his rightful place as head of the bloody Rockefeller clan.

Nelson Rockefeller is one of the world’s richest men. Writer Stewart Alsop once noted, “People who meet Nelson Rockefeller are always aware of the dollar sign that floats conspicuously if invisibly above his head.”

It’s a dollar sign that drips with the blood of working men and women on whose bodies the Rockefeller’s have climbed to the top.

“With Attica, Nelson Rockefeller took his rightful place as head of the bloody Rockefeller clan”



NEW YORK—Close to 3000 working parents, many with their children, braved a soaking downpour to demand that Mayor Beame prevent new state regulations from going into effect. The rules would raise day care fees at the city’s 430 day-care centers to an average of \$70 per child per week.

Many demonstrators carried signs pointing out that unless the Mayor took decisive action, the parents of 5000 or more children would have to quit their jobs and go back on welfare. “We want to work,” they chanted.

WORLD IN CRISIS



"LEFTISM" IN THE RANKS?



Cunhal: Head of Portuguese Communist Party

The Portuguese Communist Party, from the first day of the military coup, has been denouncing the strike wave by Portuguese workers as "a plot by reactionary elements...who, with the conscious

or unconscious help of groups of adventurists of the so-called left, seek to provoke a situation of economic chaos and to destroy the democratic conquests already obtained."

Thus, according to the CP, the bus drivers' strike wasn't provoked by the low pay and legitimate demands of the workers, but was "easily provoked" by elements of management in order to disrupt transportation!

It isn't the "adventurists of the so-called left" that these words are addressed. Unfortunately, the revolutionary left does not yet have enough weight to be a mass force. Nor is it addressed to the supporters of the old fascist regime who stand by Spínola's side today, and with whom the Communist

Party proudly participates in the government.

The CP's threats are, in fact, directed to the workers, and to them alone. And first of all, these threats are directed against working class militants inside the Communist and Socialist Parties themselves.

The tremendous strike movement which erupted in Portugal, the mass movement to form trade unions, political organizations and to expel fascist managers, has swept along with it many of the CP and SP's own members.

In some cases, CP and SP militants, believing with their fellow workers in the possibility of changing their own lives, have not only participated in these struggles but have helped lead them.

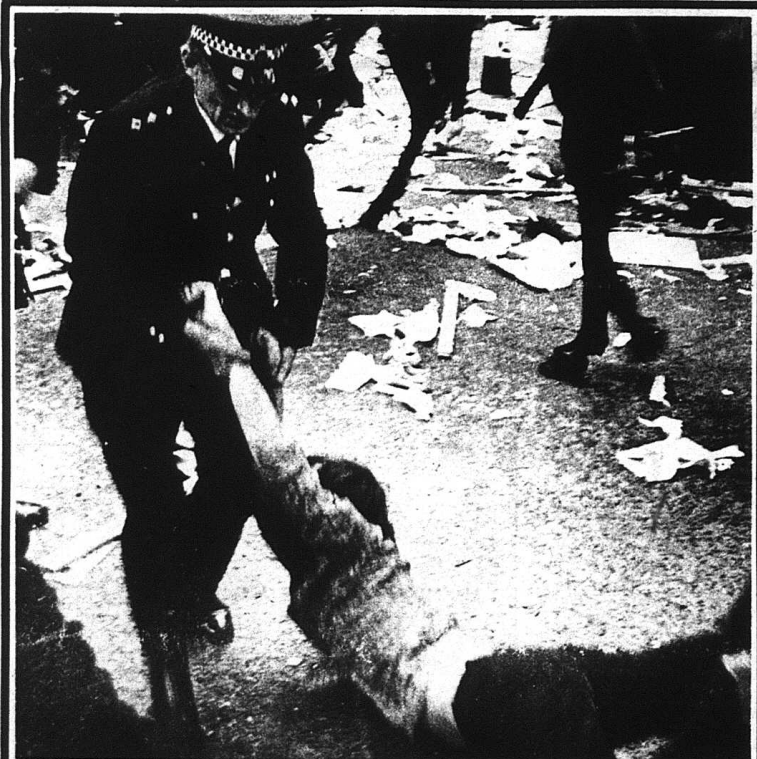
The Portuguese Communist Party is organizing a massive apparatus to prevent the working class of Portugal from carrying through a struggle for socialism. It is allying with the "democratic" generals against working class and revolutionary militants. One of its first steps is to stamp out the impulse toward "leftism" in its own ranks.

A FRIEND IN NEED

Even though the United States government has practically become an international laughing stock over Watergate, it must be nice to know that it still has a few friends left.

Senator Henry Jackson reported to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Chinese regime

is encouraging strong NATO defenses in Western Europe and discouraging any withdrawal of US forces from the area. Jackson recently returned from a visit to China, where he met personally with Chou en-Lai.



BRITISH POLICE BEAT DEMONSTRATOR TO DEATH

RED LION SQUARE, London, June 15—Kevin Gately, already dying from a massive blow to the head by mounted policemen's clubs, is dragged away by police. The scene occurred after a brutal police charge on a demonstration called by socialist groups in Britain opposing a rally of the British fascist organization, the National Front. The police riot was directed only against the anti-fascist demonstration, not the fascists.

In addition to Gately's death, there were a number of serious injuries, and 54 arrests. The campaign of repression against striking trade

unionists and socialists is continuing. SOCIALIST WORKER, the newspaper of the International Socialists in Britain, is threatened with prosecution under an 18th century "criminal libel" law for reporting the death of Kevin Gately as a murder by the police. The charges could mean heavy fines and prison for the editor.

The International Socialists have stepped up their campaign to organize trade unionists and Asian people in Britain to stop fascist marches and rallies before they become a dangerous menace on a large scale.

Behind The Cyprus Explosion



Greek Cypriot National Guard has been overwhelmed by the firepower the Turkish invasion.

CYPRUS

This month's big carve-up is taking place on Cyprus. Practically everybody wants a piece of the action.

Turkey's army is determined to take over and hold between a third and half of the island—enough, in any case, to destroy the viability of Cyprus as an independent state.

The Greek government has conceded that the present situation makes it impossible for the Greek army to intervene. But this does not mean that it has given up its own long-term designs on the island.

As the price for continuing the Greek alliance with the United States, the Greek government is demanding that the US force Turkey to withdraw completely from Cyprus. What Greece wants is to bring the Greek Cypriot National Guard, heavily influenced by right-wing and military elements who want to attach Cyprus to Greece, back into effective power.

If the present right-wing government of Greece, under new civilian President Caramanlis, cannot gain at least important concessions from Turkey on Cyprus, it may be replaced—either by a return of the military dictatorship or by a nationalistic, anti-US popular front coalition headed by a figure like the liberal Andreas Papandreou.

Papandreou is a complete opportunist who would be quite willing to come to power, spouting anti-imperialist rhetoric as a cover for anti-Turkish nationalism and militarism.

Either of these developments could bring about at least a rupture in Greek-US relations, and might even open up the possibility of civil war and revolution in Greece.

The fact that the US government wants to preserve stability in Greece—as does the Turkish government, also a NATO ally—is the best bargaining point the Greek government has right now in asking the US to force a Turkish pullback.

The US government is covering itself in the mantle of an impartial peacemaker, concerned only with ending the bloodshed and arranging a settlement fair to everyone.

Nothing could be farther from Washington's real role in this crisis. Kissinger, Schlesinger and the White House are concerned with securing Cyprus as a more central strategic point for NATO bases in the Mediterranean.

The US will settle for a partition of Cyprus, for a federation, or anything else—so long as the

authorities who run the island are pro-American and so long as former President Makarios, who supported the US but also kept friendly ties to Russia, is not returned to power.

The late US ambassador to Cyprus, Roger Davies, is being eulogized as a dedicated diplomat who was the victim of "mob violence." But Davies, besides being an agent of US policy to control Cyprus, was almost certainly aware of the impending coup on June 29, five days before it occurred when he presented his credentials to Archbishop Makarios whom the US wanted removed.

No sympathy need be wasted on Davies. Unlike thousands of innocent victims of this war, he was killed in a cross-fire of his own making.

Whoever runs Cyprus, the US has a stake in making sure that both the Greek and Turkish regimes are entrenched there in one way or another. They balance each other off, and they both want the US to remain involved. That's why the US seems so "fair" and impartial in this crisis.

Both Greece and Turkey have taken full advantage of the violent national hatred existing between the Greek majority and Turkish minority communities on Cyprus. Yet this hatred itself has been created, deepened and fanned for decades by imperialist powers controlling Cyprus.

Greek nationalism got its start on Cyprus during the years when Britain held the island as a colony. Since this Greek nationalism has often taken right-wing terrorist forms directed against Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish community has responded in kind and is now welcoming Turkey's invasion.

The only possibility of genuine peace on Cyprus would like in the removal of all occupying forces—not only the Turkish army, but also the British bases on Cyprus, the US fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Greek officers who "advise" the Cypriot National Guard. Only if these forces were removed, and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities were allowed to decide their own future, would there be any chance of a peaceful solution.

Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers, despite the national divisions, have been members of the same unions and, in some cases, joint political organizations. This war may have once again thrown the possibility of common working class struggle on Cyprus far back. But that is where the only future lies.

No Consent To Racism

The Consent Decree signed by the United Steel Workers and nine top steel companies is a fraud. Like the rest of the 1974 USW contract it is a part of, the Consent Decree falls to do what it promises. It is supposed to end racist and sexist practices in the steel industry and to redress the effects of past discrimination. It doesn't do either.

The union leaders, the companies, and the government agencies that drew up the Consent Decree claim that it will pay workers money lost due to discrimination prior to 1968. But, the courts say, such discrimination only became illegal with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

So there are only four years in

which you could have lost money due to illegal discrimination. Even then, there is a limit on the total amount to be paid, \$30.9 million. And you have to sign a waiver stating that you can never sue the company or union for discrimination again.

Even more serious is the complete failure of the Consent Decree to abolish the whole system of promotion by job classification and department rather than plant wide seniority.

Under an incredibly complicated seniority system blacks and other minorities have been trapped in the hottest, unhealthiest and most dangerous jobs at lower pay. Women have been excluded from

the industry altogether.

The system of job classification that prevails in the steel industry originated in the twenty years following the famous Homestead strike of 1892. The Homestead strike was provoked by the Carnegie Steel Company, now U.S. Steel, in order to break the union and introduce greater management control. With the help of the police and state militia, the company won and the union was broken.

WORKFORCE REORGANIZED

In the two decades following that strike, the workforce was entirely reorganized by the company along the lines proposed by Frederick W.

Taylor, the famous "industrial engineer" (time study man).

Jobs were broken down, divided up, and classified in such a way as to assert the power of the company. Incentives and promotion lines were introduced to get the workers competing with each other. A multitude of ethnic and racial groups were played against one another over the years.

It took nearly a half century to bring unionism back to the steel industry.

Tragically, the union, the USW, never did anything to abolish the oppressive classification and promotion system. In the work place itself, management ruled unchallenged, the workers remained divided by dozens of arbitrary job titles and promotion lines, and black workers continued to be held at the bottom.

Under the Consent Decree, plant based committees composed of two representatives from the union, two from the company and one from the government are supposed to have the power to merge or modify promotion lines. But the company and the government can out-vote the union everytime. The union representatives are appointed by the current USW leadership, so they are unlikely to put up much of a fight anyway.

Another aspect of the shuck is that rate retention for transfers to better jobs lasts only two years. So, if you transfer into another line of promotion in order to eventually work up to a better job you may end up with lower wages at the end of two years.

In fact, the whole system of bidding for better jobs, even with plant-wide seniority, is so complex and risky that it will discourage attempts by blacks to get into better job classifications and promotion lines.

Under all USW contracts, ability to perform the job is retained as one criteria for promotion. In practice, this has meant a system of discriminatory tests that tend to block black workers from certain jobs. The Consent Decree says nothing about this.

OPPOSE THE CONSENT DECREE

USW militants have no choice but to oppose this Consent Decree, just as they have opposed ENA (no-strike deal) and the other crummy aspects of the contract.

The union must be forced to renegotiate the whole area covered by the Consent Decree to get real rate retention, real payment for

past discrimination with no waivers, real plant wide seniority and the abolition of all arbitrary lines of promotion.

Unfortunately, there is another kind of opposition to the Consent Decree growing in the USW. A steel worker, a member of Rank and File Team (RAFT), told Workers' Power that some white workers in the Youngstown area and elsewhere were planning to fight the Consent Decree at the USW Convention in September.

These white steel workers believe the Consent Decree to be a threat to their jobs and to the relatively better situation they have in relation to lay-offs.

While there is no question that some white workers have benefited from the racist system of the past, it is also true that the vast majority of all steel workers have suffered from the effects of this system.

SPIDER'S WEB

For decades steel workers have been forced to compete with one another and their solidarity has been weakened. The whole spider's web of classifications, promotion lines, and incentives, have kept the workers under the thumb of plant management.

With the workers divided in a hundred subtle and not so subtle ways, the union has lost—in fact, given away—more and more shop floor power. Now, it gives away wages gains and the right to strike!

Viewed from the vantage point of what a united, militant union membership could have achieved over the years, the costs of the current system are enormous to most workers, white and black.

The fact that many white steel workers feel the need to fight any improvements that black workers might win, and see them as a threat, is proof of how successful the companies have been over the years.

USW militants will have to fight the existing Consent Decree. But any concrete gains that have been won and can be won by black workers, no matter how small, must be defended against those who wish to retain the status quo.

Organized rank and file groups in the USW can work to convince all steel workers that an end to racism and sexism will pay off for everyone, if the ranks are willing to fight their real enemies—I.W. Abel and his fellow bureaucrats and the steel companies.

Brian Mackenzie



Steel Rank & File Fighting Back

As the United Steel Workers union (USW) approaches its 17th national convention scheduled for September 23-27 in Atlantic City, its leadership is facing discontent from the rank and file all over the country.

The most widespread is opposition to USW President I.W. Abel's no-strike deal (the ENA—Experimental Negotiating Agreement).

Locals all over the country have passed resolutions in opposition to the ENA as well as to other practices of the International.

The Sharon, Pa. steel workers local (not a part of basic steel and not covered originally by the ENA) voted down an endorsement of the no-strike deal. It was only after the International forced the question in several meetings that they got a vote favorable to the ENA.

In Arizona, steel workers at Magma Copper resisted attempts of the International to expel a rank and file militant on the alleged grounds of communist association.

Around the country black and Latin steel workers, who face special discrimination, have organized actions such as the demonstration at a union bargaining conference last January by black coke oven workers from Baltimore.

But such occurrences, although multiplied dozens of times around the country, have been scattered, sporadic, and unorganized. Thus far they have amounted to little

visible threat to Abel's control of the union.

Visible and organized opposition to Abel by rank and file steel workers both inside and outside the coming convention is important. The absence of such an opposition in recent years permitted Abel to establish the no-strike deal with a minimum of fuss.

Even a small, organized opposition group could have made it considerably more difficult by providing a focus for the overwhelming disgust and opposition that did exist.

That sentiment is still there. An organized rank and file presence at this year's convention will encourage rank and filers across the country to speak up and organize.

It will allow dissident delegates who want to represent the members, and to build the movement at the convention and beyond, to make contact with each other.

Plans are being made now for rank and file activities at the convention.

A conference held in Chicago for this purpose August 17-18 was, however, disappointing.

The meeting was poorly organized. The organizers failed to do anything, beyond passing positions already agreed upon on issues facing the USW.

Consequently there was no planning for the September Convention. But some of the participants

in the Chicago meeting are working out plans for Atlantic City.

DEMONSTRATION

All steel workers—whether delegates or not—are urged to participate in a demonstration the first day of the Convention, Monday, September 23. The demonstration will oppose Abel and his policies on the ENA and the Consent Decree.

Activity inside the convention will also be quite important, although more difficult because of the undemocratic nature of the gathering.

But because the atmosphere will be intimidating for all delegates, it is even more important that there be a visible opposition pole of attraction for delegates who might fear to oppose Abel alone.

The possibilities for action inside the convention are varied, and will depend to some degree on the number of opposition delegates that can be brought together there. At best, it may be possible to organize a floor challenge to the ENA, the Consent Decree, or any move for a dues increase.

In any case, oppositionists will want to hold press conferences, distribute literature, and employ any other means of showing that Abel does not represent the rank and file and can not completely control it.

Vince McDougal



WAR & AN IRISH TOWN

by Eamonn McCann

Order from: I.S. Book Service \$1.75 postpaid
Photo: Author (center) in Derry, N. Ireland

SHANKER TAKES OVER

labor briefs

The Teamsters union has succeeded in organizing the police force in Vernon, California, a small industrial suburb of Los Angeles. The new members should prove helpful the next time the Teamster leaders decide to attack a United Farm Worker picket line.

Last year we reported that employers illegally cheated their employees out of \$84.6 million in wages, through violations of minimum wage and equal pay laws. This year the employers have outdone themselves, raising their take for fiscal 1974 to \$97 million.

Steel profits, first half of 1974: U.S. Steel—up 86%; Republic Steel—up 29%; Jones & Laughlin—up 104%; Armco—up 57%; Allegheny-Ludlum—up 56%; Inland—up 47%; Lykes-Youngstown—up 256%.

Steel workers' wages, restrained by the labor statesmanship of I.W. ("No-Strike") Abel, are creeping up a bit more slowly.

The Senate recently passed a bill that would allow a 160-day injunction to prevent any West coast dock or shipping strike from interfering with shipping to Hawaii. This is in addition to any injunction issued under the Taft-Hartley law. The following Democratic "friends of labor" were among those voting against a motion to kill the bill by sending it back to committee: Kennedy, Jackson, Hart, Muskie, Magnuson, Mondale, Pastore, Ribicoff, Stevenson, and Symington.

A coalition of five public employee unions, led by AFSCME Local 663 and AFT Local 280, has been formed in New Rochelle, New York. The immediate goal of the coalition is to fight for improvements in pensions and health care plans.

Thomas Mullen, president of the AFT local explained: "The last few years have seen an increasing erosion of our real wages and benefits such as our pensions. Under these circumstances we have been driven to band together in an attempt to protect and strengthen ourselves."

A leaflet put out by dissatisfied telephone workers in Detroit says: "These contracts are X rated. Not fit for people with children (they can't afford it!!!!)."

Support the United Farm Workers—join the International Boycott Day demonstrations and rallies being planned for September 14. Organize a contingent from your union to march, and call your local UFW boycott office for details.

The bureaucratic leadership of the Detroit chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) may be in for some trouble. The Detroit chapter is formally led by Mabel Holleran of the Office and Professional Employees International Union and Hazel Edwards of AFSCME, although much of the real control comes from Olga Madar and other women leaders of the UAW.

When OPEIU members who work in UAW offices picketed Solidarity House (UAW headquarters) in a contract dispute recently, all the top UAW women staffers crossed their picket lines. The dispute is causing tension which may break the monolithic unity of the CLUW leadership.

Thirty thousand construction workers recently converged on the New Jersey state capital demanding jobs. Unemployment among that state's construction workers is 20 percent.

The FBI has joined the strike-breaking efforts of the Trailways bus company. Drivers on the New York—Washington route have been on strike for almost 2½ years, but are maintaining picket lines and creating huge financial losses for the company. FBI agents have "visited" over 100 of the strikers and subpoenaed records from the union's headquarters. One union officer has been "visited" eight times!

The Attorney General of Alabama is attempting to prohibit the importation of coal from South Africa because—get this!—it is produced by "cheap forced labor." Why is the Attorney General of Alabama—never known to be concerned about cheap labor or racism in Alabama—fighting racism and slave labor in South Africa? His actions become clear only when we understand what is really going on. Despite his rhetoric and that of the United Mine Workers union, their real aim is to protect and preserve jobs for U.S. workers by denying them to foreign workers—thus setting one section of the working class against another.

The latest strike-breakers in California agriculture are Jesus children. According to El Malcriado, the United Farm Workers' newspaper, more than 25 of the 16—18 year old youths are being used as scabs in the Giumarra plum orchards near Bakersfield. The Jesus children were observed to be singing and shouting "Praise the Lord," and called striking farm workers "devils."

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

Did Somebody Say 5.5%?

There are wage controls and then there are wage controls. Last year working people averaged an 8% wage gain, while chief executive officers of large corporations received 11.5%. And 11.5% of an average executive salary could

easily support a family of four for a whole year.

The top base executive salary paid last year was \$814,000. 11.5% of that amount is \$93,610, enough for eight families to live moderately comfortably. □

TORONTO—The 1974 convention of the American Federation of Teachers has elected Albert Shanker as its new president. Shanker, already President of the New York City local of the AFT as well as vice-president of the State Teachers Union, now holds three offices simultaneously. He will continue to receive \$52,000 as president of the New York City local plus whatever he negotiates as AFT head.

Shanker defeated incumbent David Selden by a vote of 260,000 to 38,000. In doing so Shanker consolidated his near absolute grip on the 400,000 member union.

Shanker's election represents a move to the right for the union. Although he and Selden shared the same fundamental policies for the union, Shanker began his reign with a blast of McCarthyite red-baiting.

"I am a committed anti-Communist," he announced. "As long as I am President no Communist will hold political power or office within the union."

The declaration presages a witch-hunt against all his opponents in the union. A sample of things to come was Shanker's successful attempt to break up a meeting of women delegates who were supporters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

This meeting was called by Margery Stern and Jane Walsh, two members of the National Coordinating Committee of CLUW, and 20 other AFT women who are committed to building an active AFT presence in CLUW.

Shanker apparently has changed his former opposition to CLUW into a policy of trying to control it and prevent its growth. Apparently "control" includes strong-arm methods when necessary.

Shanker's second act in the union was to declare war on the National Education Association (NEA). Only six months ago, AFT was negotiating merger with the NEA.

Those talks are now broken off, and Shanker has asked for a dues increase to finance raiding teachers organized in the NEA.

The previous merger negotiations came about because teachers throughout the country are under severe attack from the government.

But instead of proposing united actions by AFT and NEA against these common enemies, Shanker proposes to divide teachers. This jurisdictional war between AFT and NEA can only weaken all teachers.

MILITANT IMAGE

Although Shanker's victory over Selden was undoubtedly a step to the right, the teachers who voted for Shanker didn't see it that way at all.

Shanker still has the image of a militant, aggressive labor leader—"the teachers' Jimmy Hoffa." "He delivers." In electing Shanker the teacher delegates were saying, "Do for us what you did in New York City."

Unfortunately, most teachers have yet to discover the grossly deteriorating conditions of teachers and schools in New York City—including declining jobs and class sizes greater than those called for in the contract.

This peculiar phenomenon—an election which moves the union to the right, while at the same time basing itself on teachers' hopes for militancy—was revealed by votes on several issues at the convention.

A proposal for a labor party received 20% of the vote in the resolutions committee. Some 35 delegates signed a call in favor of a labor party.

Similarly, for the first time, a proposal for a more democratic electoral system within AFT—a form of proportional representation—also received 25% of the vote on the convention floor.

A resolution opposing any form of wage-price freeze received 25%, and a resolution calling upon AFT to ask the AFL-CIO to set up regional union conferences to develop a program against inflation was very narrowly defeated.

SOCIALIST DELEGATES

As usual at an AFT convention, there were a good number of socialist delegates present. Some, including supporters of the Communist Party, supported the candidacy of David Selden.

This was managed by having the United Action Caucus (one of two caucuses in AFT) endorse Selden. They did this despite the fact that Selden's policies were indistinguishable from Shanker's on the main problems facing teachers.

For both Shanker and Selden, the key to everything is "elect a veto-proof Congress." This slogan embodies the idea that teachers' main chance for improving their conditions is by electing friendly politicians, and not by direct action.

Neither Shanker nor Selden have any means of dealing with the fact that teacher salaries and employment are falling faster than in virtually any other occupation.

Other socialists, including delegates associated with the International Socialists, opposed voting for either Shanker or Selden.

Since on the critical issues of wages, unemployment, working conditions, and political action, Selden has stood for exactly the same things as Shanker, Selden was unable to put up any but the most feeble fight against Shanker.

The fact that, as incumbent president of the AFT Selden could win only 13% of the votes is ample proof of this.

Of the two, Shanker won because he was recognized as the most articulate, perceptive, and sophisticated representative of the policies they both shared. The irony of Selden's defeat is that he himself prepared the way for Shanker's take-over.

Those who voted for Selden because they opposed Shanker would have done better to concentrate on building an alternative to both rather than choosing the lesser of two evils.

ONTARIO STRIKE

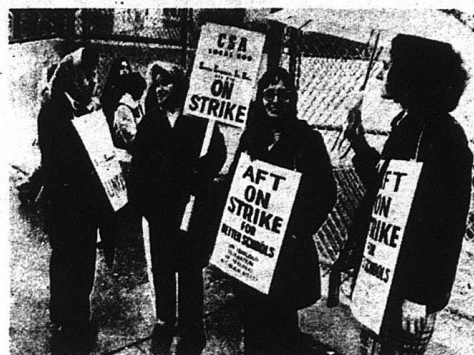
A new departure at the convention was the first public meeting sponsored by socialists in AFT in over 30 years. Colleen Gardhouse, a socialist teacher who helped lead a statewide strike of teachers in Ontario, Canada last December, addressed a meeting of 50 delegates.

Her subject was the Ontario statewide strike, how the rank and file forced a reluctant leadership to fight—only to be betrayed in the end.

Along with Shanker's election, a real defeat for teachers was the fact that the convention voted down by large majorities all proposals for a policy which could save our schools—a policy of direct mass action by teachers, and a policy of coalition with other unions.

It was such coalitions for direct action which were responsible for the modest success of recent multi-union strikes in Baltimore and Ohio. The AFT convention endorsed Shanker's opposition to such policies. □

David Miller



Los Angeles Bus Drivers Walk Out

LOS ANGELES—Three thousand bus drivers and 728 mechanics of the Southern California Rapid Transit District (RTD) have been on strike since August 12. They are demanding wage increases sufficient to allow them to regain the buying power they have lost due to inflation.

Though the RTD is the 4th largest transit system in the nation, the drivers rank 18th in pay. They are demanding a 24% wage increase for the rest of 1974,

followed by a 15% increase in 1975. Mechanics want a two-year increase of 43% in pay.

Both sides seem to have dug in for a long strike. Management is trying to establish a tough image and has mounted a propaganda campaign to convince people the strike is not against the RTD but against the "public."

Another transit strike in California's East Bay has already lasted over 50 days. The Los Angeles strike may last just as long. □

Two Steps Backward In Taxi

NEW YORK—You've got to persuade the fellas that we have to take two steps backward," said Tom Iandoli, secretary of Local 3036, New York Taxi Drivers, to the shop stewards, three days before a new settlement was agreed on with the fleet owners.

The taxi fleet owners' association threatened to terminate the contract if they were not granted a 25% fare increase. Two deadlines went by, and on August 12 drivers received lockout notices.

The old contract—never ratified by the membership—expired last November. The union leadership let negotiations drag on for eight months with no preparations for a strike and no strike fund. Union president Harry Van Arsdale has not been at negotiations since March.

Demoralized and confused, most of the shop stewards voted for the settlement. It was opposed however by stewards who are members of the Taxi Rank & File Coalition and a few other militants.

The settlement gives the bosses their fare increase, the inside workers an inadequate raise, and the drivers a pay cut, since fewer people will take cabs when the fare goes up, and those who do ride will tip less.

The contract now has to be ratified by the membership, a concession won by a court suit brought by Taxi Rank & File. The Taxi Commission has yet to agree to the fare increase as well. With so much still unsettled, another lockout, sellout or strike may be in the taxi workers uncertain future. □

Anne Quill

Strike Hits GMAD Speedup



Nathaniel Mosley

ST. LOUIS—UAW Local 25 here has been on strike since June 28. Management abuses of the seniority system during layoffs and an unresolved local contract are at issue. However, the conflict centers around a speedup dispute in the Corvette plant dating from April, in which 124 workers were disciplined.

At that time the company increased line speed with no increase in personnel. Angry night shift employees turned to their District Committeeman, Nathaniel Mosley, who filed work standards grievances.

Management retaliated by formally charging workers with restricting production, when they were unable to keep up with the new speed. Disciplinary layoffs were issued.

On April 5, the entire shift, in an unusual coincidence, was unable to report for work due to illness. All had certified doctor's statements. Management, however, charged a concerted work stoppage and issued penalties ranging from one week off to discharge. Union militants were singled out for the worst penalties.

When the strike began in June, management said they would not settle until the charges against the

124 were resolved. But, admitting that they could not prove which workers were guilty of concerted action, they asked the union to do it!

Mosley, and other district committeemen refused this renegade's task. But as negotiations dragged on, the company began to panic, for now all of GM's truck plants were on strike.

They began to look for a weak link in the union chain and found it at last in zone committeeman Willie Morganfield. This apple-poller, who is eyeing a UAW staff job, signed an agreement condemning 55 of the 124 to time off on their records for four years.

This greatly increases their chances of being fired during that time, and is quite severe. The crime is even worse, since the company had offered to take them back with no pay for time off but with clean records.

Morganfield's sellout will probably bring a swift end to the strike. It may bring him the staff job he wants as well, since the International appreciates "responsible" maneuverers like him. For his 55 victims, and for those who supported the fight against speedup, other battles lie ahead. □

David Crees

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

The Dead End Of Protectionism

For the past few months the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) have been calling for a boycott of Van Heusen shirts. Unlike the recent Farah boycott, the Van Heusen campaign is not in support of a strike and is not an act of labor solidarity.

The ACWA is asking consumers not to buy Van Heusen shirts because they are produced by Chinese workers in Hong Kong and Taiwan. To buy Van Heusen shirts, the ACWA says, is to "undermine America's standard of living."

The brochure publicizing this campaign has a small dose of liberal sympathy for these Chinese workers who earn as little as \$25 an hour. But its real concern is that these shirts are not made by American clothing workers. Its method for solving the problem of real and potential unemployment in the garment industry is to boycott foreign goods - buy American, to hell with the offer guy.

PROTECTING THE BOSS

Underneath what appears to be an attack on the Phillips Van Heusen company, is in fact a long standing policy of protecting one set of garment bosses from another. Companies that move to Asia, or to the South and Southwest of America in order to escape union wage levels gain a competitive advantage over other companies. They are able to produce for less and underprice the others.

This problem has always been with the garment industry. In the 1920's and 30's garment shops tried to move from the cities to the suburbs. In the 1940's and 50's they moved to the South and Southwest. Now, some are moving to Asia.

The ACWA, as well as the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), developed a means of dealing with this problem as early as the 1920's. They didn't use the obvious policy of organizing the South - very little of that has been done even up to this day.

Farah is more the exception than the rule. No, the ACWA's policy was to "stabilize" the economic position of the employers in the big urban areas where ACWA and the ILGWU were strong.

"Stabilization" was nothing but a means of protecting those employers who stayed in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia from those who moved out. It was a program of subsidizing those companies who cooperated with the union.

The unions helped the bosses make their shops more efficient, modernize management techniques, push labor through reactionary incentive and piece-work systems and even lent the bosses money through the ACWA's bank.

The unions went even farther. When new shops were unionized in low wage areas, like Texas, it was ACWA policy not to bring their wages up to the standard of the big northern cities.

That is, stabilization meant giving even the run-away shop bosses a break. Today, this still holds. While the Farah strike was an important victory, the fact remains that Farah wages are considerably lower than those of ACWA members in New York or other northern cities.

"STABILIZATION"

"Stabilization," that is, protection, has above all meant the maintenance of low wages in the industry. Garment wages have always been among the lowest in the country.

But over the years, the gap between average wages of manufacturing workers and those of garment workers has grown even larger. In 1950 garment workers averaged \$44.64 a week compared to \$58.32 for all manufacturing workers. That is, garment wages were about 75% of manufacturing wages.

By 1972, average weekly wages in garment were \$93.96, as compared to \$154.89, or less than 60% of manufacturing wages.

To protect the companies they deal with in the northern cities, the ACWA and ILGWU have allowed wages to stagnate.

Naturally, union wages are higher than non-union wages. But they are not so much higher as to drive the unionized companies out of the market. All of this is carefully figured out as a matter of union policy. As with all protectionist and class collaborationist policies, where the union plays the company's game, the workers end up paying.

In the garment industry, it is particularly women workers (mostly black and Latino) who pay. To maintain some political base in the membership, the union has traditionally won a half decent wage scale for the most highly skilled workers. Still it is less than skilled workers earn in other industries.

Huge numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled women workers, however, earn incredibly low wages. Even where women are able to average more than starvation wages, it is because they work at breakneck speed under the piece work and incentive systems.

While unionized women garment workers earn more than non-unionized women, the difference between them and male garment workers is often greater in the unionized areas of the industry. Many of the men's jobs, like cutter and presser, pay well above \$5 an hour, but many women's jobs still pay less than \$3. In the men's suit and coat industry, men averaged \$3.97 an hour in 1973 and women, who are three-quarters of the work force, \$3.05.

The new ACWA contract has raised the average somewhat, but has maintained the wide gaps between men and women, skilled and unskilled. It has also left garment workers well behind other production workers, and well behind inflation.

The Van Heusen campaign must be viewed in the context of this overall protectionist policy.

Because Van Heusen uses cheap Asian labor, it is better able to compete on the US and world market. It can better afford shipping and advertising costs, and so on.

The ACWA boycott is an attempt to protect the other garment employers' competitive position by getting people here not to buy Van Heusen. In other words, the workers are supposed to take the side of one group of bosses against another.

What that really means, of course, is that American workers are supposed to take sides against Asian workers; that is to fight against them for the jobs to be done for Van Heusen. But this international competition between workers cuts all ways. When workers compete in this manner the only way to "win" is to sell your labor for the lowest price.

A HEALTHY PROFIT MARGIN

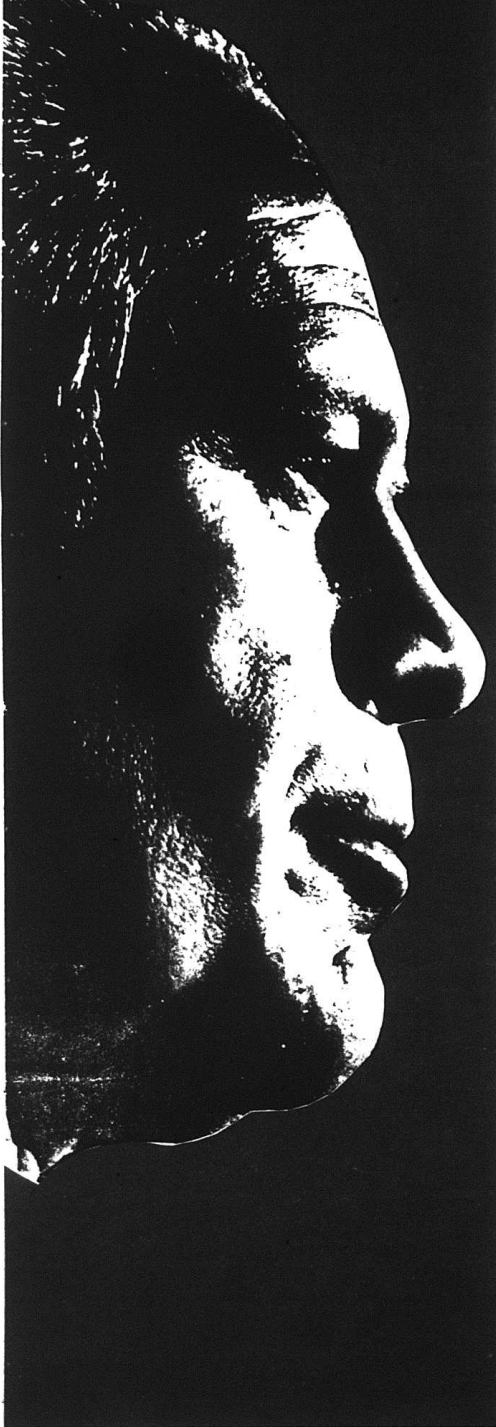
The leaders of the ACWA and ILGWU know that the other side of the boycott is their traditional policy of keeping US wages down, well within the bounds of a healthy profit margin. The boycott helps them get away with it by focusing the attention of the American workers on the alleged threat posed by the Asian workers, instead of on the rotten pro-employer policies of the leaders of the ACWA and ILGWU.

With a different leadership and a different policy, the garment unions could wage a fight that would really be in the interest of garment workers all over the world. First of all, the ACWA and ILGWU could finally get around to an aggressive organizing drive in the South and Southwest. The Farah strike was a first step, but there are still hundreds of companies like Farah that are unorganized and help hold down wages in the industry.

At the same time, the unions could fight the foreign policy of this country's government that supports regimes like those in Taiwan, which prevent unionization, and support old style colonialism in British Hong Kong. That imperialist foreign policy, of course, exists to protect firms like Van Heusen when they do go abroad.

The unions could extend material assistance to legal and illegal unions, national liberation movements, or other movements that help the workers of Asia and elsewhere smash the governments and bosses that prevent them from organizing and raising their own wages.

In American based multinational corporations like Van Heusen, the ACWA and ILGWU can work with workers' organizations around the world to have international bargaining. In other words, what the garment workers, here and around the world, need is a union policy that fights the employers here and extends real, active solidarity abroad. That is the only real alternative to cut-throat competition, growing unemployment, and low wages. □



On becoming the 38th President of the United States, Gerald Ford received promises of support from Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives, big business, labor leaders and even civil rights leaders.

In less than a year he has come a long way - from national stooge to superstar.

When first appointed Vice President, Ford's intelligence was openly questioned. He became the butt of numerous idiot jokes, the most famous was President Johnson's estimation that Jerry had played football too many times without his helmet.

At that time Ford's only credential was that no one considered him a possible Presidential contender in 1976.

Now, as President, Ford is being hailed as the nation's savior.

The news media has also jumped on the Ford bandwagon. Editorial after editorial expounds the soundness of the American political process and our luck in having Gerald Ford.

His stupidity is now called humility. His lack of personality has become a virtue. And his lack of ideas has become proof of his stability.

The making of the 38th President is right out of Hollywood. The press is creating the popular support Ford could never have won on his own.

Behind this fantasy stands a man elected to office by one man - a man as hated today as Ford is revered - Richard Nixon.

Ford was not picked by Nixon because of any of those newly acquired virtues. Gerald Ford was

appointed Vice President because politically he is Nixon's mirror image.

The record speaks for itself. Ford is a conservative Republican party liner: racist, anti-labor, and opposed to almost all social spending.

He is also anti-left. So much so that he is prone to seeing reds under the bed and in the Democratic Party. He publicly stated that liberal Democrats are "dangerous to our way of life and our political philosophy."

In a streak of McCarthyism he attempted to have Justice William O. Douglas impeached from the Supreme Court.

Ford is a friend of the Pentagon and much of his staff is connected to the military. He supports the continued expansion of the military budget.

Once an ardent cold warrior, Ford, like Nixon, is now an ardent supporter of detente. His first Presidential act was to assure the world that American foreign policy would remain unchanged.

Thus Ford pledged to continue American imperialism - propping up unpopular governments friendly to US corporate interests and aiding in the overthrow of those less friendly.

In his political career Ford has had few ideas. After 25 years in Congress he has not sponsored one major piece of legislation.

Ford's staff reflects him perfectly. Their median age is the oldest of any staff in Washington. They are lawyers, militarists, and businessmen. They are conservative Republicans and they are almost all white males.

The fact is that behind the media hype is a right wing political hack surrounded by right wing political hacks.

Why then are George Meany, Leonard Woodcock, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and even Jesse Jackson willing to give Ford a chance?

Simply, to save the system. Watergate revealed what many suspected - American politics are a dirty business. Each scandal unearthed another, and much of the sordid inner workings of capitalist politics were laid bare.

Watergate showed politicians bought and sold by big business, the Internal Revenue Service used to reward friends and punish enemies, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration used to advance the interests of big business against the health of millions of workers. The FBI and CIA used to crush political dissent and to destroy the black liberation and anti-war movements.

Watergate revealed in whose interests this country is run and how it is done. The whole process - the break-in itself, Nixon's unending lies and distortions, the failure of a decisive alternative to emerge, the incredible slowness of the investigation and the impeachment proceedings - profoundly shook the political assumptions of many Americans and intensified growing distrust and cynicism.

Gerald Ford is being presented to us as the solution, their proof that the system can cleanse itself. Now the entire political establishment is pulling behind him to refurbish the tarnished image of

Model T Economics

This year, working people may not be able to afford either a Lincoln or a Ford.

Shortly before he became President, Gerald Ford said, "I think the President has to commit himself right now... to submit an honest-to-goodness balanced budget, not a full-employment balanced budget, for fiscal 1976."

Ford's alternative to full employment is budget cutting and unemployment, and lots of it. This is the essence of Ford's answer to the economic crisis facing the United States.

Ford's record as a Congressman is nothing but reactionary—against virtually all social programs and anti-labor in every respect. But he is also an opportunist—or, as the newspapers politely put it, a pragmatic politician.

Normally this would lead to a certain degree of flexibility in order not to seriously alienate such large sectors of the population.

But these are not normal times. Inflation is around 13% and getting worse. It's gotten past the point where the only victims of inflation are pensioners, the unemployed, and lower paid workers whose budgets contain no fat already.

Increasingly, inflation threatens the stability of the entire capitalist system.

Alan Greenspan, soon to become Ford's chief economic advisor,

recently told the Senate: "We can scarcely underestimate the impact of inflation on the economy. It will be severe. The United States can't persist in its present system or social structure with double-digit inflation."

SAYING "NO"

It's a situation Ford can't ignore. His solution will be severe cuts in the federal budget and increased unemployment. He'll make every effort to hold down wages. Working people will again pay the cost of the chaos brought on by the capitalist system.

In his address to Congress on August 12, Ford said, "The first thing we'll all have to do is learn how to say 'no.'"

A few minutes later, he gave an example of what he meant. While he promised to sign an education bill Congress had just passed, he added: "In implementing its provisions, I will oppose excessive funding during this inflationary crisis."

Students sitting in overcrowded classrooms and teachers suffering from 10% unemployment may be surprised to learn that there is a danger of "excessive funding."

But Ford, although frank on his intentions to cut government spending, was not honest in saying, "we'll all have to... say 'no.'" For the war makers in the



Pentagon have a Commander-in-Chief who will give them everything they need.

Ford recently explained it this way: "The number one priority in the very controversial world we live in is adequate funding for our national security... Now, once you have an adequate national security... then I think you have to take the rest of the pie, and you have to divide it..."

Ford didn't mention that the real underlying cause of today's permanent inflation is precisely the waste spending on arms that he promises to expand.

Ford plans to reduce the size of the non-military pie quite drastically. He promised to balance the federal budget next year.

What this means is that Ford plans to fight inflation through slight austerity measures. He is purposely trying to deepen the already-existing recession—as a desperate means of trying to slow down inflation.

THE RECORD

"I will be the President of the black, brown, red and white Americans, of old and young, of women's liberationists and male chauvinists and all the rest of us in between, of the poor and the rich, . . . of those who work at lathes or at desks or in mines or in the fields. . . ."

--Gerald Ford, August 12, 1974

With those words, the new President Ford began the first cover-up of his Administration.

Ford, the President-Of-All-The-People, was not a Congressman of all the people. Indeed, the record shows that during his more than 25 years in Congress, he consistently voted against or tried to weaken civil rights measures; that he was anti-labor down the line; that he regularly opposed social welfare and women's rights legislation;

and that he was firmly for the war in Vietnam, higher budgets for the military, and regularly spoke out against anti-war activists.

When workers, blacks and other minorities, women, the poor, and those against the war in Vietnam are subtracted, there are only a few people left. Gerald Ford was a Congressman of those few, and like Nixon before him, he will be President of those few.

LABOR

"On behalf of the AFL-CIO, I pledge to you all possible support in meeting the grave and serious problems the nation faces."

--George Meany to Gerald Ford just before his inauguration



Gay Semel

the American Presidency and to maintain the political status quo.

The media has offered Ford a long honeymoon and he has responded by promising a happy marriage. He will get neither.

Inflation is about to take off in another frenzied spiral upward as the effects of this summer's drought hit the market. Cutbacks in federal spending will mean another rise in unemployment.

And the needs of American imperialism will demand the shutting of Ford's self-touted open door administration.

Financing and engineering political coups and maintaining US hegemony abroad cannot be carried on with public debate. Working class militancy cannot be contained if deals with labor leaders are openly discussed.

The struggles of blacks and minorities cannot be successfully smashed if the strategy is public knowledge. Political repression cannot succeed if that is clearly what it is.

In order to fulfill the duties of the American executive, Ford will have to continue the process of concentrating power in the White House - the same process which led Nixon to establish his own police force and which began his downfall.

The contradictions of American capitalism and the American political system brought down Johnson and Nixon - men far more competent than Ford.

Gerald Ford may be the man of the hour but for little longer. □



Unemployment will soon begin rising—at least to 6% and quite possibly to 7%. As usual, the hardest hit will be black workers, who will suffer a much higher unemployment.

THE NEW NIXON

None of this is particularly new to Ford. It is basically the same program Nixon would have tried to implement. In fact one of the reasons Nixon was forced to resign was because he was so weakened that no one would have listened to his calls for sacrifice. Ford was brought on as a more credible Nixon.

Ford's gamble is that he can drive down the standard of living of US workers without touching off a major rebellion from the rank and file. Resisting Ford's challenge is the number one question facing US workers today. □

David Katz

CIVIL RIGHTS

"You could put all the blacks he knows into the back of a Pinto and have enough room left over for the GOP elephant."

--a black leader, quoted in the Pittsburgh Courier

Ford's tactic on civil rights was somewhat different than on labor issues. He generally voted for the major civil rights legislation, but only after trying to weaken it with amendments. Some examples:

- In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act which banned literacy tests and established a system of federal registrars to enroll voters where local officials had refused to do so. The House

passed the bill 333 to 85, with Ford voting for it. However, before it passed, he voted for an unsuccessful attempt to send the bill back to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report back a weaker version.

- On April 10, 1968 the House considered a civil rights bill which contained an Open Housing section. Ford voted to send the bill to a House-Senate conference commit-

tee, for the purpose of weakening or eliminating the open housing section. When that failed and the House adopted the Senate version with the open housing section intact, Ford voted for the bill.

- In 1969 the Nixon administration made an attempt to destroy the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Representative Ford introduced the Administration substitute bill in the House, but when it was finally defeated, he voted for the original version.

- On October 10, 1973 the House passed the District of Columbia Home Rule bill which it had long opposed because the population of the District is mostly black. Ford presented several weakening amendments, including one which

would have continued the practice of the President appointing the District of Columbia mayor, rather than holding elections. This amendment failed, although various others passed, and Ford voted for the final bill.

- On August 10, 1972 Ford voted to permit the importation of Rhodesian chrome into the US.

- Ford also endorsed both J. Harold Carswell and Clement Haynsworth, Nixon's two unsuccessful racist nominations for the Supreme Court.

Things are not uniformly so bad, however. President Ford does have three blacks on his staff, according to the Pittsburgh Courier. One is in charge of the mail, one takes care of his two limousines, and the third is a secretary.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

"Against everything" would be an appropriate summary here:

- Against public housing: June 29, 1949, May 10, 1950, April 4, 1951, March 21, 1952, April 22, 1953, July 21, 1953, April 2, 1954, July 29, 1955, May 21, 1959, and June 22, 1960

- Against medicare: April 8, 1965

- Against creation of the poverty program (OEO) in 1964. Voted to cut OEO funds: June 26, 1973

- Against increasing funds for hospital construction: May 26, 1953 and June 25, 1970

- Against the food stamp program: Aug. 21, 1957. For weakening the food stamp program: April 8, 1964

- Against aid-to-education bill: Aug. 30 1960. Against increasing education funding: April 7, 1971 and June 15, 1972

- Against federal aid to states to

fight water pollution: June 13, 1956 and Feb. 25, 1960. Against requiring industries to use the "best available" water pollution control technology by 1981: March 28, 1972

- Against mass transit legislation: June 25, 1964. Against using Highway Trust Fund money for mass transit: April 19, 1973

- Against strengthening Pesticide Control Act: Nov. 9, 1971

- Against rat control: July 20, 1967

Women's Rights

- Against allowing poverty program lawyers to help women get abortions: June 21, 1973

- Against OEO amendment to create a comprehensive child care program: Dec. 7, 1971

THE VIETNAM WAR, THE COLD WAR, AND THE MILITARY BUDGET

"I have never been able to understand why they [the Johnson Administration] have not more fully utilized our capability to destroy significant military targets in North Vietnam."

--Gerald Ford, Jan. 16, 1966

Although Mr. Ford has a record as a miser on domestic needs, there is one mouth he is always willing to feed: that of the military. His record between 1971 and 1973 includes the following:

- Voted against 25 attempts to reduce military spending

- Voted against 14 amendments intended to end or limit the involvement of US combat troops in Southeast Asia

- Voted against seven attempts to end the draft

Of course there are always dissident elements that don't like to be drafted and sent off to fight an imperialist war and there are those who don't like capitalism and its effects on their lives. Some method of control is necessary. Ford has been consistent:

- For continuing the Subversive Activities Control Board: May 18, 1972

- For \$525,000 appropriation for the House Internal Security Committee: March 1, 1972

- For \$475,000 appropriation for the House Internal Security Committee: March 22, 1973

- Against requiring court approval for wiretaps: April 8, 1954



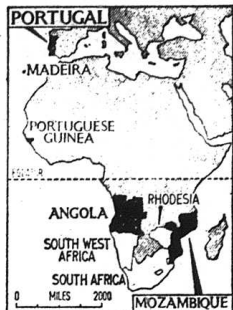
In his youth, Jerry played football without his helmet too often

FAMOUS LAST WORDS

"I am not a crook." --Richard M. Nixon

"I can't possibly believe Jerry's a dumb-dumb." --Betty Ford

Africa-Liberation Forces near victory



Portugal's colonial empire is nearing collapse. After thirteen years of war, the overthrow of the fascist regime in Lisbon, and the plain refusal of the Army to fight on makes any further efforts by Portugal to retain the colonies by military force impossible.

General Antonio de Spínola, President of Portugal, came to power on a program of hanging on to the colonies. His plan was to grant gradual "autonomy" with Portugal keeping control of their economic affairs. In order to save the stability of capitalism in Portugal itself, however, he has been forced to go much further.

The national liberation struggles in the colonies have won a tremendous victory—not only fighting the Portuguese armies to a complete standstill, but creating the conditions for the downfall of the fascist Portuguese dictatorship. The African liberation struggles have opened up the road for the Portuguese working class to liberate itself as well.

There is still, however, the danger that Portugal's generals

will try to maintain part of their empire as "democratic" imperialists, through neo-colonialism, where direct military rule has become impossible.

Political independence is rapidly moving toward becoming reality in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. Portugal's generals will try to retain the Cape Verde Islands and oil-rich Angola.

It is not hard to see why the Portuguese have decided that they must "abandon" Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in order to hand onto anything at all.

MOZAMBIQUE

In Mozambique, the population consists of 8 million Africans and only 100,000 white Portuguese settlers. For the Portuguese here to think in terms of a breakaway white-supremacy regime is nearly out of the question.

Mozambique does, however, face the threat of possible invasion by South Africa or Rhodesia. Both of these racist regimes rely heavily on Mozambique for ports and

shipping facilities. Both would take advantage of any weakness in the liberation movement to prop up white supremacy rule.

The Mozambique liberation army FRELIMO is in the strongest position of all the liberation movements. There have been cease-fires in parts of Mozambique simply because the Portuguese soldiers will not fight, and fraternization has been widespread.

In Mozambique, the Portuguese Army is apparently finished as a fighting force. Whites who choose to remain in Mozambique are already beginning to adjust to the idea of a black African government under FRELIMO.

Mozambique is also the colony where Portuguese rule has produced probably the most serious underdevelopment. 90% of the active population works in agriculture, yet this occupies less than 6% of the area of the country. 2.6% work in industry, which accounts for less than 10% of the gross product of the interior.

There have never been highways in Mozambique, until the last few

years when the Portuguese began building them to move troops and supplies against FRELIMO.

There are extensive railroads in Mozambique. They exist primarily to transport sugar to the coast for shipment to Portugal.

Sugar prices, for 11 years, remained fixed in Mozambique at less than one-third of the world market price. At this rock-bottom rate it is sold to Portuguese factories, who hold a monopoly on refining.

This brutal looting is one source of super-profits for Portugal's capitalists. Another is that part of the wages paid to Mozambique workers who labor in South African mines is deducted by South Africa and paid directly to Portugal.

In 1973 alone this bargain transferred \$50 million to Portugal.

Despite the underdevelopment of Mozambique, it would be wrong to imagine that there is no effective working class. There is a concentrated, militant black industrial proletariat in the mines (including 100,000 working in South Africa), plantations, and the docks.

In fact, in Mozambique as well as Guinea-Bissau and Angola, it was the black miners who first organized against the colonial rulers and were suppressed with bombs and machine guns.

ANGOLA

In Angola the prospects for the liberation movement remain most difficult. Here the economic stakes for Portugal are greatest, the proportion of white settlers is relatively high, and the independence forces are split.

Angola is the fifth leading coffee producer in the world. It also produces diamonds, phosphate, copper, zinc, nickel and oil.

The oil resources are centered in the Cabinda enclave, where the Gulf Oil Company is helping to finance separatist groups in order to break the enclave away from Angola in the event of independence.

In Angola, the possibility of white-settler separatism is much more plausible. There is also a three-way split among the black independence forces.

Portugal's hopes for retaining some power in Angola rest in part on making use of the differences among the liberation forces, and possibly making deals with some against others.

The largest of the three groups, MPLA, reportedly stands (at least formally) for an anti-capitalist and anti-racist position. The second, FLNA, seems to be less radical in its social program, and more strictly nationalistic.

While MPLA is diplomatically supported by Russia, FLNA is looked upon more favorably by both China and the United States. FLNA also enjoys some political support from the conservative government in Zaire under Mobutu, which may also back new military operations by FLNA in the north of Angola in order to increase its own authority among the black African states.

The most conservative of the three, UNITA, which maintains guerrilla forces primarily in the south, is reported to have already arranged cease-fire terms with the Portuguese.

GUINEA-BISSAU

The territory of Guinea-Bissau was almost 100% in the hands of the liberation forces (the PAIGC) as early as 1969. The Portuguese armed forces and settlers were confined to small enclaves, and the population they controlled herded into "strategic hamlets," pattern-

ed after the concentration camps established by the United States in Vietnam.

From these enclaves the Portuguese launched blitz campaigns of bombings of civilian populations and destruction of crops, using napalm, fragmentation and phosphorus bombs, torture, rape, and mass deportations.

The other Portuguese technique was assassination. The leader of PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral, was murdered in a plot directly engineered by Antonio de Spínola, who was at the time the Portuguese commander in the territory.

The Guinea-Bissau population is 600,000, of which only some 2500 are Portuguese settlers. Like Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau has suffered drastic underdevelopment as a result of Portuguese rule.

The ideology of the PAIGC holds that the national liberation struggle must be led by a "revolutionary vanguard." This vanguard, however, is not to be based on the working class at all. In the words of Amílcar Cabral, "Current opinion according to which the motor force of history resides in the class struggle must be nuanced and even redefined... in Africa."

Cabral's concept of the "vanguard" was not a class force, but rather an "active minority" among the urban middle class and peasants who had only recently moved into the cities.

Cabral believed that neither the workers nor the poor peasants in the African colonies could organize and lead their own fight for self-emancipation. He believed that these classes could not "distinguish, by themselves, true national independence from fictitious national independence."

Yet it was a miners' strike in Pídiguiti in 1959, when 50 miners were killed and 100 wounded, that launched the struggle for independence.

THE FUTURE

The future of the national liberation movements now winning independence in Portugal's African colonies will be one of the most complex and critically important processes of the 1970's.

Winning independence from Portugal will be a tremendous victory for the masses of people in the colonies, and for all black people throughout Africa. But the new regimes will face extremely difficult economic problems, and growing struggle by a concentrated industrial working class trying to increase its standard of living.

Very recently, striking miners in Mozambique were asked by the Portuguese authorities to suspend their demands "until FRELIMO takes over. They're your own people, they'll give you everything you want."

The miners responded: "Why should be trust your promises, or FRELIMO's? We want raises right now!"

The development of working class political forces based in the class struggles of African workers in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau would not only have a tremendous revolutionary impact on the future of these nations. It would also greatly stimulate the growing struggles of black workers in South Africa, where so many black Mozambicans work.

The winning of independence will be only the beginning, not the end, of the class struggle. □



Liberation fighters in Angola

CAPE VERDE

Struggle Goes On

General Spínola, President of the Portuguese Junta, called for a referendum in the Cape Verde Islands (population 270,000), a Portuguese colony since the 15th century.

This is an attempt to stop the linking of Cape Verde to Guinea whose independence is now certain.

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) control more than two-thirds of Guinea. In Cape Verde, the PAIGC is weak militarily, although politically it has the support of the vast majority.

The referendum coupled with propaganda that the islands and Guinea are separate geographically and culturally is a deliberate attempt to create artificial divisions.

The PAIGC is expected to accept a referendum in the island if it gives the options as a link to Guinea, a link to Portugal, or Independence. They are certain that the overwhelming majority will vote for

the first alternative.

The PAIGC are likely to demand that the referendum is universal. The Portuguese Overseas Territories Minister, Almeida Santos, has intimated that Portugal might consider "indirect, non-universal methods of consultation" in Cape Verde—in other words, a manipulated referendum in which the majority would not be allowed to vote, and Portugal could retain a measure of control over the islands.

AIRSPACE

The main reason for this attempt is the islands' strategic importance.

Portugal has built a naval base at Sao Vicente and expanded the international airport of Sal so that it can take jumbo jets. This airport is crucial to South Africa because independent African states will not allow South Africa to use their airspace.

The Cape Verde Islands are the only route South African can use to

and from Europe.

Most important, the islands are strategic to American interests in Africa and Portugal is therefore under pressure from the US government to retain control.

The people of Cape Verde are continually threatened by drought and diseases caused by malnutrition. This has resulted in massive emigration, mainly to Portugal.

100,000 Cape Verdian immigrant workers in Portugal are forced to take on the lowest paid jobs in construction work, mining and service industry.

In Lisbon, two rallies were stopped by para-troopers and military police on the express orders of Spínola. The rallies were called to protest against banning of the Maoist weekly Luta Popular, which was said to attack the ideology of the armed forces.

At the second rally, 22 people were arrested, and 20 are still presumed to be in jail. □

Anita Sandberg

California Senate Kills Farmworker Bill

The California Senate has killed a bill to provide for free union elections for farmworkers (AB 3370), which had already passed the state Assembly with only a few amendments.

The Assembly had defeated a grower-sponsored bill, a Teamster bureaucracy-sponsored bill, and the so-called compromise amendments (which would have gutted AB 3370).

On August 19, the bill passed the assembly floor. An amendment to substitute the UFW-crippling Teamster bill was narrowly defeated by three votes.

This victory came about not through your ordinary lobbying. Three times the Farm Workers

massed in Sacramento. Thousands came the second time to testify by their presence at the Labor Relations Committee meeting.

Politicians were chased through the halls and numerous small sit-ins were held in offices. Tens of thousands of individual letters flooded the capital.

Each time they went, the farmworkers found that most Republicans opposed them, and most Democrats were desperately searching for a way to compromise the Farm Workers so that these Democrats could maintain their relations with the powerful interests of the growers and Teamsters bureaucracy.

But at the same time, they did

not want to adopt an openly anti-union position since the election is coming up. The Farm Workers held solid for their demands, and they kept the pressure up and won.

But the bill was killed 21-16 on a procedural maneuver in the Senate, when the growers and Teamster officials marshalled their forces and called in the votes from their indentured politicians.

One thing is clear. These legislators respect only power. Just to win the legal right to free and fair elections without crippling legal restrictions on the union, the UFW is going to have to build and show still greater power through strikes, boycott, and mass demonstrations. □

An Open Appeal To The UFW

The National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and the Centro de Accion Social Autonomo (CASA) have issued an appeal to Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers of America, to reverse the UFW's campaign to deport workers without documents.

Chavez is organizing petition drives to get the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport the so-called illegal workers.

The INS, known as "la Migra" in the Chicano community, is known and hated for its dragnet raids of urban barrios in search of workers without documents, in which all Chicano workers are threatened.

The National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws was established in February, 1973, to fight deportations and extend democratic rights to all workers in this country, regardless of their legal status.

CASA was established in 1968 for the purpose of "organizing immigrant workers who have no visas and their families into an organization that could defend, represent and advocate the fullest equality of treatment, justice and fairness for immigrants."

CASA has issued statements of support for the UFW in the past, but its lack of action to back up these statements has caused some UFW activists, understandably but mistakenly, to often discount CASA.

CASA and the Coalition have been organizing nationwide demonstrations around the demands: Stop all Deportations, End Inflation and End Unemployment. These

demonstrations will culminate in a Moratorium Against Immigration Repression in Los Angeles on August 31.

The Moratorium will include a march along the route of the Chicano Moratorium of 1971 and a rally at which Ramona Arbona of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and Bert Corona of CASA will speak.

The two organizations' defense of all workers with or without documents led them to send the open letter reprinted here to the United Farm Workers Union.

OPEN LETTER TO UNITED FARM WORKERS

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We are in fullest support of your struggle through your strikes and boycotts in organizing efforts to build a strong, democratic and rank-and-file controlled union.

We have always been and always will be opposed to the growers and all of their agents and spokesmen such as the contractors, the U.S. Immigration Service and the corrupt officials of the Teamsters union who are attacking you now.

Because we stand with you we cannot understand and lament with much regret the press statements issued through the Associated Press in which union officials of the UFWA (United Farm Workers of America) are quoted as asking for the removal through the U.S. immigration and border patrols of all workers without documents be-

cause "they are taking and depriving jobs of farm workers and posing a threat to the health of all people...many of the illegals suffer from contagious diseases, but are afraid to get medical aid for fear of being deported." is the way it is stated.

All of us in CASA and the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices condemn and always will condemn the use of strikebreakers whether they be native-born, with visas or without.

At this moment we are engaged in support of many workers in several industries who are on strike and we are actively supporting all efforts to get the strikebreakers out of the plants and oppose the bosses' continued recruitment of strikebreakers.

We think that all workers have the right to seek work in order to support themselves and their families but not by breaking strikes of other workers.

However, when we ask for the deportation of all the workers who have no visas, we are attacking many good union brothers and sisters that have no visas but would never break a strike.

Specially amongst Mexican and Latin American workers in this country for the past 100 years there has been a glorious record of militant union labor struggles against not only agribusiness but against the meat-packing monopolies, railroad companies, mining corporations and many other exploiters of labor.

The bosses' traditional response has been to deport not only the leaders of these strikes but the workers themselves. Thus, when a union calls on the U.S. immigration to help them it is calling on a traditional tool of the employers and the U.S. immigration then deports the strikers and many other innocent people, too.

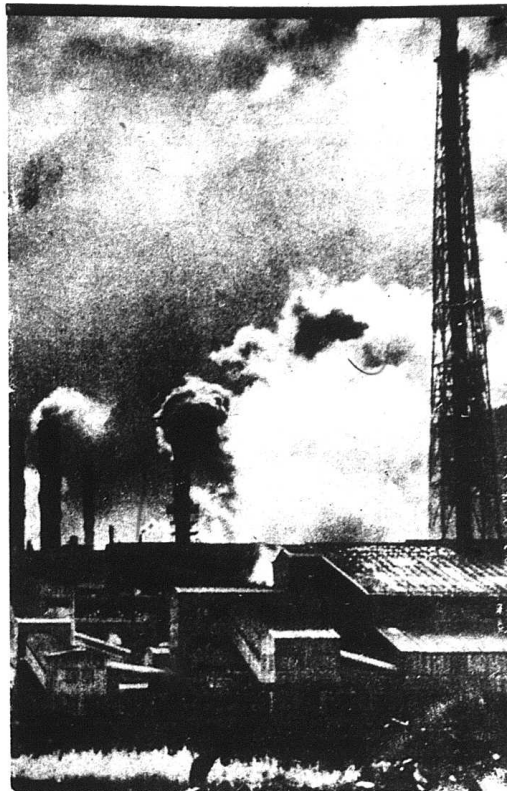
The basic U.S. immigration laws (Walter-McCarran) and their practices against our people and have always been anti-worker, anti-human and unconstitutional.

Thus, to call on the U.S. immigration is to fall into the bosses' trap of pitting workers against workers on the basis of immigration status under an oppressive law which was put on the books by the very group of Nixon-type Watergaters in 1952.

We ask you to withdraw or correct these press statements and your petition which is also doing the same type of damage to workers' unity.

For the good of all workers! Viva La Huelga!

—CASAs of San Jose, Los Angeles, Orange county, National City, San Fernando; and
—National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices



THE LAND OF SKY BLUE WATERS

The government's Environmental Protection Agency has made a new proposal: if the air in your locality is cleaner than required by law, it's OK for industrial plants to pollute it.

As long as the pollution level does not rise above the maximum limits set by the Clean Air Act of 1970, the EPA rules would allow state and local officials to give industrial growth and economic development greater priority than clean, breathable air.

Says the CPW's deputy administrator, John R. Quarles Jr., "air quality alone should not dictate entire patterns of economic and social growth."

What good is clean air without a "sound economy"? Right?

Well, maybe Mr. Quarles should be more to the point. The fact is that big business is putting great pressures for non-enforcement on environmental legislation because it may endanger their profits.

Having to run their plants without polluting the air, the water, and the land—just like having better equipment for our safety on the job—creates greater costs for them, and consequently, is a hindrance to profits. (Quickly remedied, however, by passing it on to us in higher prices!)

What this will mean is that oil refineries, and coal-burning plants will head for the country—to rural areas where air pollution is virtually non-existent.

There's a big sky just waiting for all the junk to pour out of those smoke-stacks. Since most urban areas are already polluted beyond healthful levels, big firms have trouble meeting just minimal standards. It'll be much easier out in the rural areas.

So if you're planning a clean-air vacation in the country-side, you'd better hurry. Industrial and economic "development" has designs on the same territory! □

McGovern

Worm Turns

Remember Senator George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic Party Presidential candidate and flaming liberal?

Sure you do. He was the one who rolled up his shirtsleeves and talked to the little people.

Remember all the good things he promised—full equality for women, blacks and other minorities, and to finally end the war in Vietnam. He also promised that if elected he would grant amnesty to all those who "refused to participate in the Vietnam tragedy."


Well in 1972 that line might have

gotten him the 18-year-old vote. But 1974 is re-election time in South Dakota.

So the worm has turned. "Amnesty is not within the responsibilities of a United States Senator," McGovern has stated.

Any other questions? □





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THE NEW LEFT - WHAT WENT WRONG



Since 1968, the international economic instability of capitalism, and the militant response of the working class to this crisis, has begun the process of creating revolutionary parties. In a number of European countries, groups which will become revolutionary parties, embedded in the struggles of working people, have already been developed.

Until recently the United States has not had the same level of political development as other advanced capitalist countries. This was not due to the absence of crisis or struggle here, but to the weakness of the radical movement and the defeat it suffered in 1968-70.

THE NEW LEFT

The radicalization of the 1960's was stronger in the US than elsewhere. The black liberation movement was the most significant and sustained struggle in any of the advanced industrial countries. In ghetto uprisings the struggle took semi-insurrectionary forms. The black liberation movement created a revolutionary consciousness among a section of the black masses. This consciousness radiated out to the student anti-war and women's liberation movements. Revolutionary ideas and methods of struggle were revived in a country which had not seen them since the CIO was organized in the 30's through general strikes, sit-downs and armed battles with scabs and police.

While revolutionary potential was strongest in the US in the 1960's, nowhere was it more defeated in the years following. The movement faced brutal repression from a government which murdered militants like George Jackson, Fred Hampton, or the Kent State students. The fundamental basis for the defeat, however, must be looked for in the abiding weakness of the American left.

The problems of the left must be understood if we are to overcome them and build a successful movement today. The left of the



60's lacked roots in the working class. From this fundamental problem all of its troubles flowed.

Revolutionary Marxists have always argued that it is the working class which has the power to transform modern society.

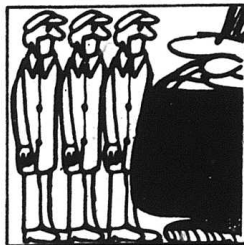
Workers may not be the first group in society to respond to radical or revolutionary ideas. But their position in capitalist production gives them the ability to carry through sustained struggles, and to build mass democratic organizations which no other group in society can.

This same power is what gives the working class, collectively, the ultimate ability to overthrow capitalist rule and replace the anarchy of private profit with a democratically planned socialist economy controlled from below.

The left did not have working class politics or organization and consequently was incapable of developing a strategy for working-

class revolution—the only revolution possible in an advanced capitalist country.

Its whole history was an attempt to find some alternative for working class revolution, to find any short cut to the hard job of organizing



workers for their own self-emancipation. The white student left found a new agency for social change, not unnaturally, in itself—first in the student movement and later in a "new working class" of college educated professionals, technical workers and middle class people.

The Black Panthers proposed that the revolutionary class was the lumpen—the poor, the unemployed, even street hustlers. SNCC under Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown eventually looked for a revolutionary agency in third world countries.

The left—black and white—accepted the Maoist proposition of the countryside surrounding the city, and rejected the Marxist notion of the urban working class as the basis for socialism. It gave up on the possibility of revolution within the United States.

The left came to the conclusion that all revolutionaries could do in the United States was to help destroy the country from within, until the third world armies brought the revolution from the outside.

This, which passed for theory and strategy in the New Left, was summed up in the famous slogan "Burn, Baby, Burn," by Rap Brown.

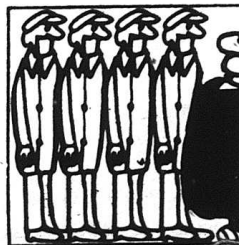
These Maoist ideas on revolution

were picked up by a section of the student left, which developed the idea of guerilla warfare in the United States. This political philosophy took its most developed form as the Weathermen.

TERRORISM TO REFORMISM

In the absence of the repeated failures of terrorist tactics led the left toward reliance on liberal reform politicians, like McCarthy or McGovern, to quickly end the war and bring black and women's liberation.

Both of these solutions were elitist and reformist. Both said "rely upon us—the handful of brave terrorists or the liberal politicians—to do the job. You yourselves are incapable of being organized to change your own conditions." It taught people to accept the capitalist idea of political passivity, voting once every few years for somebody else to get the job done, rather than engaging in struggle with workers to collectively change conditions.



The isolation of the left from the working class also led to "go it alone" strategies, to the idea that particular groups could change society for themselves without having to join others to change society for all. The result was various separatist strategies proposed by black nationalists or "radical" feminists.

So the politics which came out of isolation from the working class were strategies for terrorism, subordination to liberal Democratic

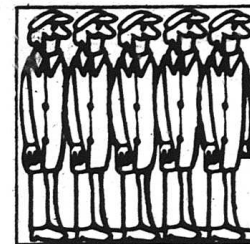
politicians, or separatism. This isolation led to repeated failures and rapid gyrations in the black and white revolutionary movements as they kept chasing after the illusion of a short cut for organizing the American working class.

The political instability that resulted made it impossible to build serious organizations in the 60s—they changed as rapidly as the faulty perspectives did.

Eventually, the repeated failures to build a revolutionary organization with a coherent strategy that could lead and unify the struggles going on, led to defeat of the left. In 1969 the Cleaver wing of the Panthers went finally toward terrorism, while the surviving Newton wing transformed what had been a revolutionary organization into a black capitalist—Democratic Party reform group. The same pattern was followed the next year in the antiwar and women's movements.

This defeat of 1969-70 led to four years of left wing stagnation and the decline of struggle. It is the current revival of radical activity and struggle which is now bringing the old questions of party, class, strategy and tactics, back to the newly emerging and organizing movement.

For us to be successful this time we must assimilate the lessons of the past, and avoid mistakes of the past so costly to our movement. Future issues of this column will explore those questions to help develop a new revolutionary strategy and party for the 70s.



Auto: Ranks Need Unity

[Editor's note—The following article is reprinted from the "Mack Watchdog," a rank and file bulletin published by the United National Caucus in UAW Local 212 at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant in Detroit.]

On August 1, UAW skilled tradesmen held the founding meeting of the Independent Skilled Trades Council (IATC). With 100 in attendance representing a dozen locals, the meeting pledged to organize all UAW skilled trades into a force, inside the union, independent from the top leader-

ship to defend tradesmen's rights. The founders of this Skilled Trades Council believe that it is needed because the union has been trampling on tradesmen and abusing their rights. They claim that this is not an anti-production worker formation, but rather they hope to win production workers as allies.

The main problem, they say, is not that the leadership takes care of production instead of skilled trades-

men, they assert in the Policy Statement adopted by the meeting: "The International takes care of nobody but itself."

The Watchdog agrees that the top UAW leadership is doing a rotten job for trades and production worker alike. We support wholeheartedly any fight for a more democratic and more responsive union that can fight the companies and win something for the workers. We know that the companies and even some elements in our own union would like to create conflict

between production worker and skilled trades.

We know that Chrysler has encouraged this with a policy of almost total racial segregation between skilled trades and production. We know that there is always a danger that those who wish to strengthen the company by creating divisions among the workers may try to manipulate such a skilled trades organization for their divisive ends.

But we know one other thing as well. Chrysler and the other

companies are trying to undermine and break up the skilled trades. So far the UAW leadership has been unwilling to lead an effective fight against this.

If the Independent Skilled Trades Council (IATC) is sincere in its desire to fight for skilled trades rights—which we believe it is—they will need to seek allies and support among production workers. If they let the demagogues or racists turn tradesmen against production workers, these tradesmen will find that they have just slit

their own throats. If the companies can isolate the tradesmen, they will end up sitting ducks.

The Watchdog supports the formation of the Independent Skilled Trades Council (IATC) and is anxious to cooperate with it in any way we can. But we must warn the tradesmen. To accomplish your ends, you must join with—production workers—to fight the racism and other policies of the company that are used to divide us and keep us all weak. Are you with us?



The Mack Watchdog: newsletter published by rank and filers at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant, UAW Local 212

reviews

music

A Touch Of Class



[Rockin' 'Cross The Country, The Earl Scruggs Revue, Columbia Records.]

They came by the thousands from the mines and farms of Kentucky and Tennessee to work in the factories of the industrial Midwest. Hillbillies they were called. Leaving the small towns of Appalachia behind in search of a decent living, they did bring with them much of their culture - including the music called Bluegrass.

Many white workers in the Midwest have parents or grandparents who could dance a step or two or even pick some Bluegrass. Yet the music has been so scorned by the media that people have been ashamed to admit they like it.

A music that was created and performed by working people was nearly ridiculed to death.

Happily, Bluegrass has experienced a revival in the past few years. Bluegrass bars can now be found in most large cities, as people are rediscovering (or admitting) their heritage. Country music has become "respectable" as the music industry discovered a profit in the revival.

The Earl Scruggs Revue in "Rockin' 'Cross The Country is a part of that revival. Scruggs was the first to develop the bluegrass banjo picking style. Though clearly in the Bluegrass tradition, "Rockin' 'Cross The Country" is a creative

addition. "Silver Eagle," featuring Earl Scruggs' banjo, is an instrumental in the mold of the famous traditional Foggy Mountain Breakdown.

On "King Blue" and "I Just Can't Seem To Care" Scruggs' magnificent banjo suddenly takes on a new tone when accompanied by piano, electric guitar and the almost-blues singing of Gary Scruggs.

Bluegrass, with its lively rhythm of banjo and fiddle, was a music of celebration - that you made it out of the mine once more to enjoy the beauty of the Appalachian countryside. The blues-like addition in "Rockin' 'Cross The Country is an apt reflection of Bluegrass' new-

found urban home.

Finishing another week on the assembly line is surely cause for celebration, but instead of mountain scenery today's Bluegrass fan has to face crowded apartment complexes surrounded by concrete and pollution.

Besides being lots of fun to listen to, Bluegrass is something created almost entirely by and for working people.

Today, when union members have so little control over even their unions, something that sings our truth in your heart is a real rarity. So some Friday night grab a beer, put on "Rockin' 'Cross The Country," and be proud.

Ed Karney

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books

Politics Of Lenin

[The Politics of Lenin, by Paul Ginsborg. Published 1974 by the International Socialists. 31pp. 60c.]

The purpose of this brief pamphlet is to provide a general introduction to the life and ideas of V.I. Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution and the most important revolutionary leader in history.

This short work is an outstanding success in every respect.

There are, of course, hundreds of books about Lenin's life and work, written from every imaginable point of view - not to mention the 45 volumes of Lenin's own writings.

But Paul Ginsborg's pamphlet fills what has been a gap in the whole massive body of literature on Lenin. Writing from a revolutionary socialist point of view, the author sketches a brief portrait of Lenin for those not already familiar with him.

He shows Lenin not as a superman, nor a Larger-than-Life Genius whose thoughts must be blindly memorized and quoted, but as a comrade in the struggle for socialism and workers' democracy.

Lenin's personal character is demonstrated in a note he wrote to the Moscow library in 1920, when he was the most powerful leader of both the Party and all of Russia: "If the library regulations forbid the removal of dictionaries from the library, may I borrow them overnight? I shall return them early in the morning."

Lenin was, above all, a revolutionary organizer and leader. His own favorite description of himself was a "publicist": a writer and propagandist, who devoted all his energies to the task of preparing the working class for the struggle to overthrow the exploiters of humanity.

Many historians who write about the Russian Revolution view it as

mainly a product of Lenin's personal influence - his All-Seeing Leadership or his Evil Genius, depending on the writer's own view. That wasn't how Lenin saw it, though.

In fact, a successful revolution requires not one, but hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries, organizing with the working class to liberate itself.

If revolution could be made simply under the leadership of a few exceptionally brilliant and heroic people, it might be possible to argue that there is no need for a revolutionary party to organize and lead the struggle. The same would be true if socialism could be won gradually, through peaceful reforms won by trade union bureaucrats.

However, Lenin's view was that socialism could be won only through the conscious activity of huge masses of people struggling to rule society in their own name.

The vast majority of those people, including most of the revolutionary leaders in the factories, who were the backbone of the struggle, would not be "geniuses" or super-people - but rank and file workers.

To be able to organize and control their own struggle, those workers would need a collective political instrument that would link up local struggles and bring revolutionary workers together to share their individual strengths. "We are marching along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand," wrote Lenin in WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Building such a revolutionary party - one that would bring together revolutionary workers, intellectuals, students and others, but in which the needs and

struggles of the workers would always come first - was the center of Lenin's activities for nearly 20 years.

Paul Ginsborg's pamphlet outlines how this work was carried out and how major obstacles were overcome. The booklet is lively and

informative for readers who may not yet have read any of Lenin's writings for themselves.

Ginsborg also shows how these years of work made it possible for Lenin to organize the Bolshevik Party for the seizure of power in 1917.

Without the Bolshevik Party, there could have been no successful socialist revolution in Russia. At

the same time, victory would have been equally impossible if Lenin had not been prepared at the crucial moment to appeal directly to the rank and file, going over the heads of the rest of the party leadership. That was when the leadership opposed organizing an insurrection to overthrow the middle-class Provisional Government.

The last few chapters of this pamphlet concentrate on the problems which Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevik Party faced during the Civil War of 1918-21 in trying to maintain the power won by the working class.

The tremendous destruction and suffering inflicted on the working class during these years began to weaken revolutionary democracy and dangerous bureaucratic distortions began to develop.

Lenin's last struggle was directed against this growth of bureaucracy inside the party and the new workers' state. Those who carried on this fight after his death were ultimately defeated.

The man whose growing power Lenin wished to curb, Stalin, became the organizer of a bureaucratic counter-revolution. He and his apparatus smashed the rule of the workers and murdered almost every single one of Lenin's surviving comrades-in-arms.

But Lenin's ideas and politics, above all, are key to rebuilding a revolutionary workers' movement to finally overthrow both capitalism and Stalinism. That's why this pamphlet was written.

No one pamphlet, of course, can make you an instant expert on a subject as huge as Leninism. But it will stimulate your interest in further study, and that's what it's for.

D. Posen



OLGA MADAR: PORTRAIT OF A BUREAUCRAT



"Don't be fooled by the grandmotherly face, the perfectly crimped white hair, the pearls and the polyester knit on the heavy-set figure.

The clue to Olga Madar—at 58, on the verge of retirement from the UAW, and more than ever in the forefront of women's rights—is in her eyes."

So states the DETROIT FREE PRESS, shortly after Olga Madar's election as chairwoman of CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) at its founding convention last March in Chicago.

The physical description is correct. But the clue to Olga Madar is not in her eyes—it's in her politics and past record.

As chairwoman of CLUW, Madar is responsible for carrying out and, as she puts it, "interpreting" decisions made in Chicago.

Rank and file CLUW members have already gotten a taste of Madar's interpretive abilities as attempts to get CLUW chapters off the ground are sabotaged by endless bureaucratic hassles and newly invented rules.

It is therefore essential that militants in CLUW understand exactly who Madar is and what she stands for.

HER PAST

Olga Madar recently retired from the International Executive Board

of the UAW. She was the first woman Vice President.

Most of her 30 years in the UAW were not spent on the assembly line, but in the carpeted offices of Solidarity House.

While attending college Madar worked summers at the Bower Roller Bearing Plant and then at the Ford Willow Run bomber plant. After graduating she worked as a recreational therapist and then returned to the bomber plant during World War II.

She was quickly hired by UAW Local 50 as director of recreation, social services and women's activities. From then on it was one bureaucratic position after another—all the way to the top.

"Miss Madar has been in the forefront of the struggle for equal treatment for all Americans" stated the UAW paper, SOLIDARITY, when reporting her retirement. Their only example, however, was that "in the 1940's she successfully fought racial discrimination in organized bowling."

While fighting to integrate bowling leagues Madar failed to notice that blacks were given the worst, dirtiest jobs in auto and were excluded from the rest. When they were hired, they were arbitrarily harassed, and they were excluded from leadership positions. In the UAW, Women were almost totally expelled from the auto industry following World War II.

Through the years Madar also failed to notice that a system of unequal pay for equal work had grown up within the auto industry. Small parts plants that subcontract for the Big 3 pay almost 50% less than the Big 3 for similar work.

Most of these underpaid workers are women (represented by the UAW). And most of the workers in the Big 3 plants are men.

Women were excluded from jobs in the Big 3 until 1972 when an EEOC suit forced the hiring of token numbers.

MADAR'S TACTICS

Madar was elected chairwoman of CLUW with no popular support. In fact, announcement of her election was booed by rank and file UAW women who know who she is.

perfectly match her politics.

When UAW President Leonard Woodcock organized a UAW goon squad to break a wildcat strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue plant, Olga Madar was right there in the front lines.

Madar won CLUW's position the same way she rose to the top of the UAW—through back room deals and bureaucratic maneuvering.

"You have to bring your own cheering section," she announced at one point. Which is exactly what she did.

Several hundred supporters of the UAW leadership, mostly staffers and low level officials, were mobilized to come to Chicago and back Madar.

At the same time, no attempt was made to mobilize rank and file UAW women. In fact, Madar sabotaged efforts by women auto workers to attend the Convention.

Letters were sent to local UAW leaders from Madar's office as UAW Vice President, instructing them not to financially aid women UAW members wishing to attend the founding CLUW convention in Chicago.

The UAW supports CLUW, the letters said, but it also supports "women who pay their own way." Easy enough for Madar to say—as UAW Vice-President she made several times as much as any rank and file.

Supporters of the UAW bureaucracy, however, did get some or all of their expenses paid.

Madar's lack of popular support among rank and file UAW women is well deserved. Her methods

When UAW President Leonard Woodcock organized a UAW goon squad to break a wildcat strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue plant, Olga Madar was right there in the front lines.

Madar supports the back-door politicking that runs the UAW, rather than democratic control by the UAW ranks, because that is how she made it and that is where her power lies. She is doing the same thing in CLUW.

At the CLUW convention she red-baited any opposition and bureaucratically maneuvered UAW caucus meetings and the general plenary sessions.

It was Madar who engineered and executed the sell-out of the farmworkers by lying to them and the body at large.

So don't let the grandmotherly face fool you. Underneath the perfectly crimped white hair, the pearls and polyester knit, Olga Madar is an rotten as any top male union bureaucrat.

She knows what she wants (and doesn't want) and how to get it—and she is dangerous to the needs of rank and file women.

But she can also be beaten. She is chairwoman of CLUW because she and other bureaucrats are well organized. The task now is to build a base of opposition in CLUW that will eventually overthrow her and her kind.

Carolyn Schuette
Gay Semel



I.S. Holds Northwest Conference

The Seattle International Socialists held a Workers' Power Educational Conference on August 3rd and 4th. Sixty-five trade unionists and socialists met, traded experiences and discussed strategies for union organizing and for making established unions fight for the needs of the rank and file.

The conference focused on three major issues. A Teamster, a bus driver and a clerical worker discussed how to make unions more democratic, and the use of a caucus in building an opposition movement.

A child care worker active in an AFSCME organizing drive, a campus worker, and a former field organizer for the Retail Clerks spoke about the needs of unorganized workers.

The third major issue was the role of revolutionaries in building the rank and file movement and its relationship to the building of a revolutionary workers' movement and party.

Pat Doncaster, an electrical worker and member of the British I.S. told about the strong rank and

file movement in his country and what it has learned and achieved.

Jack Bloom, educational director of the I.S., presented an alternative to the sell-out strategies of labor leaders such as Meany, Fitzsimmons or Watts. Workers, he said, must take back control of their unions and use them to win power for the whole working class.

Participants came from Eugene and Portland, Oregon; Tacoma and Seattle, Washington; and Vancouver, British Columbia.

I.S. Summer School

The International Socialists' summer school was held from August 24-29. The school was attended by close to 75 members and close friends of the I.S. Classes and discussions focussed on the strategy for building a revolutionary workers' party in the United States.

The school also focussed on an analysis of the origins and contradictions of Maoism, both in the U.S. and China. Sessions included the split between the Russian and Chinese ruling bureaucracies, Chinese foreign policy, the class nature of Chinese society and the economy under Mao, and the politics of the competing Maoist groupings in the U.S.

New Portland Branch

A new branch of the I.S. has been organized in Portland, Oregon. The branch was formed following the Northwest Workers' Power Educational Conference in Seattle.

The Portland I.S. is active in farm worker support work and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Members are quite enthusiastic about possibilities for growth in Portland and strengthening the I.S. presence in the Northwest.

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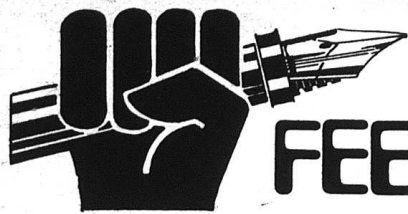
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Due to rising postage costs, we must raise the price of mail subscriptions to Workers' Power. As of October 15, mail subscriptions will be \$5 per year, foreign and supporting subs will be \$7.50, and introductory subs will be \$1 for five issues. The newsstand price will remain at 15c for a single copy.

Regardless of when your subscription expires, you can renew it at the old rates until October 15.



FEEDBACK

RIGGING THE GAME

All the press and politicians are saying that Nixon's resignation proves that the system works. It proves just the opposite.

The only reason that Nixon was forced out was that he was such an ego-maniac that he recorded all his private conversations. Without these he wouldn't have been touched.

Further, the "system" didn't do anything about the real crimes of Nixon—genocidal war, imperialism, planned unemployment, racial oppression, etc.—because they were crimes of the system itself.

The only punishment is for breaking the ruling class rule not to get caught in rigging the game. But the rigged game stays the same.

J.M.
Oakland, Ca.

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

I read your article in *Workers' Power* on "Atlanta Myths Explode" and I say if we must die let it not be like hogs hunted and penned in an inglorious spot, while round us bark the racist white police.

So like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack, pressed to the wall, dying but fighting back! So if terror is going to be the choice of weapons, there must be funerals on both sides and let the whole enemy power complex be conscious of that by any means necessary!

I would like for you to put this in the *Workers' Power* Feedback.

A prisoner
Dallas, Pa.

LA MIGRA & THE KKK

The article on undocumented workers (WP 101) explains well why the UFW position on "illegals" will hurt the UFW.

But it doesn't make the point hard enough that for millions of undocumented workers, "La Migra" (immigration service) is as feared and as hated as the KKK is for blacks in the South. It is also as deadly.

Cesar Chavez can say that he has

to stop scabs. But trying to stop scabs by looking to La Migra is like calling on the KKK to get rid of black scabs.

G.D.
Stockton, Ca.

MORE ON SHOCKLEY

Congratulations on another excellent issue of *Workers' Power*. The paper is well on its way to developing an editorial content to equal its appeal to the eye.

I would like to comment on Joe Felsenstein's assertion that it is unnecessary to demonstrate and disrupt the lectures of racists like Shockley, Jensen, Eysenck, and Herrnstein, or that such demonstrations only help the Shockleys. Racism is not just an abhorrent theory to millions of black people, but an oppressive weight that poisons all their experiences and shortens their very lives.

As revolutionaries, we have a duty to put the case against racism rationally and scientifically, as Felsenstein does very well. But we also have a duty to fight to eradicate these ideas, which are not divorced from action, but represent a direct threat to our existence.

Whether or not to disrupt such a speech is purely a tactical question—and one that does not compromise our principled defense of the right of freedom of speech. What we must never do is call on our greatest enemy, the capitalist state, to crush the Shockleys. What they can do to Shockley they will much more willingly do to us.

Emmet Casey
San Francisco

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

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

But please be brief.

JAMES P. CANNON, 1890—1974

Workers' Power regrets to report the death of James P. Cannon, a founder of the American Trotskyist movement. Cannon died August 21 in Los Angeles at the age of 84.

Cannon's life in the revolutionary movement, which covered 60 years, began when he joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) as a teen-ager. He was a founder of the American Communist Party in 1919, and during the 1920's was the national secretary of the International Labor Defense, the defense organization which fought to save victims of repression like

Sacco and Vanzetti.

In the 1920's, Cannon led the struggle to make the American Communist Party a genuine party of American workers, rooted in the struggles of the American working class.

His most important contribution, however, began in the late 1920's when he became a supporter of Leon Trotsky in the struggle against the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the destruction of the revolutionary Communist Parties by Stalin's policies. Along with Max Shachtman and

Martin Abern, Cannon was expelled from the CP in 1928 and organized the Communist League of America. The CLA not only fought against the destruction of the world revolutionary movement by Stalinism, but also played a leading role in organizing the Teamsters Union in the Minneapolis General Strike of 1934 and throughout the Northwest.

Cannon was also a founder of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938, and remained one of its active leaders until his retirement in the late 60's.

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.

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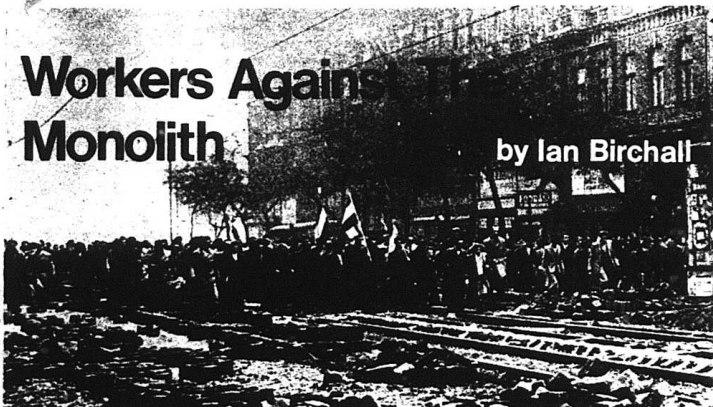
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(Picture: Hungarian workers' demonstration, October 24, 1956)

RANKS' ANGER EXPLODES IN TELEPHONE

Workers' Power

On August 4, just hours before the strike deadline, Glenn Watts, the new President of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) announced a "tentative" agreement with the Bell System.

The only major difference between this settlement and a previous offer rejected by the union in July was the addition of the agency shop. The agency shop would compel some 50,000 Bell employees who do not belong to the union to pay dues and bring in a lot of money for Watts.

The wage offer was scarcely different from the one already rejected—instead of a first year increase ranging from 6.5 to 9.9%, the new offer granted 7.1 to 10.7%.

On the following morning and for the rest of the week, telephone workers wildcatted all over the country—from Miami to Los Angeles, from Minneapolis to St. Louis and Oklahoma City.

WILDCATS

In Orange County, in the Los Angeles area, members of CWA Local 11510 walked out Monday morning. Local 11510 officials worked like dogs to get the workers back on the job. By Wednesday they had "persuaded" most to return.

But that very morning the workers at Pacific Bell's toll switching center in San Bernardino walked out. Their picket lines were respected by operators, installers and other telephone workers.

In Cleveland, Ohio, telephone plant and traffic workers walked out in most job locations. Against the opposition of the local leaders, the workers called daily rallies in a public ball park.

From Monday through Wednesday hundreds of angry workers met to plan for future action. When the local CWA leadership showed up to one meeting to urge the workers to end their strike the mood grew angry and "ugly." The local leaders left in a hurry.

A Cleveland operator told Workers' Power that CWA members there were fed up with the local leaders as well as Watts and the International Executive Board.

Events followed a similar pattern in Detroit. Members of CWA Local 4001 walked out all over the city. Picket lines were strong at many garages and telephone buildings for the first half of the week. For the next several days, walkouts continued to flare up in one or another work location.

Once again, the local leadership played a cowardly role. Local 4001 President Echlin recommended rejection of the national offer, but did nothing to support or build the strike movement that opposed it.

In fact, workers at two locations were suspended by the dozens for strike activity. The Local announced that it would defend the suspended workers by using the grievance procedure "up to and including arbitration." Local 4001's record on grievances is lousy and, in any case, this is no way to defend workers disciplined for union activity.

In Kansas City, the local officers didn't even call for rejection. When this was announced at a union meeting, the union's stewards walked out in protest.

In a local CWA meeting in Louisville, militants fought for a motion to reject the settlement. The Local President, who seemed like the only person in the meeting supporting Watts' offer, ruled the motion out of order. Militants in that local have formed an "Ad Hoc Committee for a Decent Contract."

CWA members in Washington, D.C. picketed the International.

In New York, the United Action caucus continued its fight for a better contract by forcing the local to call rallies in protest of the settlement. The officers of Local 1101 called for a rejection of the contract, but showed little enthusiasm for action.

The rally organized by Local 1101 President Ed Dempsey in mid-town Manhattan drew only 200 workers, while rallies organized by United Action members and supporters in the downtown area drew 600 or more.

"RIDE OUT THE STORM"

All across the country the pattern is the same. The local leaders, whether or not they verbally support rejection, have done nothing to fight Watts and his lousy settlement. Yet, everywhere the

rankers are opposed to this offer.

Tragically, the anger and militancy of CWA's rank and file has been disorganized. As a result, telephone workers were unable to effectively force their local leaders, much less Watts, to do anything. These leaders have been able to outmaneuver the ranks—and their maneuvers have been pretty clumsy.

One New York CWA shop steward summed up the situation for Workers' Power this way: "Watts' strategy is to ride out the storm, to keep the wildcats from uniting into a national strike, and then hold on until everyone gets discouraged. Sure, people will think its a sell-out, but Watts figures they'll vote for it anyway because they know he won't get anything more, even if they do reject it."



Ron Collins, Ollie Jelks and Wilbert Chew

Since the expiration of the CWA contract, Detroit has been a number of wildcats.

Workers' Power has been talking to telephone workers around the city in Locals 4000 (Traffic); 4001 (plant); and 4090 (Western Electric).

Typical of their reaction are the following comments by Ron Collins, Ollie Jelks and Wilbert Chew.

Workers' Power: There have been a number of wildcats around the country. What are they about?

Ron: People don't want the contract—they want to walk out.

Wilbert: That, and the way the contract was brought upon us. We didn't know nothing. They forced it on us.

Workers' Power: What do you think of the local union leadership?

Ron: They are not fighting for us—no way! We have no leadership, they are just figure heads. We have a union without leadership.

How can we organize without communication? They are supposed to be our communication, but they don't do anything. So we are all sitting here mad and they are telling us, well, you got to accept it. They almost work for the company.

Workers' Power: What do you think of the Watts leadership?

Ron: I think they are just like fairy land and King Arthur! It ain't real! They want to dictate. We want to go on strike, yet they are telling us: the union is not going on strike. Who is the union and what is the union?—that's what I want to know!

Wilbert: That's no union for us—its a union for the company.

Workers' Power: What do you think of the contract?

Ron: It ain't nothing!

Wilbert: The only people they benefitted are the people up North who got upgraded—they got a little something out of it.

Ron: Rural people. That's what they're going to rule us with... where there are few people—they will rule the big cities.

Wilbert: The only reason the union accepted this contract that we got was because last year everybody wanted this agency shop.

Ron: But that don't help us. They do not want us to strike because they want a continuous collection of union dues... As far as wages, our cost of living is so far behind!

Workers' Power: Do you think a

lot of people are angry about the contract?

Wilbert: Yeah, every one of them is angry!!

Ron: This contract really got to everybody. This contract here is like taking a mile back the other way.

Workers' Power: What are some of the things telephone workers need?

Ollie: Unity and communication. Also a paper—a paper run by the workers aiming at the welfare of the workers. We should also organize a group within the ranks, which would not act like the union officials did at the time the negotiations were on.

Ron: Yeah, communication is the main thing. We never heard of the union contract from the union—we heard it from the company's newsletter. A company newsletter!

I asked my union steward, well, how can I find out what the contract says? and he said: tomorrow the company will have a bulletin out on it. The company!! A union man telling me this. Now, that's bad—that's really bad there!!

We got to get together and educate each other, because they ain't going to tell us nothing... We are all opposed to the contract

leaders like Ed Dempsey of New York Local 1101, Dan Keenen of Westchester, NY, Gloria Mackay of Detroit Traffic Local 4000, and others, supported Watts' election at the CWA Convention in June. Now, they sit by and let Watts do his thing.

ORGANIZE FOR REJECTION

Glenn Watts can be stopped. Rank and file militants can reverse the situation by taking matters into their own hands.

Rank and file groups in local unions, like United Action in New York, can be organized to get rid of the present CWA leadership and make CWA a fighting union.

Even now, local committees and caucuses can organize for rejection and for action when Glenn Watts announces his next maneuver on September 1.

right now, but we can't communicate our opposition because we are not organized.

We are all just sitting around isolated, just talking about it, but if we all got together we could say—well, 40 guys here—something to be done... But right now there is no union bulletin, no union paper.

Ollie: They don't want you to call meetings, they don't want you to organize.

Ron: I know that we are up against a very organized opposition, and that's why we have to be organized too. This phone company is just about as up as Richard Nixon, and the union is too. They pull every string they can.

I mean, you can't be half-stepp'n or sleeping with these kind of people. They have their next move figured out and they are pulling strings on your pocket-book and everything else, and you really have to be together to stand up under that kind of pressure.

Workers' Power: What do you think the rank and file can do to change conditions?

Ron: Mass together and have solid International walkouts—50 states walking out. We had them and they knew that. We had them, that's why they were so quick to come up with a contract... if every state in this union had a walkout we could have paralyzed the Bell system.

But the International union sold us out. They stopped the doggone strike about 40 minutes before it happened and had us go back to work.

Ollie: Those leaflets from United Action in New York are very good—they are beautiful, but they are not wide spread. They should be distributed so everybody can see them.

If you are totally committed to do something, I feel you can do it. If there is going to be a change, it is up to us to make the change.

As long as we sit back, things are going to remain the same.

Ron: We are overworked, that's what the system tries to do to all of us—overwork us with overtime. Then we cannot have any power, any energy to go out and have a union meeting, when we are overworked.

That's the idea. They don't want us to have leisure time and work 35 hours a week, because then we might organize.

You have to work at least 48 hours a week just to survive. Those hours could be spend organizing. □