

# WORKERS' Power

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# BLACK JOBLESS

Of 11 million black Americans in the US labor force, more than one in four were out of work in the first three months of 1975.

These staggering figures were released by the Urban League. Its study of unemployment showed that the jobless rate among blacks hit 25.8%, or a total of 2.9 million. This was up from 21.1% in the final quarter of 1974.

US Labor Department figures put black unemployment at "only" 14.2% for the first three months of 1975. But the Urban League's study uses a Hidden Unemployment Index to include discouraged workers—those who want a job but have lost hope and stopped looking—and those wishing full-time work who are only employed part-time.

# RATE: 25 %

### IGNORED

These unemployed workers are deliberately ignored by government figures. They include at least 20,000 black men, 34,000 black women and 52,000 black male teen-agers who gave up looking for a job.

There is another, even more shocking statistic.

The Urban League reports that of the 49,000 workers who joined the unemployed work force in this country between February and March, 47,000 were black.

That means that black workers made up almost 96% of the new victims of unemployment, at the very point that the economic depression hit rock bottom.

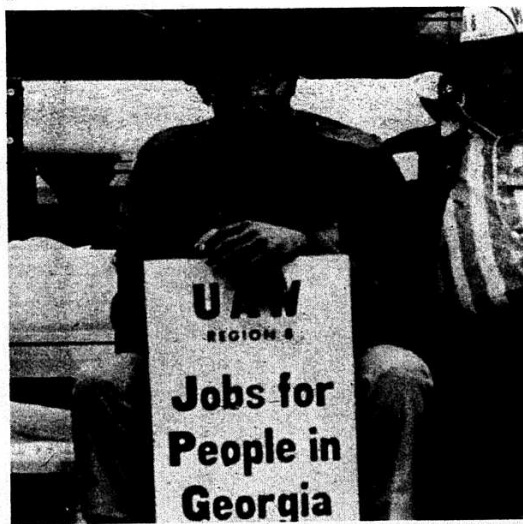
### DELIBERATE

Government statistics are deliberately designed to hide the real extent of unemployment.

Black workers are the chief victims of this government distortion, just as they are hit first and hardest by the economic slump.

The corporations have thrown millions of workers in this country onto the street, and closed the doors to jobs for even more.

That is how they are going to recover from the crisis of the capitalist system. And that is the real meaning of unemployment. The "bottoming out" of their recession is measured in the destruction of workers' lives, hopes and families. □



# Prisoner Leader Murdered



Popeye Jackson

SAN FRANCISCO—"Popeye" Jackson, a cofounder of the United Prisoners Union and one of California's best known prison reformers, was shot to death early Sunday morning, June 8th, in front of his San Francisco apartment.

Sally Voyer, a Bay Area teacher was also slain, although Jackson was the apparent target of the attack. Voyer had driven him home from a fund-raising party.

The 45-year-old Jackson, had served terms in almost every California State Prison. He emerged in the '70's as a highly articulate defender of convicts and ex-cons.

Miss Voyer had been helping Jackson line up speaking dates at schools in the Bay Area. She was an activist in the Teachers Union

and had worked occasionally with NETWORK, a rank and file teacher's paper.

### SPOKE AT MEETING

On April 6, Popeye Jackson spoke at a meeting in Oakland sponsored by the International Socialists to raise money for the Attica defendants.

Jackson said that the night had a special importance for him. At midnight his parole would end and he would be a "free man" for the first time in years.

Exactly two months later he and Miss Voyer were killed.

As head of the UPA Popeye was involved in frequent clashes with the police. Most recently, after six SLA members were slain in a 1974 shootout, Jackson charged the police with murder.

He told a memorial service for them: "I'm tired of armchair revolutionaries who theorize but don't act." However, Jackson and other UPU members have been critical of some tactics of the SLA and the Weather Underground.

The press has hinted that members of either of these groups may have murdered Jackson.

But in a formal statement, United Prisoners Union leaders said: "The identity of Popeye's enemies is no secret. He has been the target of police harassment, surveillance, intimidation and death threats."

### PRETENDING

"These same forces are now pretending to conduct an investi-

gation into his murder. Their conduct, specifically the smirking interrogation of his loved ones and comrades reveals their intent to exploit Popeye's death to further harass and investigate the Left.

"The issue is not who pulled the trigger but is rather who benefits from and who in the last analysis is responsible for Popeye's murder."

Popeye is survived by Pat Singer, the woman he had lived with for the last year. She expects the birth of her and Popeye's child any day. She is also caring for Popeye's three-year old son.

A fund to support the children has been set up in care of attorney Joe Morehead, at 3993 24th Street, San Francisco, California. □

# They Call It "Food For Peace"

In the last 30 years the US government has given away 200 million tons of food, worth \$24.5 billion.

US food aid is made possible under Public Law 480. It is advertised as "Food For Peace."

The program has as little to do with peace as

did the war in Vietnam.

In fact, the program does little to fill empty bellies and a great deal to fill the coffers of US based multinationals, the US shipping industry, US diplomats, and corrupt politicians here and abroad.

How does it work....

## Agribusiness Gets Its Piece

...For one thing the Food For Peace program has been used to open up new markets—or hold onto old ones as the case may be—for US agribusiness.

For example, throughout the '60's Iran bought all its vegetable oil from US suppliers.

By the end of the '60's Russian sunflower oil had become cheaper and Iran switched suppliers. In 1968 the US sold only 4000 tons of vegetable oil to Iran.

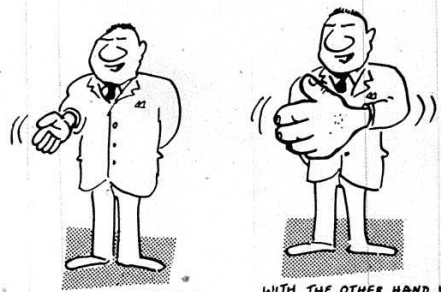
### ENTICE BUYERS

Through the Food For Peace program the US Department of

Agriculture then poured \$19.5 million in low interest, long term loans into Iran. The loans were used to entice Iranian buyers back to American suppliers.

In other words Food For Peace funds were used to subsidize oil prices so they could in effect be lower and thus competitive with Russian prices. Iranian purchases of US oil shot up 83,000 tons. Russia dropped out of the competition. Then Iran was returned to a "cash only customer."

To win back the Iranian market, the tax dollars of American workers were used to maintain the profits of the US vegetable oil business.



ON ONE HAND WE GIVE AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES...

WITH THE OTHER HAND WE TAKE BACK A FAIR RETURN ON OUR INVESTMENTS!

The phenomenal growth of this country's agricultural exports—\$2.3 billion in 1955 to \$21 billion in 1974—is directly linked to the Food For Peace program and similar deals.

Funds available under Public Law 480 changed the eating habits of large sections of the world, thus creating new markets for US agriculture.

### NEW DIETS

Countries in South America and Asia were given credits to purchase surplus wheat. Wheat had not been part of their diet. Now that a need has been created

they too are cash paying customers.

Following World War II Taiwan was given huge wheat aid credits. Encouraging the Taiwanese to eat wheat meant freeing Taiwan's rice production for export and greater profit.

The initial reaction from Taiwan's population to eating hither-to foreign grains was negative. A campaign to turn this negative reaction to a positive one was conducted under the slogan "Eating wheat is patriotic."

Today US grains have a ready market in Taiwan. Much to the profit of US agribusiness....

## Ralston-Purina Gets Its Piece

...Or, suppose you are a rather large corporation looking for a quick profit with little investment. Under the Food For Peace program you could expand your business abroad with almost no cash outlay.

The US government would loan you long term, low interest loans of foreign currencies collected through its embassies as payment

for previous deliveries of food stuffs. Your business doesn't even have to have anything to do with food.

Between 1959 and 1971 the Food For Peace program loaned 420 businesses \$415 million. Among those on the receiving line were Ralston Purina, Sears Roebuck, Singer, General Electric, Chase Manhattan Bank and the



AMERICAN DREAM  
Gay Semel

Bank of America.

Not exactly a list of the world's neediest.

## Shipping Magnates Get Their Piece

...The generosity of the Food For Peace program knows no bounds (except, of course, if you happen to be hungry).

### UNDER THE TABLE

A large section of the US shipping industry is supported by Food For Peace contracts. The Food For Peace program will

provide \$250 million in freight fees this year alone.

Many of these millions are paid in questionable ways that avoid US tax laws.

The shipping industry is made up of dozens of brokers, hundreds of companies and endless corruption. Commissions net thousands of dollars. More under the table.

Like something out of James Bond, shipping Food For Peace involves mysterious ship owners that disappear overnight. Bermuda based corporations, kickbacks to diplomats and frequent rumors of CIA involvement.

In the end millions of dollars are made while millions of people starve.

## So Guess Who Gets The

...The Food For Peace program also boosts agribusiness profits in the US.

Surplus products are dumped abroad, to keep domestic prices high. That means we pay twice. Once in taxes that pay for the program, and again in inflated prices at the supermarket.

For example, last year saw a record crop for American rice growers. Only half is needed by millers, brewers and other rice customers in the US. Yet a bountiful crop did not see a corresponding reduction in price.

As soon as a good harvest

became apparent, friends of the rice growers in Congress pushed to up the purchase of rice for use in the Food For Peace program. They were successful.

Rice, paid for by Food For Peace, is shipped abroad and US prices are kept high.

Rather than aid to the needy, the Food For Peace program is another handout to the rich. But perhaps even worse is the way Food For Peace has been used to prop up US foreign policy.

Reactionary governments in South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil, to name a few, have been

## Crumbs?

supported through the program.

Before the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam and Cambodia, food was a weapon used against the liberation forces. These military dictatorships sold Food For Peace food on the open market at as high a price as the traffic would bear. Funds were used to expand their arsenal.

"Food For Peace" meant funds for war.

...The lesson is not that US food surplus should not be used to feed the world's starving masses. Under socialism the advanced industrial world will exert every effort to assist and develop the underdeveloped world.

The lesson is that surplus control-

led by the capitalist class is never used for humanitarian reasons.

The only way to feed the world's hungry—without the cost of the meal ticket being freedom—is to end the system that creates starvation in the first place.



### Workers' Power 123

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# New Teamster Rank and File Publication

"...A first step in building a co-ordinated rank and file movement, the kind of movement that can really make a difference in what kind of union we have, what

kind of contract we live under."

This is how Teamster Network, a new bimonthly rank and file publication in the Teamsters Union describes itself in its first issue. The purpose of the magazine is to draw together information about rank and file activity from around the country.

The first issue includes reports, leaflets, and newspapers from Cleveland, Akron, Chicago, Indianapolis, Memphis, New York, Los Angeles, Oakland, Seattle, Pittsburgh and other cities.

The sponsors of the publication sum up their objective as, "a national rank and file movement in the IBT, one that is not controlled by any small clique of people out for their own gain, but one controlled by the active and aroused rank and file. It's a big goal, but one worth all our sweat and energy—because it's about our own jobs and our own lives."

The address is: Teamster Network, PO Box 99129 Erieview Station, Cleveland, Ohio 44199. Send 50¢ per copy, or write for bulk rates.



The first issue of Teamster rank and file magazine.

## REA WILDCATS

by Stan Wilkerson

CHICAGO—In at least 18 major cities, truck drivers, dock workers, and office workers are wildcatting against REA Express. The strike involves such major centers as Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Detroit, and Kansas City.

The strike began on May 29, as REA imposed a 10% pay cut. The company's excuse is that it's broke. REA has filed for reorganization under the federal bankruptcy laws. And a federal judge has helped out by ruling that REA does not have to abide by its union contract.

To top that off, REA has been passing bad checks. If one of REA's employees did that, he'd probably get five years. But not the boss. Most REA employees have had at least one paycheck bounce. One driver has been given seven worthless paychecks. Almost all Chicago area employees are owed over \$1000.

So it's not surprising that the workers are taking matters into their own hands. And that's meant fighting the head of their union as well as REA.

### UNION

The major union involved is the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), headed by C.L. Dennis. Dennis claims the strike is

illegal, even though the contract had been voided. He has suspended six vice presidents for allegedly supporting the strikers.

Over 100 REA employees picketed the BRAC headquarters in Rosemont, a suburb of Chicago, on June 9. Dennis told them to go back to work.

And the Chicago press has done the same. Several newspaper articles have announced the strike is over and other cities have gone back to work. In fact, the strike is spreading and strengthening.

In Chicago, the best the company has been able to do is get a few over the road drivers back to work. They're threatening to get some trucking companies to deliver their goods in the cities. Teamsters should be aware and stop this strike-breaking effort before it gets off the ground.

In order to be successful, the fight against the pay cuts must take on a political aspect. It should not be REA employees, who've given the best years of their lives to the company, who have to pay for REA's financial mess.

If the company can't meet its obligations to the workers, it should be taken over by the government. And it should be run by the REA workers who could no doubt do a better job than the current bosses.

### BUREAUCRATIC MOVE

Watts went down to defeat on another bureaucratic move, to change CWA conventions from once a year to once every eighteen months.

A motion from the San Francisco local directed at opposition groups in the CWA was also roundly defeated. This resolution would have allowed local leaders to bring up on charges members, or even other officials, who publish or distribute literature criticizing the union leadership.



ST. LOUIS—On June 4, 40 people demonstrated in front of Jewish Hospital.

They were protesting the recent firing of a union militant and showing their support for the Jewish Hospital workers. For the past two years hospital workers have been engaged in a union organizing drive. The hospital apparently was pretty upset at the presence of the demonstrators. The hospital's Personnel Director, Assistant Personnel Director, Chief of Security and a top Administrator all came in on a Saturday just to keep an eye on things.

## STEEL: FIGHTING RACISM

by David Sandoz

ST. LOUIS—For weeks, hundreds of workers have been fighting racist practices of Scullin Steel in St. Louis. The company has used the union (USWA Local 1062), the media and the courts against the workers.

Scullin began the fight by using racist hiring and promoting practices. After a black worker received a discriminatory suspension, about 100 workers protested in the plant.

Scullin chose 21 workers and suspended them. (That number has now been reduced to 18. In one case, a worker suspended for leading the protest turned out to have been in the hospital at the time!) The protest spread to the rest of the plant and production was crippled for over a week.

### STRIKES BACK

Soon Scullin struck back. They fired Alvin Wilson, a shop steward who opposed racist policies, on

trumped-up charges.

Scullin sought and received a temporary restraining order. The radio announced that the issues were settled. The union passed out a leaflet attacking the protestors as "radicals." Together, they broke the protest.

Later, the judge extended the restraining order for ten more days.

Despite these united attacks, Scullin workers are continuing solidarity.

A petition supporting Wilson has received hundreds of signatures. Absenteeism is high and production is lagging. A rally demonstrated support for the victimized protestors.

Another example of solidarity comes from other workers on payday. Dozens of workers are donating \$1—5 to help the victims make it through this lean period.

Last payday, Scullin workers did not receive their cost of living increases as scheduled. Many workers believe that Scullin with-

held the extra money to prevent further donations.

### FEARS BLOW-UP

Scullin management wants to get tough, but fears another blow-up. The 18 workers were suspended till June 23, but they were not fired as originally planned. Workers in the plant say the foremen are being careful not to create another "incident."

Nevertheless, Scullin now wants to impose a harsh new set of work rules that would outlaw workers talking in groups of two or more. Similarly, management claims they don't know who fired Alvin Wilson—but they aren't re-instating him!

Management has the courts, the media, and the union's help. Scullin workers have solidarity with each other and with other workers.

But when solidarity is strong it can beat management and its outside supporters.



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

# DISSSENT BREAKS THRU AT CWA MEET

by Kim Moody

The 37th Annual Convention of the Communications Workers of America convened in San Diego on June 9.

It was clear that CWA President Glenn E. Watts did not have complete control over the convention. For all his semi-slick parliamentary maneuvers, wide-spread dissatisfaction with the Watts administration was evident.

In particular, Watts faced political embarrassment when a series of motions calling for an open bargaining, no contract—no work policy nearly passed over his objections.

These resolutions, which originated in CWA's District 10 (South Central Bell), effectively criticized Watts' handling of the 1974 contract negotiations. They called for an end to information blackouts,

for a national strike before contract expiration, for a no contract—no work policy.

The hand vote was so close, Watts had to call for a division of the house. Even then, the vote was extremely close.

The convention reflected a growing impatience among the CWA membership, but it reflected it only imperfectly. Most of the delegates were local officials, many of whom feel under fire from the ranks themselves.

They were willing to embarrass Watts and the top CWA leadership on a number of issues. But most were not willing, or perhaps even able, to organize a real convention opposition, directed at making CWA a fighting union.

Harassment, speed up, absurd absence control plans, declining real wages and racial and sexual discrimination are all hard felt issues for the half a million telephone workers CWA represents. But despite the opposition to Watts, the Convention produced little that can help fight on these

pressing issues.

### PROMISES ONLY

Virtually no resolutions or proposals were put forth by the CWA leadership to deal with the Bell System's growing campaign of harassment and speed up.

In spite of promises to fight Bell's notorious absence-control plans—one of which recently contributed to the death of an Oakland, California telephone worker—not a word was said by CWA officials.

While CWA President, Glenn E. Watts, gave verbal support to a constitutional amendment that would have established Women's Committees in each local, he apparently made little or no effort to organize for it.

The amendment was defeated twice. Watts undoubtedly support-

ed the amendment as a concession to the growing dissatisfaction of CWA's women members.

Another sop was thrown to women telephone workers when the convention passed a motion for a commission to "study" the problem of inequality between male and female wage scales.

To solve these problems, a genuinely militant and democratic opposition will have to come from the ranks. The basis for this kind of opposition movement is now emerging in groups like United Action (New York, Louisville, Detroit, Nashville) and Trunk Line in Seattle.

These groups are fighting not just to replace the rotten leadership of the CWA, but for a new kind of unionism: one that fights the company, not the membership.

# Zambia Gunning to Smash ZANU

by Dan Posen

A well-financed, massive publicity campaign has been launched to cover up what probably lay behind the murder of Herbert Chitepo, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Chitepo was assassinated March 4 by a bomb planted in his car in

Lusaka, the capital of Zambia.

Immediately after Chitepo's funeral, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia ordered a brutal crackdown to outlaw ZANU in Zambia. 1400 members of ZANU were arrested and all ZANU offices and assets in the country were seized.

The government of Zambia is

now using a time-honored technique to cover up its probable role in the murder. It is the same technique that the establishment in this country used when Malcolm X was murdered in 1965. It is claiming that Chitepo was murdered by "rival factions" in his own organization, ZANU.

Kaunda is simply carrying out his part of a bargain struck with the Prime Minister of South Africa, John Vorster. South Africa has promised "detente" to the leaders of independent states in southern Africa, particularly Zambia and Tanzania, if they will help to crush the revolutionary forces (like ZANU) among the black liberation forces in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Angola.

The arrest of ZANU members by the Zambian government is being described as a measure "to facilitate the work of a Special Commission established by President Kuanda to investigate the events leading to the assassination of Chitepo.

The main work of the Commission will be to investigate—and, no doubt, reveal to Ian Smith and John Vorster—everything about ZANU.

All the circumstances of the killing point to the probability that the murder of Chitepo was part of the same deal—and that it was carried out by the government of Zambia on orders from Kaunda.

Just before Chitepo's death, Kaunda ordered him to turn over control of ZANU's army to the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), the umbrella group of liberation organizations in Zimbabwe. The purpose of this transfer was to arrange a cease-fire with the Ian Smith regime. Chitepo firmly refused—the next morning he was dead.

## AFRICA MAGAZINE

The main mouthpiece for Zambia's cover-up campaign is a slick, well-financed publication called Africa magazine. Africa faithfully reflects the views of the governments of Zambia, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, and other African states.

Kenneth Kaunda is one of the main stockholders in this magazine.

A feature article in the May issue paints a lurid picture intended to prove that ZANU "was embroiled in an ugly, and sometimes bloody, power struggle" at the time of Chitepo's death.

Not a scrap of evidence is presented that there were political factions inside ZANU. Instead, the magazine claims there was a tribal fight between Karanga and Manyika tribesmen in ZANU that violently split the whole organization—even though most of ZANU's army belongs to neither of these groups.

A series of incidents are recounted which supposedly prove that the members of ZANU's Supreme Council were plotting to eliminate each other. Not a single source of information is given for any of these items.

Whatever the facts might be, the government of Zambia has ensured that the leaders of ZANU will have no chance to reply. Those who survive have been rounded up—and their tiny printed newsletter crushed.

## WHOSE INTERESTS?

The details of this disgusting smear job are not so important. What really counts is the politics behind it.

Part of the reason, no doubt, is to try to destroy the confidence of ZANU's cadres carrying on the struggle in Zimbabwe. They have to face South Africa's police, Ian Smith's troops. Now, on top of that, they have to face the determination of the Zambian regime and at least part of the ANC leadership to discredit and split their organization.

On June 1, outside a meeting of ANC in Salisbury (capital city of Zimbabwe), there was a demonstration calling for "Chimurenga"—armed struggle against the Smith regime to free Zimbabwe. The

demonstrators were suddenly attacked by Rhodesian police with clubs, police dogs and guns which they fired into the crowd. Thirteen black demonstrators were killed in the assault.

The cover for the police attack came from a "counter-demonstration" against ZANU called by ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union), which supports negotiations with the Smith regime for a peaceful end of the liberation war.

Of all the organizations in the struggle, ZANU has been the only one to insist that racist rule in Zimbabwe will end only when the Smith regime is smashed. It cannot be eased into a settlement through South Africa.

ZANU has also proclaimed a commitment to a society run by and for the masses of Africans. They are not for a neo-colony run by black puppets for the western capitalist powers.

## SURVIVAL

The suppression of ZANU in Zambia and the June 1 massacre indicate that ZANU faces a fight for survival. Vorster, Smith and Kaunda will not rest until they have completely crushed it.

The phony "investigation" of ZANU in Zambia will no doubt lead to sensational "disclosures" to prove that ZANU is run by gangsters and murderers. The real aim is to create a smokescreen while the revolutionary wing in the Zimbabwe resistance movement is wiped out.



Thirteen blacks were killed by Rhodesian police in this assault. They were protesting the racist regime.

# HOT SUMMER IN CANADIAN STEEL

by Tom Miller

This will be an important summer for Canadian steelworkers. On July 31, contracts between the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and Stelco and Algoma expire. These are two of the big three steel producers in Canada.

The third, Defasco, is non-union. Unlike the US steel industry, now swirling into a depression, the Canadian industry is going strong. Profits and productivity are soaring; new plants being built; orders surprisingly high. Algoma, for instance, recorded a 90% jump in profits in 1974.

But for the workers things have not been so rosy. Canada's cost of living went up over 12% last year, and steelworkers' wages didn't keep up. With employment strong, the workers are in an ideal position to put up a tremendous fight. So the companies have maneuvered over the year to head off militancy.

At Stelco, for instance, a cost of living increase above and beyond the contract was granted. Profit sharing and similar "beneficent measures" were tried by other companies.

Why all the scheming? Recent history gives the answer. A wildcat strike in 1966 and a long strike in 1969 both resulted in relatively good contracts at Stelco. They made Stelco workers the highest paid steelworkers in the world.

But in 1972, with little militancy, Stelco wages fell behind those at the non-union Defasco.

## NO NO-STRIKE DEAL

The companies have correctly smelled a wave of militancy coming on. Unlike the US, the Canadian section of the USWA is not saddled

with a no-strike agreement.

The question before the workers now is whether the union leadership will fight, or buckle before the smooth-talking companies.

Already in a contract with the Iron Ore Company of Canada, a poor settlement of 21% over three years was reached. This contract has traditionally set the pace for steel in USWA bargaining.

In order to avoid a repeat performance in steel, the ranks will

have to mobilize. Pressure from below is all that ever gets results in a situation like this.

Whether or not that pressure comes will have a big effect, both in Canada and here in the US. The USWA is the largest union in Canada, and the Canadian section accounts for nearly one-third of the total USWA membership. A sharp struggle over this contract could provide a spark throughout the whole union.

# Truce On Press

The Portuguese government has ended the showdown over the seizure of the newspaper Republica. It ordered the paper returned to its publisher Paul Rego. Rego is a leading figure in the Socialist Party.

The order came two days before a deadline set by the SP for the return of the paper. They threatened to leave the government if their paper was not returned. It had been seized by printers, organized by the Communist Party. The Republica had published editorial attacks on the policies of the CP and the Armed Forces Movement—the group of several hundred officers who control the government.

Portugal is the scene of a working class upheaval, including strikes, occupations and workers' councils. The Communist Party has made an all-out effort to control this upsurge, and squelch all criticism within the workers' movement of its alliance with the Armed Forces Movement.

The return of Republica is a limited victory for Portuguese

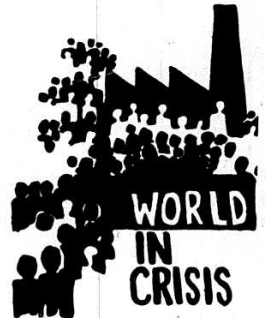
workers. In order to build their struggles workers must have a free working class press, not controlled by the capitalist state, the MFA or the CP.

But Republica does not represent the working class. Paul Rego, the publisher, was the Minister of Information in the government last year. His own Ministry imposed a repressive law aimed against revolutionary newspapers.

As soon as their paper was returned, the Socialist Party's ministers went back to the government meetings. Along with the CP, they are part and parcel of the regime which is trying to prevent workers' revolution at all costs.

The Socialist and Communist Parties have enormous differences—but they have both shown that they favor "democracy" for themselves, not for the rank and file workers in the factories or for revolutionaries. One crisis in Portugal has passed, but the next is probably not far away.

[More on the revolution in Portugal on pages 8 and 9.]



# BRITISH CHRYSLER WORKERS SETTLE

Workers at Chrysler in Coventry, England have returned to work after a three week strike.

The original demand of the 4,000 Chrysler workers was for an immediate \$20 raise as a basis for further negotiations.

Chrysler agreed to the \$20—but as a final offer.

Chrysler is also asking for a national contract and binding arbitration.

In Britain most negotiation takes place at the local level giving the stewards and local officers much more power than their equals in the US. Chrysler is trying to break that power.

The question of national negotiations has not been settled. It will continue to be discussed over the next year.

The strike achieved two things: it forced Chrysler to reveal their plans and it added \$5-\$7 to their offer.

Militants plan to use the advance warning to begin organizing now against the imposition of national bargaining and arbitration.



# Auto Workers Demand Special Convention

by Dave Shoemaker

DETROIT—SECURITY - a Special Emergency Convention on Unemployment to Redress Inequity This Year. That's what 75 delegates at a national conference of the UAW's United National Caucus (UNC) set their caps for today. The UNC is the rank and file opposition to UAW President Woodcock's Administration Caucus.

Jordan Sims, UNC Co-chairman, keynoted the meeting, titled "Crisis in the Auto Industry." "It is no great pleasure," he said, "to know people like Woodcock, Fraser, Greathouse and Merrelli [UAW

bigwigs]—to talk to them every day and see how bankrupt they really are."

Faced with historic layoffs and a corporate cost-cutting rampage at the same time, the UAW International Executive Board (IEB) has met only twice this year and done nothing. They are "running around in circles," said Sims.

Mark Levitan of Local 3 presented a motion to launch a petition and resolution campaign nationwide to force a special emergency convention of the union. "Only two bodies are empowered to set UAW policy—the IEB, which is doing nothing, and the Convention, not scheduled until next year."

The UNC agreed to get the ball rolling and calls on UAW members of all persuasions to unite and put

the special convention over.

## UNC EXPANDS NATIONALLY

Twenty locals in Detroit, Flint and Belleville, Mich, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Kokomo, Indianapolis, and Denver had auto workers present, many from local caucuses. The Chicago area was represented heavily enough to rate a sub-conference of its own.

The UNC has long been national in its approach, as the only force capable of pulling dissident delegates together at conventions, and through its newspaper. Now it is rapidly gaining a national base to match.

In addition to the Special Convention campaign, other highlights of the Conference included:

- Women auto workers were prominent as speakers and chair-people.

- In answer to the delegate who came all the way from Denver, the UNC underlined that it welcomed affiliation by local caucuses who want to keep their own name and identity.

- A member of the Linden (NJ) Auto Workers caucus (LAW) warned of attempts by the union porkchops to strip members on long layoffs of their membership rights.

- The emotional issues of the day were the conflict between seniority and minority rights, and busing. The conference came to no conclusion on the first. The UNC committed itself to organize for the active defense of busing.

The UNC is still a small organization taking on itself a gigantic task. As UNC Co-chairman Pete Kelly put it: "We are trying to organize the rank and file of this union to control it."

As the only group of auto militants going anywhere on a national scale, the UNC drew its share of people who used the conference as a showcase for the programs of their respective political sects. This stirred up some bad feeling, since those folks have not yet learned the necessity to carry out—or even support—the UNC program.

Despite this, the Conference was successful in charting a course for UAW militants in the coming months.

## Strike Vote Called At Harvester

CHICAGO—Twelve mechanics at the Melrose Park plant of International Harvester walked off the job on June 5. The walkout protested the company's refusal to discipline a foreman. The twelve were immediately suspended by Harvester. The result is UAW Local 6 will call for strike authorization at the next membership meeting.

The mechanics' protest was the result of an incident in mid-April. Foreman Tom Koukol threatened the engineering department steward, calling him a "fucking liar." He suggested they settle their differences in the parking lot.

After a series of meetings the company refused to remove the foreman. The twelve mechanics had witnessed Koukol's threat. They then walked out. Earlier this year a worker in the department was fired for allegedly threatening a foreman.

This is not an isolated incident. Over the past year Harvester has toughened up discipline to enforce a productivity drive. The speedup campaign resulted in a backlog of unsettled grievances concerning safety and production standards. The company is taking a hard stand in negotiations.

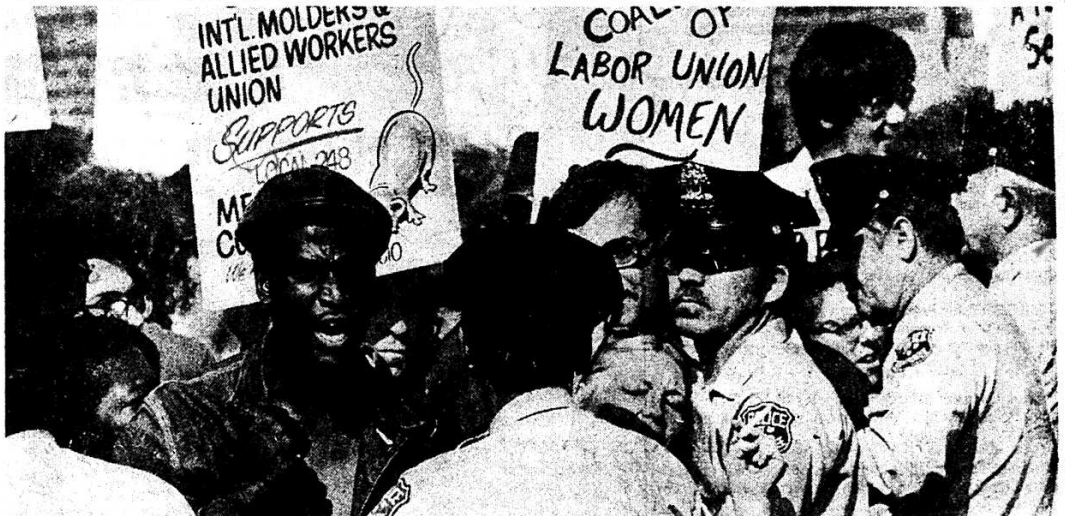
The timing of the Koukol incident suggests that Harvester is trying to break Local 6. The effectiveness of union retaliation with a strike is blunted with a plant shutdown scheduled in a few weeks. Management feels it is in a strong position.

### NO FIGHT

The union is relatively weak because the incumbent local leadership has failed to fight in the past. The only response of the shop committee to the company offensive was to organize a secret overtime ban—so secret that it was completely ineffective. It was no more than a stunt to get itself re-elected. What the leadership calls its patient and peaceful approach to handling grievances means Harvester was able to choose its own time to pick a fight.

The opposition to the Local's administration is the Rank and File Coalition. The Coalition has been calling for an overtime ban and slowdown to fight speedup since February. The Coalition demands that foreman Koukol be fired immediately and the suspended mechanics be reinstated with back pay and clean records. All discipline invoked by Koukol must be removed from the record. And in the event of a strike no one goes back to work until all outstanding grievances are settled.

## MASS RALLY SUPPORTS MEATCUTTERS



The picketers supporting the meatcutters were black, white and latino, men and women—reflecting the character of the striking local

500 people turned up for a militant picket line and rally called by the Milwaukee AFL-CIO in support of striking Meatcutters Local 248. Unionists from most of the city's unions attended. Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and various left-wing groups were there too.

Workers from Local 248, AMCBWA, have been on strike for four months against the Milwaukee Independent Meatpackers Association, a coalition of small time owners. The Association is out to bust the union.

### FORCED TO STRIKE

Tensions were high when the time came for the scabs to leave work. Shouts, curses, kicks and a few rocks greeted the scabs as they

quickly left in their cars, but a heavy battery of cops protected them.

The union was forced to strike. Workers and job classifications were shifted around to lower wages. Management refused to consider the union's demand to bring their wages up to the national average in the industry.

Workers were forced to work harder and for longer hours. This speed up was very dangerous since meat cutting is one of the most dangerous jobs in the country. Workers were harassed, especially newly hired women workers who were deliberately put on the most dangerous jobs.

Since the strike started the Meatpackers Association has recruited scabs from all over the Midwest, advertising in newspapers in other states.

## Militancy Wins Sanitation Strike

BERWYN, Ill.—Ten city workers have been laid off as a reprisal for a militant strike. Members of IBT Local 705 struck for 21 work days. In addition, Louis Peick, head of 705, relieved Steward Jerry Torres of his office as punishment for standing by his members.

The newly elected city council of this Chicago suburb would like to turn the clock back to 1967. Then garbage men were hired off the streets at \$1.75 an hour and worked 2 or 3 hours a day. Today Berwyn Sanitation Department workers are union men earning between \$5.20 and \$5.38 per hour.

The strike would never have been won had it not been for the militancy and solidarity of the workers. During the strike Frank Grady, 705 Business Agent, did nothing to represent them. The union officers said they should be

happy with the \$3.35 an hour that the city offered.

But the workers stuck together and rejected the city's proposal. They won, and returned to work with \$5.5 an hour, additional vacation benefits, disability insurance and two new holidays.

### WIVES ORGANIZE TOO

Threats of layoffs and loss of jobs spurred the wives of city workers to form a women's contingent to fight alongside their husbands. They were fed up with the lies and sell-outs of the City Council and the union officials. The women raised the roof at two city council meetings, wrote angry letters and went to the community for support.

Unfortunately, under the leadership of ex-steward Jerry Torres,

If the union can be beaten the Association will try to bust the union in other cities. The local's struggle has been hampered by a sweeping anti-picketing injunction issued by the NLRB.

### SOME VICTORIES

The outcome of the strike is uncertain. The union has won some victories. Two of the struck plants have closed.

Kroger forced two of its subsidiary companies to settle when they were threatened with a nationwide boycott. Sentry's is now being boycotted because they buy the most scab meat in the city.

McDonald's in Milwaukee stopped buying scab meat when the Wives Committee of Local 248 organized a boycott. The Wives Committee has also spoken to

CLUW and at other meetings. They have done picket duty and may go to Madison to demand of the Governor that the plants be closed for using scab labor.

Nonetheless, the strike will not be won unless the union leadership stops dragging its heels. The Sentry boycott should have been started months ago. By and large the union leadership has been too afraid of violating the injunction. This mass rally was the first of its kind.

Nora Helm

## CHICAGOANS RALLY FOR LITTLE

CHICAGO—On June 21 Joann Little will address a mass rally sponsored by the Chicago Women's Defense Committee. The committee publicizes defense cases and mobilizes support for people who are victims of a racist and sexist court system.

To support Joann Little the group has been actively publicizing the case and circulating petitions. Now the Committee is calling a rally to demand that charges against Joanne Little be dropped at once.

The Defense Committee emphasized that the death of Clarence Alligood, a white prison guard, was a result of his attempting to rape Little. The real criminal is already dead. Little acted in self-defense, and must not be made to bear the burden of a trial or conviction.

The rally in Chicago will be at Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4810 S. Dorchester, on June 21 at 2:30 PM.

Christina Cadbury

Christina Cadbury

# CITY WORKERS - FIGHTING BEAME AND THE BANKERS

by a team of Workers' Power reporters

**NEW YORK**—New Yorkers have been barraged with gloomy news and prophecies of fiscal doom in recent weeks.

The city is broke and in debt to the banks. The banks are refusing to lend the city any more money.

The banks have proposed a solution. They want Mayor Beame to cut back services drastically and smash the power of the city unions. This, they say, will restore New York's credit rating and guarantee their profits.

Mayor Beame's pleas for Federal or State aid have been turned down. They demanded that the Mayor make drastic budget cuts. So, as the banks, the President

Committee, a coalition chaired by Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME District Council 37.

The unions' record so far is not promising. During the last crisis in January they negotiated away \$250 million in different forms, in exchange for a promise of no layoffs until July 1.

When Beame could not get aid from the federal or state government, he "offered" city workers a four-day work week. This would cost the workers \$500 million over the next year, as well as devastating services. It would cancel an upcoming 6% raise, which would cost \$250 million.

The Municipal Labor Committee turned him down flat. The mayor withdrew his offer the next day.

who spoke had little to offer as solutions.

The only action proposed was for the unions and their members to withdraw their money from First National.

Many workers at the rally were critical of the speeches. One member of AFSCME Local 371 said, "They're not answering the basic questions. They're not talking about the layoffs. Transferring money from one bank to another is no answer."

There was another demonstration June 9. Over 20,000 school workers and parents marched in front of City Hall to protest the impending cutbacks and layoffs of 16,000-17,000 teachers.

Gotbaum, who represents school aides, emphasized in his speech that despite past feuds, AFSCME and UFT would fight side by side. Albert Shanker, President of the UFT, confirmed this promised unity with a handshake. But only five days earlier, Shanker had refused to participate in the first rally.

The crowd on June 9 angrily shouted slogans such as "They Say Cut Back—We Say Fight Back." People cheered when Shanker promised that they would not tolerate raising class size, or any cuts in essential educational programs.

Shanker ended his speech with a threat to close the schools if necessary, which the crowd enthusiastically applauded.

But despite these threats, the UFT leadership has been preparing the members all year for a contract sell-out. They have widely publicized the idea that a strike at this time is "unwinnable."

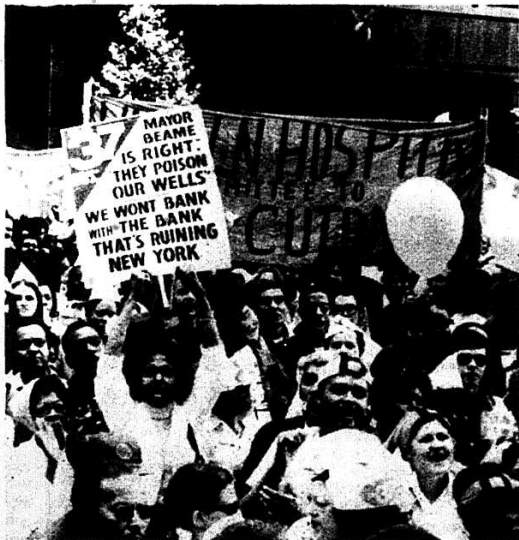
## COUNTER ATTACK

While the union leaders have been free with their denunciations of the banks, they have refused to organize a serious counter attack. An effective strategy would have to include strike action. It would have to bring business and industry in the city to a halt.

The New York public employees pick up the garbage, put out the fires, run the subways and buses, operate the bridges and tunnels, and perform countless other essential tasks. They certainly have the ability to bring the banks to their knees.

The alternative is not only the loss of tens of thousands of jobs, but a sharp cut in city services.

And as a member of IBT Local 237 said at the June 4 rally, "I try to lead a decent life. I can't pay for the banks' profits."



New York city employees' rally, June 4.

and the Governor requested, Beame turned his attack on the city unions.

The crisis now comes down to a struggle between the city and its employees. The question is, will the workers be made to pay to support the banks' profits? And will the unions representing these workers put up a fight to prevent it?

## UNIONS' RECORD

Fifteen of the unions involved belong to the Municipal Labor

Now July 1 is rapidly approaching and the Mayor has ordered 4,000 layoffs and attrition of over 9,000 positions on that date.

## DEMONSTRATIONS

With no aid coming, the Municipal Labor Committee called a demonstration on June 4 against First National City Bank.

10,000 people attended to protest the banks' refusal to lend the city money to pay its debts.

The lunch hour mobilization was impressive, but the union leaders

## labor notes

by Jim Woodward



Labor Secretary John Dunlop is trying to pull a fast one on construction workers. He recently testified in favor of a bill which would expand the power of construction workers. It will allow them to picket entire job sites even if they are striking only one individual contractor. Such picketing was ruled an illegal secondary boycott by the Supreme Court in 1949.

The catch? Well, Dunlop has tied to the bill a provision which would require the approval of the International union involved before such picketing could take place. Dunlop is trying to stop the practice of "leapfrogging," or escalating local wage settlements. He wants to bring local unions further under the control of their International officers. Presently, many local construction unions have greater freedom to strike than locals in most other industries. That's one reason for construction workers' relatively high wage rates, and that's what Dunlop has set out to change.

Francis Filbey, president of the American Postal Workers Union, says he's in favor of the US government spying on the mail of people it dislikes. When he recently spoke to the Houston local of the APWU, he said there's "nothing wrong" with the use of "mail covers" (recording postmarks and return addresses). He also said the APWU has no position on the illegal practice of opening and reading mail.

With the official unemployment rate just under 10%, one company is doing what it can to add to the problem. Warner and Swasey, a Cleveland-based machine tool company, is working some employees in its Turning Division as much as 84 hours a week. This is cheaper than hiring more people off the street. W/S regularly buys full pages in national magazines to advertise the virtues of capitalism. They're making it quite clear what they mean.

The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) reports that city workers hired with federal funds are being used to replace laid off regular workers, despite the fact that this is against the law. In many cases, the new employees are being put to work at lower wages. This is also against the law. In Dayton, Ohio, special new job titles at \$2.96 an hour were made up, while regular workers doing similar work get \$4.96.

More steel layoffs. Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill now has 7,000 on layoff, or about 25% of the workforce. The company promises another 2,000—3,000 layoffs there. Overall, there are now about 100,000 steel workers out of jobs, or 20% of the total. And still the leadership of the United Steel Workers continues to claim that their no-strike deal has created "employment stability."

Under rank and file pressure, the Bloomington (Indiana) Federation of Labor agreed on May 25th to set up an Unemployment Committee. It's about time: the RCA and Westinghouse plants in Bloomington have already laid off half their workers. There are also substantial layoffs at Otis Elevator and the GE refrigerator plant. If the Unemployment Committee is allowed to be active, it will have plenty to do.

Happy days are here again at Chrysler! Well, at least for the top brass. In December, Chrysler's 35 top officers took 25% pay cuts. They were supposedly promoting the idea that everyone had to sacrifice to help the company make it through a difficult period. There were no reports of any Chrysler executives going hungry, but on April 1st, the bosses decided to give up the noble experiment and restored their full pay. Meanwhile, over 50,000 Chrysler workers remain laid off, now without their Supplemental Unemployment Benefit fund.

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

## BEHIND THE "UAW BILL"

# Unemployment Comp: Cuts For Some

by Elissa Clark

**DETROIT**—A bill has just passed the Michigan state legislature which will increase unemployment compensation by \$30 a week across the board.

This bill is known in Michigan as the "UAW Bill" because the auto union lobbied for it so vigorously.

## CUTS

The 600,000 unemployed workers in Michigan are enthusiastic about the bill, and it will be several months before it becomes apparent that this bill includes also a setback for the unemployed.

Though the bill increases the amount of benefits, it also cuts 13 weeks off the benefit term for workers who quit their jobs or are fired "with cause." "Cause" usually turns out to be any excuse the boss gives.

Workers fired for stealing over the value of \$25 or for assault will not get any benefits.

This will hurt especially during normal times (times of no depression) when a majority of workers applying for benefits will have either quit their jobs or been fired.

In normal times, when there are no extensions, these workers will lose half their benefits. The regular period of collection is 26 weeks.

The new increases will nowhere near make up this difference.

So people who go to collect unemployment in a year, say, when the economic scene is not so disastrous will be in for a shocker.

And you won't be seeing the UAW around fighting for them then, either. The pressure will be off the UAW to fight for the unemployed.

Meanwhile, the UAW is trying to pass off this defeat as a big victory. They call this "the most vigorous campaign in the union's history to abolish inequities and upgrade unemployment compensation." The Michigan campaign they call

an "intense, successful effort."

## ALIE

This is a disgusting lie, and they know it. It proves the bankruptcy of the UAW's political program, which is nothing more than to give the Democrats money and tell the membership to vote Democratic. In the UAW press, and at union meetings, members are always being told to write their congressmen about this and that.

In fact, unemployment compensation was won by the fights of workers in the '30s. It was not given to us by Roosevelt, or any other Democrat. But now these

politicians are doing their damndest to erode it, and the UAW is giving them a perfect opportunity to do so.

Unemployment compensation laws in this country stink. They vary drastically from state to state. But all the states' unemployment laws have one thing in common: none of them provide a decent standard of living for those who are thrown out of their jobs.

Why is the UAW messing around with unemployment compensation, anyway? The reason is that there are two fights the UAW won't take on—the fight to guarantee the SUB fund, and the fight for jobs.





# Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

## Francis Filbey's Secret

Francis Filbey is president of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU). He is supposed to represent nearly 300,000 postal workers. Right now Francis Filbey is negotiating a new contract for those workers. But Francis Filbey has a secret. And his secret is what he is doing in those negotiations.

Actually, it's only a secret from some people. The employer, the US Postal Service, knows all about it. The government knows about it. In fact, the only people directly affected by the outcome of these negotiations who don't know what's going on are postal workers.

### PRIVACY

In a recent issue of the "American Postal Worker," Filbey wrote, "By its very nature collective bargaining is a private process..." In fact, "by its very nature," collective bargaining is supposed to be collective. And that, Filbey should know, is the opposite of private.

Union officials are elected to represent workers and to fight for their interests and desires. But Filbey is like most labor bureaucrats. He views bargaining as his private property because the group he fears most is the membership of the union. Filbey goes on to say, in the APWU magazine, that the reason bargaining must be secret is that "the compromises, the trade-offs and the give and take, no less than the stone-walling, cannot effectively be pursued in the press and other public forums."

### STRIKE

In other words, if the membership gets wind of the shenanigans that Filbey and other conservative union leaders are up to, they may take matters into their own hands. Filbey certainly remembers that in 1970 postal workers across the country did that. They struck, without and against their official leaders. Postal workers forced those leaders to go back to the bargaining table and do better.

Filbey wants secret bargaining because he wants to be free to pull a fast one on the ranks. Like all his colleagues, Filbey wants to come back from negotiations and say he did his best. That's all he could get. Now if the members know what really went on—and Workers' Power is willing to guess that there was a lot more "compromises" than "stone-walling"—he couldn't get away with that one.

### HIDING FROM MEMBERS

The root of the problem, however, is not secret bargaining. The problem is the nature of the labor leadership. Top union officials need to hide things from the members—and not from management—because they feel closer to management in many ways.

Some of the things that separate the labor leaders from the ranks are obvious. Filbey, for example, makes \$43,521 a year, plus over \$13,000 in expenses. Filbey doesn't sort, push around or deliver letters—he dictates them to a secretary.

Without a doubt he spends more time with management than with workers. Most likely he lives in a house and neighborhood that is more like those of top management than of most APWU members. The list could go on.

### GOLDEN GOOSE

To workers, the job of the union is to fight for what they need. It's that simple, and it should be that simple. But for the well-healed labor bureaucrat things are more "complicated." He or she is convinced that they must take the company's or the government's problems into consideration. If the



Filbey (left) and Postmaster General Benjamin Ballar. All smiles.

boss is having problems, they hold back. After all, the argument goes, you wouldn't want to kill the goose that laid the golden egg.

The labor bureaucrat buys all of this because he or she accepts the current social system as the be-all and end-all of life. So they accept the rules of the game as dictated by the owners of this system, the employers. They view themselves as "responsible" parties in the administration of this system. Naturally, they are going to do a lot of compromising, trading-off, and so on.

The truth is the goose that lays the golden egg everytime is labor. Workers create wealth, goods and services. The bosses just reap the profits. They get the egg, we get the shell. Mail can be delivered, cars produced, clothes cleaned, and golden eggs laid with or without the bosses. None of this can be done without labor.

When a union bargains over wages and working conditions it is really bargaining over the size of the profits the bosses will get. In the case of the Postal Service the bargaining is over how much taxes will be taken out of the profits of all the bosses and the cost of mail service to business. The situation is essentially the same for the workers in collective bargaining. It is not a question of killing the goose, but of reducing the amount of profits available to the bosses by increasing the income of the workers.

Union leaders like Filbey know this. The problem is that they have decided to work with the bosses to keep their profits high. That's Francis Filbey's real secret.

# OHIO WOMEN BUILD CLUW

by Cella Emerson

On Sunday, June 8th, the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women held a successful statewide educational conference.

It helped build the Cleveland, Youngstown and Cincinnati chapters. Most who attended found the educational workshops valuable. Finally, it showed that CLUW still has potential. It attracts militants who want an activist organization that fights for the rights of working class women.

Over 100 union women registered, coming from several Ohio cities.

A number of women, in particular from the UAW in Toledo and from the Machinists in Kent, had never heard of CLUW until this conference. But they left determined to organize chapters in their cities.

In Cleveland, a contingent of women from the SEIU signed up.

### ACTIVITY KEY

The dominant mood of the conference was that activity is key to building CLUW.

A number of people pointed to the case of Hester Butterfield. Fired by GE in February, she has been reinstated due to CLUW's pressure on the IUE, and their picketing in her defense.

Members urged future activities. The Cleveland chapter's vice president urged CLUW to support the formation of unemployed committees in union locals. Others argued for public hearings and rallies this summer on the issue of unemployment.

It was also proposed that CLUW take an aggressive stance in defense of busing. This issue will be very important in the state of Ohio.

Anna Palmer, NCC representative for Cincinnati CLUW, emphasized the importance of activity. CLUW's ability to act, she said, cannot be based upon approval from the international unions.

She reminded the audience that CLUW was formed because the unions had refused to take women's issues seriously. The only way we will be able to force them to take us seriously will be if we can act to defend all working women.

Carole Catlin, DALU, Youngstown, Barbara Winslow, AFT, Cleveland, and Anna Palmer, APWU, Cincinnati reported on the activities of their chapters. There was a call for another statewide conference in October. There was also support for the three chapters to actively help Toledo, Akron area, and Columbus chapters.

While the conference was a success, and demonstrated the

potential of CLUW, it does not guarantee that everything will now run smoothly.

Olga Madar, the president of CLUW attended the conference. Although she only stayed for two hours, she showed clearly that she wants to restrain CLUW from activity.

As soon as Madar walked in she started picking fights with members from Cleveland for their activity in defense of Hester Butterfield. "I'm here to tell you what you can and can't do," she told CLUW members.

Over half her speech to the conference was spent on telling in the most antagonistic manner, what CLUW cannot do. She devoted the rest to urging CLUW members to write their Congressmen to support the ERA, the Kennedy-Korman bill on medical care, and other pieces of legislation.

Madar's speech to the Ohio conference outlined her plans for CLUW. She had nothing to say on how to build it, or how CLUW can be used to fight in the unions for women's rights. That is not what she wants CLUW to do.

According to Madar, CLUW shouldn't engage in activity, but CLUW members should write a lot of letters!

Her belligerent attitude toward the CLUW membership didn't win her too much support. When she finished there was an attempt to give her a standing ovation. Only ten people stood up.

Olga may not have gotten a standing ovation, but she still gets her way in CLUW. The Ohio conference pointed out the importance of an organized opposition to the conservative leadership of CLUW.

The rank and file must get together to fight for a common program which will build CLUW and initiate activity in defense of working women. Until then, all the good sentiments that come out of conferences, such as this, will be in vain.

### Portland CLUW Holds Conference

PORTLAND, Oregon—The Portland Organizing Committee for the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held a Working Women's Conference July 7. The conference was attended by over 60 women from several unions.

Many participants were unorganized women seeking information on how to become organized and how a union functions.

Striking nurses, members of the Oregon Nurses Association, participated in the conference.

# Post Office Racism

# "If they say you don't have the right attitude, then you're out"

Frederick D. Hogan is the National Representative of the National Alliance of Postal Workers. It is a black union, created in 1913 to combat racism in the Post Office.

The predominantly white unions refused to defend black workers. Because racism continued, so did the National Alliance.

A Workers' Power reporter spoke with Hogan about conditions today in the Postal Service.

The first time a black person encounters the racism is in trying to get a job with the Postal Service in the first place.

"They make requirements that

have nothing to do with the job itself," Hogan told us. "For instance, they require college education for various jobs, and so blacks are kept out by that criterion."

### THEN UPGRADING

But if you get a job, then you will find racism in the procedures used for upgrading.

The Postal Service claims that they pick the "best qualified" person for upgrades. But how does this really work?

"Now that's the biggest joke in town," Hogan said. "Best quali-

fied' means what the man who's rating you thinks, and the Postmaster has all power.

"When you're talking about 'best qualified' they have a list of things that they can qualify you on. One of them is the one none of us can get around—attitude.

"If they say you don't have the right attitude then you're out. So as long as this 'best qualified' thing is in, I don't know how you're going to stop discrimination."

### FIGHTING BACK

Hogan and his union fight racism, but they find that it

reappears on every level of the administration. It must be fought again and again. He told of a case like that.

"They were promoting Level 5 clerks to Level 6. This is a skilled job. I processed a case and we brought in an investigator.

"He said that thirteen of the blacks who applied for the job were better qualified than the whites that got the jobs. When he said this, we said, 'well, the case is won.' But they said no.

"So we sent it to our highest place of appeal, which is the Board of Appeals and Reviews in Washington, D.C. The Board of Appeals

supported us, and then the Postmaster overruled us. The Postmaster General is not subject to appeal."

Clearly, to end racism, one task for the union will be to take away the power of the postmasters. Democratic procedures should decide who gets hired and upgraded.

The workers themselves are best qualified to decide what these should be. It is in the interest of all postal workers to end racial discrimination in the post office, for it keeps workers divided among themselves.

# PORTUGAL - IN REV



Inside the bosses' luxury suite—a Portuguese worker gets his feet up in imitation of the boss who used to run their lives.

You learn about a revolution  
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Exclusive Portugal co  
Laurie Flynn in Lisbor  
Photos by Red Saunde

## When 'moderation' means suicide

Revolutions pose new and complex problems. You learn about those problems in strange ways. We walked into a bank in Lisbon to get some money and were addressed with a polite, come-on question: What do you think of the new Portugal?

We must have answered with the correct reservations. Within seconds, a whole team of revolutionary bank workers were talking to us.

One of them, Jose Ruivo, took particular care to set out what the bank workers knew about the new Portugal's problems. And bank workers are in a position to know.

### RICH

From his branch of the Banco Borgees e Irmao, he explained, close to two and a half million dollars had been run across the Spanish border by patriotic businessmen in the last few months. The same must have happened in every other branch patronized by the rich.

The rich had other little tricks up their sleeves. They were involved in systematic economic sabotage. They were emptying their safety deposit boxes at top speed until the bank workers moved and took control of them. And then, of course, vast amounts of capital were still being used to finance the importation of luxury goods.

But, explained Jose, the government decreed that this could not be stopped. Trade agreements with the capitalist world had to be honored to the letter. In this, as in all things, they were supported by the Communist Party.

The government's 'middle road' means leaving control of the means of production in the hands of the capitalist class.

The consequences are simple.

Nothing serious is done to tackle the range of profound social problems which face the working class. The grotesque housing shortage didn't disappear on April 26, 1974. The cost of living is going up. There is rising unemployment.

And when the waves of the world economic crisis hit home hard in Portugal, the moderate middle road becomes a vicious road. It means pulling your belt in, or rather having it pulled in for you. It means screwing the working class.

There are other fearsome consequences.

Those who work the land in Portugal have to be won for the



Jose Ruivo, bank worker: "There is no middle ground."

revolution. For very practical reasons, too—they can cut off your milk or the grain for your bread, as well as harbor or support the forces of reaction.

### POWER

As Jose explains, the provisional government may offer them long-term low-interest loans. But the peasants aren't exactly lining up to take them, just as they produce below capacity because the times are uncertain.

Only revolutionary deeds can answer such a problem. Only the seizure of the big chemical and fertilizer trusts, the agricultural machinery franchises, can prove that the working class means business.

And you have to prove that you mean business. Every time that the forces of the revolution falter and compromise on terms advantageous to the enemy, so too those forces that are with you but not quite of you hesitate and become skeptical.

Among those who take the greatest risks, revolutionary soldiers, sailors and airmen, hesitation is perhaps only too understandable. But its consequences are only too serious.

Furthermore, the longer you delay, the more you toy with some phoney middle road, the longer the scattered forces of the right, assisted by big business everywhere, have time to regroup and prepare for a situation that suits them. In that time, too, the creative energies and fighting will of the working class can wind down. A revolutionary crisis does not last forever.

That brings you to the central problem of any revolution: How can the working class win power.



May Day 1975. Hundreds of thousands of workers on the march in a country where



# INSIDE A EVOLUTION

a revolution in strange ways. You come across it via the National Guard, a body desperate to find which, like the rest of the world, is off the streets.

Attempted to explain themselves in a way which insists that their sole purpose is to help old people cross the

even that might prove for these millions of Mussolini's finest is a working woman in the market. Being impeded by the traffic. "Fascists," she lets loose. "Fascists

about revolution is that the passion, physical and otherwise, is more than a year ago seemed

Portuguese coverage by  
in Lisbon.  
and Saunders.



in a country where the masses are in motion.

impregnable, is everywhere in an advanced state of decomposition.

The outward appearance is trivial. Soldiers with beards and long hair. They are smoking, always smoking, and look as if they'd collapse into fits of laughter if anyone was to suggest that they should put their cigarettes out.

Here is a whole working class seized with socialist ideas. Here is vile repression broken like a ship on the rocks, reduced to debris. You have to forcibly remind yourself that what really matters is who constructs what out of the rubble.

Everywhere there is a sense of freedom and argument unknown in the western capitalist democracies whose papers mumble on about dictatorship in Portugal.

Workers who, 15 months ago, would have thought you mad, or an agent, or both, if you mentioned socialism or workers' power, are now actively involved in the practice of such words.

Things they had been asking for in joint committees for months, things they had dreamed of for years, they are now doing for themselves.

They are simple things. They are out to replace unsafe machinery in the plant. They are constructing a new booth for sand-blasting for safety reasons.

They are finding out in practice that workers' democracy not only enriches a job, but, since it draws on the talents and energies of all, that it is also immensely productive.

Not that the workers' committees are romantics. They are acutely aware of the problems and the limitations, the fact that suppliers or customers could put the screws on, the fact that the whole capitalist world is in a grave economic crisis, the fact that the Portuguese working class needs to take power and put its stamp on society as a whole. If they and their experiment are to survive.

They know that the only safe way to celebrate a revolution is to finish it off, that either the Portuguese working class moves forward or it will be pushed back with something rather more brutal than a shove. □

## "How we can move the struggle forward"

... Antonio Amaro, a member of the secretariat of the revolutionary councils, a boilermaker at the Setnave shipyard and a sympathizer of the PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat), explained just how serious the situation is:

"The Portuguese working class has many strengths. But there are also serious weaknesses. The elections and the developing fight between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party open up divisions in the working class which the forces of reaction at home and abroad may well try to take advantage of.

"This party rivalry has to be overcome because it has a certain demobilizing effect and because it offers our enemies opportunities. That is why, though our forces are small, we are working to develop the idea and the reality of revolutionary councils.

"These councils would be rooted in the factories, the fields and the barracks. They will bring our class together so that we can move the struggle forward, defeat reaction and begin re-casting the whole of society. These are the issues at stake.

"Unless we move forward, then Chile may well come to our country and to our class. These are the stakes. These are the tasks."

Antonio Amaro and his comrades on the revolutionary left in Portugal occupy their whole lives in trying to build the way through.

They are out to build workers and soldiers' councils, to unify the working class. Simultaneously they have to try to overcome the many divisions on the revolutionary left and build their party.

They have had but one year to move from working as a small,



clandestine organization operating against fascism to the beginnings of a mass party. Despite these things, they believe that if there is not outside imperialist intervention, the Portuguese working class can take power and inaugurate the European revolution.

The militants of the IS in the US, our sympathizers, the readers of our paper, every socialist worthy of the name, all have a part to play.

### NATO

By finding the practical and meaningful ways to raise the issue of the Portuguese revolution in the American working class, by campaigning against a NATO intervention we might do a little to give our comrades time.

There is one other obligation that the events in Portugal impose upon us here. Portugal proves that when

a profound social crisis comes to pass, the working class movement is seized with socialist ideas. Millions of people are only too anxious to reshape their lives in a different, superior form of society.

A powerful revolutionary organization assists that task, and makes the difference between success and failure.

We have had, and have, more than a year. But what we build now will be of crucial significance when the time comes. With that in mind, every step we can take to increase working-class unity in action, to spread revolutionary socialist ideas in the working class and to extend the range and influence of our organization in the here and now takes on a new, and revolutionary aspect.

And make no mistake, our time will come, in the US as in Portugal. □

# WE THINK

# WHAT WORMS IN THE APPLE

New York City has gone bust. The banks won't lend it any more money. To pull the Big Apple out of total fiscal collapse the city administration is imposing severe austerity measures.

The fiscal collapse of the nation's largest city poses serious questions for working people across the country. How do we fight back? What happens when the government goes broke?

The politicians and the news media tell us that the well has run dry and that "we" have to tighten our belts. They tell us that to bail out New York City (and any other city which reaches the same state—and many are well on the road) "we" will simply have to accept massive layoffs and cuts in social spending.

### WHO SACRIFICES?

But the question is not so simple. There is no "we" as they mean it. Everyone doesn't sacrifice to save the city. There is "them" and there is "us." The city has chosen to pay what it owes the banks. And it has chosen not to meet its payroll.

The belt tightening they are talking about hits only one class of people—the working class. That is "us." Who is "them?"

No one is talking about laying off Abe Beame, New York's Mayor, or the thousands of top corporate



executives living in New York's upper East Side. Whittchunts against welfare recipients won't affect Jackie Onassis. Increased public school class sizes won't affect the children of Happy and Nelson Rockefeller. And when David Rockefeller needs medical attention, City hospital closures won't mean a risk to his life.

They are saying that working people must pay for

New York City's financial woes. But there is another solution. They can pay—if they are forced to.

### WHO GETS PAID

Each year New York City pays 17% or \$1.8 billion in interest to the banks. Last year Chase Manhattan Bank's profits were up 72%. Chase Manhattan is one of New York City's major banks and the third largest bank in the world. It is owned by the Rockefellers.

If NYC just stopped paying interest—the budget would be balanced. In fact, there would be a surplus of at least \$4 million. Think about it. If the city just paid back what it borrowed—and stopped paying interest to those who do nothing but watch their bank balance rise—67,000 city workers would keep their jobs.

The question of who pays is a question of struggle. They will tell us that to fight is useless—because there is no money. But they tell us that because it is in their interest to do so.

If we make it hard enough for them—it will be in their interest to find the money. And we can make it hard enough for them. They are "cutting back" city services to meet the crisis. Working people can "cut back" on services further—by going on strike.

The money is there. The only question is who gets it. That is what the class struggle is all about. □

## Talking About Socialism...And The Workers' State

The capitalist state machine—the police, the army, the courts—is the tool of the enemies of working people.

But many people, including many who call themselves revolutionaries, believe that if workers take over that capitalist state, we can use it to serve our interests.

This illusion led working people to bloody disaster time and time again, most recently in Chile.

The Socialist Party candidate, Salvador Allende, was voted President of Chile in 1970. His victory was hailed as proof that socialism can come about peacefully, without a revolution that smashes the capitalist state machine.

The Chilean working class felt that Allende's Popular Unity government was their own government and they supported it enthusiastically.

Allende's government instituted all kinds of reforms that helped working people. Key industries were nationalized.

### MILITARY COUP

Three years later, in September of 1973, Chile's "peaceful road to socialism" was drowned in blood. A right-wing military clique over-

threw Allende's government and proceeded to massacre 30,000 Chilean workers. The coup was organized by liberal Chilean capitalists and supported by the US government and the CIA.

The coup that overthrew Allende wasn't planned by obscure right-wing fanatics plotting in dark cafes. It was organized inside all branches of the Chilean government. The judges backed it. The capitalist legislators helped organize it. Some of the generals who led it were members of Allende's own cabinet!

For three years, Allende had done nothing to weaken or undermine the capitalist state machine, let alone to destroy it. He talked of socialism—but he left the capitalist army command, the capitalist legislature, the capitalist legal system intact.

### ALTERNATIVE

There was an alternative. Chilean workers had created organizations known as "cordones." The cordones went far beyond the limits Allende's government laid down for them.

They took over factories and businesses of all kinds. Chilean

workers organized themselves to run these enterprises, to coordinate them with each other, and to defend them against right-wing attack.

The cordones could have developed into workers' councils to take over the entire society and run things in a new way.

Instead, working people were held back by "their own" government. They were not armed to defend Allende's government until defeat was certain.

What happened in Chile clearly shows that there's no way for working people to take over the capitalist state and use it to create socialism.

Socialism can be created only by workers' revolution that changes all the power relationships in society. When the working class gains control of the factories, it needs its own state to run society.

### WORKERS' STATE

Marx understood that the capitalist state machines has to be smashed and replaced by a workers' state when working people take over society.

Marx called this "the dictatorship of the proletariat"—a fright-

ening-sounding term that means nothing else but "the armed workers organized as the ruling class."

A state is a machine that one class uses to hold itself in power against threats from other classes. That's also true of the workers' state. A workers' state exists to hold the working class in power by crushing the resistance of the capitalist class that has been overthrown in revolution.

It prevents the capitalists from organizing to get back into power, and it defends the revolution against attack by other capitalist powers.

The workers' state dismantles the capitalist state machinery. The capitalist legislature is abolished. The police are broken up.

The power of the old officer corps in the army is destroyed. Capitalist judges are fired. The entire capitalist legal system is junked.

### PARIS COMMUNE

The first workers' state was the Paris Commune of 1871, which held power for two months before the capitalists put it down by force.

A workers' state was set up in Russia in 1917 but was destroyed in the 1920's by Stalin and his new bureaucracy.

Most recently, Hungarian workers laid the foundations of a workers' state in 1956 before they were defeated by Russian tanks.

All of these workers' states had a lot in common. Their power rested directly upon the will of the armed workers, organized into workers' councils. These councils ran the economy and every other aspect of society democratically.

Representatives were elected and were immediately recallable by their constituents. No official was paid more than the most highly-paid worker.

Government was made as cheap and as simple as possible so it didn't leech off the nation's wealth and so that anyone would be capable of serving in it. Representatives had no power independent of the people they represented.

But workers' states aren't just interesting things that existed in the past. They are the future—the only way out of the mess the capitalists have made of the world. □



## St. Louis Builds Boycott

Kicking off the campaign against Schnucks for selling Gallo wines, head lettuce and table grapes 70 UFW supporters picketed in front of one of Schnucks stores. The day before two supporters were hauled

in by the local cops for picketing. When 70 people showed up the next day there were no arrests. Schnucks is the largest local grocery chain in St. Louis. □

## All In A Day's Work

Thanks to the latest figures from the US Census of Manufacturers, we have up-to-date information on the exploitation of workers in the United States.

The national average shows that for every dollar paid in wages, the average worker returns \$3.36 in production. This is an average for production workers in manufacturing industries, so it doesn't include service, transportation or other kinds of workers—but still it gives a good idea.

What it means is this. If you're an "average" production worker in an "average" industry, lucky enough to be working 8 hours a day, you spend the first two hours and 23 minutes producing enough to make back the wages your boss pays you.

The other five hours and 37 minutes you spend producing profit for him. It's that simple. □

## Class Struggle Unionism



"Class Struggle Unionism" presents a revolutionary socialist approach to trade union work. It comes to grips with the relation between mass work, particularly within the working class, and building the revolutionary party. The two tasks are intertwined—one cannot be carried out without the other.

Order from Sun Press, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. Single copies, 40¢ postpaid.



# Letters

to

# Workers' Power

## Banks Fly High

Dear Workers' Power, Every time we try to have a little fun, someone has to get into the act to make a profit off of it. Everyone knows that all of Philadelphia is crazy about the Flyers, especially now that they have won the final game of the Stanley Cup playoff semi-final with the Islanders. Well, the banks know too. Now the Industrial Valley Trust Co. in Philadelphia has started a "Bernie Parent Savers Club," named after the Flyer's great goaltender. The idea works like this: you deposit at least \$50 in a new or old savings account, and the bank gives you a photo of Bernie

## On Bernie Parent Fan Club

Parent and a Flyers warmup jacket. So far, there are 20,000 members of the "Club," including 12,000 new savers. At fifty bucks a throw, this works out to a million dollars in savings accounts. Now, I don't

know who it is who's pulling in the investment return from this small fortune, but I'm pretty sure of one thing—not too many of Philadelphia's two million Flyers' fans are among them!

T.M. Cleveland

A.L. Philadelphia

## Telling it like it is...



Confined in prison... Workers' Power convinced him of working class power.

Dear Comrades, I'm presently confined here in North Carolina, at Central Prison. I'm on max lock-up for resisting just like all of the masses out there in medium custody and you very heroic people at IS in Michigan. I really enjoy the national and international scope your paper provides for all members of the humankind. Your paper tells it just like it is, and don't pull no punches with the world-wide working class. The working class here in Amerika should really dig IS,

because they can better define and act on the enemy of all oppressed people. The really big enemy has been right here under their nose. Until your paper removed the cloak that had been serving as a form of mimicry, the working class had been misled so many times until I had begun to ponder if there was a true dedicated working class. Your clearly defined program is geared toward the ultimate achievement (revolution) of the working class here in the center of capitalism. A formidable and tenacious movement by the work-

ers may have been set back a whole decade. But thanks to your paper and the comrades that help, we can all now move in the direction of a people's revolution without further hindrance caused by a lack of properly defined programs.

If you can at all possible afford it, please put me on your subscription list and I would be most grateful.

E.J. North Carolina

# FIGHT FOR UNION

by Stan Johnson

**NORTHBROOK, ILL.**—A company dinner was held on April 29 for Jim Mills, the company president of Medline Industries, a hospital supply company here. Mills passed out the following to several of his fellow executives: a 1975 Porsche, two Buick Skylarks, a company paid around-the-world vacation, a \$1000 wardrobe, and money for the completion of a new house. He gave "bonuses" to six warehouse employees. The week of May 5, a majority of Medline's warehouse workers submitted a petition to the Teamster's Union. Local 743, to organize and represent them.

### REFUSES

When Mills was informed that the workers wished to be unionized he refused. The workers filed a complaint to the National Labor Relations Board. Two days later the son of one of

the vice-presidents and five of his college friends were hired to work in the warehouse, creating a surplus of workers.

On May 21, two workers were fired. After threatening legal action they were rehired five minutes later. In the days that followed, eleven pro-union workers were fired or "laid off."

And Jim Mills had stated at the company dinner just one month earlier that this had been "this company's best year ever." An unfair labor practice charge was brought against Medline and is now before the NLRB.

### RAISES

On May 27, each warehouse employee was called into the vice-president's office. Each was given a raise and a dose of anti-union rhetoric. After the raises, nobody was making less than \$4.00 an hour.

The threat of the union pressured management into trying to

buy us off.

The raises narrowed the embarrassing disparity in wages between us and others doing the same job. The present Teamster contract calls for a starting wage of \$5.20.

An NLRB hearing set the union election for June 23. So Mills called the three black warehouse workers into his office. He made a clumsy, patronizing attempt to impress his generosity upon them.

Apparently, Mills believes black people are so bad off they would do anything for more money.

Despite the harassment and capricious arrogance to which we have been submitted by Mills and his executive flunkies, we still feel that we are able to win the upcoming election.

Many of us have lost our jobs for the union drive. The rest of us are risking them in this period of job scarcity. But we feel there is no job worth having that does not include a decent living wage and the dignity due all working people. □

## A Salute

Dear Workers' Power, A salute to WP staff and especially David Sandoz for an excellent article on the wildcat at Scullin Steel. This is one of the most significant struggles I've seen in the years I've been in USWA.

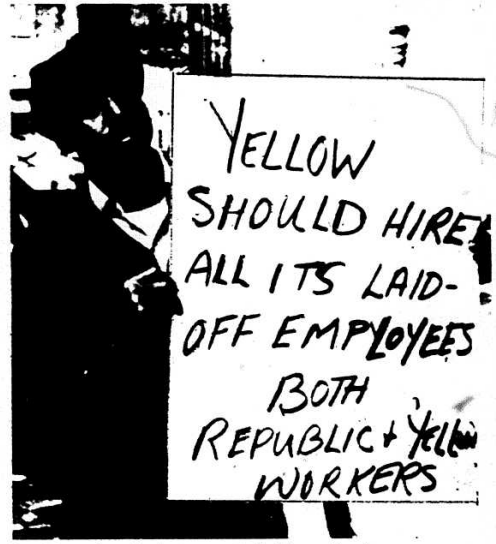
We've heard a lot about fighting various forms of discrimination but here were a group of workers who showed how to do it. Through militant direct action on the shop floor.

I am looking forward to continued coverage of this event. Its outcome will affect all of us in the USWA rank and file movement.

T.M. Cleveland

A.L. Philadelphia

# Union Democracy VS. Union Dictatorship



Participant in rally that was attacked by union thugs.

Dear Workers Power,

Without provocation, five union goons physically attacked members of the Chicago Truck Drivers, Helpers, and Warehouse Union (Independent) in front of the union hall April 18. 100 police were present during the incident, as were TV camera men from two local stations.

The members who were attacked were employees of Republic Carloading. When the company was recently bought by Yellow Freight, 230 members were laid off. Those attacked are members and supporters of Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union, an oppositionist group within the union.

They were trying to speak with their union executive director, Ed Fenner, about the layoffs. When Republic was bought out, they were sold out.

### COURT

The union goons appeared in court June 3. Cross complaints ranging from battery to verbal assault were filed. Eleven members and their witnesses were present.

Members complained in open court to the judge and news media that minutes prior to coming before the bench they were threatened outside of the police station.

The union goons were attempting to scare potential witnesses against them.

The Judge went through the motion of admonishing the goons. He offered advice to us that if any further attempts were made to intimidate, coerce, or threaten, to notify the State Attorney's Office.

The union goons' faces visibly expressed astonishment when

the eleven members demanded jury trials. Neither they nor their attorney expected members to seek a jury trial. He stood as amazed as the goons he was representing before the bench.

There will be no question who attacked us when the TV films are shown.

However, the real issue is whether members of a union can demonstrate and picket their union when it is blatant in its dictatorship and policies. The political issue is union democracy vs. union administrative dictatorship.

### SUPPORT

Hopefully, those in the struggle for union democracy will help us by providing their experiences in cases such as ours. We hope they will join us by supporting our efforts to create union democracy within our ranks.

The trial date is set for July 8, in Court Branch 46, 321 North LaSalle Street.

We, the Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union and Republic Carloading Brothers and Sisters extend an invitation to all workers to attend. We want you to see and hear for yourselves the experience of political corruption against all working people.

It enslaves us all, regardless of race, sex, creed, religion or political beliefs.

We want you to see how union goons protect employers, and how both groups politically support the "Just-us" system of Justice.

Bob Grant Chicago

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## Minneapolis 1934—Part 3

# Victory for Local 574

by Harry Selden

Minneapolis in 1934 was a bosses' town—until the Teamsters Local began a fight for union recognition. The city was run by an employers' organization called the Citizen's Alliance. The Teamsters had to fight not only the Alliance, but the police, the National Guard, and a popular third-party Governor who posed as a pro-labor radical.

The Local was led by members of a Trotskyist organization, the Communist League. The Teamsters' successful struggle demonstrates the importance of rank and file organization, a leadership with no loyalty to the capitalist system, and a conscious strategy.

The two previous articles in this series discussed the background of the situation and the militant May strike which won union recognition. But by July, the employers were trying to back down.

After a month of harassment and broken promises by the Citizens Alliance, the members of General Drivers Local 574 voted to resume their strike on July 16.

The same day Chief of Police Johannsen requested a nearly 100% increase in the police budget. The extra money was for, among other things, 51,000 worth of machine guns, 800 rifles with bayonets, 800 steel helmets, an additional 400 men, 26 motorcycles and a new police school.

What was all this weaponry for? Mainly to guard the city's bosses against unarmed workers who were beginning to sense the power of solidarity. These workers wanted to defend the union they had won in fierce struggle less than a month ago.

They were now demanding that the employer's Citizens Alliance stop the firing and harassment of union members in violation of the May agreement. They also wanted Local 574 to have the right to represent all its members including inside workers; the pay raise they had been promised and a direct written contract with the Alliance.

### QUIET START

The July strike began quietly. For the first few days the struggle was waged mostly with propaganda. The Citizens Alliance wanted to isolate the Local leadership. They insisted the central issue was that members of the Communist League were trying to impose the dictatorship of the proletariat in Minneapolis.

In attacking the union leadership, the bosses got a helping hand from a supposed adversary—Daniel J. Tobin, International President of the Teamsters. Recognizing the dynamic organizing that was going on in Minneapolis as a threat to his dues-collecting brand of unionism, Tobin published an open denunciation of the local leadership in the July issue of the Teamster magazine.

It read in part, "...freedom is liable to be endangered by those semi-monsters who are creeping into our midst and getting into some of our newly organized local unions, creating distrust, discontent, bloodshed and rebellion."

The Citizens Alliance reprinted the article in the Minneapolis Tribune and distributed it in leaflet form as the strike began. The workers however, had more trust in their leadership than in the Citizens Alliance. The campaign flopped.

More dangerous than the Alliance's ravings in the early days of the strike were the actions of Governor Olson, the Farmer-Labor Party governor of Minnesota.



A procession of Local 574's "cruising pickets" during massive funeral ceremony for Henry Ness, striker slain by police on Bloody Friday.

On July 18 he mobilized the National Guard, supposedly to preserve law and order. He promised that he would not take sides in the strike.

The Trotskyist leadership of the Local denounced this move. In the Local's paper, *The Organizer*, they questioned, "Whom and what will they protect? We never asked for protection from the Guard. We have no property to protect. The employers have. It is their properties and their profits extorted from our labor that they want protected." But many workers still believed that Olson was sincere in his pro-labor sentiments.

### BLOODY FRIDAY

After three days of quiet, the police suddenly used their new equipment in what became known as "bloody Friday." In a move calculated to terrorize the strikers, 50 policemen with shotguns opened fire on unarmed strikers who tried to stop a truck at the market place. This police raid left two strikers dead and 67 wounded, most of them shot in the back. One of the dead, Henry Ness, received thirty-seven slugs in his body without ever leaving the picket car in which he arrived.

Instead of breaking the strike, this blatant terrorism gave it increased determination. Over 20,000 people marched in Henry Ness's funeral procession.

A few days after the carnage, Federal mediators published a plan of settlement and asked that the Citizens Alliance and the union accept it within three days. It granted the union the right to represent the inside workers if a post-strike election went in its favor, and arbitration of a pay raise above an agreed minimum.

The Local's leadership felt the proposal fell short of what they wanted but provided enough to build on. They accepted it, although they were confident that the bosses would reject it and lose considerable public support. Their prediction was confirmed. The bosses rejected the plan, insisting that they would never deal with communists.

### MARTIAL LAW

A few hours later Governor Olson again called the National Guard and declared martial law. Picketing, open air meetings and the movement of trucks were all forbidden.

Initially many rank and file strikers welcomed the martial law. They viewed Olson's troops as protection against the local police.

On the second day of martial law, however, military authorities announced that "more than half the trucks in Hennepin County were operating." The Communist League's formerly unpopular view of Olson now became

further evidence of their foresight and leadership ability.

On July 31, 25,000 strikers and sympathisers held a mass meeting to show Olson that they were not about to let his troops break the strike. They vowed to continue picketing with or without martial law.

At 4:00 the next morning Olson raided the union headquarters and arrested 100 union members. Olson hoped to settle the strike while the Trotskyists were in jail.

The plan backfired miserably. Picketing increased instead of stopping, and every rank and file worker became a leader. Olson would have to arrest everybody to end the strike. At eleven o'clock that evening he was forced to release the main leaders.

On August 6, the union held another mass rally, attended by 40,000. But after that, the strike settled into a war of attrition.

The workers of Local 574 took heavy punishment. Many of those arrested were sentenced to 90 days hard labor for illegal picketing. Striking families lost their heat, their light and even their houses. Many were almost unable to feed their children. Meanwhile, the supposedly "neutral" National Guard began moving thousands of trucks.

The strike held together because of the union's massive solidarity and support campaign. They opened kitchens for strikers, fought City Hall for relief and raised money for rent to stop evictions.

Local 574 also launched an effective boycott against the 166 union-busting trucking firms. Some of the smaller ones began to crack and sign the proposed agreement with the union.

### VICTORY

With pressure mounting, Governor Olson finally decided that he must end the strike—or it would end his career. At his urging, President Roosevelt sent a new mediator from Washington to replace the first two. They had been discredited when they sold out to the bosses. The new mediator proposed a settlement that allowed Local 574 to represent all the workers in those major firms where the union won a majority in the balloting.

It was a modest settlement but it broke the hold of the Citizens Alliance over Minneapolis. On August 21, after 36 days of battle, Local 574 accepted it. The workers of the city celebrated for 12 hours. In the subsequent elections the union became the bargaining agent for 61% of the workers in the general trucking industry.

In their August 24 issue, the Minneapolis Labor Review summarized the meaning of the strike: "It has changed Minneapolis from being known as a scab's paradise to being a city of hope for those who toil." □

## Socialist Feminists Meet In W.Va.

On May 30 - June 1, 60-70 women, mostly from West Virginia and Kentucky, met (in Cowen, W. Va.) for the 4th annual West Virginia Women's Weekend. The theme for the weekend was "Women and Work."

In each workshop there was consensus that substantial changes

in our living and working conditions are not possible under capitalism.

Women from the International Socialists led a workshop on 'Building the Working Women's Movement and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.' They focused on the need for a working

women's movement that will be part of, but independent within the broader rank and file movement.

The evening workshop on 'Women and Politics' was intended to discuss running women for political office. But the women present were

fed up with the Democratic and Republican parties. Instead they wanted to discuss an alternative: socialism.

The last session was on future directions for the group, but its future was left unsettled. Although

the weekend closed with some questions unanswered, clearly women are searching for alternatives: to the past failings of the women's movement and its organizations, and to the Democratic and Republican parties. □

Rita Duncan



# LENIN

## Building The Party, Then and Now

[Lenin, by Tony Cliff. Volume 1: Building the Party. Pluto Press, 1975. Available from Sun Distribution International, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI, 48203. 398 pp., \$7.50.]

Tony Cliff's newly published book *Lenin* is the result of a twofold process that has been underway for many years.

In part, this book is the product of a massive work of study and research. The author spent over ten years gathering material, studying Lenin's writings and actions—and how they applied to the specific problems facing the Russian revolutionary movement at the moment.

It is also the product of the effort to build a revolutionary party today.

During the years of capitalist prosperity of the 1950's and early '60's, author Tony Cliff was one of a tiny handful of revolutionaries who kept Marxism alive.

They were able to prove theoretically that capitalism had not solved its problems forever. Meanwhile, Cliff and a few others carefully studied the effects of the post-war boom on workers' consciousness and struggle.

Workers' struggles continued—but they became fragmented, directed only against an individual factory or department rather than the system as a whole.

With crisis returning to the capitalist system—in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere—it building revolutionary parties has become more than an important

idea. It is once again possible to do it.

### LEADER

Tony Cliff is a leader of the British International Socialists, who are building a revolutionary party in Britain. Many of the same kinds of problems Lenin faced—above all, how to build a party run and led by workers who are able to lead struggles and who are totally committed to destroying the system—have been raised once again.

A serious study of Lenin's ideas must always be concrete. In 1902, Lenin insisted: "Political class consciousness can be brought to the workers only from outside, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers."

Yet in November 1905, Lenin advanced what seemed to be the exact opposite idea: "The working class is instinctively, spontaneously socialist."

If these two statements are examined by themselves, they appear to completely contradict one another. Furthermore, both seem to be quite abstract—and both statements have been quoted abstractly, out of context, for the last 60 or 70 years.

However, if these statements are viewed against the specific problems Lenin was addressing when he made them, they are neither abstract nor contradictory.

Both were based on a common goal: building a revolutionary party of workers. That party would



Many of the same problems Lenin faced in building a revolutionary party have been raised again today.

organize and lead the battle to overthrow the rule of Tsarism, and prepare the working class to take power. How this party was built is the topic of Volume 1 of Cliff's work.

In 1902 Lenin fought for the idea that the role of the revolutionary party was not simply to organize industrial strikes. The party must also prepare the working class to lead the struggle against every form of oppression under the murderous Tsarist regime. Only through all these struggles would the Russian working class become genuinely socialist and revolutionary.

The party itself must be tightly centralized, totally disciplined and build around full-time professional revolutionaries in order to survive repression.

By 1905, the Revolution was exploding. Huge strike waves were breaking out, in which workers fought against the Tsar and their own bosses at the same time.

Now, Lenin dropped his formulation that socialism could come only "from the outside." Indeed, the fight for socialism was embedded in every strike and every working class protest.

Now, Lenin demanded that the

party must recruit hundreds of workers for every full-time professional revolutionary. To carry this out he was prepared to fight against the very Party machine he had so painfully built.

There are many other examples of situations in which Lenin seemed to completely change his views or express contradictory ideas at different times. But this was mainly because at each point, Lenin advanced and fought for his ideas in a harder, clearer and sharper form than anyone else.

Lenin always proceeded with a clear idea of the level of struggle of the working class, its consciousness, the political situation in Russia and the strength of the revolutionary party. His writings can be understood only with these concrete conditions in mind.

This is what makes the study of Lenin difficult. But it is also why he was the most powerful and successful revolutionary leader in history.

Tony Cliff's careful explanations put Lenin's ideas into their contexts. He also shows how Lenin's ideas developed along with the growth of Russian Marxism and working class revolt, from the early 1890's on.

Much of Cliff's discussion of

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party—their newspaper, the struggle to become a genuine mass workers' party, the role of the professional revolutionaries and leaders, the emphasis on relying strictly on workers' independent organization and action—clearly reflect the experience gained by IS in the last several years.

Tony Cliff's *Lenin* is nothing like a textbook, or a collection of facts and dates. Reading it is almost like watching a movie about Lenin's ideas, his actions, and the way he acted as a revolutionary leader.

It shows how the Bolshevik Party raised the consciousness of millions of workers. It also shows how at times, as in the Revolution of 1905, those workers occasionally leaped far ahead of the Party itself.

It shows why the Party survived after that first Russian Revolution was crushed, and how during the years of counter-revolution it won over the workers and prepared to lead them to victory the next time.

Two more volumes are promised, on Lenin's role in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and afterward.

As for this volume, without any doubt it is the most important book of the year.

Dan Posen

# COURTS RULE GREEN LIGHT FOR RAPE

by Mary Smith

While in the US women like Inez Garcia and Joann Little are being prosecuted for defending themselves against rapists, courts in the US and in Britain are giving rapists the go-ahead.

On May 1 Britain's Law Lords—a body like the US Supreme Court—ruled 3-2 that a man cannot be convicted of rape if he sincerely believes that he was doing what the woman wanted.

This applies even if she protested, and no matter how unreasonable his belief is.

In a similar case in New York City on May 8, Judge Edward Greenfield acquitted accused rapist Martin Evans. Greenfield stated, "The criminal intent of the defendant must be shown beyond a reasonable doubt."

"If he utters words which are taken as a threat by the person who hears them but are not intended as a threat by the person who utters them, there would be no basis to establish culpability [guilt] under the law."

The most apparent thing about both rulings is how each places faith in what the man believes.



Presumably the women doesn't know if she's being raped or not.

Even though one ruling is from Britain and one from the US, both can be said to reflect the ideas of our society—society ruled by capital-

ism. And both reflect the view that women aren't very intelligent, and second that they all want to be raped. It is a common belief that women keep saying no because they think they should, but really

they always want to say yes. So the rapist is doing them a favor.

But where does society get such disgusting ideas about women? One thing is clear in the rulings. The judges—who represent society's rulers—see women in the same way that a rapist does. They see them as temptresses luring a man to do what is natural for him.

### SICK SOCIETY

Popular opinion says that a rapist follows through on this because he is sick. But these judges have shown, if it wasn't clear already, that society is just as sick in its view of women.

Rape is encouraged in this society by the position that women are placed in. Capitalism has always made women dependent on men for existence. More so in the past, but even today, most women need a man's income to feed and maintain the family, and herself. Independent women today still have a harder time financially. Pensions, health insurance, social security—all are harder for a woman to get if she doesn't get them through a husband.

### RACISM AND SEXISM

Definitions of rape have always been very flexible to society's rulers. They often reflect society's racism as well as its sexism. In the days of slavery, and even in similar forms now, rape was different for blacks and whites. If a slave owner forced himself on a slave woman, that was his right. There were no prosecutions or punishments. But if a black man just got too near a white woman, he could be lynched immediately.

Why? Women were property—slave women and white women alike were the property of the white owner. He had to protect his property rights, and the law backed him up.

Today women aren't legal property, but they are close to it. And these recent rulings show that the law still backs men over women. The fact that society makes women dependant on men means men have the upper hand.

Until women can be freed from this, and can live as independent and equal people, rape will continue and in one way or another be condoned by society.

# British I.S. Holds Working Conference

The International Socialists in Great Britain have just completed their annual conference.

The conception of the conference was a new step for the organization. The conference was planned as a "working conference" and was highly successful. This meant that much of the conference discussion focussed on the specifics

of the groups' work.

The conference posed the political questions facing the British working class and then drew in detail upon the direct experiences of IS industrial militants.

The important questions facing the conference were: the political effects of the crisis, fighting layoffs, organizing the rank and file movement, black and women's work, building the I.S. and support to international struggles.

The conference decided that the period of a "phony war" between the British working class and the Labor government is coming to an end. Although the British economy faces the same crisis shaking the rest of the capitalist world, the depth of the crisis has not yet hit Britain. That is what is meant by the "phony war."

A real war is about to begin. This will mean greater attacks on the living standards of British workers and increasing plant closures and layoffs.

Plant occupations have been the most successful tactic in the fight against layoffs. British workers have been occupying factories for

the last two years in the fight to save jobs. Key to success has been the ability to build support for the occupation within the British labor movement. As one worker said, "If you can't spread it, might as well forget it."

Building the rank and file movement and the role of revolutionaries in that process was one of the most important discussions. The role of the rank and file will become increasingly important as the crisis hits and the trade union leaders refuse to fight.

An important aspect of building the rank and file movement will involve bringing black and women workers into the struggle. It was pointed out by many delegates that workers from oppressed groups often work in industries with few traditions of struggle and organization. They therefore need the most support to win.

Building the I.S. was another central discussion.

Delegates generally agreed that an important aspect of growth involves bringing the I.S. periphery into a formal relationship with the I.S. "We have to look to all the workers who are prepared to work with us," said Jim Nichols, I.S. National Secretary. "We must start building a permanent organization which pulls these people closer to us in the workplace."

Delegates found the conference a real aid in that process. □



Tony Cliff, IS Central Committee member, speaking at the conference.

## I.S. Women's Conference Attracts 100 in Seattle

Last weekend the Seattle International Socialists held a successful conference on building the working class women's movement. Over 100 registered from area cities, as well as a few from as far as the midwest.

Members of various unions including IBT, UAW, CWA, AFSCME, and the Machinists were present. Activists from CLUW, Women for Working Rights, and Women in the Trades participated.

The conference opened with a discussion on the economic crisis and its effect upon women. A discussion on the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) followed. The session concluded with a discussion on the importance of building a rank and file opposition to the conservative leadership of CLUW.

### PANEL ON UNIONS

One of the highlights of the conference was the panel on the unions. Speakers from CWA, UAW, Amalgamated Transit, and IBT spoke about the need to build national opposition groups in the unions.

Another panel was about building the working class women's movement. An organizer for the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, a welfare mother, a member from Women for Working Rights, and a member of the Independent

Socialists of Canada discussed women's oppression under capitalism.

A short skit about women's liberation was enthusiastically received. Then followed Blow For Blow, perhaps one of the finest political films ever produced. It was shown to a cheering audience.

### WORKERS' POWER

Later a special presentation on Workers' Power told why we need a revolutionary socialist newspaper for our rank and file union work, for building the working class women's movement, and for building the I.S.

The next day, after several classes, a concluding speech stressed the importance of rebuilding a revolutionary socialist women's movement and a revolutionary party.

"All of you who are committed to building a working class women's movement and to a rank and file workers' movement cannot do it by yourselves. The I.S. needs you and you need the I.S."

At the end of the conference, several people said they wanted to join the I.S. Everyone left excited about going back to their workplaces for more organizing, and building the working women's movement and the I.S. □

Cella Emerson



## 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 patch 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. So must its 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: Defend working conditions. No controls on wages. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. The right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.

### BLACK LIBERATION

We stand for black liberation. Full equality for black people and all national minorities. Defend the black community and other oppressed peoples against all forms of racism, police terror and discrimination. We call for independent organization by black and other specially oppressed people to struggle for their liberation and to build the unity among all workers that will lead to socialism. Independence for Puerto Rico.

### 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 good jobs for all youth. Stop police intimidation 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 its war bloc, the Warsaw Pact, which controls Eastern Europe. For an independent movement of the working class and oppressed peoples everywhere against imperialism, East and West.

### FOR WORLD SOCIALISM

The first successful socialist revolution was made by the Russian working class in 1917. But the revolution was isolated, and destroyed by a counterrevolution led by Stalin. Workers' councils, political parties and trade unions were all crushed. Today Russia, China and the rest of the "Communist" countries are not socialist, but societies in which workers are exploited by a bureaucratic ruling class. We support workers' struggles in Russia, China and Eastern Europe for democracy and freedom. For workers' revolution to overthrow Stalinism and replace it with socialism.

### REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To win the fight for socialism the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The revolutionary party is a political force linking workers in separate factories, unions and industries, helping to organize and lead them to take state power and control society as a class. All the activity of the IS is directed toward building such a revolutionary party out of the struggles working people are waging today.

### I.S. BRANCHES

- National Office: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203
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- Bay Area: PO Box 910, Berkeley, CA 94701
- Bloomington: Box 29, Bloomington, IN 47401
- Boston: PO Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114
- Chicago: PO Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Sta., Chicago, IL 60611
- Cleveland: PO Box 02239, Cleveland, OH 44102
- Detroit: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203. 869-3137
- Los Angeles: PO Box 110, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, CA 90024
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- New York: 17 E. 17 St., 7th floor, New York, NY 10003
- Philadelphia: PO Box 8262, Philadelphia, PA 19101
- Pittsburgh: PO Box 9024, Bloomfield Sta., Pittsburgh, PA 15224
- Portland: PO Box 06274, Portland, OR 97206
- San Francisco: PO Box 1045, San Francisco, CA 94101
- Seattle: PO Box 9056, Seattle, WA 98109
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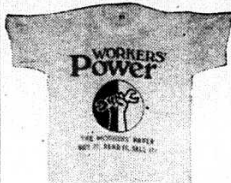


Philadelphia, Sunday, June 22— "Building the Working Women's Movement." Barbara Winslow, Secretary. Cleveland CLUW, YWCA, 2027 Chestnut St. 7:30 pm.

Pittsburgh, Sunday, June 22— "Building the Revolutionary Party." Joel Geier, IS National Chairman. Typographical Union Hall, 133 First Avenue. 7:30 pm.

Detroit, Sunday, June 22—"Auto Workers and the Fight for Socialist Workers." Jack Weinberg, UAW Local 212. UNC. Trinity Methodist Church, 13100 Woodward. 7:30 pm. Childcare available.

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Trade Union



# Sugar Workers Building a Rank and File Group

SACRAMENTO — The Sugar Workers United Rank and File (SWURF) was officially organized only last August. But in the last nine months it has shown what can be done by an active rank and file group which is clear that its job is to fight for the needs of the workers, not the company.

The Sugar Workers Union is part of the Distillery Workers International. A California statewide United Sugar Workers Council controls the official union bargaining for contracts. The Council is made up of delegates from ten local unions.

Because the contract is critical SWURF has been actively campaigning for delegate seats on the Council. In every section, thus far, where SWURF is organized, the SWURF backed candidates have won against the old union leadership.

Workers' Power writer James Morrison interviewed Marsh Shires who is a fill time Sacramento sugar worker. Shires was one of the organizers of SWURF and currently serves as its Communications Director.

## ORGANIZED QUICKLY

WP: How were you able to organize a statewide opposition in the union so quickly?

Shires: It wasn't as if suddenly, out of the wilderness, SWURF emerged. In different locals there were organized opposition groups formed around different issues.

In Fresno, in 1969, they organized what was called the "Black and Brown Committee." When the mill was opened, perhaps a majority of the workers were Chicano. But they weren't being put in the technical, higher classified jobs. They organized and used the union representation on the joint management labor job qualifications committee to see that members of the local were advanced to the higher jobs. This helped all union members and particularly the large number of Chicanos and blacks.

In my local a number of issues came up in 1973. The local president was accused of making arrangements for training without advising the executive board or membership. There were also questions of company discrimination against green card holders [immigrant workers, mostly from Mexico]. We started publishing a paper called The Sugar Worker.

There were also some organizations in other locals. Preparation

for the 1974 contract started to bring us together.

We had been hit hard by inflation and the number one demand was increased wages for both seasonal and year-round workers. There were six months of face to face negotiations. Considerable dissatisfaction developed with the lack of progress in negotiations and the unwillingness of the union officials [Sugar Council] to ask for a strike vote. In a few locals, the membership voted to instruct their delegates to call for a strike vote.

We tried to coordinate this among the locals and began to include articles and reprints of leaflets from other locals.

## RANK AND FILE NEWSPAPER

WP: Do you think that this shop floor paper was important in pulling the statewide group together?

Shires: As important as anything else. One of the main problems was



MARSH SHIRES, SUGAR WORKER INTERVIEWED BY WORKERS' POWER

that the members weren't getting information from the Council. Members in one local wouldn't know what was happening in others. We started printing items of news and leaflets from other locals and pretty soon the paper became statewide.

But we weren't strong enough to get a good contract in '74. The contract was bad and on the first vote it was rejected. But then the companies and the union officials made the contract appear better by making it worse. They got rid of the cost of living and increased wages by one penny.

Our organization, local by local,

**Organizing SWURF took a lot of time. There were issues, but we also spent hours and hours visiting workers in their homes, talking them and their wives or husbands.**

**. . . And we helped with a lot of grievances when the union officials just couldn't be bothered.**

was developed enough at this point that we were able to get the largest local, Salinas, to pass a proposal to pay expenses for organizers to tour the state and encourage every local to vote "no" on the contract.

We still lost the second vote and the contract was ratified. The companies sent out a letter saying they would operate the factories with supervisors and other non-union personnel if there was a

WP: SWURF has also won elections for officers in some locals. Have you had any trouble with the International? Your local and SWURF have actively supported the Farm Workers Gallo boycott which the International opposes.

Shires: It's complicated. For now they are actually favorably disposed towards us although we don't know for how long. Real support—things you can put your fingers on—haven't amounted to anything. Except they did provide potato chips for a fund raiser we had.

We have been able to effectively organize statewide. We have been able to put out a regular paper for the membership and the Council has never been able to do this.

The trend has been for the International to lose members. In the last 15 years they lost more than 15,000. In California they lost the California Vegetable Concentrate Contract to the Teamsters and the Heublein contract to the longshore union. And Schenley workers in British Columbia dropped out of the International (it is easier to disaffiliate under Canadian Labor Laws.)

It was not that these locals were raided. It's more that the workers got fed up with the International doing nothing and said they could get better from some other union.

There was a move to decertify in my local but it didn't get very far. The Teamster organizer turned out to be no better at organizing than our official union organizer.

In 1971 I spoke against decertification. Our problem was that the members were not organized. Our problem would not be helped one bit by being in the Teamsters. I know that in Teamster cannery locals there is tremendous dissatis-

## SWURF PROGRAM

As with any new organization SWURF has yet to demonstrate what it can do. In our situation the object is to strengthen our union to be able to obtain improved wages and working conditions in our industry. There is absolutely no reason that any workers, least of all Sugar Workers, should have to pay the expense of inflation that was never reflected in their wages.

Although SWURF is new the men and women Sugar Workers who organized SWURF aren't new and have been active in our union for many years. The program of SWURF is contained in the following statement which also describes some of the union activities of SWURF members.

- 1) To establish training programs for all technical classifications to insure job training and promotions based on seniority.
  - 2) SWURF will militantly fight discrimination or harassment against Sugar Workers' Union members by the sugar companies or by union officials.
  - 3) SWURF will initiate active service to sugar workers with a Grievance Panel meeting each month to assist sugar workers with grievances and to encourage and model effective stewardship.
  - 4) SWURF supports the Sugar Workers' Union and AFL-CIO to defend the 'Union Shop' and in all organizing activity to extend benefit of Industrial Unions to all unorganized workers.
  - 5) SWURF supports development in our union of rank and file control through officers who are accountable to carry out program voted by general membership meetings; officers to be recalled at any time by 75% vote. Leadership should include campaign workers as well as year round workers to increase support for our union.
- SWURF supports actively confronting the sugar companies for wages that reflect the true cost of living and for healthy working conditions as the only program that will protect sugar workers against the grab for profits that the employers will always make at our expense.

faction with the Teamster officials.

But if there are not significant changes on the Sugar Council it is quite possible that sugar workers will be fed up and sign Teamster pledge cards.

Basically, the International is leaving us alone because since International President Brandenberg died in '73, the new officials don't want to lose more members. We are organized and we have support and they are worried about decertification.

## DISCRIMINATION

WP: Part of SWURF's program deals with protecting members against discrimination particularly against Chicanos, blacks and green card holders. What has been the reaction of white workers to this?

Shires: There are some caucasians—not in SWURF—who are suspicious that we are going to take jobs from regulars and give them to Chicanos. But we say that we are for seniority. Your seniority and anybody else's.

If there has been past discrimination we are going to stand up for you and try to get the opportunity to train for better jobs. After 15 years, you should certainly have the opportunity to train for better jobs. If you can cut it, then you certainly should have the job.

## WOMEN

WP: What about discrimination against women?

Shires: While the companies hire a lot of women for the mills there have been limited in opportunities for job promotion. Before SWURF was organized there was a case in my local of a woman who applied for what was considered a man's job. They gave her the job, but then expected her to do considerably more than anyone else was expected to do. When the union officials did not defend this woman she left the job.

There was a case in Fresno that SWURF took up. A woman applied for the job at the drier which paid more money. She could handle the job, but she was getting on in years and the company turned her down because they said she wouldn't be able to handle it for long. But we said that was her business and it's the union's business to protect her job and protect her right to advance. We protested this and she got the job, which had been considered only a man's job.

We will not stand for discrimination against women, Chicanos, blacks, union activists or anyone else. □

[In a future article in Workers' Power several sugar workers will discuss how they have organized specific struggles on their shop floors and in their locals. Workers interested in contacting SWURF can write PO Box 22373, Sacramento, California, 95822.]

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## ORGANIZATION

WP: How is SWURF organized? Shires: We have three state officers, a chairman, a financial secretary, and a communications director. In each local there is a local SWURF organizer. None of the officers are paid.

Policy and elections are done at statewide membership meetings. Any sugar worker in the union can join SWURF if he or she is supported by the local SWURF group. We definitely aim to exclude people who organized in favor of the contract last year. We don't want SWURF to be taken over.

# ANGRY

by Jack Trautman

Leaders of New York City postal unions are making preparations for a fight on the postal contract settlement. Last week, 400 members of NALC Local 36 voted unanimously to hold a mass demonstration in Washington, DC.

Their purpose is to demand that the union negotiators led by the top postal bureaucrat James Rademacher, not sell out the rank and file in their agreement with the US Postal Service.

Local 36 will be joined by the New York City local of the American Postal Workers Union. The two unions have called upon other local unions to support the demonstration, and right now they expect more than 2,000 postal workers in Washington this Thursday, (June 19).

"We are going to tell Mr. Rademacher exactly what we want," said Madeline Brown, a member of Local 36. "And carriers and clerks from other branches in the metropolitan area will be there to support us."

This demonstration will be the first national action by postal workers this year. Until now, everything has been confined to the secret negotiations between the union and management in Washington.

The demands of the Washington demonstration are these: a 25% wage increase over two years of the contract; the \$1300 gained from the cost of living allowance (COLA) be made part of the basic salary; continuation of a COLA on an area-differential basis (where the cost of living is highest, workers will get more); and full payment of health and pensions.

This action is more than necessary. For the rumor at the recent convention in Kansas City was that Rademacher and the negotiators were consider-

# POSTAL

ing settling for as little as 5%. Rademacher denied this of course, but the chances are that the leadership will trade everything away for retention of the no layoff clause.

The fact is of course that wages will not be enough, for in the months ahead postal workers' working conditions will be increasingly attacked across the country.

Other demands should be fought for:

- No time and work standards to be changed without the approval of the local and national unions.
- All promotions and work assignments made on the basis of strict seniority.
- Voluntary overtime at double time. Voluntary holiday work at triple time.
- The right to strike.

The Washington demonstration can be the beginning for a fight to win these demands. But by itself it will not be enough.

**Rank and file postal workers must be prepared to follow this demonstration with two things. First, the Washington demonstration must be supported with actions across the country. Second, these demonstrations must be the first step in organizing a movement to reject a rotten contract.**

# Workers' Power

# WORKERS MARCH ON DC



## POSTAL POINTS

### POSTAL WORKERS FIGHT BACK

JACK TRAUTMAN

#### CONTRACT 1975



A second printing was necessary after the first week! Don't miss it. A Workers' Power pamphlet available from Sun Press for 35c postpaid. 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

Racism in the Post Office and The secret negotiations—

See page 7

#### Los Angeles, Ca.

Distribution clerks in the Venice Local won the first skirmish against greater mechanization and centralization in postal operations. A petition campaign and the threat of a picket line stopped management's plan to transfer incoming distribution to the Culver City Post Office.

Venice distribution clerks opposed the move because it would mean loss of seniority for many, changed work hours, and much longer commuting. Next on the agenda for Venice postal workers is to organize with other locals against the Post Office plan to move incoming distribution of all associate post offices in the Inglewood sectional center to one centralized location.

#### Louisville, Ky.

"Postal workers have really been pushed around in this past year. If they don't give us what we're asking for, we should strike, all over the country."

#### San Francisco Bay Area, Ca.

The Post Office is building a new Bulk Mail Center in Richmond. Most parcel handling in the area will be moved there. Several hundred people will be transferred from Oakland.

Once the new facility is in full operation the Post Office has said that about 100 clerks will be "excessed"—it's not hard to guess what that means. The new facility will have no union representation the first few months, which will mean tour shifts and stepped-up harassment.

#### Cincinnati, Ohio

Carriers report a general pattern of harassment and speed up. In fact, many Cincinnati carriers believe the Kokomo plan is being secretly implemented. Many examples back this suspicion. Most recently, supervisors have ordered carriers to cut across lawns on their deliveries. In the past, this was usually forbidden. But last week, at one Cincinnati station, supervisors informed carriers that anyone who refused to cross lawns would be charged with insubordination.

#### Portland, Ore.

While a woman was working a machine it broke, badly cutting her hand. Later, back on the job, she was moving sacks of mail. One sack had a wet bottom and split, sending letters flying. Several letters hit the fan, then flew back and hit her in the eye, cutting her. Still later she slipped on loose rubber bands on the floor. The result? All of these incidents were used to deny her a way increase on the grounds that she violated the safety rules!

#### Poughkeepsie, NY

"I'll tell you one thing, the damn union isn't worth shit... We went out last time and they didn't back us up. If we go out we've got to do it together."

—rank and file postal worker

#### Kansas City, Mo.

At the recent Constitutional Convention of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) the union bureaucracy had one thing in mind, and it wasn't toughening up the union for a militant contract fight.

Their sole interest was making the union less subject to rank and file control.

Among the measures they introduced was a proposal to appoint Regional Directors with authority over elected officials in the Regions. Any local elected official who fought for the ranks could be over-ruled or even ousted from above. All proposals were defeated.

#### San Fernando Valley Ca.

Dave Wagner, while president of the Valley local, wrote in the local newspaper in Sept., 1974 "...the 'No Contract—No Work' policy came out of the Convention. This militant stance was taken almost without dissent... By this time there ought not to be any doubt that the APWU is fully prepared to strike."

Speaking to the local recently, however, national APWU president Francis Filbey said that the convention's "No Contract—No Work" vote would be interpreted to mean "feverish negotiations for a contract." Filbey refused to guarantee a strike if negotiations are still going on when the contract expires.

One postal worker at the Valley sectional center had this to say: "Our upcoming contract will be the first in a series of labor contracts negotiated across the country within the next year. We can be the militant pacesetters or the docile sheep. No doubt the Postal Service will attempt to scare us by pointing to the millions of unemployed and telling us how lucky we are to have our jobs... They must be given warning that if they sell-out in

traditional fashion, we will take matters into our own hands. The better."

#### Washington, DC

One of the more vile demands the Postal Service is making on the unions is that the no layoff clause be given up, except for Vietnam Vets. This proposal would set two groups of workers at each other's throats, vets and non-vets. It would be especially discriminatory against women, who have already been discriminated against in so many ways.

#### Philadelphia, Pa.

The letter sorting (zmt) machines are supposed to move 60 letter per minute—one per second. But a postal worker recently timed the speed of his machine at 65 per minute, even though the dial on the machine read 60. That way the government gets a free minute's work every 12 minutes.

#### St. Louis, Mo.

"We feel very strongly that as soon as they get that [Kokomo] Plan implemented with the carriers they're going to spread it all over. It'll be to the clerks and mail handlers and everyone else. Of course, our dear Postmaster General has said we're going to have the plan and if you want to strike he's prepared—whatever that means."

—Mike Wheeler, President St. Louis local, National Alliance of Post Workers.

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