

WORKERS' POWER

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MURDERERS, THIEVES & SPIES

The hand picked Rockefeller Commission has completed its white-wash of the activity of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Before turning his report over to the White House, Vice-President Rockefeller promised that it contained nothing that President Ford would find shocking.

He's probably right. There's no reason to think that Gerald Ford would be shocked by the fact that the United States government planned to engineer the overthrow of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro—and later to murder him.

After all, as former CIA Director Richard Helms stated, there are "discussions of practically everything" in the upper circles of government. So when John and Bobby Kennedy sat around discussing whether the murder of Castro would be politically feasible, it was nothing to get all worked up over. It was just business as usual.

Just to make the plan a little more realistic, the CIA under the Kennedy Administration hired two of the Mafia's top hit men, Sam Giancana and John Roselli, to arrange the assassination. Later, the CIA flew a team of secret operatives into Cuba to carry out the murder plot—although as far as we know they haven't been heard from since.

The American people have been told that one of the reasons why Congress is investigating the CIA is to "control" it. The idea is being peddled that the illegal plots hatched by the CIA resulted from its being "out of control" or the "responsible" elected officials of the United States government.

But even the carefully selected facts are now being reported—not to mention the 95% that is covered up, including all the activities of the CIA today—prove that this is a lie.

The CIA has never been "out of control" of the White House, the Pentagon and the military. It has engineered its coups and murders under their direct supervision. The role of the Kennedys in the Castro murder plot is proof of that.

REFORMED CIA?

Another reason, we are told, is to make sure that the CIA operation is "reformed" to end domestic spying. "We have made extensive recommendations of steps to be taken to prevent it in the future," Rocky promised.

Fat chance. Just this week it was also revealed that secret Army files on over 600,000 people in this country, which the Pentagon promised would be destroyed in 1970, have instead been duplicated by computer so many times that they can never be recovered. The computer files have gone to universities, the FBI, and numerous other agencies—including the CIA.

We may as well face the truth. Behind the smiling faces and business suits, the US government is run by high-level thieves, crooks and murderers. The Watergate scandal was no exception—the same rulers were revealed at their work. They brutalize the world, then bring the same methods to control the people they rule over at home.

Then they appoint each other to "commissions" to investigate their own actions. Is it any wonder they find "nothing shocking"? □

St. Louis Steel Mill

Hundreds Protest Racist Firing

by David Sandoz

ST LOUIS—Officials of Scullin Steel Corporation and the United Steel Workers of America have combined to break a week-long protest of 800 workers against blatant racist firings and suspensions by the company.

Scullin, which manufactures parts for box cars, employs 900 workers at its St. Louis plant. 80% of the workers are black. The protest began on May 21 when a black worker, Lewis Avery, was suspended when he was 30 minutes late for work because of car trouble.

The AAA, who serviced Avery's car, called Scullin so they would know about the problem. When he arrived at work, nevertheless, Avery found someone else doing his job and was sent home.

HARASSMENT

Over 100 workers left work to protest the suspension. They sat down in the plant and stayed till quitting time. They included both black and white workers who felt

Avery's suspension was a racist act. Previously, white workers had come in late without penalty.

Next day Scullin got even by slapping five-day suspensions on 21 leaders of the protest. Scullin demanded that these 21 workers turn in their badges—all 21 refused. Instead, 85—90% of the workers at the plant joined the protest.

The fact that all 21 suspended workers are black was recognized as further evidence of racism at Scullin. Production was halted for a week by the mass protest—or, as one militant put it, "Today that plant is just a big empty building."

RACIST PATTERN

Scullin's use of racist policies to divide workers is not new. For months management has been hiring people, mostly white, off the street to fill high paying pattern shop, machine shop and storeroom department jobs.

Eligible Scullin workers, mostly black, were bypassed. A rank and file committee was created to oppose these racist hiring policies

and fight for unity among black and white steelworkers. The group published several issues of newsletter before the suspensions occurred.

When the protest spread, Scullin escalated the 21 suspensions to outright firings. But the determination of Scullin workers held firm. Everyone knows they might be the next victim.

"DON'T GIVE A DAMN!"

Union officials of Local 1062, United Steel Workers, made their position clear from the start. One local official said, "I wouldn't give a damn if all 21 were fired." It was soon obvious that that sentiment was, in effect, official local policy.

By Saturday, Scullin got a temporary restraining order. The 21 workers involved were sent telegrams telling them they had a right to appear. But when they came they were barred from the courtroom.

Scullin claimed the protest was causing it "irreparable loss" of \$25,000 a day. This from a corporation that rolled up \$2.5

million in profits last year.

On Sunday, the rank and file committee met and unanimously decided not to return to work.

On Friday, May 30, a twenty-second worker was fired. He is Alvin Wilson, a Local 1062 shop steward in the plant.

PROTEST BROKEN

The protest was broken Monday, June 22 by Scullin and officials of Local 1062, with the help of the media in St. Louis.

To get workers back to the plant, the company and the union put announcements on the radio that the 22 fired workers were being hired back. This was simply a lie.

When workers arrived, union officials were at the gates with an unsigned leaflet, red-baiting the protesters and warning them about the court injunction. It is believed by many workers that the leaflet was actually written by management.

Supposedly, there will be negotiations to bring back the fired workers. Scullin workers already know what they can expect from their union leaders in representing their interests against a racist, repressive management.

SOLIDARITY

Scullin workers shut down the plant for a week by direct action and solidarity. They did it with their own strength, their own sense of justice and their own rank and file organization.

They were supported by the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). They got nothing but opposition from their own union leaders, who formed a common front with the boss to smash them.

What the Scullin workers need, like workers in similar struggles, is the solidarity of other steel workers and particularly workers at other Scullin plants.

The full power of the corporations and the courts can be turned on workers in a single local or one plant. The power of united action is the force that can beat them back. □



Six of the steel militants who led the protest against racist harassment.

SO YOU THINK THERE'S A DEPRESSION?

Well, Not For Everyone...



LIKE MALPRACTICE UNDERWRITERS...

The crisis over malpractice insurance for doctors is hitting almost every major city. Without insurance doctors are refusing to treat the sick, and insurance companies are claiming they are losing their shirts due to excessive financial awards handed out by the courts.

The truth is the insurance companies are making double to triple their money. They just don't think that is enough.

FOR EXAMPLE.....

The rise and fall of Argonaut insurance, the malpractice carrier in New York, is a case in point. Argonaut began covering New York doctors in July, 1974.

Previous to that New York doctors were covered by Wausau insurance. Wausau pulled out of the malpractice business claiming "bad loss experience."

Wausau had covered 27,000

doctors. In 1973 it paid out \$17 million in settlements.

At rates ranging from \$8000 per year for neurosurgeons to \$400 for psychiatrists, Wausau took in more than twice the \$17 million. That means Wausau made at least \$17 million in 1973! But they considered that "bad loss experience."

RAISES RATES

When Argonaut took over New York's malpractice business it immediately raised rates 93.5% across the board.

At those rates, premiums amount to \$75 million—more than three times the amount Argonaut paid out. But Argonaut felt that this still was not enough.

Last December Argonaut announced it was tripling premiums. When tripling was not automatically allowed by the

State Insurance Superintendent, Argonaut announced that beginning June 30, 1975, it is out of the malpractice business.

The next company will probably go for profits that quadruple their money.

Meanwhile it is not the doctors who will suffer.

There is an old expression that goes "shit rolls downhill." In terms of medical costs (as with almost everything else under capitalism) it all rolls down to working people. □

Capitalism For All?

An ESOP Fable

by G. Allkar

Along with the recent tax reduction act, Congress has passed several unpublicized changes in corporate tax laws. One of them was cute little gimmick called the Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP).

Louis O. Kelso, the San Francisco economist who thought it up, claims that ESOP will shift the foundations of capitalism: make everyone a capitalist. In reality, it is one gigantic corporate tax loophole.

It works like this. When a company wants to borrow money, instead of going directly to the bank, it first sets up something it called a tax-sheltered trust for its employees. This trust then borrows the desired money from a bank and turns it over to the company in exchange for an equivalent amount of stock.

INVESTS

The company invests this capital, and, presumably, prospers. Over time the company pays off the bank by passing the money back through the employee trust.

When the loan is paid off the company will have its capital expansion, the employees keep their stock, and the bank has its money back plus interest. Everybody wins! Or do they?

Well, actually, some people win more than others, and in this

case, you guessed it, it's the company.

The company wins because juggling its money this way enables it to slash huge chunks off its corporate income tax bill.

AND WE PAY

When a company like this pays less in taxes, some one has to make up the difference; that someone, of course, is us. In fact, over the last thirty years, the corporate share of federal taxes has dropped from 62% to 43% and individual taxes have risen proportionately.

But don't the employees get something out of it by owning stock? It is doubtful.

In the first place, the stock is all in one company, and, therefore, will rise and fall with the fortunes of that company. The workers are speculating on their own ability to be exploited.

However, there is no guarantee that the workers will ever actually see any stock. The trust will be a corporate entity set up and run by management in the name of the employees.

"IN TRUST"

It will hold the company's stock "in trust" for the employees as a body. There are no stipulations that an individual employee can

claim his share. There is no guarantee that a worker can take anything with him when leaving the company.

These trusts may easily repeat all the abuses we have witnessed with pension and welfare plans in the past.

It is also possible that companies may present these ESOP's as an alternative to wage increases in contract negotiations. As a benefit an ESOP would cost the company nothing.

For the worker it would mean sacrificing real money for future speculation on the company's ability to make a profit. An obvious fraud.

One thing can be said for capitalism. Even if it can't provide for basic human needs, it certainly evolves fascinatingly intricate methods for screwing people. □

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AMERICAN DREAM
Gay Semel

...AND NEW YORK BANKERS

New York City is not only in the forefront of the crisis in malpractice insurance, it may also be the first city in the US to go bankrupt.

New York City's expected budget for fiscal 1975 is \$11.1 billion. When the fiscal year ends June 30, there will be a deficit of \$1.4 billion in unpaid bills.

But a staggering 16% of the total budget is "debt service"—which means payment of interest to banks on previous loans. This debt service runs to \$1.8 billion.

New York City has been bled dry by the banks. The interest on loans has mounted beyond the city's means. Each year the burden of debt increases as the city borrows more to pay back previous loans, plus interest to the banks.

RAKE-OFF

Without this interest rake-off by the banks, the deficit would disappear. There would be a surplus of at least \$400 million!

It is increasingly the taxes of working people that finance the city and pay the debt. Taxes on business have declined substantially over the years.

Not surprisingly, the banks in New York are doing as well as the city is doing badly. While NY drowns in debt, bank profits have never been better.

Citicorp, the parent of First National City reported first quarter earnings of \$86 million, and increase of 18% over 1974. Chase

Manhattan (the Rockefeller bank) profits are up 72%. The list of record profits for New York City banks goes on and on.

To make sure that no one questions their profits, New York City bankers have joined together in organizations with innocent names, like the Citizens Budget Commission (CBC) and the Economic Development Council (EDC).

The CBC and EDC pretend to be disinterested, civic-minded groups.

ONE SOLUTION

A recent pronouncement of the EDC put forward their solution to New York's budgetary crisis. The EDC urged city workers to give up pay raises already negotiated in current contracts.

The following men with the following salaries called on sanitation workers, sewer workers, teachers and other civil service workers to bail out New York City:

- Walter Wuston, Chairman Citi-corp (\$398,000)
- William More, executive committee director of Bankers Trust (\$271,000)

- Donald Platten, Chairman of Chemical Bank (\$183,000)
- Charles Luce, Chairman of Con Edison (\$211,000)

- Hamilton Mitchell, President of Dun and Bradstreet (\$234,000).

CHRYSLER STRIKE

The following is a first hand account of a strike against a Chrysler plant in Britain. Workers' Power Editor Gay Semel spoke with the Chrysler strikers on a recent trip to Britain.

COVENTRY, ENGLAND—4000 Chrysler workers are on strike here. The strike is in its second week and is absolutely solid. Chrysler workers in Great Britain average \$100.00 per week. They want, and desperately need, more money.

Inflation in Britain is higher than in the US. Many prices are higher—gas is close to \$2.00 a gallon—while wages are much lower.

Chrysler workers are demanding an immediate raise of \$2.00.

Although the workforce at Chrysler's three British plants has shrunk somewhat through attrition, in the last year there have been no mass layoffs as in the US.

"The workers wouldn't stand for it," one steward told me. "If Chrysler started laying off we'd try and occupy the plant until we got a guarantee of our jobs."

CHRYSLER UPSET

Chrysler, the British government and the national news media are quite upset about the strike.

Their first ploy to break the strike was to blame the left. "This

is a politically motivated strike" they cried.

Although the union leadership attempts to deny it, many of the ranks know in fact it is a political strike.

"To fight for a decent standard of living and security of jobs is political... what ten years ago was a purely economic struggle is, because of the deepening crisis, a political struggle today," said Gerry Jones, union steward at Chrysler's Coventry plant.

The second ploy Chrysler used was to attempt to mobilize some of the wives to force their husbands back to work. This tactic had been used successfully by British Leyland, a British car manufacturer, to break a strike last year.

The local papers came to Chrysler's aid. They gave endless publicity to a Mrs. Willis and her demands that the men go back to work so that she and the other wives could feed their families.

Unfortunately for Chrysler, Mrs. Willis' sentiments, no matter how much aid she gets from the British press, do not seem to be the feelings of the majority of the wives of Chrysler workers.

"Prices are going up all the time," said Maureen Enever. "And if I'm not making ends meet and I might get a bit more by fighting for it, I'll fight the whole way."

Maureen and other wives have

organized a group of wives in support of the Chrysler strike.

WAGES, BUT...

The latest ploy from Chrysler has been to give in to the wage demand. But there are strings attached. For \$20 a week Chrysler wants to take a lot of power away from the union—permanently.

In Britain, bargaining is now in the hands of the local shop stewards councils. This strike, for example, was called by the steward's council.

Chrysler wants to put bargaining in the hands of the national trade union bureaucracy, as it is in the US.

This would weaken the power of the rank and file, because the national union officials are removed from the shop floor and are conservative, unlike the stewards.

Chrysler also wants to institute binding arbitration.

Thus far the Chrysler workers at Coventry are saying no.

With 40% of US Chrysler workers laid off and a union leadership that is mainly concerned about Chrysler's profits, British workers are wise to keep US-type of labor relations far away from British shores.

Just as British workers can learn from the plight of American Chrysler workers—American Chrysler workers must learn from the militancy of British workers. □



Striking Chrysler workers in Coventry, Britain

UAW Vote - Incumbents Lose

Coleman Wins In Local 15

by John Anderson
Retired Former President, Local 15

DETROIT—The UAW International Union and most of their incumbent candidates were defeated in Local 15's election held on May 28th. Local 15 represents workers at GM's Fleetwood plant here.

The incumbent president, Joe Gaston, is a conservative black. Both the company and the International wanted to keep him in office. Winning by a narrow margin was Rufus Coleman, a younger black man. He had been charged with being a radical. Coleman's slate carried a majority on the executive board.

Some of the opposition candidates believe that the mini-strike in early March against Fleetwood was called for the purpose of improving Gaston's image among the workers. It failed to have that effect.

RETIREES

On the day of the primary election, Local 15 retirees were given a dinner at a local hall a couple miles from the election site. Buses took them to the polling place.

It is not known how the 100 retirees present voted, but they were unable to swing the vote against the sentiment of over 2,000 in-plant workers. □

Revolt Shakes Up Local 869

by David Shoemaker

DETROIT—A groundswell of revolt shook up the UAW elections May 21 at Chrysler Warren Stamping. At least half the committeemen were dumped. Turnover in upcoming stewards elections

MAKE the UNION SERVE THE WORKERS

Let Chrysler Pay For Their Own Depression. We've Sacrificed Enough

- Turn back the management attack on working conditions
- Full Employment
- Scheduled short work week at full pay

Stop victimization of black and women workers

programs in his literature.

These included: 30 for 40, to end unemployment; smashing racism at work, in the union and community; no support to Democrats, Republicans, Wallacities or Kennedy, but a labor party instead; fighting the boss at the point of production; nationalizing Chrysler if it can't afford full employment.

Equally important though, were issues like the women's restrooms and union finances, where McCullough offered specific solutions to problems.

The key question in this election was, "Is the union for us for Chrysler?" The McCullough campaign should be even greater.

Local 869 is a one-party local controlled by skilled trades block voting. The presidential race pitted United National Caucus member Dave McCullough—a production worker running on a program of class struggle—against administration loyalist Chuck Hafner.

McCullough rode the crest of the voters' revolt to pull a surprising third of the votes—509 to 1012. Surprising because: skilled and retirees account for nearly half the voters; McCullough has been on layoff since Thanksgiving; he is known as a radical. McCullough got about half the vote in production and material divisions.

MYTH EXPLODED

McCullough's campaign exploded the myth that explicit militant politics loses votes. Most of his voters knew him only through the

paign hammered home the theme that there is no 'middle of the road' between the workers' interests and the boss's.

In a post-election leaflet, McCullough stated that the next step starts now—building a rank and file caucus to organize the shop floor and take on the UAW leadership. □

Defeat for Local 600 Ranks

by Sara Blake

Elections for unit officers and representatives at Ford UAW Local 600 Tool and Die Unit resulted in a defeat for the United National Caucus. The UNC, which had previously filled most of the Unit's positions, retained members in only two positions.

The Tool and Die Unit has been a UNC stronghold ever since the opposition caucus was formed. And the UAW International has kept an eye on the unit, always trying to weaken the opposition group there.

They didn't like it, for instance, when skilled tradesmen rejected the 1973 contract. The impetus for the rejection, which began to spread to production, came from UNC members in 600's Tool and Die Unit.

For some time now, the International has spread the idea that the high unemployment at the Tool and Die Unit would end only if the UNC slate was defeated. They implied

that the company was sending work away to other plants, some non-union because the unit was so militant.

Now, all of a sudden, Ford's is calling back some of its tool and die makers. And they want them to start working overtime. Was there collusion between Woodcock, the International, and Ford Motor Company to defeat the UNC?

The election was marred also by more direct interference from the International. Throughout the four-day election, three International Reps hung around the polls. They used the Local 600 phones freely, calling retirees and others they knew were sympathetic to the Woodcock administration to get out and vote.

The incumbent unit chairman, Al Gardner of the UNC, arrived at his office only to find its lock broken and unable to be opened. Gardner had to break into his own office so that his supporters could make calls to the unit's large number of unemployed.

If more of the unemployed members had voted, the results might have been different. Only 25% of the unemployed voted, but the UNC candidates got almost all of their votes. Which tends to deny the International's theory about who is responsible for unemployment in the Unit. □

Justice Committee Gaining

DETROIT—UAW members of Local 235 at the Chevy Gear and Axle plant in Detroit came out on election day May 29th to vote for a change in leadership. Former President George Robertson was thrown out of office by a 2 to 1 margin, losing to former shop committeeman, Frank McQuarters.

Many people said they didn't care who replaced Robertson because it couldn't get any worse. Yet the man they elected to replace him is destined to be every bit as rotten as Robertson.

The membership will be demoralized as they see it happen. But

they will have somewhere to turn. There was a third choice in this election—the Gear and Axle Justice Committee.

JUSTICE

The Justice Committee ran a slate for the top local officers in the election. Justice differs from the other two slates. It has a militant program with which it means to take on General Motors and to transform the UAW into a fighting force that really represents the workers.

The other slates said nothing about what they intended to do in office for the next two years. Their philosophy is that if you don't promise anything, you won't have to deliver anything. They both have been following orders from the UAW International Union.

The Justice Committee has been in open opposition to the top leadership since it formed last year around the convention delegate election. It has worked with the United National Caucus.

Regional Director George Merrelli has openly encouraged the local leadership to destroy the Justice Committee and drive its members out of the union.

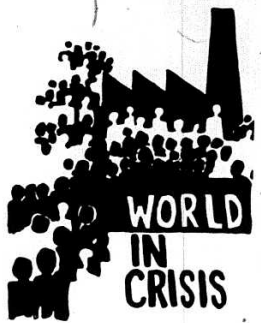
A FORCE

Yet in the election, it became apparent that Justice has become a serious force in the local. Dave Brice, Justice candidate for Vice President, led the slate with 18% of the vote. Victor Jones, running for Financial Secretary, Ray Dewberry for Trustee, and Wendy Weinberg who ran for Recording Secretary, captured from 10—16% of the vote each. William Coleman, running for President against Robertson and McQuarters received a smaller percentage of votes in the race.

The membership did win one victory this election. They were forced to vote for a third time on whether committeemen should be in office for two or three years. This was an attempt to shove the three year term down their throats when the membership had already voted twice for two years. The two year term won again. □

South Africa's "Detente"

PROFITS FROM APARTHEID



For decades, the politics of South Africa have centered around one ugly word: apartheid.

Apartheid means that the black majority in South Africa have no rights which cannot be ripped away in an instant. It means they are viciously exploited to produce the tremendous wealth of white South Africa.

Apartheid also means the ideology of South African imperialism. South Africa maintains a police force of 18,000 in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to help the white supremacy regime of Ian Smith fight the Zimbabwe liberation movement.

Now a new word has come to the forefront of politics in southern Africa. It has the sound of progress, peace and harmony: detente.

Detente is what the government of South Africa calls its new foreign policy. It means deals with the independent black mini-states of southern Africa to head off growing revolutionary struggles of African workers.

The first great stroke of "detente" was the agreement among Vorster of South Africa, Smith of Rhodesia and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to murder and imprison Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) fighters who were based in Zambia.

But to really understand what South Africa's "detente" stands for, we have to listen to one of its strongest backers: the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

protests against massive mechanization and speedup, and wage demands.

"Because of a wide historical wage gap, and increase of 50% in Black wages and 10% in White wages means that in absolute terms the gap actually widens." This means that black workers earn less than one-fifth as much as whites.

THE GREAT DANGER

The great danger for Anglo-American Corporation is that the revolts of black workers in South Africa would join up with those in Portugal's former colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

For the system of capitalism and apartheid that thought is, in the words of Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa, "too ghastly to contemplate."

Mr. H.F. Oppenheimer knows this very well.

"There can be little doubt that the uncertainties resulting from the recent political events in Mozambique and Angola [the smashing of

Portuguese colonialism] have adversely affected investment attitudes toward South Africa. The same events have been largely responsible for the decision to make a very substantial increase in South Africa's defense spending." The military budget has more than tripled in the last five years.

"We in the Anglo American Corporation Group have long had important interests in virtually every country in this vast area. We are therefore perhaps more conscious than most of the high cost of division and strike, and of the benefits that would flow from a relaxation of tension."

The "benefits" are very clear indeed. For Anglo American Corporation, the profits from the mines will keep rolling in. Black workers and revolutionaries in Zimbabwe and Zambia are also finding out the "benefits" they will get from detente.

They will be hunted down, rounded up and murdered by rulers like Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, following the success of "the courageous efforts of the Prime Minister (Vorster) to improve relations between South Africa and the other African states."

The Anglo American Corporation is a giant mining concern which owns most of South Africa. It is also one of three huge corporations controlling the copper industry of Zambia.

The Corporation's interest in detente was laid out in cash terms by Chairman H.F. Oppenheimer in his statement to the 58th annual shareholder's meeting in Johannesburg, May 23.

After pointing out that "the consolidated profits of the Corporation rose by 30.0% for 1974,"

Oppenheimer said that total earnings were approximately 116 cents a share, compared with 94c in 1973 and 64c in 1972."

AFRICAN WORKERS REVOLT

Mr. Oppenheimer understands very clearly where these super-profits come from—the labor of black African miners. He also knows what can happen to the whole system when they begin to revolt.

"There were severe outbreaks of

violence in the mines during 1974 and early in 1975, with tragic loss of life and damage to property."

The "tragic loss of life" occurred when South African troops and Corporation police fired into crowds of hundreds of strikers. They were fighting a scheme under which wages earned by miners from Lesotho, a puppet of South Africa, were paid directly by the employers to banks in Lesotho instead of to the miners.

Other "causes of these disturbances among Black workers" were

SPLIT THREATENS PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

A major political offensive by the Portuguese Socialist Party has brought the country to its fourth political crisis in less than a year.

The latest explosion was touched off when the paper Republica was seized by printers who are members of the Communist Party. Republica is owned by a prominent leader of the Socialist Party.

Both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party have ministers in the Portuguese government. The government is controlled by the officers of the Armed Forces Movement. The seizure of Republica, however, brought the relations between the two parties to the breaking point.

MASS RALLIES

Mario Soares, leader of the SP, demanded that the government immediately intervene and return the paper Republica to its owners. Instead, the military closed the



Socialist Party newspaper seized by Communist Party printers...

paper completely and stated the dispute would have to be settled in the courts.

Enraged, the Socialist Party organized mass demonstrations. Over 50,000 people marched chanting through the streets. Soares delivered an ultimatum that if Republica were not returned, and if the government did not crack down on the growing Communist Party control of the media in Portugal, the SP would leave the government.

The SP has a huge mass base. Its threat to withdraw its support from the government is a powerful one. The Socialist Party received by far the largest vote in last month's elections for the Constituent Assembly, more than three times as many as the CP.

The Socialist Party also enjoys important international connections. It has the support of NATO, the Western European capitalist powers and the United States. The Socialist Party wants Portugal closely tied to western capitalism, the Common Market and US imperialist foreign policy.

However, the SP has also kept the support of a large section of the Portuguese working class. It has mobilized giant rallies around the slogan "Socialism, not Dictatorship."

This slogan is a giant fraud. The Socialist Party has no more intention of fighting for socialism than Gerald Ford does. But it has won support from many workers who are afraid of the rapidly growing power of the Communist Party, and do not want to live under its rule.

If the SP walked out, the present government would collapse. The result would be either total military rule, another attempt by the extreme right to seize power, or a civil war.

DEMOCRACY?

There was no definite information as to whether the seizure of Republica was encouraged by the leaders of the Communist Party.

However, one thing is perfectly clear. The Communist Party has fought against every effort by workers to control the factories and offices. The takeover of the Socialist Party newspaper by the CP-controlled printers' union is not a

struggle for workers' democracy.

The seizure of Republica is part of a pattern. With the approval of the leadership of the Armed Forces Movement, the Communist Party has been sealing the working class movement in Portugal under its control for over eight months.

A law passed last winter created a single trade union federation, effectively controlled by the Communist Party. Again with government support, the trade union press, along with radio and television, have come under control of the CP's policies.

The Communist Party's part of this bargain is to give total,



...the government refuses to return it...

uncritical support to the military officers. It denounces all critics as "ultra-leftists, fascists, CIA agents and counterrevolutionaries."

The Socialist Party press is the only mass circulation press left which criticizes the regime and has a strong appeal to the working class. That is why the fire of the Communist Party is now directed



...and SP leader Soares threatens to leave government.

towards it.

With the open threat of a split between the major government parties, the officers of the Armed Forces Movement are now discussing whether to set up total military rule of the country.

COUNCILS

There is one section of the workers' movement that neither the Socialist or Communist Party have been able to dominate. Workers' councils have been forming and spreading for months.

Revolutionary committees already exist in many factories in Portugal. They are the force through which the working class could control the factories, unite with rank and file soldiers and take power.

This struggle for workers' control has given rise to the workers' councils. This struggle could also create a party very different from the pro-capitalist Socialist Party and the bureaucratic Communist Party. That would be a revolutionary socialist party which could destroy the illusions that rank and file workers still have about the old "parties of the left," the CP and SP.

If there is to be socialism and democracy in Portugal, it will be through the workers' councils growing, taking over the economy and organizing to take power. □

REFORMS?

At the same time, the white regime is trying to clean up its image internally. It is trying to cultivate a loyal black middle class by granting black businessmen licenses to set up banks, department stores and other companies.

For the first time since 1967 middle-class blacks will even be allowed to lease their homes, instead of renting month by month under constant threat of eviction.

Anglo American Corporation enthusiastically welcomes these crumbs of reform. It calls them "gradually eliminating racial discrimination in the national life." It knows they are necessary to enable South Africa to make detente with independent black rulers a success.

But Mr. H.F. Oppenheimer also knows that these policies are actually aimed to re-inforce white rule, not to eliminate it.

He applauds "the South African Government's policy of meeting and consulting the Black leaders who are emerging as the heads of the eight homelands."

These "homelands" are the regions of South Africa where the masses of black workers are forced to live. They are recruited there for slave labor in the mines, because there is no other work. When they strike or lose their jobs, they are immediately deported back to the grinding misery of the areas which are supposed to be their "tribal homes."

Anglo American Corporation even invests funds into these regions to help develop a cheap labor force and a grateful local black elite.

The simple fact is that "detente" is not aimed at ending the brutality of racist rule in southern Africa. Apartheid and detente have one common root: profit.

All the goals of detente are, in fact, based on the assumptions of apartheid. The goal is to make the profit system that rests on apartheid more secure.

The murders committed by that system will continue without a day's let-up until Anglo American Corporation, the South African state and everything they stand for are smashed. □

Organize For Convention

CLUW - Another Setback

by Cella Emerson

HOUSTON, TEXAS—The May 31—June 1 meeting of the National Co-ordinating Committee (NCC) of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) was a setback for CLUW. For the 87 delegates and observers it was clear that CLUW's bureaucrat leaders are determined to consolidate and expand their strength.

They do not wish to give CLUW up to the opposition. At this NCC they functioned in an organized and disciplined fashion, complete with floor leaders and sergeant-at-arms.

As a result, the leadership around Olga Madar, CLUW President, were able to ram through all their proposals and defeat important resolutions on seniority and attacking the deportation of undocumented workers.

Yetta Reisel of the Newspaper Guild introduced a motion which further ties CLUW's hands with regard to activity: Her resolution stated that in all cases, CLUW cannot engage in any kind of picketing against a company without the express consent and participation of the union involved. This resolution was introduced because of activity taken by chapters such as Cleveland, Atlanta and Denver.

The Denver chapter had been picketing Mountain Bell in protest against discriminatory firings.

SENIORITY

The issue of seniority was not seriously discussed. As a result, a proposal opposed to any forms of compensatory treatment for laid off women was rammed through, with most delegates totally confused.

The issue of seniority is very important to CLUW. Many women who have recently entered "men's jobs" have low seniority and are the first to be laid off.

The Madison-Janesville, Wisconsin chapter introduced an excellent resolution which called for compensatory treatment for women, blacks and other minorities who are laid off. It also warned against government or employer intervention in the union seniority system.

A motion against compensatory treatment was introduced by Connie Kopelov. Most people didn't have time to read the resolutions before the question was called. The Kopelov resolution passed 40-1.

CLUW's leaders are also determined to take over dissident

chapters. Madar has said that they are not continuing the policy of threatening to de-charter chapters, as was done in the cases of Cincinnati and Atlanta. Madar admits there was too much opposition to this policy.

DISSIDENT CHAPTERS

Instead she will send bureaucrats into those chapters, as she is doing in Atlanta, to take them over.

Madar herself is also building her own base by organizing a number of Michigan CLUW chapters. While Madar has a clear majority, she still remains hysterical and paranoid about dissidents. This NCC was also marred, for the first time, by red-baiting. (See accompanying article)

A few small things were accomplished. Total membership of CLUW is now 3800. A number of

new chapters are being formed or have been chartered.

Many local chapters have conducted campaigns: Cleveland CLUW was instrumental in the rehiring of a fired electrical worker. Central Arkansas CLUW was responsible for defeating an attempt to remove protective legislation. Atlanta CLUW is campaigning to fight discrimination in Atlantic Steel. Other chapters took part in the April 26 Jobs Now March on Washington.

The only positive step taken at this NCC concerned the CLUW Constitutional Convention. Pat Halperin, from the Philadelphia AFT and a conservative Shanker supporter, attempted to close the Convention. She suggested it only be open to 10% of the CLUW members from each particular International Union. However Luella Hanberry, from OPEIU and a member of the

CLUW LEADERS ATTACK I.S.

While the bureaucrats were able to ram through almost all their proposals and defeat any challenges, they are still unsure of themselves. In her Officers Report CLUW President Olga Madar launched a red-baiting attack. The organization which was denounced was the International Socialists. This is the first time an attack of this kind has been publicly launched at an NCC meeting.

It is, of course, no accident that the IS is being singled out. It has been one of the few revolutionary organizations whose members have been challenging the conservative and anti-CLUW policies of the leadership, while at the same time building CLUW and promoting activity.

Specifically, a right-wing minority faction of twelve members of the Seattle CLUW wrote a letter to Madar charging that the IS was in control of Seattle CLUW and should be removed. They challenged Seattle CLUW's charter.

They also sent copies of this letter to Washington State labor officials as well as the local

and International Presidents of the unions to which the remaining members of Seattle CLUW belong.

Diane Eggleston, NCC delegate from Seattle, pointed out that these twelve women did not represent the chapter's views and were trying to discredit the excellent work that had been done by the chapter, both with regard to activity and building CLUW. Eggleston moved on behalf of the Seattle chapter that the national officers of Washington State labor leaders inform them of that fact.

She was supported by Sharon Peterson, NCC delegate from Madison, Peterson said, "Red-baiting has been used in the past to divide the trade union movement and it is now being used to wreck CLUW."

Jane Walsh, from Washington D.C. AFT, and Jean Tutsey from the Typographers Union also spoke to the Seattle motion. Yet the bureaucrats were able to defeat Seattle 29-43. A commission has been set up to investigate the Seattle chapter.



CLUW leaders with farmworkers at first convention: Tightening the grip.

national steering committee, pointed out that the guidelines of CLUW clearly stated that the Conventions were open to all CLUW members on the basis of one person, one vote.

She continued by saying that if the leadership intended to violate its own Statement of Principles she would take CLUW to court. Amidst tremendous cheers, Addie Wyatt ruled Hanberry correct. The Convention will be open to all CLUW members as of October 1, 1975 and will be held either in Chicago, Detroit, or Cleveland on the weekend of December 5-7.

RANKS RECRUIT

Because of this decision it is imperative that rank and filers recruit union women to CLUW and build a strong base as the only way to fight the conservative and CLUW-wrecking leadership. There is still time for the rank and file to make CLUW the fighting organization for working women it should be.

Thus far, it has been the failure of the opposition to come together, to organize effectively and fight for a rank and file program for CLUW, that has allowed the bureaucracy to establish its clear leadership. The oppositionists are as responsible for this NCC fiasco as are the bureaucrats. They fought over countless third-rate questions, called for points of order, clarification and privilege all the time, and demanded time-consuming roll-call votes on numerous issues.

Unless the opposition forces in CLUW can work together in a well-organized and disciplined manner,

we will not be able to win anything. Olga Madar, Addie Wyatt and Clara Day will make CLUW the women's auxiliary of the AFL-CIO Executive Board. And this will be a major setback for all working women and for the rank and file movement.

NEW YORK WOMEN ON LAYOFFS

NEW YORK—On May 18, more than 100 women attended public hearings here sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The hearings dealt with women workers. Politicians, union officials and rank and file women testified on how the layoffs have affected working women.

Most of the laid off women who are sole or major supporters of their households, described their unsuccessful attempts to get new jobs. Women who are still working described the fears of layoffs shared by fellow workers and how the companies play on these fears to divide them.

True to form the union officials and politicians made their political plugs and empty promises and then left. They didn't stay around to be put on the spot by women workers who were demanding more than the old cliches. CLUW rank and filers got the message and went on to give their testimony, and express their anger.

Ellen Donnelly

Detroit women form Little-Garcia defense committee

DETROIT—A broad coalition of trade unionists, political leaders and feminists have formed a "Women's Defense and Education Committee for Joanne Little and Inez Garcia."

In response to such blatant prejudice many defense committees have been organized across the country. The national publicity and pressure has assisted each woman in her fight to regain freedom.

Much more needs to be done, however. Those interested in participating in defense activities are urged to contact the Detroit Committee at P.O. Box 14224, Jefferson Station, Detroit, MI, 48214, or your local committee.

Kay Stacy

The committee's first activity is a fund-raising benefit in late June. Speakers will include nationally known feminists, such as Margaret Sloan of the National Black Feminist Organization, and top flight entertainment, such as Florence Ballard-Chapman, one of the original Supremes.

Both Little and Garcia are accused of murder because they defended themselves against rapists.

Joanne Little, a young black woman, was attacked by a white jailer while imprisoned in North Carolina. She is presently on trial, facing death if convicted.

ENRAGED BY ATTACK

Inez Garcia, a young Chicana, has already been convicted of murder in California. Garcia admits she killed one of her rapists after the attack, while still enraged at the violence he had done to her.

Both are victims of racist and sexist prejudices. Some jury members who convicted Garcia stated they felt rape wasn't a serious attack and that women often enjoyed rape.



Joanne Little

Oakland AFT

Unity Slate Sweeps Election

by Al Berneri and Karen Kaye

OAKLAND, Ca.—A slate with a rank and file program swept the recent elections in AFT Local 771 here.

The Unity Slate defeated the staff slate for every seat on the Local's Executive Board.

In the past the local has been run by staffers who are not teachers. The former Executive Secretary-Treasurer, for example, has been out of the schools for nine years.

That administration had created a local in which the rank and file had very little say about what was done.

GRIEVANCES

The Unity Slate opposed this domination in several concrete ways. They urged the training of building representatives to hold meetings and handle grievances.

They want to coordinate the activities of the local with that of

other locals, to play more of a role in the state federation. The Unity Slate supported organizing mass actions to make demands on the state legislature.

Finally they wanted to encourage unity between different categories of school employees. The former staff leadership had based itself mainly upon support from children's center teachers and instruction assistants, and had virtually ignored teachers of kindergarten through grade 12.

The Unity Slate, as its name indicates, wants to represent all employees, not to divide them.

MERGER

The Unity Slate developed over the issue of merger between two teacher unions. There are two national teachers organizations: the American Federation of Teachers (AFT-CIO) and the National Education Association.

The NEA and the AFT spend

millions each year fighting each other, wasting resources which could be used to fight the real enemies of the teachers and students: the school boards and the government.

But for staffers in both organizations the possibility of merger is a threat to their jobs, status, and domination.

In the Oakland local the staff opposed merger and the Executive Board split over the question, sending a minority into a coalition with a group called the New Directions Caucus. The NDC had been fighting for rank and file control of the union for four years.

Although the new coalition did not agree on every issue, they did agree that teachers needed unity, that the union needed rank and file participation, and that staff domination was killing the local.

With their new leadership, the rank and file will be the basis for the local and in the best position to organize teachers in Oakland.

HEAVY HAND OF THE POLICE IN CHINATOWN

by Florence Feinstein

NEW YORK—More than 3,000 Chinese-Americans demonstrated near City Hall on May 20, protesting an incident of police brutality.

The protests were sparked by the police beating of a young Chinese engineer, Peter Yew. A demonstration in his support held by the community the week before had received no satisfactory response from the authorities.

On April 26 Peter Yew tried to intervene in the way police were handling a 15 year old boy during a commotion that started after an accident between two drivers, one white and one Chinese.

BEATEN

In front of two hundred witnesses, Yew was dragged into a police station. He was beaten, and charged with resisting arrest. At a hearing on May 13, the charge was reduced to a misdemeanor, because of insufficient evidence.

The Chinese community has presented nine demands to the Mayor and the first is that all the charges against Yew be dropped.

Another demand was the end of police brutality against all minorities and working people, including using the excuse of searching for "illegal aliens" to harass Chinatown residents.

The marchers were a cross-section of the Chinese community. Many were restaurant workers, who were able to come because most of the shops of Chinatown closed for the day. Others were garment workers who took a day off, losing a day's pay.

Many older people were marching. Women in their 60s and 70s, leaned on the arms of younger women.

CHANTING

The marchers chanted in Chinese—"Oppression, no! Discrimination, no! Black, brown, yellow, white. All the people must unite!"

It was the same chant that was shouted during the anti-racism march in Boston two days before.

Lunch hour crowds in the busy City Hall area watched the demonstrators, some joining in the

chants.

Contingents from the Chinese areas of Boston, Washington and Philadelphia came by bus to join the demonstration.

The strongest shouts came when everybody, including blacks and whites present shouted "Fight to win! Fight to win!"

END DISCRIMINATION

Other demands at the march were the end to all discrimination and oppression against minorities and working people, and the end to all discrimination in employment, education, health, housing and

other social services to minorities and working people.

The community has been threatened with the reduction or cessation of services at the local hospital, daycare centers and schools.

A spokesperson for one of the organizations sponsoring the march, Asian Americans for Equal Employment, seemed assured that though the community had taken a long time to get publicly agitated, it was just a beginning.

The arraignment hearing for Peter Yew takes place on June 3—and the Chinese community is not waiting quietly until then to try to satisfy their demands. □



Glenn Watts on April 26:

'MUCH GOOD CAME OUT OF THIS EMBARRASSING EXPERIENCE'

Another union leader has voiced his opinion of the April 26th Jobs Now rally in Washington. At that rally, planned by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, rank and filers stormed onto the field and shouted down Hubert Humphrey and other scheduled speakers.

One of those who was prevented from speaking, Glenn E. Watts, president of the Communication Workers of America, wrote about the rally in his column in the May CWA News. He compared the results of the rally to the beginning of the American revolution on April 19, 1775, and said:

"And so it was on April 26, 1975, just as on April 19, 1775, unexpectedly the revolution began, a healthy spirit of nonconformity and anticestablishmentism held the day."

"We of the establishment planned April 26, 1975 as labor's demonstration of militant demand for reform... But the establishment did not make the points. Planned speakers were not permitted to deliver their well prepared litanies of our nation's ills or their ambitious solutions..."

"In the midst of our 'Jobs Rally' the frustrations of the unemployed, the frustrations of disappointed Americans overflowed and they

paraded onto the field of the Robert F. Kennedy Stadium demanding to speak for themselves, without confidence in the "establishment" to speak explicitly for them to the Congress, the Administration or the American people.

"And much good—yes, good—came out of this embarrassing experience... The press reported to one and all an intense, frustrated demand for action to put America back to work and provide equity for every citizen."

Watts' conclusions are certainly correct, even though they are at odds with some other labor leaders who preferred to blame the disruption on the work of a few insidious radicals and rabble-rousers.

But Watts' comparison of the April 26th rally to the beginning of the American revolution could be carried a bit further. History students will remember that the American revolution did not result in reform of an unjust system, but in its overthrow.

What today's labor leaders, Glenn Watts included, refuse to recognize is that the unemployment crisis, which brought 60,000 workers to Washington April 26, is a built-in aspect of the capitalist system.

No system of reforms can cover up that fact. As in 1775, the situation demands the overthrow of the establishment — not its reform. □

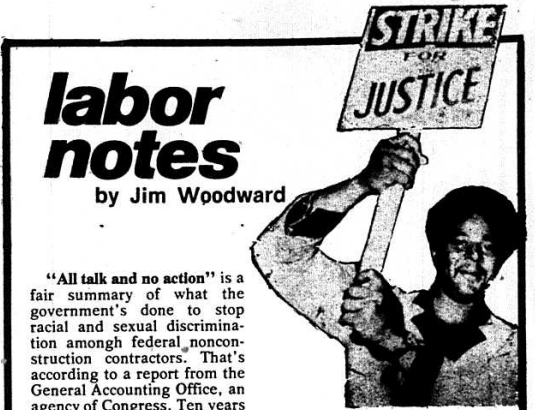
...AND MORE ON GEORGE HARDY

The last issue of Workers' Power reported that George Hardy, president of the Service Employee's International Union (SEIU) had attacked the April 26th Rank and File Coalition for its role in the Washington Jobs Now rally.

In a letter to local unions, Hardy said the Coalition's main function "is to attempt to split the labor movement and to criticize the established leadership of the labor movement."

We wonder whether Hardy would have applied the same standards and harsh words to his dad, Charles Hardy, who was once vice-president of the union (then called the Building Service Employees International Union).

In 1939, Charles Hardy was suspended from his union position for defying the orders of BSEIU president George Scalis. Scalis had told him to get rid of a



labor notes

by Jim Woodward

"All talk and no action" is a fair summary of what the government's done to stop racial and sexual discrimination among federal nonconstruction contractors. That's according to a report from the General Accounting Office, an agency of Congress. Ten years ago, a widely publicized Presidential order said any federal contractors who continued discrimination would have their contracts cancelled. Since then, only one contract has been cancelled, even though a number of contractors have not complied with the federal guidelines.

CWA Local 4301 in Cleveland voted May 19 to strike over the demotion of an installer to a lower-paying job. Ohio Bell's action had caused extensive wildcat strikes a week earlier. The strike vote was 375 for, 178 against. Other locals in the area are pledged to take strike votes, and the International still must give its official sanction before the strike can be officially called.

Truck drivers who refuse to drive unsafe equipment cannot be disciplined according to a recent decision of the National Labor Relations Board. The NLRB made the ruling in the case of a Roadway Express driver who was fired for refusing to drive a dangerous vehicle.

Twelve thousand Machinists have returned to work at the McDonnell Douglas Corp. after a 13-week strike. Generally, they think their new contract "stinks," but feel they had no choice but to accept it. The union was no longer paying strike benefits and 7,000 Machinists on the west coast had already accepted a similar contract. The strike was also undermined at the beginning when the UAW ordered its members to cross the Machinists' picket lines on the west coast.

Multi-national chemical companies which are running into restrictions on the manufacture of dangerous gases in this country are planning on producing some of these gases abroad. Dow Chemical and BF Goodrich, for example, are investing \$212 million in New Zealand and South Korea to manufacture vinyl chloride, which causes liver cancer. US chemical companies last year spent less than half as much on pollution control abroad as in this country.

The steel industry is headed downhill fast. Steel production is now at its lowest level in three years and is expected to quickly drop to 20% below last year's production levels. Some major mills are operating at only 60% of capacity. And the end is not in sight. "I don't really see a substantial upturn until pretty well into 1976," says Norman Robertson, a senior official of the Mellon Bank. That means a lot of steel workers off the job for a long time. Remember that the next time I.W. Abel tells you the no-strike agreement made the steel industry recession-proof.

An administrative judge of the National Labor Relations Board recently ruled that 6% interest on back pay awards to reinstated employees was insufficient. But the full NLRB over-ruled him on the grounds that the inflation rate goes down as well as up!

Shortly before the compromise farm labor bill was agreed on in California leaders of the Teamsters union brought what they thought were loyal Teamster farm workers to Sacramento to lobby against a bill supported by the United Farm Workers union. But after the free lunch provided by the Teamsters, a quarter of the farm workers joined the UFW contingent.

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

subordinate officer. "You go jump in the lake," was Hardy's reply.

From this vantage point, that does sound a bit like "criticism of the established leadership." And not very subtle criticism, at that.

Well, what about it George? Was your dad "splitting the labor movement?"

True enough, the BSEIU deserved to be "split" at that time. To be precise, its "established leadership" needed to be unceremoniously kicked out. Charles Hardy played a role in doing just that.

Scalis was forced to resign as president of the BSEIU in 1940. At that time he denounced the "despicable attacks" being made on him, and said the "Hardy Clan" was collaborating with enemies of the union.

Scalis, it seems, was not interested in the welfare of the

union membership, but only in his personal position. He was, in fact, a former pimp, a strikebreaker (he owned his own strikebreaking agency), an extortionist, an embezzler of union funds, and a thug who terrorized anyone in or out of the union who dared oppose him.

George Hardy, like George Meany and much of the rest of today's established leadership of the labor movement, is not exactly a Scalis. But just like Scalis, if today's established leaders are not fighting for the rank and file—and they are not—they deserve to be kicked out.

As long as they continue to collaborate with the employers and refrain from putting up a fight against unemployment, it's no crime to criticize them and to attempt to split them off from the rest of the labor movement. □



Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

Postal Contract Critical

Ford's Plan: Wages Down

The Ford Administration is concerned about high wage settlements. Secretary of Labor John Dunlop and Wage and Price Stability chief Albert Rees think that wage settlements are getting out of hand. They note that first year wage settlements for early 1975 were 12.5% as compared to 9.8% for 1974.

Even more shocking to the skin-flint czars of labor and wages are construction settlements. They range from 14% to 50%.

Never mind that inflation has sent workers' real wages back to the 1964 level. Never mind that massive unemployment means enormous loss of income to millions. Never mind that food prices are up again or that many corporations are still raking it in by the millions. No, to these gentlemen, the "greed" of the workers threatens to upset their delicate economic plans.

BARGAINING ROUND

But Dunlop, Rees, and Ford have a plan to deal with this, too. They know that there is a big bargaining round coming up for the next two and a half years.

In 1976-77, contracts expire for the auto workers, teamsters, rubber workers, electrical workers, telephone workers, steel workers and others. These are the biggest, strongest unions.

These are the unions that can raise the wage scale of the entire American working class.

Furthermore, Dunlop, Rees, and Ford are aware that when one union settles above the prevailing wage standards, other unions will want to maintain their relative position. That is, there is a strong tendency for the various unions to want to leap ahead of each other.

This is called leapingfrogging. For the workers it is good, because it keeps wages moving up. Thus, in a bargaining round, one big union can set high standards for other unions. Since it is the big unions whose contracts will expire in the next couple of years, the government is afraid wages will rise too fast for their taste.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS

So they have devised a strategy for breaking up the bargaining round and holding down leapingfrogging. Basically, the idea is to have high-powered government mediators, like Dunlop himself or W.J. Usery from the Federal Mediation Service, sit in on negotiations. They will try to get early, "voluntary" settlements.

To make it work, Rees wants the Wage and Price Stability Council to go to work early. In particular, Rees has had the Council monitor the current Postal negotiations, "in an attempt to insure that they will not be the cause of inflationary increases in postal rates or heavy subsidies from the taxpayers."

But it is not postal rates Rees is worried about. He told a recent meeting of the National Economists Club that, "there is the danger of the recent price-wage spiral turning into a wage-wage spiral." By "wage-wage spiral" he meant leapingfrogging.

Part of Rees' program to stop leapingfrogging was to urge management to put up stiffer resistance. He told the Economists Club that part of the problem was that business "lets itself be outgunned by the unions."

GOVERNMENT STRATEGY

Reporting a discussion with John Dunlop,

Business Week magazine summarized the strategy as follows:

In addition to trying to stiffen management's back to resist wage push, Administration officials are trying to ease some of next years' bargaining pressures by persuading unions and companies to negotiate early, an effort Rees applauds. The goal, says Dunlop, is to permanently change the bargaining pattern to avoid the triennial (three year) log-jam of contract expirations." (Business Week, May 19, 1975)

This is just what Rees has done with the postal negotiations. Unfortunately, it seems that the union leaders, Filbey of the American Postal Workers and Rademacher of the Letter Carriers, have gone along with the program.



Dunlop and Ford—conspiring to keep wages down.

The two big postal unions are pushing for an early settlement. Their contracts expire on July 20. But, since it takes 30 days to ratify a new contract, the leaders of these unions are pushing for a June 20 settlement. In other words, they are breaking their necks to prevent a strike.

These leaders are not only selling out the postal workers. They are also weakening the position of those whose contract expires next year.

A high postal settlement could put pressure on other settlements coming up next year. In particular, it could have a real impact on the teamster settlement due in March, 1976.

TEAMSTER CONTRACTS

If 600,000 postal workers win a decent wage settlement and an improved cost of living, then the nearly half a million teamsters covered by the Master Freight agreements will push harder. And so on down the line.

The postal settlement can also have a very particular effect on a number of teamster settlements. One of the postal workers' biggest complaints is that they are \$.70 to \$1.32 an hour behind United Parcel Service workers, who do very similar work. If postal workers achieve parity with UPS workers, that would be a spur for UPS workers to push ahead even further—a fine example of leapingfrogging.

With the government-sponsored June 20th sellout date coming up fast, postal workers would do well to begin now to put on the pressure.

Demonstrations, petitions, meetings, rallies, and even job actions could show the postal union leaders and the government that they are not going to sit still for a second rate settlement. □

Discrimination: AT&T Is Still At It

by Jim Woodward

The phone company has long been known as the worst employer in the country when it comes to racial and sexual discrimination. And they're still at it. Even the government says so.

In 1973, AT&T agreed to a well-publicized court order, requiring it to make special efforts to hire and promote minorities and women.

Previously, work at the phone company was strictly segregated. Women were in the lower-paying, more tedious jobs of operators and business representatives, while men had the craft jobs. Within the crafts, blacks were generally given the lowest paying and hardest jobs working on the frame.

Since 1973 not much has changed. An officer at the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission estimates that two-thirds of the Bell operating companies are not in compliance with the original court order.

"We just haven't had enough interest from women for the heavy kind of craft jobs like pole climber, truck driver, or installer-repairman," claimed a spokesman for the company.

The truth is that the company has followed a vigorous policy of harassing the women and minorities it has hired into these positions until they quit or are fired.

When an ordinary person fails to comply with a court order, that person is quickly found in contempt of court and slapped in jail. But AT&T is being given a second chance. Operating on the philosophy that what failed the first time might work the second time, the government is back in court with another agreement.

MA BELL'S HAPPY

And AT&T is happy. Weston Clarke, AT&T vice president says the new agreement "satisfactorily resolves many questions that have burdened our affirmative action program."

The court has not yet approved the deal, however. One barrier is the opposition of the Communications Workers of America and some smaller telephone unions.

The CWA, by using the bargaining muscle of organized telephone workers, is the one organization that could have forced the company to stop its discrimination. But the union kept its mouth shut until the government went to court.

Then the CWA started hollering about collective bargaining and how the government wanted to destroy contract provisions. That may well be true, but the union has left itself wide open for such attacks by its inaction on discrimination.

What CWA should be doing now is fighting for effecton action on discrimination. Instead it is defending a seniority system that is so modified by "qualifications" and "needs of the service" clauses that the company often has a free hand to overrule real seniority.

Because of the jobs women and minority workers have been forced to take in the past, this often means that even those with higher seniority are discriminated against in transfers, upgrades, layoffs, or short-timing.

If the union doesn't fight for an end to discrimination and for a just seniority system the company and the government will be able to pit white against black, male against female, and undermine any contract provision it cares to go after. □

CWA Officials Defend Free Enterprise and Layoffs

DETROIT—At its March 3 membership meeting CWA Local 4001 (Detroit) passed a motion in opposition to all layoffs. The motion called for "all necessary union action, up to and including a national strike, to re-open the contract to secure guarantees against layoffs."

The resolution stated that the CWA International Executive Board's proposals for stopping layoffs were inadequate because they accepted the right of the Bell system to lay off its workers.

Apparently the Bell companies and the CWA International officers are not the only ones who are eager for the company to retain this "right." At the May membership meeting the Executive Board of Local 4001 urged the members to rescind the motion and mobilized enough of their supporters to win.

DEFENDS LAYOFFS

The Executive Board claimed the motion was directed not against Michigan Bell but against the American form of government! They defended both the "concept" of layoffs and the company's claim that "economic factors" gave it no choice but to lay off.

They were against a strike, they said, because it would "reap a bonanza for AT&T in wages saved."

In fact, Michigan Bell is already decreasing its work force without layoffs—through a campaign of firings and harassment.



The Local 4001 Exec Board pretends to be against the company "reaping a bonanza" but they have done nothing about Michigan Bell increasing its profits through speedup and harassment.

NO FIGHT

By going on record against a strike with such backassward reasoning, the local leadership is letting the company know it's not willing to put up a fight. This strange logic could be used to justify never striking at all—as if workers had ever won anything without being prepared to go the limit for it.

What do the local officials propose as a remedy to the threat of layoffs? (The "realistic and practical" approach of calling upon Congress to turn the economy around. In other words—telephone workers should lay down their only weapon and politely ask the politicians to do it for them.)

And by the way, if "to abolish the concept of layoffs would require a drastic change in our system of government," maybe we ought to think about which we need more—our jobs or the "free enterprise system." □

Sugar Ranks Win

SALINAS, Ca.—Sugar Workers United Rank and File (SWURF) won a major victory recently in the Salinas local of the Sugar Workers Union. The local elected SWURF candidates to its two seats on the Sugar Council. The council, covering 3500 workers, is the statewide bargaining unit for sugar workers in California.

SWURF made a clean sweep in the local election when the only other candidate it supported was

elected president.

SWURF is campaigning statewide to get its members and supporters elected to local councils. It plans to organize through elections for the contract coming up in March, 1976.

Organizing has been helped along by the SWURF Bulletin, a rank and file paper. SWURF is demanding a new contract with improved benefits and programs

for training and upgrading sugar workers to better jobs. The last Bulletin was distributed to a third of the workers under the Sugar Council's Jurisdiction.

The main goal of the incumbent union leadership was to win a dues increase. One union militant said, "You couldn't tell whether they were a company supervisor or a union official." □

John Halligan

QUEBEC- MILI ON THE MOI

Montreal Exclusive by Ellen Sanders

Labor militancy is on the rise again this spring in the Canadian province of Quebec. This is the biggest upsurge since the general strike of 1972.

And, as these strikes have become more militant and widespread, the chance of a major confrontation between the Provincial government and the working class becomes more likely. Already both sides are making preparations.

In the past few months, a series of strikes has rocked the province.

Construction workers stopped nearly all construction in Quebec in a dispute with the government. This includes at the site of the 1976 Olympics.

3500 asbestos miners in Thetford, Quebec struck for more than a month. They demanded higher pay and better working conditions.

A strike at United Aircraft in Montreal led to a factory occupation, and a bloody conflict with the provincial riot police.

More than two thousand longshoremen struck for seven weeks in defiance of Parliament's back to work order.

And, in a dispute still in progress, Montreal post office employees have waged a series of wildcat strikes and work slow downs. They are demanding a 71% wage increase and a guaranteed end to automation schemes.

This militant labor activity is directly the result of the economic crisis in Canada, and part of the world wide depression. In Canada, inflation is now running at 12% annually. Unemployment is at 9%. In Quebec, to poorest of the Canadian provinces, the situation is worse.

In all this, the situation is Quebec is similar to that here in the United States. There is an important difference, however. In the last quarter of 1974 wages rose 17.2% on the average, twice as

much as in the United States. So far in 1975, contract wage agreements have ranged from 29% to 80%. And Quebec workers have led the way.

The reason behind this is simple. In spite of the depression, Canadian workers struck for 9.3 million days in 1974. Militant action has kept workers from falling far behind inflation as has happened here.

GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN

The strike wave has also led to a new government onslaught. And the National Government is now planning to introduce wage controls sometime this summer. More directly, two vicious anti-labor laws have just been passed in Quebec.

The National and Provincial governments, however, are worried about more than the economic militancy of the Quebec unions. For the past few years it has been the labor movement in Quebec that has been in the forefront of the fight for Quebec independence and socialism.

The main thrust for these has come from the Quebec based Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU). But the spirit of militancy and the ideas of socialism have spilled over into the more conservative Quebec Federation of Labor as well.

One anti-labor law, the result of a government inquiry, places several construction unions under government trusteeship. The construction unions, of course, are the most conservative of the Quebec unions. But they are also the most obvious target and the weakest link. The real point is that the government is putting the whole labor movement on notice.

At the same time, another law has made wildcat strikers subject to fines and prison sentences even before they are proven guilty. Individual members as well as union officials can be charged with "encouraging" illegal strikes, a-



Quebec Federation of Labor members cheer at a union meeting.

long with taking part in wildcats.

ATTACK ON WORKING CLASS

These attacks are more than just an attempt by the government to deflate the economy and make the workers pay the bill. Unlike the Quebec Federation of Labor and construction unions affiliated to it, many of the unions are radical, militant, and sometimes openly socialist. The Liberal government,

therefore, is out to break more than just a strike wave.

The fact is that a similar strike movement in 1972 led to a virtual insurrection in Quebec. Whole towns were taken over by workers. Radio stations were seized. There was a province wide general strike, during which workers councils were organized in many cities.

This spring's strikes have raised this specter again. The strike at United Aircraft and the construc-

tion workers strike each resulted in abortive general strikes. Only the cowardice of the trade union officials prevented them.

ORGANIZING AGAIN

Now there are plans to recreate the Common Front of government employees, one of the key movements in the strike of 1972. In the Common Front, government employees represented by the teach-

ers union or the C joined behal public The is the all of reason: smals trade toins

GANGSTERS, GOONS... AND NOW THE GOVERNMENT

The government of Quebec is trying to cripple the province's militant labor movement. Its efforts are now directed at the building trades unions.

Already, this has resulted in the spectacular closing of all construction at the 1976 Olympic games, planned for Montreal.

Construction workers find themselves in a running battle with their corrupt leadership, the local police, and the Provincial Government. Now they have been attacked by legislative reformers. All are determined to control the strength and militancy of the rank and file.

In May, the Liberal Government issued a 603 page document called the Cliche Report. The report calls for government control of four

important construction locals.

NOTHING NEW

This legislation was designed, the government said, to weed out what it called "undesirable elements and practices in the unions."

In fact, this year long study revealed little that was new. The truth about the construction unions was well known. They are dominated by gangsters and racketeers.

The leaders maintain their power with violence. Elections are rigged. Militants and dissidents are beaten. And permanent goon squads are kept on hand to control the membership.

And all this, of course, adds to the power and privilege of the

individual leaders. The inquiry discovered, for example, that union officials often make as much as \$50,000 a year in addition to their salaries. None of this is earned through union business or construction work. Instead it comes from milking local treasuries and running loan shark operations aimed at the membership.

There was an interesting catch in the report, however. These unions not only intimidated and exploited their own members. They also joined an alliance with the Liberal Government itself.

The Liberal Party supported the QFL (Quebec Federation of Labor) in its struggle with the more militant Confederation of National Trade Unions. In return the

construction locals used their goon squads during the 1973 provincial elections to disrupt opposition meetings and win labor support for the liberals.

TRUSTEESHIP

The legislation immediately places four local unions... plumbers, electricians, operating engineers, and elevator constructors... in trusteeship. The locals will be controlled by government appointed, three-person councils. These councils will have the power to amend union bylaws and replace union officials.

No one can object to cleaning up Quebec's construction unions. Certainly not rank and file construction workers. But no one believes this is

the government's objective. Instead, it is increasingly clear that the Provincial government wants to replace gangster controlled unions with government/company controlled unions.

So far, the reaction of the union leaders has been limited. In May, construction workers throughout the Province walked off their jobs. Most stayed off for nearly two weeks. The officials, however, denied responsibility. On the other hand, a possible general strike movement failed to develop.

The government is jubilant. The Minister of Labor has already warned the rest of the labor movement that trusteeship will be spread.

"It's to be expected," he said, "that the law will be extended to

cover fields "I will l the publi union leader Th courts ment trade attac They union Th radic ones fight agair will come

ITANT UNIONS

VE



Riot Cops Beat Up Strikers

Seventeen months ago, UAW members at United Aircraft's Longueuil plant near Montreal went on strike.

They wanted more money... \$1.25 on top of their present average of \$3.82 an hour. They also wanted a cost of living allowance, voluntary overtime and the reinstatement of a fired militant.

They got a long and bloody conflict. And though the workers still hope for a partial victory, the cost has been high. Their strike, which began with such ordinary demands, has come to be known as "Quebec's Vietnam."

United Aircraft, a US based corporation, acted from the beginning as if this strike was the final conflict between workers and management. Company spokesmen said the issue was not money and conditions, but "Who is going to run the place... us or them."

They also said, "There is no way they are going to run it. The problem is that the unions already have too much power."

VIOLENCE

When the workers went out, the company brought in strikebreakers. They hired a private police force. And they organized vigilantes to terrorize pickets.

At the same time, the company obtained an injunction which banned mass picketing, and began transferring work to their Hartford Connecticut plant. They also threatened to switch their entire operation to the United States.

The workers responded as best they could. The UAW offered no leadership, even though it was clear to everyone that no strike would be won with strikebreakers at work and the remaining work sent to other plants.

While the strike lasted, company property was regularly sabotaged. The cars of strikebreakers were burned. Personnel officers were attacked. There were shootings. And, picket line violence was a daily occurrence.

During the first year of the strike, all negotiations failed. Yet the union steadfastly refused to change its tactics. In particular, the company demanded the right to punish strike leaders and militants.

All this came to a head on May 12. 6000 construction workers met in the Longueuil Arena, to discuss the government's plans to place their unions in trusteeship. At the close of the meeting, a representative of the United Aircraft strikers appealed for support, and asked the construction workers to march to the plant in solidarity.

More than 2000 workers quickly converged on the plant. On the way, the crowd overturned more than 20 cars belonging to strikebreakers.

The Longueuil police arrived and attempted to break up the demonstration by force. They were pushed back by the

workers. Five police patrol cars were overturned and set on fire.

Then, fifty workers invaded the plant and took it over, using a truck to smash through the gates. With them, they took ten hostages, including Jose Ledoux a radio broadcaster assigned to cover the demonstration.

UAW LEADERSHIP NO HELP

Robert Dean, the Quebec Director of the UAW and a vice president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, was brought in to plead with the occupants. "You are asking us to negotiate in five minutes," he told them. "You know that's impossible."

"No, we're giving you 48 hours," was the response. "You can do something in 48 hours. We've been waiting seventeen months."

At 1:30 am, however, the Provincial Riot Police, arrived in a massive display of force. And shortly thereafter, the strikers announced that they would leave the plant. They announced they were disarming themselves and asked the police for safe conduct out.

Instead, the Riot Police climbed to the roof of the plant, smashed out the windows and filled the buildings with tear

gas. Then, they invaded.

Inside, Ledoux was broadcasting the entire events live, and these were his words, until the police stopped him.

"The occupants tried to surrender and offered no resistance but the police massacred them. They are being rounded up in a corner like cattle. At the moment I am speaking to you, the police are beating them with their truncheons... on the head, the back, the legs."

"It is scandalous, unmaginable, ugly and inhuman. It's disgusting, unthinkable. Inhuman scenes."

"They're piling up the bodies like animals. People are moaning everywhere. I know the police have a job to do, but who gave this order. People are being massacred."

Since then 34 strikers have been arrested, many of them while in hospitals. And the strike goes on.

The government has intervened and reached a compromise settlement with the union. It includes a wage increase of 34% over three years, a cost of living allowance, and the rehiring of 97% of the 1020 strikers.

The company, however, is holding out. They want to fire 750 workers.

Civil War Threat In Lebanon

Large-scale attacks on Palestinian forces in Lebanon, along with continuing raids from Israel, may throw the whole country into civil war.

The assault on the Palestinians is being waged by the extreme right wing Phalangist Party. The Phalangists are demanding that Palestinian activities in Lebanon be crushed by the government.

They are also violently opposed to the militant protest movements among Lebanese workers and students, which have been growing since 1971.

A military cabinet was appointed by conservative President Suleiman Franjeh to end the fighting in Beirut. It collapsed after two days. The violent conflict is being encouraged by all the major allies of the United States in the Middle East—Israel, Jordan, and Iran.

Jordan and Iran have financed shiploads of arms to the extreme right in Lebanon—the Phalangists and the National Liberal Party. As of last July these parties were already equipped with over 90 heavy guns, sophisticated communications equipment and 7500 trained and armed fighters.

DAILY RAIDS

The Israeli Army is carrying out daily raids into Lebanon on the pretext of looking for "terrorists." The real goal of these raids is political.

Israel wants to strengthen the fascist Phalangists and the right wing forces in the Lebanese Army who want to crush the Palestinian movement. That would strengthen Israel's position.

It would also be a major blow to workers in Lebanon. Palestinians and Lebanese workers face the same enemies—Israeli imperialism, and the Lebanese ruling class. The Lebanese Army is used to intimidate Palestinians and workers in Lebanon, while Israel is allowed to virtually occupy the southern part of the country.

The Lebanese hit hardest by Israel's raids are the southern Shi'a villagers. They are also suffering from an economic crisis which has cut trade and driven up the price of imported goods and materials, drastically cutting their chances for work.

INFLATION

Prices of food staples for Lebanese workers leaped by 100—200% last year. Sugar disappeared from the market completely, then returned at double the cost.

The government of Lebanon has been slowly losing its grip. It cannot solve the economic crisis. It cannot hold back the protests of workers and students. It cannot defend the country from increasingly brutal Israeli attacks.

The right-wing Phalangists are trying to step into this vacuum. They aim to smash the working class of Lebanon into the ground.

They have planned, as their first step, crushing the Palestinian freedom fighters—and they have the support of every enemy of the Palestinians in the Middle East, from Israel's Itzhak Rabin to the Shah of Iran.

ers unions, the leftwing Confederation of National Trade unions and the Quebec Federation of Labor joined together to bargain on behalf of the 210,000 unionized public employees.

The labor movement in Quebec is the most militant and left-wing in all of North America. This is the reason the government is out to smash it. It is also the reason that trade union disputes so often lead to insurrectionary tactics.

MENT

cover workers and employees in fields other than construction.

"The precedent is there and it will be used. We are fed up with the way things are going. The public wants us to clamp down on unions which show a lack of leadership and responsibility."

The fact of the matter is, of course, that the Liberal Government has attacked the building trades as the first step in an all out attack on the labor movement. They could care less about clean unions.

They are really after the most radical and militant unions, the ones which have led the way in the fight to defend the working class against inflation. The ones which will lead the bigger battles to come.





A Blood Red Carpet For Ford

Gerald Ford's diplomatic tour of Europe is drawing rave reviews in the American press. His summit talks with NATO leaders, and friendly two-day conference with the President of Egypt, are supposed to prove that the United States is still committed to "the defense of stability and democracy" after losing the war in Vietnam.

The tour is also a big build-up for Ford's personal standing. The official line in the press is that Gerald Ford, after the rescue of the Mayaguez from the Cambodian Navy, is a self-confident leader who is ready to step out as a statesman on his own.

But one part of Ford's trip, in particular, symbolized exactly what US foreign policy is all about. That was his visit to the fascist dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain. Franco's regime is crumbling week by week. Ford's visit was an open statement of Washington's commitment to help keep it in power. It was also to renegotiate the leases of the three strategic US military bases in Spain.

One day, Gerald Ford was warning Prime Minister Goncalves of Portugal that if his government "tramples democracy" it will be expelled from NATO, economically strangled by the western powers and possibly blockaded or invaded. The next day, he was motorcading through Madrid, Spain as the honored guest of the regime which has jailed, tortured and murdered anyone who stood for any kind of democracy for the last 35 years. He listened to the Premier, Carlos Arias Navarro, gush over the Franco regime's "loyal and disinterested contribution" to "the nations that form the Western world."

The Spanish government prepared for Ford's visit by rounding up hundreds of political dissidents, Basque nationalists and workers. People living along the parade route had their apartments sealed off and occupied by police and troops.

The crumbling Spanish fascist regime supports

capitalist property, capitalist profits and American power in the Mediterranean. The policy of the US and NATO is to keep Franco in power to the end, and then replace him with carefully hand-picked right-wing politicians who will be equally eager to smash workers' organizations. But already demonstrations by students and workers have rocked the country. Revolution will challenge capitalism in Spain as the upheaval in Portugal is already doing.

The purpose of US bases in Spain is, in part, to be ready to invade Portugal, or the Middle East—or Spain—to keep its allies firmly in power, regardless of how brutal their policies are. Democracy has nothing to do with it, no matter what the propagandists of the capitalists' press tell us.

GOOD RIDDANCE

The final chapters are being written in the crumbling of US power in Indochina. The so-called Agency for International Development (AID) has been forced to pull out of Laos, its compound occupied by Laotian students and soldiers.

AID was one of the most vicious instruments of what was called "counter-insurgency warfare" in Vietnam. It helped to develop such projects as the "strategic hamlet" (concentration camp) program for villages in Vietnam. It was a funnel through which the US government poured billions of dollars to pump up corrupt village chiefs and other politicians.

AID was also a contractor for the enrichment of US corporations during the war. The orders for the goods, construction projects and handouts to the wealthy in Vietnam found their way, through AID, to American companies.

The expulsion of AID officials is a fitting end to the decades of US imperialist power in Indochina.



Laotian police take away handcuffed USAID employee. USAID was funnel for war profits to American corporations.

Talking About Socialism...

by Bernard O'Higgins

The government of the United States pretends to be the government of all the people, but it's becoming clear to more and more working people that it isn't. The government claims to be "neutral" and "impartial," to be above social conflicts, but we know it isn't.

Whenever a strike gets 'out of hand,' whenever wage increases are "excessive," whenever oppressed people try to take things into their own hands to improve their lives—the government steps in.

It uses fines, injunctions, ar-

economically, it also holds political power. It needs this power to protect its economic interests.

Any ruling class holds power by controlling what Marxists call the state. The state is not just whatever government or set of politicians happens to be in power at any given moment. It is the bureaucratic machine that already exists when they take office and is still there when they leave office.

The state is a very highly developed and specialized machine. It includes the army, the police, and the courts. They all exist for one main purpose—to keep the ruling class in power by any means necessary.

There wasn't always a state.

That's why Marx considered the backbone of the state to be these "special bodies of armed men."

In America today these "special bodies"—the army and the police—stand behind the sweetest-talking, most "democratic" politician just as surely as they stand behind the leaders of outright police states, in Spain and South Africa.

They see to it that wealth keeps flowing from the workers who produce all goods into the hands of the capitalists who legally "own" the factories.

NOT NEUTRAL

The state isn't just a neutral administrative body that keeps

in barracks where they're taught to hate foreigners and rebels and to follow orders without question.

Judges and lawyers are taught to worship the majesty and impartiality of "The Law," while in practice applying it unfairly and unequally.

They learn to sentence executives who embezzle millions of dollars to a year or two on probation, while giving desperate ghetto youths who hold up gas stations or liquor stores long prison sentences.

BENEFITS?

Many people will argue that the state does a lot of things that benefit everyone. A lot of evidence seems to back up this claim—the existence of welfare, social security, unemployment insurance.

Some will also point out that the police don't spend all their time breaking strikes, protecting the property of the rich, and harassing revolutionaries—they also sometimes help people cross the street and protect people from criminals. The question is, is that their main purpose?

Of course the state provides many social services, services that almost everyone takes advantage of at one time or another. There's no denying it. But why does the state provide these services?

There are two main reasons. For one thing, you can't have a stable class society if workers have to be constantly suppressed with brute force.

Life has to be more or less bearable for most people if society is to hold together for very long. Otherwise they wouldn't accept the way things are for a minute and class struggle would constantly take the form of violent class war.

Society would fall apart after a generation of such chaos and the ruling class would lose out too.

HIDDEN REASON

The other reason is one that the capitalist media desperately tries to make us forget. The capitalist state didn't simply grant all these services out of the goodness of its heart.



rests, the police, the National Guard, and the army to put poor or working people back into "their place"—at the bottom of society.

CONTROL

This is no accident. The class that holds power in America controls the key economic resources of society: the factories, the banks, the raw materials, the communication and transportation systems.

But it doesn't just hold power

When people lived in caves there wasn't a state because there wasn't enough wealth for people to be divided into classes over owning it.

As the economy got more productive, wealth was produced beyond what each person needed just to stay alive. Social groups organized to take that surplus for themselves, to take it away from the people who produced it.

They did this by force of arms, by killing or enslaving those who resisted. They became the first ruling classes

society running smoothly. It's a weapon in the class struggle. Its purpose is to preserve the unequal class structure that exists in society, peacefully if possible, violently if necessary.

People who serve the state are trained well to perform their duties.

Policemen are heavily indoctrinated and become part of a closed social circle in which they associate mainly with other police and are often the sons or fathers of other cops.

Soldiers are separated from the rest of the population and isolated

... And Government

They were fought for and won by the organized struggles of working people, and often paid for in blood.

Social security, unemployment insurance, union rights—it took generations of mass activity to win every one of them. The capitalists only "granted" these reforms in the 1930's when they realized that they had to do so if they wanted to head off a revolution.

And all these reforms really amount to is crumbs of the social wealth that workers produced in the first place.

No, the capitalist state isn't a neutral body that we can ever hope to take over and use in our own interests. It's an enemy and the tool of our enemies.

We will have to rip it up by the roots if we ever want to run our own lives and enjoy all the fruits of our labor.

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Letters

to

Workers' Power

UPS Super-Snoop

Dear Workers Power,

A UPS employee in the Pittsburgh Hub brought in a part from his '59 Harley to let one of the mechanics check it out for him. He had it set on a ledge by his pull from starting time to lunch time.

Our Super-Snoop here in Pittsburgh walks around behind the belt once or twice a night before and after lunch, "just looking." Well, this particular night he spotted the small part on one of his "just looking" walks and after the sort started again after lunch, the part was ripped off.

After questioning two supervisors the answer was the same, "Ask Sam." So Sam [the security supervisor] was confronted and he replied, "Yes, I took it. I thought it was overgoods." Could you imagine overgoods of old Harley parts?

After a small debate, the Sup-Snoop went to get the part where he supposedly put it. But it was gone, naturally. However, the Sup-Snoop and a couple of other supervisors claimed that they made an extensive one and a half hour search. But the part just disappeared.

Who lost out? The employee who owned the part. The Sup-Snoop wouldn't pay for it or

replace it, and the company wouldn't either. All the Sup-Snoop had to say for himself was, "Well, a word to the wise: don't leave things laying around. That is all I can say."

If an 8-hour employee gets caught stealing, they are fired. But if the Security Supervisor gets caught ripping something off, he either loses it or is dealing hot parts.

I think the 8-hour workers should get a security system to watch the UPS security people. If any of you bikers out there see an old looking dude riding a chopper or selling Harley parts, we here in Pittsburgh would appreciate a good ass-kicking.

name withheld
Pittsburgh

WP Fan

Dear Sir,

I have recently read a couple of Workers' Powers. I am an inmate in maximum security. I would appreciate if you would send me regular copies. Signing out, Workers' Power fan.

C.Q.
Huntington, Pa.

CUTTING WELFARE — WHAT IT MEANS

Dear Workers Power,

I have been a caseworker in a Chicago housing project (ghetto) for over two years. In the last six months there has been an intensive campaign in Illinois, as in all states, to cut the welfare budget. This has involved changing our role in the system and our relationships with our clients.

In July, Illinois intends to initiate another disgusting procedure, part of a federal HEW plan.

Mothers have always been asked to identify the fathers of their children. A Supreme Court decision made it illegal to require such information for aid to continue. So now that the state cannot threaten them, it will bribe them.

If a woman on ADC helps locate the father, and signs a complaint against him, and if he is located, prosecuted, and made to pay support money to the state, then the woman will get a small increase in her monthly check. She gets nothing, of course, if he does not pay.

DESTRUCTIVE

Some of these women still have good relationships with the men

which such court action could destroy. Some just don't want anything more to do with a painful situation. But they will be harassed until they cooperate, if need of the bonus is not enough to convince them.

Many of the men already give money and gifts to their children, things which the mother depends on to survive and which would likely cease after the man is dragged through the court and forced to pay, not those he loves, but instead "the state" which constantly threatens to put him in jail.

Some men, after public aid has contacted their employers, have lost their jobs. Others have families or other relationships which a court case and resulting complications could disrupt.

Such new procedures pit people against one another, make people into cops to patrol and turn in each other, generate suspicion and bitterness, shatter human relationships—all to save some public aid money. They want us to keep fighting against each other and not the system responsible for poverty and poor working conditions.

S.G.
Chicago



Protest against Illinois budget cuts

April 26

"We're Not Alone"

Dear Workers' Power

When we left for the April 26 AFL-CIO "Jobs Now" rally in Washington we expected the same old tired stuff—speeches from a lot of congressmen and labor "leaders" who have nothing to say—and then home again on a bus. And that was what we got—almost.

Until hundreds of people who were tired of unemployment, wage cuts, inflation, a hot stadium, promises, lies, and speeches we (fortunately) couldn't even hear, decided to do something. All of a sudden, tens of hundreds who had been just spectators poured onto the field.

It was really exciting to see so many people take a stand together on the spur of the moment. The guards tried to stop the angry crowd, but could do nothing.

BIG STEP

What was even more exciting was that a Rank and File Coalition had been formed before Washington, and it was a big step forward.

Because they had an organiza-



Prisoners and the Left

Dear Friends,

What has happened to the prison struggle? Have the movement groups abandoned the prison struggle? We hope not, as the prisoners are a part of the revolution, too.

After Attica, the 'left' rallied around the prison struggle. Prisoners throughout Amerikkka began to understand that it was not they who were the criminals but the leeches who control the economic purse strings and their lobbies.

Prisoners began to demand that they be treated like humans, not numbers nor beasts. The enemy refused to budge. The prisoners refused to compromise. This led to rebellions throughout the prison system.

The enemy resorted to his usual weapon to stanch the flow of rebellion—terror. The federal prison system paved the way with a few borrowed tricks from Nazi Germany, with mind control techniques. Methods that are called torture in other countries, are "treatment" here, in the belly of the monster.



Washington, D.C. — April 26

tion, the Coalition knew it wasn't enough—even though it was an important step—that people took the field.

A Rank and File meeting had been planned after the rally by the Coalition, and over 300 people came, even though a lot of buses had already left early.

A communications network was set up between different rank and file caucuses and militants around the country. And a program to really fight the economic crisis was put forward—including pressure for a one-day national strike (not just words) to back up the demands.

Still a small step forward, it was a really important and exciting one. Rank and file militants know now that we're not alone—there are others building caucuses in every major union to

force our "leadership" to fight for the needs of the rank and file. And we are growing.

C.R.
Pittsburgh

Don't Mess With The Paychecks!

Dear Workers Power,

Two weeks ago management announced they were going to start giving out paychecks to the afternoon shift at GM on Friday instead of Thursday. They said this would stop absenteeism on Fridays.

This meant that workers could not cash their paychecks for the weekend.

The rank and file got together and said that we would walk out if we didn't get our checks on Thursday. The union had done nothing before this, but when management heard about the walkout they had a meeting with the shop committee.

One member of the shop committee tried to offer management the right to discipline people who didn't show up on Friday, but the rest know the workers wouldn't accept that.

The proof that they knew we meant business was a circular that came out the next day saying that Thursday would again be our regular payday.

V.B.
Local 25, UAW
St. Louis

Students and The System

Dear Workers' Power,

If you think the system's fucked up, you're not alone. Over three-quarters of today's young people are with you. That's the result of a recent poll of 23,000 high-school seniors, conducted by an Illinois organization called "Who's Who Among American High School Students."

The group asked students what they thought of politicians today.

81% responded that elected politicians lacked honor and integrity and 73% thought most major political campaigns are crooked. 83% believe our fair system does not provide equal justice for all, and only 9% think elected officials adequately represent their constituents.

Young people also scorned the Democratic and Republican parties. 83% of those seniors eligible to vote said they were independent. A couple of years ago, students polled reacted far more conservatively.

Pollsters and other "opinion-experts" habitually remark that young people merely reflect their parents' political and social views. Why this is less and less repeated these days, you can imagine.

A combination of economic depression, Watergate and other factors, have radicalized millions, young and old. And these millions learning their power to fight back and win is what this fucked up system fears most.

S.P.
Red Tide
Detroit

Battle Of Deputies Run

by Harry Selden

Teamsters in Minneapolis built a powerful union out of a half-dead local in an anti-union town through a series of strikes in spring and summer of 1934. A socialist group, the Communist League, played an important role in giving leadership to the struggle. The first article in this series told how the union gained support and members. By May the union had 6,000 members, but no recognition. But those 6,000 were ready to strike and win.

At first the bosses of Minneapolis faced the May strike deadline of General Drivers Local 574 with the confidence of Muhammed Ali facing the tenth ranked challenger. This confidence was well founded. Organized into the Citizens Alliance, the bosses had kept Minneapolis a notorious open shop town of low wages and miserable working conditions since 1916.

After a few meetings with the leadership of Local 574, however, the employers became less buoyant. Their considerable experience of union busting had not prepared them for this alliance of revolutionary socialists and union militants who were uncompromising on principles yet extremely flexible on tactics.

The central issue quickly became recognition of the union. To win this, the Trotskyist leadership realized that they would have to mobilize the entire working class of the city on the side of Local 574. Inside the industry, this meant organizing all workers, whether in the warehouses or on the trucks into the union. On a city-wide basis it meant showing every worker that a victory for Local 574 was a victory for all.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

The strategy of the bosses, on the other hand, was to defeat the union by dividing the workers within the Local and isolating the Local within the city. They attempted their first goal by giving raises to some workers at key companies on the eve of the strike deadline. But realizing that these raises could just as easily be taken away, the workers remained loyal to the union.

The bosses tried to win their second goal, the isolation of the local, with a barrage of propaganda. They piously insisted that the only issue in the strike was the closed shop, and swore they would never compromise their employees' "freedom to choose."

A few days before the strike deadline, Local 574 called their bluff by stating they would accept representation for just their own members. While this was a major concession, the Trotskyist leadership of the local felt that any recognition of the union would be a victory. When the bosses turned the offer down, it became crystal clear that the employers' only aim was to completely crush the union. Public opinion went over to Local 574.

STRIKE BEGINS

The strike began on May 16. Operating out of an old garage, the strikers had planned every detail with military precision. The garage itself became a commissary, a nightly entertainment center, and a well-outfitted hospital.

During the height of the strike up to 5,000 people would eat there daily, and ten to twenty thousand would

DRIVERS, ORGANIZE!

Because of the depression, wages of all workers have been reduced, and this has resulted in the general lowering of the standard of living.

The increase in the cost of living has resulted in further wage cuts.

WHAT MUST WE DO?

The Only Answer Is ORGANIZATION!

DO YOU KNOW?

That under Section 7-A of the N.L.R.A. workers are not only granted the right to organize, but are guaranteed the right to exercise this privilege without discrimination?

DO YOU KNOW?

That the coal drivers of Minneapolis took advantage of this privilege to organize and through our organization gained a 25% wage increase?

Monster Mass Meeting Shubert Theatre, Sunday, April 15 at 2 P. M.

will open the big campaign to organize
ALL Minneapolis Drivers, Helpers, Filling Station
Attendants and Platform Men

Governor Floyd B. Olson

Will Speak on "The Right to Organize"

Speakers from your union will outline a definite program of organization for your approval.

Auspices of Minneapolis General Drivers and Helpers
Local Union No. 574

Local 574 poster.

crowd in and around the building at night for reports and entertainment. The hospital facility showed that the strikers had no illusions about any pacifism on the part of the bosses.

The rank and file was not just listening to speeches. They were actively involved in running the strike. The general membership voted on major decisions while day-to-day planning was handled by an elected committee of seventy-five.

The Communist League members had no official posts in the union aside from their membership on this committee. Their considerable authority in the local rested on the popularity of their ideas with the rank and file and the respect workers had for their organizing ability.

The striking truckers made every attempt to involve the entire Minneapolis working class in their cause. Unemployed workers, women and farmer groups all played an important role. Even the labor bureaucrats had to give at least verbal support to the strike. In the building trades the pressure of the rank and file was so strong that 35,000 men declared a sympathy walkout.

A TEST

For the first few days the Citizens Alliance was

stunned by this show of unity and efficiency and didn't seriously try to move any trucks. Then they decided to test the determination of the strikers. On May 18 they set a trap for some pickets. Police brutally beat three car loads of men and women, smashing skulls and breaking bones.

When the bodies began coming in to strike headquarters, the workers wanted to immediately go into the streets to settle the score. Although they were furious too, the leadership restrained the workers. They thought that to run to the streets would be a tactical mistake. They wanted to fight the bosses at a place of their own time and choosing.

The time and place was to be the city's market, the following Monday. The Citizens Alliance had decided they were going to move some trucks there. Hundreds of pickets fought it out with the police and the trucks did not move.

The following morning 20,000 strikers and sympathizers came to the market to show the employers that the working class of the city stood in solidarity with the strike. 1,500 police and special deputies were there to meet them. Suddenly someone threw a crate through a window—and all hell broke loose.

COPS RUN

The police and special deputies sized up the situation, and hastened to save their own skins. Those that could, ran like olympic track stars. Those who were closer to the front line crawled away.

The strikers were still hunting down police and special deputies twelve hours after the battle began. By nightfall the pickets were in complete control of Minneapolis. Near strike headquarters they even began directing traffic.

On the day after the "Battle of Deputies Run" a truce was declared. Negotiations took place in the days that followed. One stumbling block was whether the union would represent only the drivers, or all the workers in the trucking industry. The Governor, in an ambiguously worded proposal, assured the local that the inside workers would gain representation. That resolved this problem temporarily.

Finally, eleven days after the strike had begun, 166 employers signed an agreement that reinstated the strikers. In effect, that meant recognition of the union. The agreement also contained a minimum wage, a clause barring discrimination against strikers, and provision for a final arbitration of wages.

Throughout the negotiations, the strike leadership maintained a firm working class point of view. They were always skeptical of "good intentions" professed by the bosses, the regional labor board, or the Governor. They made sure all parties realized that any agreement was contingent on the consent of the strikers.

RATIFICATION

At the ratification vote, thousands of strikers showed up. Some militants felt that more could be won and wanted to fight on. The Communist League leadership knew the settlement was not perfect but they urged its acceptance. They felt that a victory had been won on the major question: union recognition. By stopping now the workers could consolidate their gains and be ready to fight from a stronger position if the bosses failed to live up to the agreement. The workers had confidence in their leadership and accepted the pact.

Following the settlement a few weeks of uneasy peace passed before the employers began trying to win back what they had lost. But they misunderstood the determination of the leadership and the militancy of the workers. The strikers weren't about to lose in June what they had fought so hard for in May.

The next article in this series will analyze the July strike. Here the employers of Minneapolis were taught a more lasting lesson in workers' power.

ORGANIZING DRIVE IN ST. LOUIS

Hospital Militant Fired

ST. LOUIS—Last week Jewish Hospital here fired Tom Doonan, a union militant. The hospital hoped that the firing would slow down an organizing drive going on there. But instead the hospital seems to have convinced more workers of the need for a union.

Doonan had worked at the hospital for over a year as the cook at the Night Grill. He cooked the meals for almost all the workers on the evening and night shifts and made a lot of friends on the job.

It was not just his cooking that did it. Doonan was outspoken on the need for a union. He was one of the initiators of a rank and file

newsletter at the hospital called Employee Voice.

The hospital's excuse for firing Doonan was that he was serving food without authorization and giving portions that were too large.

FIGHTING BACK

The union organizing drive at Jewish Hospital has been a rank and file drive. Workers have published Employee Voice, circulated petitions, and won a number of grievances around the hospital. These include improved cafeteria services, and more recently defeating a hospital plan to charge for

paper plates and cups at the Night Grill.

Now one militant has been fired, but workers at Jewish Hospital are rallying around him, demanding that he be given his job back. A petition is being circulated throughout the hospital, and already 150 workers have signed it.

As soon as Doonan was fired, a boycott of the Night Grill began. Employee Voice is organizing a total boycott of the Grill for several days this week to show how angry people are. A group of interns and residents are circulating a letter to the president of the hospital demanding to know why Doonan

was fired.

The union organizing committee and Employee Voice have called a demonstration on this issue at the hospital for June 7th from 2:30 to

4:00 pm. Leaflets are being distributed at other hospitals and workers from throughout the city are being urged to attend.

Jimmie Higgins

St. Louis workers...

DEMONSTRATE

AT JEWISH HOSPITAL

SATURDAY JUNE 7

2:30 — 4:00 P.M.

REHIRE TOM DOONAN—BUILD THE UNION!

LEVINÉ

The Life of A Revolutionary

[Levine, The Life of a Revolutionary, by Rosa Levine-Meyer. Pluto Press (London), 1973. 220 pp. Available from Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. \$3.15]

"There was something in the air, and unknown to me I was being carried along by a new, indefinable feeling. I had heard that an approaching revolution is preceded by a mysterious wave which affects people like an epidemic and transforms them suddenly.

"I was convinced that it was an invention of Party theorists and existed only in the pages of socialist literature. I was wrong—how could I otherwise explain this excitement, this joyful anticipation of great events?"

With these words, Rosa Levine-Meyer captures part of the enormous potential of revolution. She wrote them about the German revolution of 1918-19, in which she and her husband participated.

CHANGES

Although the book, published in 1973, is written as his biography, it also reveals both the little changes in personal life and the big changes in political development that happen in the midst of revolution.

The realization that a new world is possible, that ordinary people can change things, means that these people themselves change. Petty jealousies and prejudices can be gone in an instant. People can develop unknown talents and resources in the struggle to remake society.

One of Eugen's biggest problems, for example, was an inability to get out of bed and go to work in the morning. But it became no problem at all in the midst of a revolution. He would rush from meeting to meeting and then spend the night writing an article for the party newspaper.

Rosa changed too. She was a confused liberal, who hoped that social change could come easily. She knew and admired so many of the leading figures in the moderate, respectable political parties.

But as the crisis approached, that changed: "I despised my former friends, those people who were so soft spoken, whom I expected to be the engineers of a new, better world, when the time came." Now the country was in disarray, exhausted, starving, and they were only trembling for their own snug positions."

REVOLUTION

Along with an intensely moving personal story comes the enormous political events of Germany in 1918-1919. Revolution was sweeping Europe. An uprising in Berlin had been crushed. It cost the young Communist Party the lives of its two leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

Shortly afterwards, Levine was sent to Bavaria in southern Germany. There another premature uprising was threatened. Carried along by the revolutionary mood of the workers, the moderate parties were proposing to proclaim a workers' government.

But Levine opposed them: "The present moment is extremely unfavorable for the proclamation of a Soviet Republic. The masses in North and Central Germany have been defeated and are only just beginning to rally their forces again. And Bavaria is not a self-sufficient economic unit, able to maintain itself for a prolonged period.

"After the first intoxication the Social Democrats will seize upon

the first pretext to withdraw, and thus deliberately betray the workers. The Independents will collaborate, then falter, begin to waver, to negotiate with the enemy and turn unwittingly into traitors. And we Communists will have to pay for our undertaking with the blood of our best."

MODERATES DESERT

And that is indeed what happened. But for a time, after the moderates had deserted their new government, the workers ran the town under Communist leadership.

"It was a joy to watch the bourgeoisie handing over their arms," reported Levine. "The proletariat will never forget that moment, and should it be defeated this time, it will rise again to relive this experience."

Levine knew that defeat was, almost inevitable under the circumstances. He wanted to conduct the defense of the workers' government in such a way that the idea of a workers' government would not die. In that he was successful.

He was tried under martial law for treason. The German government had succeeded in defeating the revolution. His closing words at his trial reflect that defeat but more importantly his conviction that for the working class, defeat is never final.

"We Communists are all dead men on leave. Of this I am fully aware. I do not know whether you will extend my leave or whether I shall have to join Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg... I know that whatever your verdict, the course of events cannot be halted. "And sooner or later other



Rosa and Eugen Levine with their son in 1916.

Judges will sit in this Hall and then those who have transgressed against the dictatorship of the proletariat will be punished for high treason."

They could not let him live. For

even his prison guards were sobbing when they took him out and shot him.

Jim Woodward

Rebellion In Canada

[Rank and File Rebellion, Eli Singer; A Workers' Action Pamphlet, Independent Socialists; 16 pages.]

Readers of Workers' Power will have found in these pages a constant theme: the need for a movement of rank and file workers as the only effective way to win better working and living conditions because the unions under their present leadership will not fight.

This approach is unique in this country to the International Socialists. But it won't work if it only happens here. Of special importance to US workers is what happens in Canada.

Besides being physically close to

Canada, there are many other ties between US and Canadian workers. Many Canadian companies are owned by US corporations. Many of the unions are the same too.

Most of us speak the same language and US and Canadian workers hardly seem like foreigners to each other. That's important, because the capitalists want workers of different countries to be suspicious of each other as foreigners. As soon as workers begin to speak to each other, they soon find out that they have a lot in common! Much more than what they have in common with their own bosses.

Now there is a group in Canada with a rank and file strategy for workers too, the Independent Socialists. In their first pamphlet,

Rank and File Rebellion, Eli Singer describes why this approach is needed by Canadian workers.

Unemployment, inflation, dangerous working conditions, and speed-up are all problems that Canadian workers face. And they too are plagued with company-minded union leaders. They're also fighting back—with wildcat strikes—a record number in 1974.

But the rank and file movement must be organized, because, as they are here, the bosses and the union bureaucrats are organized. All the anger in the world won't win victories unless it is organized and planned into action. The pamphlet is written as an organizing tool for the rank and file movement.

for the rank and file movement. It discusses, too, why a socialist group, like IS, is important in the rank and file movement. In Canada, as in the US and in every industrialized country, socialists have led the major fights of workers. Why? Socialist ideas free workers from fears about what will happen if the company goes broke and let the company have its way. Although this pamphlet is written for Canadian workers, it is good thing for US workers to read. It shows that in our problems and in struggle we are not alone.

Karen Kay

[Rank and File Rebellion is available from Sun Distribution International, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203, for 65¢ postpaid.]

network

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Angry railway workers invade Canada's Parliament.

NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS

A Workers' Press

by Kit Lyons

The growing class struggle has created the need for answers about what is happening in society, and what is the way forward for the workers movement. Both the number of authors of class struggle books and pamphlets and the audience for them has grown. The IS is keeping up with this demand through expansion of our literature distribution agency, Sun Distribution International.

Organized less than six months ago, out of the old I.S. Bookservice, SDI has already become a valuable source of information for socialists and militants.

MANY TOPICS

With over 250 titles listed in its latest catalog, SDI covers a broad range of topics. SDI specializes in, but is not limited to, the publications of the International Socialists groups in the US, Britain, and other countries.

Building the Party, Volume I of a complete biography of Lenin by Tony Cliff of the International Socialists of Great Britain, is available in the US only through SDI. The three volume work will be the first complete biography of Lenin written from a revolutionary socialist point of view. The book is published by Pluto Press, a rapidly growing publishing house that was organized by the International Socialists in Great Britain. SDI is their US distributor.

Revolutionary Feminism, by Celia Emerson is a pamphlet published by Sun Press, the publishing arm of the IS US. It analyzes the history of the women's movement, finding the revolutionary current of feminism from the time of Abigail Adams to the present.

Chile, the Guerrillas are Among US, is a book by Helios Prietos which analyzes the Allende regime.

its fall, and the treacherous role of the Communist Party. Published in English, by Pluto Press, it is also available from SDI in a Spanish edition.

LABOR

SDI carries extensive literature on the American labor movement. Titles include: Farrell Dobbs' **Teamster Power and Teamster Rebellion**, Jack Weinberg's **Detroit Auto Uprising 1973** and others. Soon available will be **The Farmworkers Struggle: The Fight Against Sweetheart Contracts**, edited by James Morrison, and **The American Working Class in the Sixties**.

SDI also carries many books and pamphlets on black liberation, both in this country and elsewhere.

Books about socialism include Hal Draper's classic **The Two Souls of Socialism, Party and Class**, a collection of essays by Tony Cliff, Chris Harmon, Duncan Hallas and Trotsky, and Harman's **Russia: How the Revolution Was Lost**.

SDI also carries some literature of specific interest that is unavailable elsewhere.

The Bolsheviks and the October Revolution, published by Pluto, contains the minutes of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party from August 1917 to February 1918.

India and China, Underdevelopment and Revolution is a collection of essays written by Nigel Harris of ISGB.

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Special discounts are also extended on text orders from college and university bookstores and to library wholesalers. Most orders are filled the same day they are received.

For further information, please write: SDI, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan, 48203 (phone: 313-869-3137). A June catalog is available at the present time. A more detailed version will be out in a few weeks. □



Current catalog of Sun Distribution International is now available.

'Auto Workers Fight Back'

LOUISVILLE—50 people attended the June 1 Louisville Workers' Power forum. The topic was "Auto Workers Fight Back."

George Bowen, a spokesman for the United Black Workers, described the intolerable racism and working conditions in his plant. The UBW is a community and union group in Northern New Jersey. Bowen and the UBW are active oppositionists at Ford in Mahwah, N.J.

Enid Eckstein, United Auto Workers, Local 51, Detroit, described the struggle to build a shop floor organization. She also described the role of the United National Caucus in building a national opposition in the UAW.

She concluded by encouraging the auto workers in the audience to attend the June 8 UNC Conference in Detroit. The conference will hammer out a program to fight the layoffs.

Fred Hobby spoke on the role of Workers' Power and the International Socialists in building the rank and file movement. He also stressed the need to fight for black and white unity.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the audience joined in a lively discussion of the role of the UAW, as well as on the role of minorities in the working class and the revolutionary movement. □

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What We Stand For

The International Socialists are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member of our organization to achieve them. We stand for:

WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION

Working class revolution will destroy capitalism. Reform schemes cannot pass it up. The wealth produced by workers will be collectively controlled by workers to provide a decent life and freedom for all. Today that wealth is stolen from working people by the capitalist class. Socialism can be won only through workers' revolution. The capitalist state must be destroyed. Its main institutions, the legislature, army, police and courts. A socialist society will be ruled democratically by mass organizations of all working people.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Today the trade unions are the only mass working class organizations. We work for rank and file control of the unions to make them fighting instruments of workers against the employers. We fight for workers' action against the economic and social crisis of capitalism. Demand working conditions, no control on wages, 30-hour work for 30 hours pay to fight unemployment. The right to a job at union wages and conditions. Organize the unemployed. Nationalization of industry, higher compensation and under workers' control.

BLACK LIBERATION

We stand for black liberation. We stand for the abolition of all racial barriers. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities against all forms of discrimination. We call for the abolition of all forms of oppression. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion on demand. Abolish oppression of gay people and all sexual oppression.

YOUTH

Equality for young people. The right to work jobs by all youth. Stop police harassment of young people. For schools controlled by students, teachers and community. For a revolutionary socialist youth movement.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

We oppose US imperialism, its nuclear weapons and its alliances such as NATO. Unconditional support to movements for national liberation. We oppose Russian imperialism and the use of the Warsaw Pact, which controls Eastern Europe. We support the movement of the working class and all oppressed people everywhere against imperialism, war and racism.

FOR WORLD SOCIALISM

We stand for world socialism. We stand for the abolition of all national barriers. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

We stand for the revolutionary party. We stand for the abolition of all national barriers. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities. We stand for the right of all people to equal opportunities.

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Chrysler Cuts Work At Jefferson Plant

DETROIT—There's more bad news ahead for the workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant. Management has recently announced "tentative plans to shift production of four-door sedans to a plant in Belvedere, Illinois." That means a 40% cut in current production at Jefferson.

The plant has already seen two-thirds of its workforce laid off, and it is widely assumed that Chrysler intends to close the plant permanently.

The announcement of the production cut-back was contained in a leaflet passed out May 22 by the officers of United Auto Workers Local 7. The same leaflet contained another piece of bad news—that the union does not intend to do much of anything about it.

Their reaction consists of this: "The union at all levels is doing

everything possible to dissuade the Chrysler Corporation from making this production movement... With complete membership support and the required skillful negotiators on the union side of the bargaining table, we feel confident that we will be successful in our efforts to obtain justice for the membership."

The effects of this step towards closing the Jefferson plant will be severe. Detroit has already suffered heavily in the current recession. Almost every neighborhood has its share of empty homes and stores, boarded up and abandoned. Thousands of autoworkers have given up on the industry and moved back to the south, losing years of seniority.

And yet, the UAW intends to fight Chrysler's plans by... sending skilled negotiators to the

bargaining table. If the negotiators are good enough, maybe Chrysler will give them a silver star. That's the best the union can expect unless it's willing to fight.

In fact, it looks like the UAW leadership is incapable of fighting back. Instead they prefer private negotiations with management, while exhorting the workers to improve their attendance, work harder, and buy more Chryslers. It looks like the Local 7 leadership is not going to move unless the rank and file gets behind them with something sharp. □



The picture that made Jefferson famous: victory after a 1973 plant occupation.

Welfare Workers Plan Strike For Justice

by Amy Scott

ST. LOUIS—A mass rally of 400 welfare workers on May 29 reached a firm decision to walkout. The meeting called on welfare workers not to report to work June 2 and 3 in a fight for increases in workers' salaries and in income for Public Assistance recipients. Walkouts were expected in Kansas City and Columbia as well.

Wages for Missouri welfare workers rank 46th in the country; public assistance income ranks 47th. Wages are so low that 10% of the Missouri Division of Family Services (MDFS) employees receive Public Assistance.

Since 1970, workers at MDFS have received only two 5% raises while the cost of living has gone up 49%. Public assistance payments are \$90 per month for a mother and child and \$30 a month for each additional child. Welfare workers are demanding a 22% increase and cost-of-living increases for recipients.

PETITION

The workers are members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Because the union leaders have not been willing to fight around these issues, the rank

and file have begun to act.

The Rank and File Committee of St. Louis Welfare Workers began the drive six months ago by collecting 600 signatures petitioning the state legislature for the increase.

After this success, Administrator Lloyd Conley, Director of Income Maintenance for St. Louis, called members of the Rank and File Committee to his office. He offered them agency time and supplies if they would campaign to decertify the union, AFSCME #410. When they refused, a circular was sent to supervisors warning them to "watch out for the Rank and File Committee."

A meeting was called during coffeebreak May 16 which attracted 150 workers and lasted one and a half hours. Conley showed up and argued that a strike would be unnecessary and fruitless. He was booed down and asked to leave.

Ewing Gourley, state director of MDFS, has officially threatened suspensions and firings for those who take off the 2nd and 3rd.

Sparked by the Rank and File Committee, which is continuing and growing as a part of the Association of Family Services Employees, we, rank and file welfare workers, are fighting for something better for ourselves and the families we serve. □

Independent Unions For Puerto Rico

A recent forum in New York City, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, was addressed by Pedro Grant, the President of the MOU—United Workers Movement.

MOU is an independent federation of unions in Puerto Rico, which is actively supported by the left wing of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

Puerto Rico is controlled by the US—the economy is run by US corporate interests, and the country's so-called "commonwealth" (colonial) status means that its government is controlled by the US too.

Workers in Puerto Rico make only 1/3 of what US workers make. And unemployment is high—over 30%. A strong union movement is needed to fight these conditions. Only 25% of Puerto Rican workers are organized, however.

It is also hard for each union by itself to combat the effects of US domination of the whole island's economy.

The MOU's goal is to overcome the divisions and weakness of Puerto Rican labor. MOU is attempting to unify the union movement by building a federation of both independent and international unions, committed to militant, anti-imperialist unionism.

Founded in 1972, the MOU has campaigned for such issues as the application of the Federal minimum wage law in Puerto Rico, and for unionization of public employees. It has also participated in and supported many of the hundreds of strikes there in recent years. MOU also campaigned against the cost of living, which is 25% higher than in the US.

Since 1972, the organizing efforts of MOU have enjoyed considerable success. The MOU has 40 member unions and about 100 locals including the Boilermakers Union, construction and cement workers, meat cutters, and others.

MOU has come under a vicious attack by the daily press in Puerto Rico, which wants to keep the island a "friendly" place for US business investment—and its unions under the heel of the AFL-CIO.

The goal of MOU is to unite all Puerto Rican workers, regardless of their political affiliation. MOU is supported by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, but is completely independent of all political parties.

"What matters to the MOU," says MOU's education secretary Pablo Rivera, "is that you are an organized worker. As an organized worker you have the right to be in the MOU, and you should be in the MOU. This is our position." □

CALIFORNIA FARM LABOR LAW PASSES

The California state legislature has passed a new collective bargaining law for farm workers and sent it to the governor. Governor Brown has said he will sign it.

The passage of the new law means that, for the first time, farm workers in California will have the right to an election to determine what union is to represent them. This will likely spell the end of most of the sweetheart contracts engineered by the leadership of the Teamsters union.

The bill becomes effective 90 days after it is signed. That means elections can be held late this summer, during the peak harvest season for grapes.

But a hard struggle still lies

ahead. The new law severely restricts organizing in certain ways. Secondary boycotts, for example, will be much more difficult.

In addition, the growers and the Teamsters will have considerable money to throw around before elections are held. If the UFW is to succeed in turning the past ten years of hard work into organizational success, it all depends on the struggle in the fields in the next few months.

Nonetheless, the passage of the law is a victory for the United Farm Workers union. For years it has fought first for the right to organize and then for the right of farm workers to choose their own union. □

Boston UPS

'You'd Better Be Fast'

BOSTON—If you want to go to the bathroom at United Parcel Service, you'd better be fast. Kevin Cotter, a part-time employee at the UPS Boston-Watertown HUB was fired for spending too much time on the toilet.

Cotter's workmates came to his defense, however. They organized an informational picket line at the UPS receiving center, and they slowed down the work at the HUB. They also went to Cotter's grievance hearing as a group.

As a result, UPS is on the rampage again. With a little help from the union, IBT Local 25, Cotter's dismissal was upheld. At the same time, seven others were fired for alleged participation in the slowdown. Thirteen more got warning letters for picketing. Another, Bill Ander, was fired.

Informational pickets are strictly legal, of course, as is attendance at a grievance hearing. Nevertheless, with the union's agreement, UPS has a green light to chop up its workforce.

All this is just more reason for UPS employees to put a stop to the company's divide and rule tactics. Part-timers and full-timers have no choice but to get together.

If UPS can fire a part-timer for "excessive use of personal time" it will fire a full-timer. And that's the whole point.

In the meantime, the Watertown UPSers are fighting this. They've taken their non-hearing before the grievance board to the NLRB. They're maintaining their picket line at the HUB. And they've promised a fight in Local 25. □

A. Brown



(Photo: People's Voice)

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POSTAL WORKERS -

No Time To Lose

by Cal Williams

The time is running out. In less than three weeks, negotiators for the postal unions and the US Postal Service, now in Washington, D.C., hope to reach an agreement.

In less than two months, the national postal workers contract expires.

Needless to say, a lot rides on the outcome of these secret negotiations. Two years on the job. Two years of buying food, paying the rent. Too much to leave to the negotiators.

It's time to organize... now. Not when it's too late, not when the union officials arrive, contract in hand, and say that it's all over, vote yes or no.

There is only one way for rank and file postal workers to get their points across, and that's to organize, and act now, while the negotiations are still in progress.

INFLATION & SPEEDUP

There are two things to begin with.

First, there can be no agreement based on the status quo. No agreement based on marginal improvements. The fact is that there will be no end to inflation. The times ahead will be worse, not better.

Postal workers will have to live with this contract for two years.

Second, the Kokomo plan is just the first step. There will be more speedup, more reductions in the workforce. Everytime there is an economic crisis, the government and the employers try to rationalize, to increase productivity, to cut back the workforce.

The point, then, is that there is no waiting for next time. It's got to be all out now.

Wages. Money is an issue. The contract should win parity with other workers, particularly UPS, where parcel handlers and drivers will get as much as \$7.21 an hour this summer, and that was negotiated in 1973. Also, postal workers need a 100% cost of living allowance.

Job security. First, the contract

must retain the no layoffs clause. Absolutely no compromise can be accepted. Second, there can be no changes in work rules and time standards without the approval of both the local and the international. The Kokomo plan, along with any plan to speedup the work based on time and motion studies must be stopped now.

Overtime. All overtime should be voluntary at double time. Holidays at triple time. There are now thousands of carriers not working or working part-time. Share the work. 30 hours at 40 hours pay.

Postal workers also deserve the right to refuse unsafe work, the right to job advancement based on seniority, not "qualification" and favoritism. There should be full equality for women and blacks on every job, in every department.

Finally, none of this can be won without the right to strike. Repeat the no-strike law.

BEGIN NOW

These are not outrageous demands. They are neither selfish nor greedy. On the contrary, they are the only basis for security in the future, the immediate future.

They will not, of course, be handed down, not from the current union leadership.

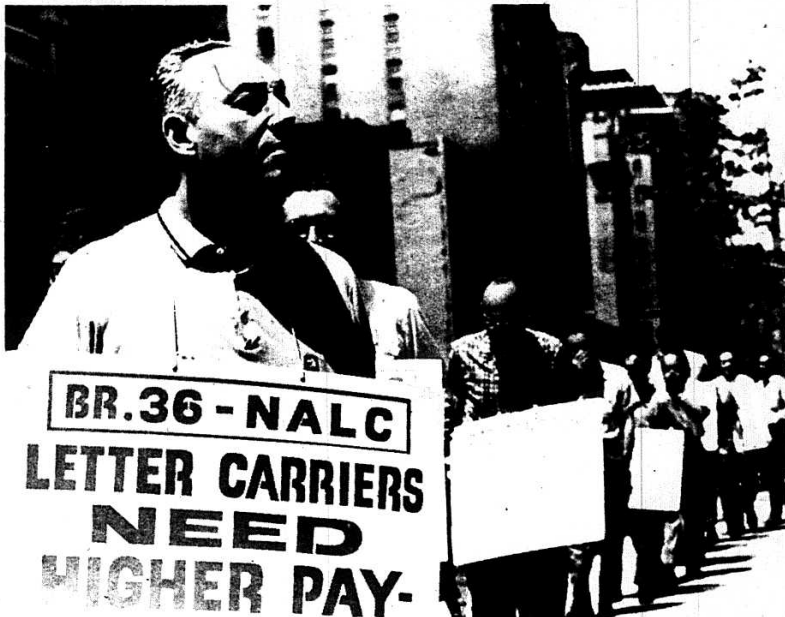
They can be won, however. If postal workers organize, if they begin the fight now, anything is possible. But the pressure must start now. A committee can be built in every local union. And if the leaders don't agree, start an independent committee.

Already, some groups have begun. In Portland, Ore. carriers are taking the Kokomo plan on... In Philadelphia the fight for holidays is on the way.

These are just the beginning. Job actions, meetings, slowdowns must follow. This is the only way to get to the negotiators. And it has to be done nationally.

Finally, postal workers must be prepared to reject a rotten contract, and reject it with a strike if necessary. In 1970, only a massive strike got results.

There is no time to lose. □



This year's postal contract is a pace-setter for important upcoming union contracts. See "Which Side Are You On," page 7.

POSTAL POINTS

► Pittsburgh, Pa.

"You're damned right there's going to be a fight on this contract. We'll have to fight to get what we want, to get what we deserve. One thing's for sure, there's no way they're going to take the no layoff clause away from us."

Elmer Miller, steward, APWU Local 81

► Portland, Ore.

On Friday, May 30, 250 members of NALC Local 82, demonstrated here in opposition to implementation of the Kokomo Plan. Portland's Rose City Station is one of three selected as a test site for the controversial automation plan. Already, time and motion studies have led to the elimination of six jobs...out of 43. And carriers still working must now work as many as 9 and 10 hours.

The Portland carriers are angry. According to one militant, "We'd go on strike right now, if the stewards called one. The thing that burns me up is this. There are thousands of trained carriers not working. They would be ready to go to work today if they were called in... Then everyone could work a decent eight hours and have a chance to see their families."

► Cleveland, Oh.

"The company isn't worth shit. There are too many bosses. They hire bosses at huge amounts of money and then lay off the guys at the bottom who aren't making anything. It's crazy. They'll end up like Penn Central. The union's strong

now. We used to be weak. The men will speak up now. They aren't afraid anymore."

Herbert Lynch, APWU

► Philadelphia, Pa.

On May 21, hundreds of postal workers demonstrated here demanding the right to their holidays. Under the present contract postal workers can be forced to work holidays, sometimes as many as six out of their total nine. The demonstration was called by the APWU.

The rank and file group, Postal Action, helped build the demonstration. In fact, many of the postal workers attending first heard of the demonstration through the group's newsletter, Postal Action Dispatch. The APWU officials thanked them by trying to exclude Postal Action from the demonstration. So much for the "democratic" postal unions.

Militant postal workers tried to make the picket line a demonstration for a decent contract. Some carriers signs "No contract, no work." Others protested speedup, forced overtime, and threatened layoffs... One postal clerk told Workers' Power, "We should be on strike over this issue alone... mandatory holidays."

► Kokomo, Ind.

Kokomo letter carriers agreed to the new work procedures (the Kokomo plan) when it was first advanced, but now say they were misled by postal officials who told them it would be to their benefit. Instead, the carri-

ers charge, the service intends ultimately to get rid of 15,000 to 20,000 mailmen across the country.

► Washington, D.C.

Negotiations between the US Postal Service and the postal unions continue in top secret at a plush Washington, D.C. hotel. The negotiations began with ceremonies, picture taking, and other pleasantries. They continue there... far, far from the reach of the rank and file.

► New York, N.Y.

Local union presidents Moe Biller of APWU and Vincent Sombiotto of the NALC have called postal workers out for demonstrations. They will be held on Wednesday, June 11, at the General Post Office in Manhattan.

► Louisville, Ky.

Carriers here are complaining about the speedup and harassment. They say it's now impossible to do a good job. The time and motion men are on them all the time. They ride around, all day, working full time to see that you're on schedule. There's no more service.

And, as far as the time studies go. They take a 30 year old man, in perfect health, on a beautiful day, and pace him off a certain distance. Then they expect every carrier to meet that standard... rain, sleet, or snow, also dogs.

Spread the news. Send postal reports to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Mi. 48203.

Workers' Power

NATIONAL AUTO CAUCUS TO MEET

UAW members and their families from around the country and Canada will be meeting in Detroit Sunday, June 8, 1975 at a Conference on the Crisis in the Auto Industry. The Conference is sponsored by the United National Caucus. The United National Caucus is a rank and file opposition group within the UAW.

The Conference is coming at a good time. Results of the local union elections are indicating a strong dissatisfaction among all sectors of the membership with the current UAW leadership. Incumbent after incumbent local officers are being dumped.

The Conference will discuss taking this dissatisfaction and

organizing it. Pointing to the potential strength of the Union even in a time of economic crisis, the Caucus is determined to have the ranks set the program of action to meet this crisis. To do this the UNC and others in the UAW will press for a special UAW Convention on unemployment and the industry's crisis.

The Conference organizers point to the problems facing those laid off and those working and go on to say: "Our contract comes up in a little over a year from now. We can't afford to wait. If ever the UAW needed bold and aggressive leadership, this is it!"

The UNC Conference will be one part of creating that leadership. □