

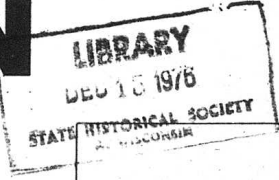
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# WORKERS' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS DECEMBER 13, 1976 #188 15c

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# SADLOWSKI CHALLENGE GAINS IN STEEL UNION



## Where Fight Back Has Won

The nominating period is over for the February 8 election in the United-Steel Workers union, and the insurgent slate headed by Ed Sadlowski has come out of it looking strong.

Sadlowski has campaigned for a complete change in the pro-company policies of the present USW leadership. The results so far show that, given a chance to express themselves, workers in large factories where both their problems and opportunities are more sharply focused will vote for change. If Sadlowski wins the election, this lesson will not be lost on either the leadership or the rank and file of other unions.

Although the official results won't be announced until December 20, unofficial tabulations show that Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fight Back slate has been nominated by about 600 local unions. This is four times the number needed for nomination, and is the most nominations a challenger to the USW machine has ever gotten.

The "official" candidate of the union bureaucracy, Lloyd McBride, won considerably more nominations, however. He claims over 3000 of the union's 5400 locals. But in spite of this lopsided margin for McBride, Sadlowski comes out in better shape.

The bulk of the USW locals are

small, and as expected, the power of the union's privileged apparatus swung these locals overwhelmingly to McBride. But Sadlowski has carried most of the large locals in the big mills that comprise one-half of the union's membership.

### A GOOD START

Sadlowski's impressive showing in the big locals is a good start for his campaign. But his supporters, who turned out this showing for him, should not rest on their laurels. A bigger job lies ahead.

In 1969, basic steel voted 62% for challenger Emil Narick against USW President Abel. But the turnout was low, and when the non-steel vote was added, Narick lost with only 41% of the total.

The USW has 10,000 polling places and Sadlowski can't hope to have observers at all of them. McBride has the further advantage that his supporters will be counting the vote, an advantage no rebel has yet been able to overcome.

Sadlowski can win, but only if his supporters in the big mills where the vote can be easily monitored turn out a heavy vote. It must be such a heavy vote that Sadlowski goes into the small locals with a lead too big to be stolen from him.

Below is a list of major steel locals which Sadlowski has carried.

- Baltimore: 2609, 2610 part of the Sparrows Point Mill
- Bethlehem, Pa.: 2598, 2599, 2600 Bethlehem mill
- Buffalo Lackawanna: 2602, 2604 Bethlehem
- District 26 Youngstown: 1330 US Steel, 1418, 2163 Youngstown Sheet and Tube
- Campbell Works, 1375 Republic Steel
- Columbus, Ohio: 2173 Timken Roller Bearings
- District 23: Steubenville, Ohio, 1190 Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel
- Pittsburgh: 2635 Bethlehem, 1211 J&L Steel Aliquippa (10,000 members), 1212 Midland, 1408 McKeesport US Steel National Tube Plant, Edgar Thompson Works, 1397 US Steel Homestead, 1557 US Steel Clairton, 1229 Wheeling Pittsburgh Monesson, 1197 Sharon Steel, 8258 Grant Steel, 185 J&L, 2265, 1157, 1098 Republic, 1298, 1104 US Steel Michigan: 1299 Great Lakes Steel, 7990 McLouth Steel, 2015 American Hoist, 1357 J&L
- District 31 Chicago: 1066 Gary Works Sheet and Tin, 65 South Works, 1033 Republic, 1010 Inland Steel (18,000 members, largest local in the union, carried by a wide margin)

Below are large non-steel locals carried by Sadlowski.

- District 26 Youngstown: 7300 Wean Manufacturing, 1617 GF Business
- Canada: 6500 Inco (14,500 members)
- Michigan: 12075 Dow Chemical
- District 31: 12775 Northern Indiana Power

Lloyd McBride has won big mill locals in the South and the West: in Alabama, Texas, Colorado, California.



# Press cover up on Carter church revealed

Remember Clennon King, the black minister who tried to integrate Jimmy Carter's church?

The newspapers reported he was "mentally unsound." By labelling him crazy, they made a lot of people forget that he was challenging racial segregation when he applied for church membership.

They didn't mention that the reason Clennon King was declared mentally ill, was that he fought forced racial discrimination in

Mississippi 18 years ago.

King was ordered into a mental institution by a Mississippi judge 1958 for trying to desegregate "Ole Miss," the University of Mississippi at Oxford.

No black was successful at enrolling at "Ole Miss" until four years later. In 1962, backed up by federal troops, James Meredith was admitted as the first black student. And then, the cost was a night-long riot that left three

persons dead.

The University also accused Meredith of being crazy.

They went a little further with Clennon King, however, who tried to enroll without any legal help or public backing.

King, a former college professor, announced his intention to enroll in a summer PhD session in advance by letter. When he drove the 400 miles to Oxford he was followed the whole way by the state police.

He went in the University front door and was immediately carried out the back. He was held, with no right to call anyone, by the state police for 20 hours.

A "lunacy warrant" was obtained, and he was committed to a state mental hospital for observation.

It took over two weeks and a legal fight by his brother, a leading civil rights lawyer, to have King declared sane and released.

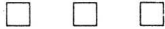
The press did a thorough job of investigating King after the Plains church incident. They knew very well why he was declared insane—but they covered that part up.

The key, of course, is that it was the President-elect's church that was involved.

The press will go to any length to discredit a fight against segregation in this country—in particular when the racism reaches to the front door of the Oval Office.

# The Man Who Brought A War Home

by Dan Posen



The year was 1967.

The United States was already fighting a major war. There were 500,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. Anywhere from 150 to 500 were dying every week.

Tens of thousands of Vietnamese were being killed. The government was assuring the American people that it was all worth it, victory was just around the corner and South Vietnam would be saved for democracy.

Suddenly, there was a new crisis. A rebellion broke out among another oppressed people, against American capitalist property and power. Several major U.S. corporations, located close to the uprising, were threatened.

As the fighting intensified, local authorities were unable to control it.

The President of the United States rushed a special representative named Cyrus Vance to the scene to supervise Washington's response.

His orders were: advise the President when to send in U.S. troops. Units with combat experience in Vietnam might be necessary.

Where did this rebellion break out? Was it in Chile, Argentina or Bolivia? Somewhere in Africa or Asia?

The answer is: none of the above. It happened in Detroit.

The 1967 Detroit black rebellion broke out in the early hours of Sunday morning, July 23.

By Sunday night, 1500 National Guard troops with tanks were brought in by Michigan Governor George Romney at the request of Mayor Jerry Cavanaugh.

The National Guard were met with sniper fire from roof tops. Many of those active in the rebellion were young black workers who had already gone through the war in Vietnam.

The appearance of the National Guard could not intimidate or end the rebellion.

### LBJ'S REP

President Lyndon Johnson's personal representative arrived in Detroit Monday. His name was Cyrus R. Vance.

Vance was Deputy Secretary of Defense. The newspapers described him as a young liberal.

In the next few days Vance diligently kept himself in the public spotlight, appearing at TV news conferences alongside the exhausted figures of Romney and Cavanaugh.

By Monday night at 11:00 pm Vance decided it was time for the troops. On his advice Johnson ordered 4800 paratroopers rushed into Detroit. There, Vance took



Detroit, July, 1967.

effective control of the operation.

What happened in the next few days was the Vietnam war, complete with atrocities, come home to America.

Vance had the federal paratroopers, who included both black and white soldiers, stationed on the east side of the city. Within a day the east side was reported "secure."

But most of the action was in a huge section of the west side, covering a huge belt from Tiger Stadium to the University of Detroit.

Black Detroiters took over the west side ghetto and fought to keep the forces of repression out. There, the federal troops were not used.

Instead, the federal troops were kept on the east side, to free the National Guard for the fighting on the west side. The National Guard troops were an all-white, untrained, exhausted and panic-stricken force. Their orders, in their own words, were "shoot and ask questions later."

### FREED FOR ACTION

Since then he has been a career negotiator, with a reputation for never making up his mind on an issue till he sees which side is going to come out on top.

This is the man who will replace Henry Kissinger. But it is clear Cyrus Vance will continue Kissinger's policies—policies of calculated, deliberate manipulation and bloodshed. But now he, has the whole world, not just Detroit, to operate on.

Over 4000 housing units were destroyed. About two-thirds of the rebellion's 43 deaths occurred during these actions.

One 3-year-old girl died when her father flicked a cigaret lighter near an apartment window—the Guard thought it might be a sniper.

By keeping federal troops out of this area, Cyrus Vance assured that Lyndon Johnson wouldn't have to take personal responsibility for the massacre.

Johnson was able to keep his hands clean, and tell the country it could pay for the Vietnam war and controlling the black ghettos at the same time.

On August 2, Cyrus Vance announced that "law and order has been returned to Detroit." Dozens of blacks had been killed, but General Motors' headquarters and property had been successfully defended.

The next day, President Johnson warmly congratulated Vance for "a job well done."



Cyrus Vance made news again this week. He was appointed to be the Secretary of State for the next President, Jimmy Carter.

The man who organized the military occupation of Detroit's black community, and the devastation of the west side, has been appointed by a man elected

President by the black voters of this country.

Vance, like Jimmy Carter, supported the war in Vietnam. The black community, which saw thousands of its youth slaughtered in that war, bitterly opposed it.

Vance was fanatically loyal to Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, who masterminded the bombing of North Vietnam and the massive defoliation and destruction of crops.

But in 1968, when the war turned sour, Vance managed to switch to a "dove" position and salvage his career.

Since then he has been a career negotiator, with a reputation for never making up his mind on an issue till he sees which side is going to come out on top.

This is the man who will replace Henry Kissinger. But it is clear Cyrus Vance will continue Kissinger's policies—policies of calculated, deliberate manipulation and bloodshed. But now he, has the whole world, not just Detroit, to operate on.

### MERRY CHRISTMAS

The next issue of Workers' Power will be the last until the new year. The staff wishes Workers' Power readers a Merry Christmas and New Year. Publication will resume on January 10.

### Workers' Power 188

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## Workers' Power Sick Society Award

"On the first day of Christmas my true love gave to me a Partridge in a Pear Tree."

So goes the song and now an ad for a cute little love of a gift. A crystal pear with 18 karat gold partridge and pears

inside, isn't it adorable?

This useless little ornament is all of 5 3/4 inches tall and would look just perfect on the mantle, a nightstand or desk. What a delight on Christmas morning.

Of course, it could be put to good use, perhaps as a paperweight—to hold down the \$1225 bill from Steuben Glass that the little dear will cost you.

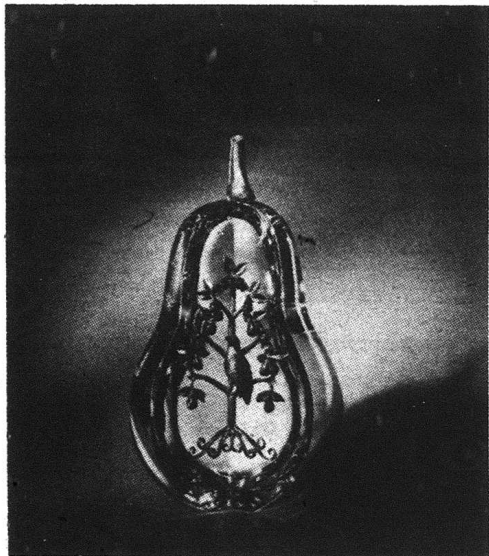
### A Little Rich For Your Blood?

Now some of you may complain that \$1225 is just too much money to pay for one Christmas gift. But look at it sensibly. That's only \$23.50 a week, or about \$102.00 a month.

For a young couple, starting out, that's the food budget. For the lucky welfare mother, it's the rent on a rat trap apartment. It's also about what a medium-priced new car note is. Or, it's about what it costs to run the car, including repairs and insurance.

This gift, rating about a six on the Workers' Power Decadence Scale, is just one of the toys the rich are buying each other for Christmas.

If you can find something even more useless than the ruling class is spending the money they stole from our hard labor on, submit it to our Sick Society Contest. The winning prize is a year of the beautiful revolutionary posters that Sun Press creates in 1977. Entries are eligible until Jan. 2. Pictures help. Send to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, room 225, Highland Park, MI 48203.



# STEBUEN GLASS

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DECADENCE SCALE

# 13-Week Strike Ends In Eastern States UPS

by Jim Woodward

The long Teamsters strike against United Parcel Service (UPS) in 15 eastern states is finally over. During meetings in 74 locals on Thursday, December 9, strikers voted overwhelmingly to accept a tentative settlement reached the week before.

A complete count was not available at Workers' Power press time, but results from 45 locals showed 6893 voting in favor of the contract, and 2611 against.

Few UPSers voted in favor because they thought it was a good contract. It is not. The best that can be said about it is that it maintains the status quo. There are some gains and some losses.

For many, especially full-timers, it was a 13-week strike that they will get nothing out of.

Yet, with the union unwilling to take more militant action against UPS—such as extending pickets to non-striking areas—many rank and filers had come to view the strike as a defense of existing conditions, instead of a strike to improve conditions.

## PART-TIMERS

The major issues in the strike centered around the use of part-time workers. In the Eastern states, there were fewer part-timers used than in many other UPS operations, but they got much poorer pay and benefits than elsewhere. And UPS was trying to bring in more part-timers as fast as it could.

The new contract does nothing to stop the company from hiring new part-time workers. And the clause against back-to-back shifts of part-timers that was in some local contracts is now gone. And so is the prohibition against part-timers doing pick-ups.

There is, however, a new clause

that says UPS must not reduce the number of inside full-time jobs while any part-time employees are working in the building. While this is some help, there are a number of loopholes, and the enforcement of this provision will depend primarily on how strongly UPSers are organized at the local level.

For full-time drivers who are declared medically unfit to drive, there is no guarantee that the company will give them full-time inside jobs. UPS merely says it will try to do so.

There are, however, a number of important gains for part-time workers.

They will get the following, all of which is new: an extra \$1 an hour (on top of the \$1.65 that goes to all UPSers); full health and welfare coverage; cost-of-living; sick days; optional holidays; and the right to bid on full-time jobs.

## LOCAL SUPPLEMENTS

In local supplements to the master contract, various areas lost different things. In Northern New Jersey, for instance, the night differential will not apply to any new employees.

And there is a significant change for the worse in the grievance procedure.

Previously, all grievances were first heard at the local level. That will continue to be true for grievances arising out of the local supplemental contracts.

But grievances arising from the master contract will go directly to the Eastern Conference grievance committee. The effect of this is to further erode the power of stewards.

What this all means is that United Parcel Service will continue to be a wretched place to work.

The authoritarian control the company exerts can be seen in

another new contract provision: no picketing of any sort is to be allowed during the life of the contract.

Whether this ban on freedom of speech—as expressed through informational picketing—will stand up in court is doubtful. But the company certainly intends to try.

It was a long strike, and UPS workers showed amazing endurance in staying united through it all.

Because the union just let the strike drift on, the whole thing could have been a total defeat, except for the efforts of the men and women in UPSurge-East.

## UPSURGE

UPSurge, the rank and file UPS workers group, was able to get new

coverage for the workers' side of the story, when the union didn't do it. UPSurge maintained communications among rank and filers and spread the word on what was happening in negotiations when the union officials refused to do so.

UPSurge kept constant pressure on the union and undoubtedly is responsible for gains that are in the contract.

The job now is to build on the network that UPSurge developed so that the final outcome will be different in three years, when a national UPS contract is anticipated.

Rita Drapkin, a member of the UPSurge-East steering committee, put it this way: "Those few conditions that we've hung on to. UPS will be trying to destroy in

three years in a national contract. The only way to stop them is to build a network of Teamsters through UPSurge and Teamsters for a Democratic Union to create the kind of union that will fight UPS."

Contracts covering UPS employees in 11 southern states expire December 31. Their contract fight will be a difficult one, because the company's business falls off dramatically after Christmas, leaving the union with less bargaining power.

In the south, conditions at UPS are generally worse than in other areas.

Workers' Power will report the results of the southern contract negotiations as soon as information is available.



"Concerned Teamsters" picket at Ford headquarters, December 4.

## What We Think



### The Next Step: Join TDU

The reason that the eastern states UPS strike ended up with a poor contract isn't because no one knew how to win a better one.

On the contrary, UPSurge-East continually demanded that the union authorize picketing in non-striking states as a way of putting additional pressure on the company.

The union's response was to say that anyone who did this would lose their strike benefits.

That was typical of the way the Teamsters Union ran this strike. And it is typical of the way the union runs its everyday affairs. Strikes are sold out, grievances are ignored, militants are not defended, and the man at the top says, "If you don't like it, go to hell."

Three years from now, in all probability there will be a national contract. While this gives the union greater bargaining power, it also means bargaining will be even more controlled by top Teamster officials who are too fat, lazy and corrupt to want to fight the company.

It must now be clear to all that in order to get a good contract at UPS, the union must be turned around. That cannot be done just on a local level, or on a regional level. It must be done on a national level, with nationwide rank and file organization.

Building a strong UPSurge is part of this. UPSurge can coordinate company-wide activities around such issues as harassment, as well as prepare for the next contract.

But the entire union must be changed. That is why Workers' Power urges all UPS activists to join and work with Teamsters for a Democratic Union. TDU is working to change the Teamsters into a fighting, democratic union that will defend the rights and interests of the membership.

That's the first step toward rank and file power at United Parcel Service—and thousands of other employers who are almost equally vicious.

## 'Concerned Teamsters' Fall Into An Old Trap

DETROIT—Fifty picketers at Ford Motor Co. protested its use of a scab shipper in the first public demonstration by "Concerned Teamsters" of Local 299 here December 4.

The demonstration, led by Local President Robert Lins and Secretary-Treasurer Otto Wendel, seemed somewhat off base to many Teamsters because the union has no contract with Ford.

Wendel refused to answer the question of a reporter from Rank and File Speaks, newspaper of Detroit TDU, on the choice of the target. The reporter also asked Wendel why the local had done nothing for the 52 fired car haulers, or the loss of jobs through casualization throughout the freight industry.

In these areas the union has contractual rights and something could be done for unemployed Teamsters. But Wendel responded that he did not speak to people from TDU.

The simple fact is that Lins and Wendel were grandstanding. They picked a company where they had no contract—where the employers could not get mad at them—and tried to act militant. It wasn't very convincing.

Concerned Teamsters was formed by part of the old Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) coalition after TDC had led a successful wildcat against Fitzsimmons' sellout of the Master Freight Agreement last spring.

## AFRAID

The major leadership of TDC attended the founding convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) in September. But many of those who had formerly been members of an earlier group, Active Rank and File, formed Concerned Teamsters. They were mainly afraid of being in an organization that included socialists among its members and

leaders.

But it is Teamsters for a Democratic Union that continues to lead the struggle. In contrast to the show at Ford, TDU held a demonstration two weeks ago to get the 52 fired car haulers' jobs back.

The Concerned Teamsters are victims of their own anti-communism. Their fear has kept them from having anything to do with the only real national alternative to the Fitzsimmons machine in the union.

Many of the Concerned Teamsters are good rank and file militants. Yet they have ended up in an alliance with the Local 299 leadership. The lesson is clear. If they are interested in a fighting rank and file movement, they will have to learn to deal with their anti-communist attitudes and join TDU. If they are more interested in sellouts, they should see Otto Wendel.

# PALESTINE LIBERATION



Palestinian and Lebanese resistance fighters at Sidon destroyed these Syrian tanks.

# WHAT LIES AHEAD?

**After the war in Lebanon, what is the future for the Palestinian resistance movement?**

Since 1970, Lebanon has been the one country in which the Palestinians could live and organize in relative freedom.

Palestinian Arabs were forced to flee their own land in 1948, when a Zionist state was established in Palestine. The state of Israel claimed that Jewish settlers had the exclusive right to live in Palestine.

The other area of Palestine, called the West Bank, was taken over at that time by the Kingdom of Jordan. In 1967, Israel seized the West Bank as part of its Occupied Territories during the Six-Day War.

The Palestinian movement made

every attempt to stay out of the internal class struggles of the Arab countries. The movement's basic concern was to win their own national freedom and homeland.

## RESISTANCE

The civil war in Lebanon was a war the Palestinians did not want. They were forced into it by the most right-wing Christian section of the Lebanese ruling class.

The right launched an all-out attack to smash the movement for social reforms inside Lebanon and to drive the Palestinians out at the same time. This attack received unofficial approval and major under-cover support from the government of the United States. The Palestinians joined the

Lebanese reform-minded left in a national resistance struggle. They were engulfed by the internal struggles they hoped to avoid. But there was no coordinated revolutionary program or strategy in this alliance.

The occupation of Lebanon by Syria has defeated the possibility of social revolution in Lebanon. Now Lebanon has become an Occupied Territory as well, occupied by Syria instead of Israel.

The Palestinian fighters have not been crushed in the Lebanese war, despite heavy losses. They are resisting the Syrian occupiers' demands that they give up all their weapons.

They are returning to some of their bases in southern Lebanon,

despite threats of massive retaliation by Israel and Israeli-armed militias of Lebanese extreme rightists.

However, the outcome of the war in Lebanon has gravely threatened the Palestinians' ability to wage their resistance struggle independent from the political dictates of the Arab states.

## FORCED BARGAINING

Under this occupation, the Arab ruling classes have forced the Palestinians to agree to negotiate for a so-called "West Bank state," or Palestinian mini-state, on West Bank territory now held by Israeli forces.

This proposal does not really mean Palestinian national independence at all. Israel will accept it only if it is assured in advance that the Palestinian resistance is wiped out.

In fact, the Arab states are putting forward a bargaining position calling for a Palestinian mini-state which would actually be under the political and military control of a Syrian federation!

This is what Jimmy Carter, the Israeli government and the Arab states' leaders mean when they talk heartily about a so-called Middle East peace settlement in 1977.

## NO SOLUTION

At the present time, the Palestinian movement is almost completely united around the demand for a Palestinian West Bank state. They see no choice.

A few of the resistance organizations, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, reject it. But they offer no alternative strategy.

Socialists support the struggles of the Palestinians and call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops and settlers from all Occupied Territories. This land belongs to the Palestinians. They should control it—not the King of Jordan.

Even a partial step toward Palestinian self-determination must be defended. However, even if a West Bank state could be won, it will not solve the Middle East conflict.

A solution will be in sight only when Palestinian, Israeli, and Lebanese and other Arab workers join in a revolutionary alliance—to take down the structures of Zionism and national oppression. □

## New Police Repression In South Africa

Police repression in South Africa continues without let-up. More than 180 young Africans were picked up during police raids around Cape Town last week.

The police are also searching through the school registers of Soweto township. Students who did not take their written exams because of the school boycotts are being rounded up.

The repression in Cape Town began when a protest meeting in Guguletu township, near Cape Town, attracted a large contingent of police. When the meeting ended, police fired into a group and killed two people.

In the next few days, black protesters burned the homes of black police and police informers living in the township. The government sent 600 riot police into the area for house-to-house searches and a mass roundup of all black student leaders.

Soweto student leader Tsietsi Mashinini, who escaped South Africa last summer, says 1200 people have been killed in the last six months (triple the government's figures).

Mashinini said in an interview: "There are still possibilities for further demonstrations, where people will get shot. But people are sick and tired of getting shot at and not shooting back."

"So, I see the struggle going underground, and a lot of things happening without anybody knowing where they come from." □

## Peasants Seize Land In Mexico

Another big economic and political crisis is breaking out right on the borders of the United States—this time in Mexico.

The most radical wing of the struggle at this stage are peasants who are taking over huge estates of the idle rich.

Thirty thousand peasants have already seized over a million acres in northwest Mexico. Landowners are organizing vigilante squads and hired gunmen to get it back. They are demanding the government immediately step in to halt the occupations.

The retiring President of Mexico, Luis Echeverria, signed a bill giving peasants the right to hold a million acres they have already taken, and promised to divide up another 8 million acres for 60,000 peasant families.

Echeverria enacted these measures so that he can continue to be a powerful, popular figure even after he leaves office. His successor, Jose Lopez Portillo, is under intense pressure from the landlords to crush the peasants.

The new government is already peddling the line that peasant occupations must be stopped, because only the rich can farm the land efficiently to feed the cities.

But 8 million acres for 60,000 peasants is just a beginning. It does not even begin to meet the desperate land hunger of Mexican peasants. They have suffered one broken promise after another since the 1910 revolution which promised land to the peasants and never delivered it. Their hopes are high and they are mobilizing to struggle for much more land—with permission or without it.

Meanwhile, starting January 1 the government must also start negotiating new wage increases for Mexican workers, against a 30% rate of inflation.

Mexico is in for a winter of growing turmoil and struggle. □

## What They're Fighting For

If you believe most American newspapers and the Israeli government, the Palestinian guerillas are "terrorists" who have no real popular support, and no motive except the love of killing innocent people.

If you believe this, you should read about how the Palestinians and their left-wing Lebanese allies fought at the Tal az Za'atar camp in Beirut.

On June 22, right-wing forces with support from the Syrian army launched their final assault to wipe out the camp. The battle lasted 53 days.

Inside Tal az Za'atar, Syrian agents had urged the resistance organizations to surrender. They refused.

The whole population of Tal az Za'atar joined in the defense. The account of their struggle reads exactly like the battle of the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto, against the whole Nazi army, in 1943.

One participant reported: "All we had left for food was lentils. Lentils were even used to make bread, because they were the only food available."

"The masses fought against the attack with such little food that it can really be said they fought the enemy with their lentils."

"The problem of water was more serious, however. We had only one well, a deep one which required

pumps to draw the water. After the electricity was cut off we used all the car batteries that were around to ensure a minimum amount of water, at least for the injured, and for the camp in general."

Another defender, a volunteer teacher, adds: "All those who used to go to fetch water knew that a cup of water might cost them a cup of blood. It was difficult to accept, but there was no choice."

"If there is a picture that can never be forgotten, it is that of the 40-year-old woman who was shot in the shoulder while dragging the bucket away from the tap. She refused our attempts to take her to the hospital and insisted, 'I will not go to the hospital until I see my children drinking.'"

The same story was repeated all over Lebanon, at cities and Palestinian camps, in the last months of the war. It was a massive popular response that allowed the fighters to resist every step of the Syrian invasion.

Both in Lebanon and Israeli-held lands, the Palestinian people are resisting—because they must fight in order to survive.

The Palestinians have spent 30 years organizing to resist Zionism and Israeli occupations. Now, in the war in Lebanon, they have learned that the attack on them does not only include the United States and Israel. The Arab states



Palestinian children at a refugee camp in Beirut. The Palestinians fight because they have no choice in order to survive.

and in particular Syria have become partners in the conspiracy.

This is why, when the people of Tal az Za'atar were being rounded up, beaten and in some cases massacred by pro-Syrian and Lebanese fascist soldiers, one woman screamed at the Syrians: "Are you Zionists?" □



# Carter's 100 Days

by Michael Urquhart

## Carter's #1 Problem: Economy on the Rocks

# THE PAUSE THAT DEPRESSES

When Jimmy Carter takes office in January, the number one problem he faces will be the much publicized "pause" in the economy.

While higher unemployment and inflation will threaten the working class and black people who voted him in, Carter's economic policies will certainly be tailored for big business.

Businessmen fear that the fragile recovery of 1976 could rapidly become the bust of 1977. They want Carter's administration to protect the high profits they've been making.

After a recent meeting with his leading economic advisors, Carter had to admit to the Wall Street Journal that "what seemed to be bad" about the economy during the campaign "now seems to be worse."

The next day two newspapers widely read by businessmen were gloomy. The Wall Street Journal reported that "economic stagnation threatens to persist, government analysts warn." The New York Times concluded that "Economic Future Cloudy."

### DECLINES

The index of leading economic indicators, after declining for August and September, remained

level for October. In the past, a decline for three months straight has meant a recession.

- Unemployment is increasing again, rising to 8.1% in November from 7.9% in October. The number of companies reporting layoffs in October increased to 18% from 15%.

- The rate of unused manufacturing capacity remains high, at about 25%.

- In spite of this, inventories (unsold goods) increased almost 1% in October. Consequently, investment in new plant and equipment remains low, 9% below the peak in 1973.

The pause in the U.S. comes at a time of serious difficulties for capitalism throughout the world.

The international recovery has been based mainly on the expansion of the U.S. market. Japan, for instance, has increased its exports to the U.S. by 40%.

New predictions for actual growth in 1976 for all countries have been drastically reduced. For example, predicted growth in France has been reduced from 9% to only 5%, and for Italy from 4.3% to minus 3.5%!

### WORLD ECONOMY

Even a prolonged pause in the U.S. threatens to throw the world

into another recession.

Any new bust will come on top of massive unemployment remaining from the last one. The recovery reduced unemployment only by a meager 15% for the major industrial countries, from a high of 17.5 million to around 14.5 million.

The fact that both the U.S. and the other industrial countries are in

danger of another bust means that Carter will most likely take some steps to expand the economy.

Whatever steps Carter takes will probably be closely coordinated with similar policies in West Germany and Japan, the other two strongest capitalist economies.

Their combined pump-priming should be enough to get a modest

recovery going again. The governments hope that this will ease the crisis in many of the weaker economies.

Any new recovery is doomed to be short-lived. It will be rapidly destroyed by the return of double-digit inflation.

In spite of all the austerity measures taken in recent years, inflation continues at twice its normal average—6% a year in the U.S. and better than 9% in most other countries.

### CARTER'S PLANS

There are several steps Carter could take to expand the economy.

The most talked-about proposal is for a tax cut, perhaps involving only a one-shot rebate.

The cut would have the largest immediate impact on higher income groups and businesses, who pay more taxes. The effect of such a cut would not be felt for another five to six months, which may not be soon enough.

Carter may decide to increase federal expenditures. Already his administration will inherit around \$11 billion which was not spent in last year's budget. This program might also include the federalization of welfare, freeing other money for the cities.

Finally, Carter may press for a reduction in interest rates and another investment tax credit as a means of spurring new investment.

### INFLATION

Even before any of these expansionary policies are taken, the pressures on prices are increasing.

The latest steel price increase is only the tip of the iceberg. Coming up soon is another oil price increase which may add as much as 2% to the price index.

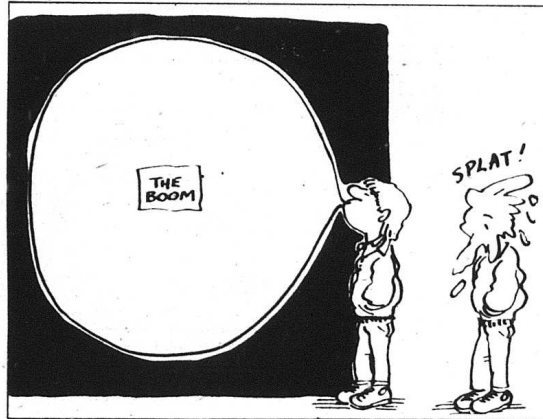
U.S. Labor Department figures for November show that wholesale prices rose six-tenths of one percent in that month. But more important in the November figures were rises in prices that tend to be passed on to consumers.

Wholesale prices for both industrial commodities and finished consumer food products both rose eight-tenths of one percent. Finished consumer goods other than foods rose seven-tenths of one percent.

The Carter camp is already concerned about inflation and is discussing adopting some form of "jawnboning" and wage-price guidelines, despite Carter's recent denials of any plans for wage-price controls.

The outlook is not bright for working and unemployed people. When employers look for a bigger piece of the pie, they look to take it from working people, with or without the aid of government.

The situation can be improved, but not by waiting for handouts from the Carter administration. It will mean organizing to make a better fight in 1977 than was made in 1976.



Rumor has it that Jimmy Carter is having a recurring nightmare about the state of the economy.

# ATLANTA CITY WORKERS HOLD ONE-DAY WORK STOPPAGE

ATLANTA—"We're going to do it. We going to close the city down to get our money. You know it's Christmas time and we ain't about to go home without our money." — Mr. Sims, employee, Atlanta Waterworks.

Two hundred fifty Atlanta city employees gathered together Dec. 6 in a freezing rain to demand \$500

pay increases that had been promised them last July. The city is now refusing to pay those increases.

The demonstration was called as part of a one-day work stoppage. Eighty percent of garbage collection was stopped. Many other departments, including engineering, streets and highways,

sewers, and night sanitation, were severely crippled. The potential power of the city workers—represented by AFSCME Local 1644—was clear.

The demonstrators marched on City Hall to confront the Mayor and the City Council. When the police tried to bar them from entering, they shoved them aside and pushed their way in.

### BONUS

Once in the Council chambers, however, they sat respectfully by and watched the Council vote down their raise. Instead the Council offered a \$160 one-shot bonus, with the possibility of some more "bonuses" yet to come. The union leaders told them not to give the City Council the heat it deserved for its action.

As a result, the median salary of city employees continues to be \$6800. They have received only a 4% pay raise since 1974. Meanwhile the cost of living has risen by 14%, so their purchasing power fell by 10%.

Atlanta employees have been shucked and jived about this question for a long time.

Last July they held a one-day work stoppage and were ready to go out on strike to win their demands. They were held back by Mayor Maynard Jackson and the City Council, who promised the \$500 raises "later on" and asked them to cool it.

City officials would have gotten nowhere without support from the AFSCME leadership. The union

officials overrode objections that talk is cheap and so are promises. They assured the workers they had an inside track to Mayor Jackson and everything would be all right.

As a result, city workers are still out in the cold. Everyone knows Christmas time is not a good time to talk about strike. But they are still angry, and they are not yet willing to let the issue drop.

## That Special Relationship

AFSCME officials believe they have a special relation to Mayor Maynard Jackson. Jackson, who was elected two years ago, is the first black mayor of Atlanta. He was elected on a platform of helping poor people. AFSCME, which is a mostly-black union, with a black leadership, gave Jackson full support and helped to elect him.

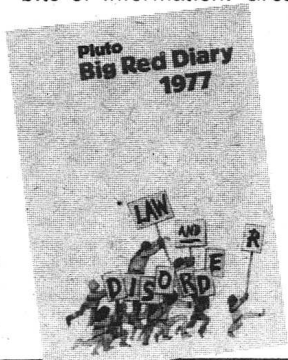
But Jackson belongs to the Democratic Party. As a Democrat, he has to take into account the needs of business in Atlanta despite all his talk about poor people.

That means he must keep business taxes low and set an example for private industry by keeping wages low.

So this "friend of labor," this man who is supposed to be sympathetic to blacks, this "poor people's representative," turned around and kicked the city workers in the face. There is a lesson to be learned here.

### Big Red Diary 1977 from Pluto Press.

This handy little pocket diary is filled with scores of pictures, cartoons and other useful bits of information. Great Christmas gift!



This year's diary is on the theme of Law and Disorder. Week by week it documents the struggle of workers against their employers and the government over the years. History shows that the law is not on the side of the working class.

\$2.50 postpaid.

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# WHY AUTO WORKERS NEED UNITY

## Workers' Power Analysis

by Mark Levitan  
UAW Local 3

In the round of bargaining just concluded, UAW skilled tradesmen came within a few hundred votes of rejecting the contract at both Ford and Chrysler. The skilled rank and file was organized. The Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) held mass meetings and demonstrations of up to 1000 workers.

Production workers, on the other hand, accepted the contract by a wider margin. The Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC), which many members of the International Socialists were active in, developed a program, called meetings, held demonstrations, and distributed literature. However, CGC never succeeded in getting more than relatively small numbers to become activists in the fight.

A significant number of skilled workers believed that it was possible to organize and force some concessions from the companies. Among production workers no such belief existed. Why did these two groups of workers, members of the same union, employed by the same companies, look at the situation so differently?

### WORK FORCE DIVIDED

In the plants, skilled and production have little contact with each other. The trades don't work on the assembly line. They have different supervisors and often different union representatives.

Skilled workers view their status in the auto industry as tradesmen—millwrights, tool and die makers, or electricians—rather than auto workers. They believe that they deserve better treatment than the workers on the line.

They are skilled, white, male Americans. All their lives they have been led to believe that the American Dream applied to them.

They have rights. They deserve to be well-off. There is no reason they shouldn't get the Dream if they fight for it.

In a plant where the majority of production workers are black and the skilled trades are lily white, the separation is reinforced by racism.

This separation has meant that over the last decade the rank and file struggles of skilled and production workers have developed in isolation from each other.

### TRADES ORGANIZED FOR SKILLED RIGHTS

Many tradesmen feel that the UAW does not represent them because they are only 10% of the membership. The rebellions of the skilled workers have usually taken the form of a fight for minority rights within the UAW.

Tradesmen have been organizing for special rights since the mid-60's. The International Society of Skilled Trades (ISST) was formed to push for a skilled trades union separate from the UAW. The



Skilled tradesman demonstrates with the ISTC in front of Ford Headquarters on the day of contract expiration.

UAW constitution specifies a special ratification procedure, in which either skilled or production has the right to veto the contract. This procedure was granted in 1966 as a concession to this movement.

During the 1967 negotiations the Dollar an Hour Now Committee was formed. The Committee demanded a dollar an hour pay hike for all tradesmen, union control of subcontracting, and clearer lines of craft demarcation. Six thousand workers demonstrated at Ford headquarters, and the UAW negotiators came up with a 50¢ wage increase.

This was enough to buy off many of the local union skilled trades leaderships. But a hard core of the committee, men like Art Fox, Pete Kelly, and Al Gardner, continued their opposition to the UAW leadership. They formed the United National Caucus, open to both skilled and production workers.

It was the tradesmen in the UNC who founded the ISTC in 1973, after the International declared the

Ford contract ratified, overruling the tradesmen's veto.

These leaders knew that the most effective weapon against the craft union strategy of the ISST was an organization of skilled workers which stood firmly for industrial unionism and a fight within the UAW. Today the ISTC has over 3000 dues-paying members, and it has grown from the fight it led this year.

### PRODUCTION WORKERS ORGANIZED AGAINST RACISM

The last ten years have been very different for production workers. The most important reason is the rise and fall of the black liberation movement.

Detroit is the political center of the auto industry and of the UAW. It is where auto workers are concentrated, and where the leadership of any rank and file movement in the UAW has always come from.

In the Detroit area, the majority of production workers are black.

Most black workers believe that the exploitation they suffer on the job is part of the oppression they face because of the pervasive racism in society. They do not share the white skilled workers' feeling that society is basically on their side.

In the late sixties the struggles of production workers took the form of a struggle for Black Power in the union and on the job. First the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement and then the League of Revolutionary Black Workers were formed.

The movement won limited gains. White foremen were replaced with black foremen. White local union leaders were replaced with black ones. Skilled tradesmen remained aloof from these struggles.

But the Black Power movement was destroyed, in both the community and industry. In the plants, black workers faced the coordinated repression of both the companies and the UAW establishment.

The best militants were fired. Many of the leaders were sucked up into management or became the Administration in the locals.

Others were dis-illusioned as they saw that even the victories that were won were largely hollow. The auto plants today are worse places to work than they were ten years ago.

Black workers have not yet recovered the confidence needed to take up the struggle. When the economic crisis of 1974-75 caused heavy layoffs in auto, it was the younger workers, most of them black, who suffered the most. The fear of unemployment was a strong conservatizing force. It held back the workers who would have been the base of a rebellion against a sellout this year.

The black movement has remained dormant. It will take a rebirth of that movement for black production workers to feel the confidence to take on the companies and the union again.

### BUILDING UNITY

There is no immediate prospect for a united movement of skilled and production workers. Skilled workers see little reason to appeal to a movement that is still weak and therefore cannot offer much real support. They will continue to see their struggle as one of skilled tradesmen.

On the other hand, few production workers identify with the aspirations of a group of workers they believe to be privileged.

The UAW leadership does not hesitate to exploit this division. Already a campaign is on to turn production workers against the right of skilled trades to veto the contract.

Unity will not be easy to achieve, but the basis for it is there. It is essential to a winning fight. A movement among production workers has to be built before the practical need for an alliance is recognized by both skilled and production workers.

"We feel like GI  
goose, we should get  
cake. They did make  
We should get a litt

Hank Oginsky

# UAW LOCAL 3

by Jenny Singer

During the contract round between the United Auto Workers and the Big Three, two groups of local officials pressed for important demands—cost of living on pensions and a short work week. Both groups called on the International to make these demands priorities in the '76 contract.

When the time came for ratification, neither of these demands had been won. The International had not even put them on the table.

Yet neither group would speak out against the contract. They would recommend neither rejection nor ratification. What happened?

The groups were the 30-and-Out Committee and the Short Work Week Committee. 30-and-Out is a group of local officials concentrated in GM, headed by Hank Oginsky of Local 599. They raised the issue of cost-of-living on the pensions.

The Short Work Week Committee existed mostly on paper. It was headed by Frank Rannels, President of Local 22. Originally the Committee demanded a 4-day, 36-hour work week.



At the UAW Bargaining Convention 30-and-Out Committee led nearly 200 demanding COLA on pensions and a

# WORKERS TO WIN

It is the big golden some frosting on the he largest profit ever. e more."

November 17, 1976

"We're not going to recommend either acceptance or rejection. Bluestone said that the International Union knows what the problem is and they will be bargaining in 1979. You have to look at these things."

Hank Oginsky, November 29, 1976

## Local Officials Caught In The Middle

but this was later modified to an unspecified "short" week.

### DEMONSTRATIONS

Both groups organized demonstrations and press conferences to support their demands. Several thousand retirees were mobilized for demonstrations at the UAW Bargaining Convention, at GM headquarters, and at Ford headquarters.

But these local officials were not willing to carry their campaigns to the end. Although Oginsky and Runnels will not participate with the rest of the UAW machine in trying to sell the contract, their so-called neutrality is in fact a back-door endorsement.

Runnels told Workers' Power, "It is my duty as a local union official to make all the information pertaining to that contract available. It is each individual's responsibility to make the decision within themselves if that contract suits their individual needs. They're grownups just like I am. Now, I'll be voting for ratification, myself."

Oginsky, who is Financial Secretary of Local 599, told Workers'

Power that he would let members of his local "make up their own minds."

Neither the 30-and-Out Committee nor the Short Work Week Committee tried to mobilize the full power of the rank and file to fight for these demands. Instead when they called demonstrations, they brought out retirees from their locals, but not active members.

Why did these local officials turn yellow at the zero hour?

### IN THE MIDDLE

They are caught between the rank and file and the top UAW leadership. They have to be able to deliver to their membership if they want to be re-elected, but they are also afraid to break with the Woodcock machine.

There are two ways for local officials to deliver. One way is through the unified power of the rank and file. The other is through currying favor with the Woodcock machine. Clearly, these local officials do not have confidence in the ranks. So they waver.

They know too well what happens to militants who buck the

International alone. So they end up relying on the machine to deliver for them. Because they are dependent on the machine, they are afraid to really step out of line.

### RANK AND FILE STRUGGLE

The steps that secondary officials like Oginsky and Runnels took could have been useful to the rank and file movement. When workers see cracks at the top, they feel more confident that they can fight and change things.

Other local officials went further than the 30-and-Out Committee and the Short Work Week Committee. Jordan Sims and Bob Weissman, presidents of Chrysler Locals 961 and 122, were active in the Coalition for a Good Contract. They recommended against acceptance. However, the memberships of their own locals did not become active in the struggle against the sellout.

In the end, the rank and file will not be able to rely on local officials to lead the struggle. The rank and file movement will go far beyond their tactics. Secondary officials will be swept along—or they will sink.



ISTC demonstrates at Solidarity House—UAW headquarters.

## HOW UAW SOLD GM SELLOUT

DETROIT—General Motors workers ratified a new three-year agreement by an overwhelming majority in voting December 6-8. According to figures released by Solidarity House, 87% of production workers and 69% of skilled tradesmen voted yes.

The GM results are in sharp contrast to the votes at Ford and Chrysler. There, skilled tradesmen accepted the contract by only a few hundred votes. Production workers ratified by 62 and 64%.

### OUTCOME

The outcome of the GM vote was never in doubt. But why was the yes vote so much larger at GM?

The main reason is that the UAW and the Big 3 have firmly established the practice of setting an unbreakable pattern at the "target company." Workers feel that there is no chance of getting any more than workers at the target got.

Also, the vote was held 2½ weeks before the Christmas holidays. GM had changed its usual practice of paying holiday pay after the New Year, to create a big check right before Christmas. The

propaganda put out was: Vote Yes For your big holiday check.

Skilled trades did vote down the agreement in some locals, including 15, 22 and 262. Frank Runnels, President of Local 22, told Workers' Power that tradesmen at his local had not raised questions at the informational meetings. He interpreted the No vote as a protest.

Similarly at Local 15, production workers ratified by only 64%. Workers there had recently been screwed by the International, which helped management to fire 10 workers after a wildcat strike. Resentment of the International undoubtedly increased the No vote.

UAW Vice President Irving Bluestone announced that the large majority indicated the membership's high degree of satisfaction with the contract. In fact, it represents the UAW leadership's success in convincing the membership that they are powerless against its machine.

Organization cannot wait three years till the next contract. The job of UAW militants is to turn the resentment caused by this year's sellout into rank and file action on the shop floor and in the locals.



In March, Hank Oginsky and the UAW members, mostly retirees, in short work week. Eight months later,

with neither of its demands even partially met, 30-and-Out refused to take a stand against the International's sell-out.

## Does Doug Fraser Think He's Funny?

After the Chrysler national agreement was settled on November 5, UAW locals were told to continue working without new local agreements. Local bargaining committees were to continue bargaining on their local agreements without a strike deadline.

At a meeting of all Chrysler-UAW local presidents in Detroit on November 30, UAW Vice President Doug Fraser promised strike authorization to any local that wanted it—as long as they wanted it before Christmas! □

# Workers' Power Review

This supplement is the beginning of a new magazine, **Workers' Power Review**. It will appear every six weeks as an insert in **Workers' Power**. Events around the world and here in the United States have created the need for such a publication.

Things are changing ever more rapidly. America has a new President. Rank and file unionists, whether they are truck drivers active in Teamsters for a Democratic Union or steel workers campaigning for Ed Sadlowski, are challenging the trade union establishment. Portugal, South Africa and China all face internal crises. Any group of people who want to change the world must develop an understanding of how it works. **Workers' Power Review** will help meet this pressing need.

In this country, the growth of the Employers' Offensive, and the complete unwillingness of the labor bureaucracy to lead any fight to even maintain past conditions has laid the basis for militant rank and file movements. **A Cause Worth Truckin' For** explains the conditions in the industry and the union which gave rise to Teamsters for a Democratic Union. This article also analyzes the role of socialists in building TDU and the rank and file movement.

The victory of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola opened up all of southern Africa for revolution. The key to the revolution is the overthrow of the vicious white racist regime of South Africa. Today, the struggle for the liberation of South Africa has begun. **South Africa: Act One of the Revolution**, discusses the nature of the South Africa regime, analyzes the role of US imperialism and explains the strategy for liberation and revolution necessary to complete the heroic fight for freedom now being waged.

In the last two years events in Portugal and southern Africa have shown beyond any doubt the beginning of a world wide movement for revolution. In April 1974 workers and soldiers, radicalized in the colonial wars against the movements for national revolution in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, overthrew fascism in Portugal.

Since then the Portuguese working class has been striving toward the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism in Portugal. This process was set back by the coup of November 25, 1975. The article, **Portugal: A Year of Reaction and Resistance**, discusses and analyzes the lessons of the revolution.

In the next issue we will be featuring a full analysis of the Carter Administration. We will take up what this Democratic Party government will mean for black and working people to whom Carter owes his victory.

# A Cause Worth Truckin' For

by  
Kim  
Moody

## I. INTRODUCTION

Recently, clerical workers belonging to IBT Local 800 struck Pittsburgh and New England Trucking Company. The company is attempting to break the strike by employing scabs. When these strikers decided that their local officers were not giving them the support they needed, they contacted the Western Pennsylvania chapter of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). TDU responded with a campaign to publicize the strike. The strikers and TDU published a joint leaflet explaining the issues involved.

The local TDU paper, "From the Horse's Mouth," carried an interview with Delores Black, a leader of the strike. The publicity has forced the Local 800 leadership to get more aggressive in backing up the strike. In Pittsburgh some local officials have been known to tell strikers who have complained of lack of union support that their hands were tied by the International, and that they'd better go to TDU for help.

This is no isolated example. At Schneider in Green Bay, WI., at McLeans in West Middlesex, PA., beer drivers in Los Angeles and carhaulers in Detroit have gotten active help from TDU when the union turned its back on them.

What is the Teamsters for a Democratic Union? What are its goals? How did it get started? Who's in it and where is it going?

TDU is a national rank and file organization with a constitution, membership cards, a set of militant positions on major issues affecting Teamsters and even a group of lawyers to help with legal matters. It was formed by some 250 rank and file Teamsters meeting at Kent State University on September 18 and 19. Most importantly, TDU has a membership and leadership that knows about the industry

and the enemies of the rank and file, is toughened by a year's experience of working and fighting together, and has a clear vision of what unionism ought to be and how to make the Teamsters Union live up to that vision.

## II. BACKGROUND CONDITIONS

TDU is partly a product of a general trend in the labor movement. Like the Miners for Democracy, the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steel Workers, and dozens of smaller opposition and reform groups in various unions, the TDU is part of a swelling movement to make the unions responsible to the workers.

Faced with economic instability, a deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system itself, the employers not only resist significant union demands, but try to take back past gains.

So far the employers have been successful beyond their hopes. Despite predictions that 1976 would be a year of tough contract bargaining, the unions stayed well within the employer/government guidelines.

The Teamster Master Freight Agreement began the round. While the wage increase of \$1.65 over three years was more than Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons had originally planned to ask for, it was less than the employers were willing to give. After the contract was signed many of them asked that previously requested rate increases be lowered in the light of the low wage settlement.

TDU is also a product of the particular conditions in the trucking industry and the Teamsters Union. The trucking industry is one of the few today where there are thousands of companies competing with each other. At one time this competition was so ruthless that the government had to step in and regulate rates for the industry. Competition remains fierce. However

over the years a number of the larger companies have been forcing smaller ones out of business or buying them up. So, although there are some 15,000 trucking firms, by 1965, 375 of these controlled about 58.5% of all revenues. In 1974, 75 companies controlled 28% of all revenues.

The 1973-75 depression speeded up this process. During that period 1,300 firms disappeared from the industry. While some firms were wiped out, others like Roadway, McLeans, UPS, Yellow Freight and Smith's Transfer tripled or quadrupled their revenues. Today's trucking firm is a multi-million dollar computerized corporation. And they didn't get that way by being nice to their employees.

The cooperation of government and the employers has succeeded in undermining the working conditions and safety of workers throughout the industry. The size of the work force has remained around one million for the past ten years while truck tonnage has risen 30-50%.

### DANGER

The working conditions at companies like UPS, McLeans, and Roadway are exhausting and dangerous. Road drivers face new, more hazardous conditions. In many states drivers must haul "doubles" (two trailers instead of one). And, in 1975 the tonnage allowed per load was raised from 73,280 to 80,000.

The result of these and other changes is that the accident rate for trucking is higher than any other industry except construction. The incidents per 100 workers in all private employment was 10.5 in 1974. For trucking it was 18.

And what does the union do about all of this? NOTHING. Drivers and dock workers alike are unable even to enforce government safety standards because the employers know the union will not back the workers up. The grievance machinery is a politically controlled system of joint union-management panels. The union officialdom agrees with management on the need for greater profits, productivity and concentration in the industry. Even the few grievances won on issues related to working and safety conditions come months after the fact. The employers simply continue to erode working and safety conditions, legally and illegally.

### HOFFA

But, the Teamsters union was not always a toothless tiger. When Teamsters organized inter-city trucking in the 1930's-50's the union was bigger and stronger than any one company. In the 1930's, socialist Teamster leader Farrell Dobbs used that fact to force many companies to recognize the union in the mid-west. James Hoffa, using much of Dobbs' strategy, forced the trucking companies to bargain nationally in 1964. His reputation and



On January 10, Teamsters for a Decent Contract rallied outside the IBT bureaucrats' "Marble Palace" in Washington, D.C. TDC later took up the call "Ready to Strike" to prepare for the contract fight the Teamster leaders didn't want.



popularity was based on his ability to force companies into line and to raise the level of wages in trucking significantly by the mid-1960's.

This was an era of prosperity, when massive arms spending kept industry going, and industry kept trucks rolling. It was also the period when trucks replaced trains as the major freight carriers, pulling about 55% of all freight.

Under these favorable conditions the union stood above the companies, and when you wanted something—a job, job security, a grievance settled, you went to the union. Then, the stewards system was strong. The contracts had a clause that allowed a steward to pull a 24-hour walkout at his company every six months.

Although Hoffa did not bargain for working conditions, the local union was able to keep work standards up through its own power. A competing firm would rather make a concession than lose business to one of his many competitors during a strike.

### SELL-OUTS

Faced with big corporations and tougher bargaining conditions, the Fitzsimmons administration has responded by making one concession after another. In 1970 he gave away the 24-hour strike. He has encouraged mergers that destroy jobs. By refusing ever to use the strike option which tops off the grievance procedure for much of the country, he has given the employer the green light to destroy stewards' organization and erode working conditions systematically. In this year's contract, he opened the door all the way to Wednesday through Sunday workweek, a system of work scheduling which eliminates most overtime pay and undermines work place solidarity.

The list of Fitzsimmons' concessions and sell-outs is too long for this article. The fundamental changes in the structure of the industry have weakened the power of the union; the crisis of capitalism has made bargaining conditions more difficult, and the response of the Teamster leadership today is surrender.

In this context, the huge salaries, the immense expense accounts, the shady loans from the pension fund, the Las Vegas Hotels and the hobnobbing with Presidents and gangsters simply underline the basic corruption of the Teamster leadership. Few Teamsters doubt the officials' willingness to plunder the membership in every way. Not that these corrupt and outrageous practices didn't exist under Hoffa—they did—but during the Hoffa era the union won major wage increases.

Fitzsimmons faces a different situation and a stronger enemy. He is committed to capitalism—as was Hoffa. But, unlike Hoffa, Fitzsimmons faces giant corporations on the offensive. They won't give up any concession without a real fight, which Fitz is unwilling to make. Hoffa could use enough power to get what the companies could afford. The reality is that the big expanding companies are much less willing to pay up and even Hoffa wouldn't have been willing to mount the show of force necessary to win real victories.

Hence, Fitzsimmons has little active rank and file support. In fact, he and most of the International Executive Board of the union could not win election by the membership, and they know it. They simply construct more and more barriers between themselves and the rank and file. Ninety-nine percent of the delegates to the Teamster Convention, held once every five years, are not elected as delegates. There is no constitutional way to challenge any of the top offices of the union in a vote by the membership. What the constitution fails to protect is defended by goons, slander, and more recently, red-baiting.

## III. TDC, UPSurge, AND TDU

It was these issues that motivated those who started and those who joined or supported TDU, UPSurge and now TDU. It was the reality of the "employers offensive" against working conditions that has spurred people to organize and take action. And it is the union's complete failure in these areas that has given the

movement its direction—to rid the union of its corrupt officialdom, to put the rank and file in charge and get on with the job of fighting the employers.

And today, TDU has begun that fight. Officially, TDU began at a meeting of 30 rank and file activists in Chicago in August 1975. This meeting decided to launch a fight around the Master Freight Agreement expiring in July 1976. The group called itself Teamsters for a Decent Contract.

This meeting was pulled together and attended by a core of activists that included long time Teamster oppositionists, road driver militants from as far away as Little Rock, Arkansas, young men and women who worked for United Parcel Service, a handful of socialist Teamsters, and a few anti-socialist Teamsters as well. They came up with a set of demands for the contract which turned out to be genuinely representative and with a strategy that saw the contract fight as the first step in building a rank and file movement of Teamsters that eventually could change the union. TDC launched a petition drive which

appropriate name for this volatile movement. The meetings, again primarily in the mid-west, were usually large. UPSurge held its first national meeting in Indianapolis on January 31 and 500 attended. The center of the UPSurge strategy was, like TDC, directed at their biggest contract, the UPS Central States Contract which expired May 1, 1976.

April and May were a big headache for Frank Fitzsimmons and the other top Teamster officials. In a period of less than two months, the Teamster officialdom faced mass meetings and demonstrations by TDC and UPSurge. When Fitzsimmons called off the Master Freight strike after four days, Detroit, the home local of both Jimmy Hoffa and Fitzsimmons, stayed out for two more days. When Fitzsimmons tried to call off the week-old UPS strike a month later he faced another wildcat, this one all over the midwest.

### LESSONS OF THE PAST

TDU is not, however, the first rank and file organization built by Teamsters. In



(Left) A press conference in Chicago announces the formation of Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) in August 1975.

(Below) The founding Convention of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) was held September 18-19, 1976 in Kent, Ohio. TDU is the product of the growing rank and file insurgency inside the biggest union in the world.



eventually got about 15,000 signatures. This drive proved to be highly successful as an organizing tool. Petitions and TDC brochures got all over the country, carried often by road drivers. For example, some dock workers at a big Roadway terminal in Tannersville, Pa. saw a leaflet advertising a TDC meeting in Sandusky, Ohio on the back of a truck. They took up a collection and sent a delegation to that meeting in Ohio all the way from eastern Pennsylvania.

By the time of its second national gathering, TDC was bigger and had deeper roots. On January 10, around 130 Teamsters met in Washington, D.C. to demonstrate at the Teamsters' International headquarters, known as the "marble palace." From there TDC went on to hold demonstrations and local meetings around the country on March 13, to mobilize sentiment for strike action. The main strength of TDC was concentrated in Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

### UPSURGE

With TDC, and closely allied to it, was UPSurge, a movement of workers at United Parcel Service. UPSurge was an appro-

1970 a wildcat swept the industry, forcing Fitzsimmons to go back to the bargaining table for more. In the aftermath of the strike the first national rank and file opposition in decades was formed. Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) signed up thousands of members in a few months. Its program emphasized union democracy and a pension scheme that would grant \$500 a month at age 50.

But there were serious problems: that eventually tore TURF apart. The organization did not have a clear idea for changing the union. It was a coalition of forces with different views and interests. While many TURF members were honest rank and filers who wanted a way to fight back, others were really office seekers or even outright opportunists who only wanted to further their own personal careers. One of the top officers of TURF, Don Vestal from Local 327 in Nashville, actually tried to use TURF and its treasury to further his own career. It was, in part, this fight with Vestal that killed TURF only a year or so after its birth.

No movement that seeks after power will ever be totally free of opportunists or careerists. But the ability of these elements to corrupt or disrupt a rank and file move-

ment can be limited by a set of principles and ideas that root the movement and organization in a rank and file, democratic and militant view of the world.

Overall, TURF's program of pension reform and vague ideas about union democracy were not enough to inhibit the opportunists or to provide the genuine rank and filers with a view of unionism that went beyond the old idea of just replacing today's bad leaders with new good ones. TDU starts at a different point and promises to avoid many of TURF's problems and limitations.

### COMMON STRUGGLES

For one thing, the leadership of TDU is a group of Teamsters who have gone through nearly a year of common and shared struggles: the Master Freight fight, the UPS Central States and Eastern States contracts, and a number of local fights supported by TDC or UPSurge. "Convoy", the national newspaper of TDU served to make general the experience of ongoing local fights.

As a result of these experiences, the leaders of TDU from various parts of the country do know each other and what each has done. There is a basis for real trust.

But even more important, this leadership—which includes numerous local leaders and fighters as well as national leaders—has come to share a common strategy and set of assumptions about what is needed to make the Teamsters a fighting union. Furthermore it is a common view that is not likely to attract opportunists for it offers no false, easy solutions and has no illusions about the forces and difficulties a rank and file movement faces.

As Pete Camarata told "Convoy" following the TDU Convention: "We've had a little wildcat here, had a little wildcat there, had demonstrations to get people's jobs back. The rank and file is waking up. We're in our infancy right now, we've taken our first small steps. This is our first big step, and I say it's not going to be long before we're running, so Frank, you better watch out!"

TDU's analysis of the problems Teamsters face and its proposals to deal with them are, set down in a series of resolutions that were adopted at the Kent State convention. The resolutions begin by identifying what is going on in the trucking industry. As the resolution on working conditions puts it, "The aim of the employers is More Work from Fewer Workers." The resolutions explain how the employers with the union's cooperation, are undermining working conditions and job security. They demand that all overtime be voluntary and that the work week be cut to thirty-two hours with no loss in pay.

The fundamental need for solidarity is stressed as the resolutions discuss how the companies and union leadership alike use racism, sexism and jurisdictional differences to divide and weaken the membership. TDU is committed to becoming an organization which is for all Teamsters. It stands for affirmative action to overcome the effects of past discrimination.

TDU is committed to a democratic union: membership election of all officers, no term of office over three years. Officers should not receive more than the wages of those they represent.

Most importantly, TDU understands the inadequacy of the "good guy" strategy for changing the Teamsters Union. New officials alone can do little. What is needed is an ongoing movement of rank and file Teamsters who demand rank and file power.

## IV. SOCIALISTS IN THE TEAMSTERS UNION

The strategy, program and tactics of TDU are a result of the real conditions in the industry and of the common experience of many who went through TDC, UPSurge and many local strikes and fights in the past year or so.

But underlying many of these ideas is a world outlook that does not automatically come to most individuals. It is an outlook that draws not only on the experience of

Teamsters in the past year, but on the experience of the working class movement as a whole for the past hundred years. Many basic ideas that underlie the TDU program have come from the small group of socialists who have loyally supported and helped build TDU.

For people like Frank Fitzsimmons, who have their eyes on the golf course and their hands in the till, the presence of socialists can only mean some sinister conspiracy. They do not want to remember that the origins of the Central States Conference lie in the organizing work of revolutionary socialists like Farrell Dobbs, the Dunne brothers, and Carl Skogland. The ability of Dobbs and the others to lead a great organizing drive throughout the midwest was not based on their ability to conspire or manipulate. On the contrary, it was based on the two elements that make effective trade unionists.

#### SOCIALIST VISION

The first of these was noticed by Jimmy Hoffa, who worked with Dobbs in 1936. Hoffa said of Dobbs, "I wouldn't agree with Farrell Dobbs' political philosophy or his economic ideology, but that man had a vision that was enormously beneficial to the labor movement. Beyond any doubt, he was the master architect of the Teamsters over-the-road operations." It was Dobbs' vision that allowed him to be a great labor leader, and to come up with, with others, long range strategies. What Hoffa didn't understand was that vision was directly related to the "political philosophy" of socialism that he rejected.

The connection between socialist ideas and union or rank and file organizing is direct. Socialism means the democratic control of the economy and the government by the working class. Today, a small minority of the population makes all the economic decisions—the employers and their flunkies in government.

Real socialism, on the contrary, is democratic. Furthermore, socialism, as Karl Marx pointed out, can only be brought into being by the direct action of the vast majority of the working class. It cannot be imposed from above. Democracy and the self-activity of the working class are the means of socialist rule and socialist revolution.

For a union to consistently represent the interests of the workers it too must rest on democracy and the self-activity of the membership. Democracy and self-activity are basic to real trade unions, and thus, to the building of a serious rank and file movement.

#### THE BIG PICTURE

Socialists also understand that the employers are out to get the most work for the least cost. Furthermore they have developed an understanding of the crisis of the capitalist system which allows them to see clearly that the employers will not relinquish their offensive without a real fight. The method of collusion and collaboration pursued by today's union leadership cannot even win serious concessions from the employers because the pressures on the employers are deeply rooted. Socialists see things in terms of class struggle. It's the union's job to represent and defend its members, not to mediate, beg or agree with the desires of the employers.

The socialist vision is strengthened by a second element. Socialist politics are the

accumulated experience of the labor movement. Socialists learn the history of the labor movement and how it is affected by the economy and politics. They try to learn from the victories and mistakes of the past. Education in these matters is an important part of socialist organization. By learning the "big picture," it is often easier to see what the next steps in building a movement are.

TDU is not a socialist organization, and its program and goals are, of course, not socialist. Hundreds of Teamsters have contributed their ideas and experience to TDU's program. But the long range view and the basic ideas of the socialists have helped TDU develop a sound strategy and program. The fundamental ideas of democracy, rank and file initiative, solidarity, and a clear knowledge of who your enemies are, are all part of the socialist outlook. And it is obvious that they are also ideas rooted in reality and experience of Teamsters and other workers today.

Whether or not workers draw all the conclusions that the socialists draw—and unfortunately, so far, most do not—it is clear that these ideas and the strategies that flow from them are something that militant Teamsters, socialist and non-socialist alike, can agree on and fight on together.

### V. RANK AND FILE POWER

The strategy and program of TDU would not, however, be worth much if they just remained good ideas. Another important aspect of TDU's success is its willingness and ability to intervene in real struggles as we pointed out in the beginning of this article.

In some locals today TDU has started campaigns to change the local by-laws so that stewards and Business Agents can be elected by the membership. All too often, stewards and BA's are appointed by local presidents. TDU activists in Locals 299, 243 and 337 in Detroit are currently campaigning for elected representatives. So far their meetings and the petition campaign are getting a good response among the rank and file.

By waging these sorts of campaigns and helping workers who are already fighting, TDU proposes to teach Teamsters how to fight for themselves—not as scattered individuals—but in organized and effective ways. Unlike many union oppositionists and reform groups, TDU makes no false promises. It only offers a way for the rank and file itself to fight back. It teaches people to use small victories to build for greater ones by organizing the only power that counts—the rank and file.

All the charges from the union officialdom and employers alike about communist conspiracies, socialist lies, or organizational manipulation will fail because more and more Teamsters can see that TDU relies on them and their power: As the TDU resolution on Legal Rights and Victimization states: "We are an organization that aims to succeed. That is why we will be attacked and that is why we will fight these attacks and defend any TDU member by whatever means necessary." TDU relies on Teamster activity, organization and democratic instincts. That is why it is really "A Cause Worth Truckin' For." □

# Portugal: A Year Of Reaction And Resistance

by David Finkel

One year ago - November 25, 1975 - a coup by the government and the military command re-established government authority in Portugal. This coup pushed back the most advanced revolutionary situation that has developed in any capitalist country in the last 30 years.

In 19 months from April 25, 1974, the working class had advanced rapidly through a series of struggles. From throwing fascist managers out of the factories and creating mass industrial unions, to establishing workers' control, seizing the huge agricultural estates and turning them into co-operatives, Portuguese workers began creating the institutions of their own power.

Before November 25 bourgeois political leaders in Portugal, along with much of the capitalist class itself, had retreated far into the background or else fled the country altogether. Military discipline virtually ceased to exist.

By themselves, neither the ruling class nor the Sixth Provisional Government - the last of a series of governments dominated by petit-bourgeois military officers known as the Armed Forces Movement - could have blocked the workers' march toward socialist revolution.

In this situation, the Socialist Party became the rallying point for the first steps toward counter-revolution in Portugal. In fact, November 25 was organized by the Socialist Party, acting in partnership with the right-wing military command and western imperialism.

However, once a counter-revolution is unleashed, it does not stop at the first stage. The landowners, the factory bosses and the foreign investors in Portugal have never believed that the Socialist Party's dream of a peaceful, stable, harmonious social democracy in Portugal was the "ultimate solution."

The issue posed by the November 25 coup, and the year of reaction that has followed, is: "Will Portugal Be the Chile of Europe?"

Since March 11, 1975, the last attempted semi-fascist coup, revolutionary Portuguese workers have understood that the basic issue in their country is the choice between socialist revolution, or right-wing terror and fascism. They know what has happened in Chile, where the most militant proletarian movement in Latin America was crushed and slaughtered. One year later, that question remains hanging in the balance.

### I. AN ECONOMY IN CRISIS

The November 25 coup created a new government combination which immediately launched an offensive against the working class.

Rank and file soldiers' organizations were immediately banned. Left-wing officers were purged with over 150 arrests. For the first time in many months riot police were deployed against workers' demonstrations with a number of casualties.

Newspapers, radio and TV stations, many of which were under the control of workers' committees of the Communist Party, were re-taken by government forces and went back to being organs of capitalist propaganda.

In the state apparatus, the right-wing purge enjoyed considerable success. Capitalist management, however, found the going much rougher when they tried to break the power workers had built up in the factories.

With the working class initially dazed and confused, workers' control was reduced or abolished in weak areas and some smaller factories.

Elections to the workers' commissions in December and January resulted in more conservative slates.

The attack on workers also included austerity measures, which froze wages while prices of basic necessities were raised.

#### LIMITS OF REPRESSION

However, in order to put an end to the revolutionary process it was not sufficient to dissolve the pre-November 25 revolutionary crisis, or to beat back the most weakened elements of the workers' commissions.

The re-stabilization of Portuguese politics requires restoring the capitalists' profit margins. The repression following November 25, carried out within the norms of bourgeois democracy, could not accomplish this. Portuguese capitalism is not a going concern. The economic crisis in Portugal is more severe than in any other capitalist country.

Under the pre-1974 Salazar-Caetano fascist regime, Portuguese capitalism was buffered by a colonial empire, the territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, which provided gold reserves and outlets for surplus population.

Portuguese industries were protected from the competition of the world market by government policies restricting imports. They were also based on cheap wages produced by the destruction of the unions, and investments from a handful of family-controlled monopolies and multinational giants.

The loss of the African colonies meant the end of protected colonial markets for Portuguese finished goods, which are uncompetitive in the rest of the world, as well as the loss of raw materials delivered at below world market prices, which once gave backward Portuguese industries an advantage.

THE PAMPHLET THOUSANDS OF TEAMSTERS ARE TALKING ABOUT

**CONSPIRACY IN THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY**

IN THE WORDS OF ONE UPS WORKER:

"This'll blow your mind. I bought 100 of these god-damn books because I read it and I'm so clearly impressed with the facts behind this booklet. It tells you about (UPS Chairman) Jim Casey making \$750,000 last year. It tells you about TDC and UPSurge. It tells you about how the profit margins of the trucking companies, how they're screwing their employees. You buddy, you're really screwed. This'll open up your eyes."

Order from: Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203. 50¢ postpaid. 40% for ten or more copies.

Most important, the beginning of workers' revolution meant an end to the "wages of misery", often as low as \$20 per week, which were imposed on workers under fascism. The average weekly wage rose in 1976 to \$45. Backward Portuguese capitalism finds it impossible to pay this wage and still make a profit.

At the same time, workers' control prevents speedup, layoffs or unsafe working conditions. Inflation has risen over 30%. With many firms going bankrupt, unemployment is over 17%. Except for some consumer goods enterprises, practically no factory has made a profit in the last two years.

Investment has come to a virtual standstill. Multinationals, not attracted by instability, are closing up shop and moving to Taiwan and Korea.

The effects of economic shortages and crisis were showing up this summer. In Lisbon energy shortages resulted in the cutoff of electricity for an hour every afternoon, paralyzing modern industry and urban life.

Chaos is only the prelude to catastrophe. To restore profitability to Portuguese industry requires the severe slashing of an already miserable living standard. This means restoring unlimited management rights and destroying the workers' commissions.

It took at most a month or two after November 25 for the ruling class to realize that it could not undo the revolution all at once.

The coup proved insufficient to break the power of the Portuguese working class at the point of production, or to turn Portuguese industrialists' losses into profits.

Under the norms of bourgeois democracy, the Sixth Government was still unable to do in the factories what the military command accomplished in the armed forces - restore discipline, re-impose capitalist authority and force the revolutionaries underground.

## II. REBUILDING A STATE MACHINE

When this became clear, the ruling class strategy shifted. Their priorities became to first systematically rebuild the state apparatus. Only after this was accomplished could they hope to smash nationalization, agrarian reform and workers' control.

Since the period ahead was one of Parliamentary and Presidential elections, and above all a period in which the ruling class needed to maintain the alliance of the Socialist Party with the moderate right and the extreme right, the regime began a policy of quiet compromises with the demands of the working class.

When it became clear that the right-wing advance stopped short of breaking the power of the workers' commissions, a revival of working class struggle began.

This initially took the form of a movement for the liberation of left-wing officers and soldiers, known as CLARP. This struggle, spearheaded by the revolutionary left, began with small demonstrations in December and ultimately produced militant mobilizations of up to 40,000 in February. These demonstrations secured the release of the arrested revolutionary soldiers.

The wage freeze imposed after November 25 by the Azevedo government was lifted March 1. Immediately strikes spread on a local and national basis, winning wage concessions with relative ease.

While the government offered concessions to limit working class militancy in the pre-elections period, the Communist Party for its part attempted to limit the scope of strikes in order to maneuver with the Socialist Party for influence in a new government combination. As a result of this, in certain unions such as the construction workers, the strike wave showed important new strength for the revolutionary left.

Meanwhile, austerity measures announced in January were diluted, postponed, or forgotten. The ruling class strategy meant putting off any attempt to deal with the deep problems of the economy. The capitalists' expectation was that the April elections would produce

popular legitimacy for a strong government - a coalition between the right wing of the Socialist Party and the explicitly capitalist parties - the Popular Democrats (PPD) and Center Democrats (CDS).

Contrary to ruling class expectations, the elections did not produce the anticipated rightward shift in Portuguese politics. First, in the April 25 Parliamentary elections a majority voted for the Socialist and Communist Party candidates.

This made it impossible for the Socialist Party to immediately form a government combination with the explicitly capitalist parties. To do so would risk provoking a split in the working class base of the Socialist Party.

The CDS, with its clear right-wing program and crypto-fascist wing, made modest gains. But the petit-bourgeoisie voted heavily for the PPD - a liberal party which often clothes some of its politics in mild social democratic terms - and the Socialist Party. This made it clear that the petit-bourgeoisie would not yet agree to a fascist solution.

In response to this development, ruling class strategy once again shifted. In order to undo the results of the Parliamentary

election, it united three parties - the SP, PPD and CDS - in a common front for the Presidential campaign of Ramalho Eanes.

Eanes was the military organizer of the November 25 coup. He is deeply suspected by the working class as a possible Pinochet - the general who led the 1973 coup in Chile.

For the ruling class, the election of Eanes as President (in a parliamentary system, the President is the Head of State who appoints the Prime Minister to form the government - in this case SP leader Mario Soares) succeeded in reversing the effect of the Parliamentary results.

For the working class, however, the Presidential election had a much deeper significance.

The campaign of Otelo de Carvalho ended the illusion that the Portuguese revolution is over.

The campaign was initiated by the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP), but gained the support of the entire revolutionary left. It showed the enormous potential the revolutionary left has in Portugal - when it is organized and united.

A majority of the industrial proletariat voted for Otelo. While his support was strongest in the strongholds of revolutionary sentiment in Lisbon and the south, he also made substantial inroads among the proletariat of the north. The leftward shift of northern SP workers, who broke from Eanes to vote either for Otelo or the outgoing Prime Minister Azevedo as an anti-fascist protest, was especially significant. It showed the ruling class could not mobilize the north against the south in a civil war.

The threat that the Otelo campaign posed was clearly perceived by the ruling class. The thorough rejection of Eanes by working class voters, with the re-introduction of revolutionary self confidence and

hope as a result of the Otelo campaign, severely undermined the ability of the SP government to gain working class support or passive acceptance for its program of capitalist recuperation.

In addition, the Otelo campaign created a new possibility for independent revolutionary organization: the GDUPs ("Groups for the Dynamization of Popular Unity"), which became a nationwide network of campaign committees for Otelo. The large growth of the GDUPs - eventually there were between 500 and 1,000 GDUP units - showed that significant sections of the independent revolutionary left were looking for an organizational structure.

Since July, with the appearance of a formally elected Parliamentary government, the Socialist Party has been the

Portuguese politics in the last year.

There are a number of extremely important examples to illustrate this.

• Since November 25 and especially since July, one of the most significant processes has been successive purges in the government, the press, radio and television. These purges have been carried out by the right wing of the Socialist Party, against the left wing of the very same SP!

Right and left-wing SPers have become the bitterest enemies in Portuguese politics - not because they represent the extremes of politics in Portugal, far from it, but rather because the class struggle has drawn its line right down the middle of the SP.

The Socialist Party in power cannot keep its promises to the workers, and meet the demands of the ruling class for stronger capitalist government both at the same time. It engages in half measures of repression, angering its working class base without solving anything. Inside the SP itself, the most middle class and right-wing elements are increasingly on the offensive.

• The purge of left-wing Socialist Party members from their positions is typified by



Demonstrations demanding the release of Otelo de Carvalho, organized by the GDUPs, drew between 20,000 and 30,000 people. The GDUPs had the potential to be part of a new mass revolutionary organization.

party officially responsible for running the capitalist government.

These five months represent the culmination of the Socialist Party's role, as the central opening wedge for the recuperation of capitalism in Portugal. The SP took office promising to restore stability and "consolidate" the revolution—peacefully and legally—at the same time.

The Portuguese Socialist Party, like the other social-democratic (called "Socialist" or "Labor" Parties) of western Europe, stands for policies of reform, social welfare and sometimes nationalizations of industry, within the limits and framework of the capitalist state. Lenin called parties of this type "Bourgeois workers' parties", or sometimes "Capitalist workers' parties", to express the fact that they are loyal to the capitalist system (and are often led by sections of the middle class), while at the same time their base lies in the unions and the working class.

Before the democratic revolution that overthrew the old fascist regime on April 25, 1974, the SP barely existed in Portugal. It played no serious role among workers in the resistance struggles under fascism. It grew quite rapidly along with other parties in the open atmosphere of the revolution, and was very significantly aided by cash contributions and support from European governments, social-democratic parties and the American CIA.

The SP richly repaid these contributions when it organized the November 25 coup to save the capitalist state in Portugal.

First Phase

The SP and its government represent the first phase of the attempt to re-stabilize Portugal through bourgeois democracy. It is for this reason, above all, that the SP has been the single most important axis of

the case of Lopes Cardoso, the government minister in charge of the land reform.

For months, giant landowners (whose estates, seized by farmworkers, have become agrarian co-ops) demanded and demonstrated (sometimes violently) for his removal. Finally after endless promises from Soares that the land reform movement would not be given up, Cai Joso has been forced out.

• The attitude of the SP in power toward the whole land reform struggle is extremely significant. While farm laborers and landowners battle over the land, the government tries to balance between revolution and reaction by proclaiming that the land occupations are "legitimate" as long as they are done "legally". In this case "legally" means, according to laws enacted by earlier Provisional Governments after the farmworkers had seized hundreds of thousands of acres on their own.

Of course, the only problem with this formula is that neither the farmworkers or the landowners have the slightest interest in what's "legal" and what isn't! The landowners are for the SP's "legality" only as long as it means sending heavily armed commandos to seize part of their land back from the co-ops (as the SP government has done).

In reality they want all their land restored, along with all their wealth and privilege that made southern Portugal a belt of backward rural misery for centuries.

The farmworkers, on the other hand, cannot be prevented from fighting back to save the new life they have won. Any serious attempt to expel the co-ops from their land means protracted warfare throughout the Alentejo.

• A very similar process has gone on over government policy toward workers' con-

trol, workers' commissions and occupied factories. The SP government promised to "institutionalize" the revolution - by passing laws to regulate the commissions, ban factory meetings on work time and allow management to lay off workers for the sake of restoring profits.

**The SP government passes such laws, but without any serious means to implement them. Neither of the fundamental classes in Portugal, the capitalists or the working class accept this ineffectual kind of "legal" repression.**

•Under this same "legality", under the auspices of the SP, 2,000 PIDE agents (police torturers) of the Salazar-Caetano regime have been released from prison, and ex-President Spínola (who attempted two right-wing coups on September 28, 1974 and March 11, 1975) allowed to return to Portugal to take leadership of his underground fascist movement.

Meanwhile, the main figure of the Portuguese revolutionary left, Otelo de Carvalho, was jailed for 20 days for the crime of speaking out in defense of the revolution.

•The Socialist Party as a government is increasingly the captive of the center and far right, who have taken over the real control of the military and police forces. Almost immediately after the elections, a demonstration of teachers in Lisbon was viciously attacked by club-swinging cops.

The teachers, and most of the teachers' union leadership, were SP members or voted for the SP. It was SP ministers who gave authorization for police to attack the teachers - but having unleashed this attack they had no way of controlling its ferocity.

**Under the impact of events such as this, the union leaders have broken with the SP, while the rank and file among the teachers - like the rest of the working class SP base - moved rapidly to the left in disgust with its policies.**

The completion of this process of failure is now at hand. The SP as a government is hopelessly played out. The Party itself is almost irretrievably split, with its middle class elements calling for an open purge of socialists from its ranks. At the recently concluded SP congress, the right wing was heard to suggest: "It's time to have a 25th of November inside the SP!"

Even if the SP manages to hold together, it will have a poor showing in the December 12 municipal elections. These results will be used as the referendum to justify the removal of this government in a short time. This means the installation of a more right-wing, repressive government.

The new government will be either a coalition between the explicitly capitalist parties and the SP, or else a so-called "government above parties" in which key positions are held by hard-line economic "technocrats" and military figures.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY

How has the Communist Party responded to these developments?

**The CP is by far the largest, best organized force among industrial workers in Portugal. The basic reason for this is the role it played for decades as the party of underground resistance to the old fascist dictatorship.**

Before November 25, the CP had strength and powerful influence inside the military as well. Following the coup, however, the CP's positions in the military were drastically cut by the right-wing purge.

The primary reason for the CP's dramatic decline inside the military was its manipulative role in the pre-November 25 period, when it encouraged pro-CP officers to prepare their own coup but then backed off and left them to be picked off when the real coup - the right-wing one - came.

In this situation the basic CP strategy is to compensate for its loss of strength in the military, by posing itself in national politics as the party which can deliver the industrial working class for what it calls "an anti-fascist front". The front proposed by the CP would include all elements in Portuguese politics including outright ruling class parties, with the exception of actual fascists, in order to supposedly block the extreme right.

The CP attempts to use the strength of its organization among workers as a bargaining lever for its own narrow ends.

Rather than mobilizing workers, the CP demands that it be granted positions of influence and consultation by the SP. Without us, CP leaders claim, there is no effective, well-organized resistance against the extreme right.

The only force which can effectively stop the advance of fascism in Portugal is a united revolutionary working class. In reality, the CP's strategy of an anti-fascist front, based on uniting workers with sections of the ruling class, actually makes it more difficult to unite the working class for a serious struggle against the right.

**Indeed the CP strategy requires all kinds of concessions to the right (in order to bring the "moderates" into the "anti-fascist" alliance). Here are a few of the recent examples of this:**

•In the Presidential campaign, the CP attempted to split the working class vote and wreck the Otelo campaign by running



**Agricultural laborers in southern Portugal have taken over millions of acres of landowners' estates—with or without government permission.**

its own candidate, Octavio Pato, who ran only to take CP votes away from Otelo and received only 7% of the vote to Otelo's 16%.

•When the new SP government sent commandos into the Alentejo to seize illegally occupied estates the CP actually organized meetings throughout the region to argue that the co-ops should basically accept this - because it was not the "right time" to actively resist.

•In no respect does the CP vigorously fight government austerity policies, although CP leader, Cunhal, often verbally denounces them. In fact, the CP continues to put forth the politically meaningless call for a "government of the left", i.e. a coalition government of the SP and CP.

**The CP's strength in the working class was gravely threatened at the time of the Presidential election because of the Otelo campaign. The inability of the CP to discipline its own base in the election created a crisis for the CP both internally and inside the factories.**

Currently, however, the immediate internal crisis of the CP has been resolved and the authority of the party apparatus restored.

In the municipal elections scheduled for December 12, which will be held just after this article goes to press, the CP will regain the voting strength it held in the Parliamentary elections and lost to the revolutionary left in the Presidential campaign.

However, it will probably fail to break into any new areas of support, even among leftward-moving Socialist Party workers who quite rightly mistrust the CP for its long proven record of sectarian manipulation and its bureaucratic aims.

The reason the CP has overcome its

earlier crisis is not due to the basic strength of its own policy. It is because, unlike this summer, there is no well organized united campaign by the revolutionary left as an alternative to it. The reason for this, the failure of the perspective of the revolutionary left in the past period, is what we must examine now.

#### FAILURE OF THE GDUPS

GDUPS, or "Groups for the Dynamization of Popular Unity", gained their initial powerful momentum from the Otelo campaign as described earlier. The potential significance of this new organization, however, went far beyond the immediate considerations of this campaign.

The GDUPS contained the possibility of overcoming the greatest single difficulty of the Portuguese revolution - the fragmentation, sectarianism and lack of unity of the

back by the post-November 25 reaction.

The GDUPS represented a vehicle for maintaining and extending this revival, creating an independent organizational revolutionary alternative to the CP and SP among workers, giving support to the struggles of workers' commissions and co-ops, and once again making the struggle for socialist revolution a visible force.

The GDUPS in fact were a nucleus which could potentially unite with other sections of the "popular power" movement to create a genuinely credible, non-sectarian revolutionary formation. This would be a big step toward a mass revolutionary party.

**The UDP strategy, on the other hand, is opposed to the creation of a new independent mass revolutionary organization. The UDP believes that it, or rather the PCP-R, is the one and only legitimate vanguard party. Instead the UDP launched a fight to turn the GDUPS, and indeed the entire popular power movement, into a new bureaucratically led UDP front with a perspective of a "patriotic national anti-fascist front."**

The political content of the UDP anti-fascist front strategy is basically a version of the same strategy as the CP. There is one important difference - the UDP considers the CP to be "social-fascist" and therefore will not participate in any kind of united front with the CP! This makes the UDP's strategy a caricature of the CP's. But more significantly, it contributes to the isolation of the revolutionary left from the rank and file of the CP itself.

Tragically, while the UDP strategy is incapable of building a revolutionary party or a serious working class struggle against fascism, it was able to paralyze the work and political activity of the GDUPS.

The GDUPS were able, in the post-election period, to sustain some activity and in particular to carry out large demonstrations of 20,000 or more against the arrest of Otelo in September. However, inside the GDUPS the increasingly bitter factional struggle between the political lines of the PRP and UDP created a stalemate.

There can be no doubt that the destruction of the GDUPS as a potential mass revolutionary force is solely and completely the responsibility of the wrecking operation of the UDP. A faction struggle with endless infighting, packed meetings and power grabs inevitably drove away most of the independents and workers who had been attracted to the GDUPS.

#### CONGRESS

At the national committee level, a bloc of the UDP and MES was able to take control before the GDUP National Congress. The Congress was then organized by this national committee, in a way that systematically suppressed discussions of politics or program.

The national committee granted credentials to all kinds of phony, non-existent GDUPS to ensure a stacked and UDP-controlled Congress. In addition, the theses (resolutions) which were to be the main points for discussions were sent out only two or three days before the Congress so that no rank and file discussions of them could take place in local and district GDUPS.

**When this process became clear the PRP pulled out of the GDUP national committee and took no part in the Congress, although PRP militants remain active in local GDUPS. The Congress was dominated by a UDP-MES bloc which systematically ruled out potential discussion and did little more than elect a UDP-dominated national committee.**

However, this leaves the GDUPS as more or less a shell with the original content gutted. In the municipal elections most of its slates will run poorly. The PRP will give its support to those GDUP slates which are basically independent.

The struggle for the GDUPS is not yet completely over. It may still be possible for the PRP to create an alternative structure among those GDUPS in which independent revolutionaries remain active. However, at the time of writing the chance of this being successful is slim.

The failure of the GDUPS cannot be slighted or glossed over. It means that the critical task of the PRP becoming the

revolutionary left.

Since November 25 the vast majority of far-left groups in Portugal declined disastrously, if they didn't vanish completely. Only two not only survived, but grew.

**The first is the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat, the PRP, which first initiated the call for a unified revolutionary left Presidential campaign. The second is the Popular Democratic Union, the UDP, a Maoist organization which is actually the front of a tightly organized Stalinist sect called the PCP-R (Portuguese Communist Party - Reconstructed).**

Certain other groups, in particular the MES (Movement of the Socialist Left) have continued to exist, essentially polarizing into opposing wings sympathetic to the PRP on the one hand, or the UDP on the other.

The GDUPS included not only organized revolutionaries, but also large numbers of independents, along SP and CP workers who broke their own parties' discipline to support the Otelo campaign.

To realize the GDUPS' potential, three things were necessary. The first was to sustain the GDUPS organizationally and give them ongoing regular activities. The second was to politicize them beyond the minimum revolutionary program of the Otelo campaign itself. The third and ultimately decisive test within the GDUPS, was to win them fundamentally to the strategy for socialist revolution put forward by the PRP, against the political line argued by the UDP.

**The strategy of the PRP is based on the understanding that the polarization of classes in Portugal means a choice of socialism or fascism. The most important feature of the Otelo campaign was that it generated a revival of the mass "popular power" movement which had been pushed**

clearly authoritative and dominant voice of the revolutionary left, politically defeating and isolating the UDP, remains to be accomplished.

It also means the mass movement, which as the PRP expected is again reviving, breaks out in spontaneous forms without a revolutionary leadership or organizational vehicle.

## IV. SOCIALISM OR FASCISM

**As we have seen, the main feature of the situation in Portugal today is the rapid disintegration of a Socialist Party government which cannot produce stability.**

In this situation it is no accident that the mass working class movement is reviving, even while the rightward government shift accelerates.

The accelerating pace of the reaction, and the growing menace of its extreme and fascist wings, carries within it the seeds of a new revolutionary situation. The very threat of another Chile spurs the working class to fight all the harder.

**Here are a few examples of the reviving struggle.**

• Demonstrations called by the GDUPs demanding the release of Otelu de Carvalho, who was ordered jailed for 20 days for speaking at a GDUP festival, drew between 20,000 and 30,000 people in Lisbon. Demonstrations were also held elsewhere in the country.

• A quarter million textile workers went out on general strike with two days' notice. The issue that sparked this action was the firing of union militants.

• The Socialist Party government has now launched an attack aimed at restoring "traditional education". This means taking away teachers' and students' rights and re-imposing the authority, discipline and "values" of the old system.

**The teachers, who as we stated earlier have been part of the SP base of support, have been in the forefront of resistance to this crackdown with strikes and large demonstrations.**

• The government has launched a second attack to take back more illegally occupied land from the farmworkers. Agrarian resistance is spreading to meet this attack, although the CP makes it difficult to centralize or coordinate resistance.

This process of polarization also continues inside the military. The right-wing military commander of the northern district, Pires Veloso - a man who had a big role in the plotting of November 25 - has created his own "parallel structure" capable of acting independent of official government policy. The President, Eanes, a bridge between the moderate and far right officers, is increasingly unable to control Pires Veloso's operations.

**This advance by the far right inside the military has forced moderate social democratic officers, organized around Col. Melo Antunes, sharply to the left. The moderate officers recognize that the victory of the far right means their own destruction.**

These moderates, for the sake of their own survival, are now open to working with the revolutionary left which is a strong and well organized force in the military. Indeed, the strength of the revolutionary left in the military is greater than that of the Communist Party, which has not recovered its losses following the 25th of November.

### REVIVING

Working class resistance has continued, whenever the opportunity presented itself, in every phase of the process of reaction of the past year.

Today, the mass movement is reviving spontaneously, in individual strikes and struggles to defend co-ops, the right to live in unoccupied housing, and workers' control in the factories. What the movement lacks, as a result of the GDUPs failure, is a vehicle for becoming centralized, focussed and unified.

The big weakness of the revolutionary left at this point is that, while it has built a force stronger and more influential than the Communist Party inside the military, it has not created a credible alternative mass organization to the Communist Party in the industrial working class.

The objective process occurring in Portugal is leading toward the fundamental alternatives of socialism or fascism. The basic issue is **organizing the working class toward the struggle for power.**

The Communist Party does not provide real leadership to the reviving mass movement, because its anti-fascist front strategy commits it to one after another concession to the right. Yet a well organized, centralized leadership, and a clear program based on the need to rebuild the struggle for workers' power, is what the mass movement desperately needs.

### PARTY BUILDING

The central difficulty in Portugal today, as it has been since April 25, 1974, is that the mass movement is not led by a powerful revolutionary party.

**The nucleus of a revolutionary party exists - the PRP. The whole evolution of the far left in Portugal has shown that the PRP is the only organization that consistently stresses building revolutionary, non-sectarian leadership for the mass movement. In the past year two of the most important mass struggles on the national scale, CLARP and the Otelu campaign, were built mainly as PRP initiatives.**

In earlier periods of the revolution this was also true of the PRP's role in SUV (Soldiers United Will Win), FUR (United Revolutionary Front), and the CRTs (revolutionary workers' councils). This is how the PRP advanced the revolution and built its own organization.

**The growth of the PRP in just over two years, from a tiny handful of industrial workers and armed anti-fascist resistance fighters to the nucleus for a revolutionary party, has been exceptionally impressive.**

The PRP has become a much stronger, larger and above all better organized and more conscious organization in the past year. The political process has clarified the relationship of tendencies of the far left.

**The PRP is now one of only a few groups to survive this process - and of those which have survived and grown, it is the only one which has not moved sharply rightward. The PRP is the only party which is organizing around the struggle for working class revolution, as opposed to strategies calling for an anti-fascist national front.**

The reviving mass movement needs a party to give it direction and leadership. The basic task facing the PRP is to build that leadership, to unify the movement and make a new revolutionary offensive possible.

However, while the PRP is stronger it is still far from being a mass party. It is not an organizational alternative to the CP for tens of thousands of workers. For a small revolutionary party to provide the authoritative leadership the movement needs is an extremely difficult task.

**The failure of the GDUPs makes the task of leading the mass movement more difficult in the coming period. However, this is the basic task facing the PRP, which it has also had to meet in earlier periods of the revolution. This is in fact how the PRP has grown to be the nucleus of a revolutionary party.**

Many international sympathizers of the Portuguese revolution have failed to fully understand this. The reason that there remains a real, not just an abstract or hypothetical, chance for successful revolution in Portugal, is that **the working class resistance is still strong and that the PRP has continued to organize and grow - despite setbacks** the revolution has suffered and the tremendous physical and emotional drains of nearly three years of uninterrupted struggle.

After a year of reaction, the process of class polarization guarantees sharper tests and confrontations ahead. Portuguese revolutionaries and their supporters internationally must be prepared.

Over a year ago, a PRP militant speaking to a revolutionary workers' meeting in Britain stated: "The significance of our revolution is that it has carried the struggle for socialism, one again, into Europe." Both inside Portugal and internationally, this legacy is far from exhausted. □

# South Africa: Act I Of The Revolution

by Glenn Wolfe

On June 16, 1976, the black township of Soweto, South Africa exploded, touching off a new era of struggle in the Republic of South Africa. That uprising, with the dozens more that have followed, is the first act of the South African revolution.

Since 1960 the combination of heightened repression and economic growth brought stability to South Africa. But, that's all changed now.

The ultimate victory of the freedom struggle depends on the black working class taking the leadership and turning the growing fight against oppression into a conscious struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution in South Africa.

## I. A RACIST SETTLER STATE

The developments necessary to bring the revolution to a successful conclusion can best be understood by examining the nature of the monster it confronts, the Republic of South Africa.

South Africa is a minority, white-settler regime which bases itself on the exploitation and oppression of the majority, indigenous black population. The white minority, less than a quarter of the total population, controls the state, industry, the land, the media, most of the professional and skilled jobs and over four-fifths of the national income.

**This vicious racist structure began when Dutch settlers (today called "Afrikaner") arrived in 1652. Since then it has been consistently strengthened by the white minority under a number of different political regimes.**

Over most of this century this structure has been written into law. The land the white settlers stole from the black population, 85% of the country, was made white territory by law in 1913. The "color bar," excluding blacks from almost all skilled jobs, was established in the 1880's and has been extended ever since.

Even the marginal rights of representation held by a tiny minority of black and "Colored" (African people of mixed ancestry) of the Cape province were formally abolished in 1948. Finally the current "Bantustan" or "African homeland" policy eliminates even formal citizenship for blacks in the white 85% of the country.

### PROFITABILITY

This system of apartheid—enforced segregation, rigid racial barriers and the subjugation of the black majority—and the incredible exploitation that flows from it, gave South Africa the profitability to become the first ranking industrial nation in Africa. This began with gold and diamond mining in the 19th century, the modernization of agriculture along capitalist lines in the first half of the 20th century, continuing with the development of manufacturing and processing industries in the 1930's and 40's and finally, South Africa's great boom or "economic miracle" of the 1950's and 60's.

The key to South Africa's status is the exploitation of the black masses and the massive input of foreign investments. The relationship is clear. It is apartheid that provided the cheap labor to attract the foreign investment necessary to make South Africa a powerful industrial and manufacturing nation.

The myth that US corporate investment and loans in South Africa created conditions for liberalization is convenient for American businessmen who've worked

very hard to perpetuate it. George J. Vojta, President of Citibank (which has pumped over \$500 million in loans into South Africa this year alone), testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "By contributing to the creation of a pluralistic marketplace, we think we assist in the development of a more pluralistic system."

The whole country became a vast machine for turning black people's misery into gigantic profits. Far from undermining the system that oppresses blacks, as some liberals dreamed it would, the economic development has increased that oppression.

So, with all their liberal rhetoric, the aims of General Motors, Union Carbide, ITT and close to 500 other US corporations in South Africa are the same aims as the South African government. Keeping profits up, preserving the wage structure and the labor control system, means denying the black majority the most basic rights including the right to subsistence level of wages or even the right to live together in families and communities.

The crazy logic of the South African system of apartheid has meant the introduction of separate homelands and pass book laws, all designed to hinder the development of a stable working class. But the contradiction is clear. The needs of modern industry require an advanced working class that is stable. Hence the white South African ruling class, despite all its plans to the contrary, has created the force that will inevitably destroy their profitable apartheid system.

**It is precisely this understanding—not some deep and inexplicable malice—that leads the government to spend 17 times more money per child on white education than it does on black education.**

And it also explains why South Africa's rulers are now trying to deny even the very citizenship of black workers by setting up supposedly independent "separate development republics" like the Transkei, on the Bantustan reserves in certain small and barren areas of the Republic.

## II. IS SOUTH AFRICA FASCIST?

The openly repressive, racist and totalitarian nature of the regime in relation to the black population, not to mention the willingness of the ruling Nationalist Party to use elements of Nazi ideology, has led many people to label South Africa as a fascist country—"the South African Reich".

But this label is misleading. While apartheid is no less vicious than fascism, labelling South Africa "fascist" misses a whole dimension of how the system works.

South Africa's prosperity derives from its partnership with European and American capitalism; apartheid does not require a reign of terror over the whole population or even the whole working class. In fact, the white settlers—including the white workers—do not face the same totalitarian oppression that is used against the black masses.

This has important implications. In a fascist state, the revolutionary strategy focuses on building a united struggle of the whole working class against fascism. But in South Africa, to make unity of black and white workers a strategy for revolution would be a hopeless utopian dream.

**The white trade unions are—and have been, for the most part, since the 1880's—a conscious part of the apartheid structure. The job classification laws,**

which gives white workers guarantees that they will always occupy the privileged and highly paid skilled jobs, has successfully bought white workers' loyalty to the system. White unions have rights of collective bargaining and picketing, while black workers can be shot on the street for any strike action.

White workers wages average 12 to 16 times that of black workers. In fact, most white workers occupy managerial positions of supervisors and foremen over black workers. Many also have black servants in their homes.

The overwhelming majority of white South African workers will always see their interests as being those of the white settler regime, not those of the black majority. There are important individual cases where white workers, union organizers and intellectuals side with the black struggle. However, individual acts of solidarity do not point toward the unity of the whole working class.

#### NATIONAL LIBERATION

Thus, the question of unity in South Africa is not unity between black and white workers, but unity of the masses of black people through the leadership of black workers. South Africa's revolution is not only a class struggle of workers, but also a national liberation struggle—a struggle to unify and win the national freedom of the black masses. This requires a breakdown of tribal barriers, divisions between urban and rural blacks, between men and women, between industrial workers, students, service workers and the unemployed.

The rapid spread of the struggle that began with students in Soweto, and spread to general strikes of workers in widely separated sections of the country, shows this process is already underway. The fight for national liberation is beginning alongside the class struggle of black struggle of black workers.

For revolutionaries in America, the fact that South Africa is a highly oppressive settler regime rather than the type of regime Marxists have usually called fascist, has real implications for their work in support of the South African Revolution.

American corporations are not the passive benefactors of apartheid. They are

in fact, full partners with the South African ruling class. They can never be convinced to use their vast power on the side of the black population.

Our job is to cripple these "partners in crime", to get them out of South Africa and do everything we can to undermine the filthy system of which they are the very foundation.

### III. DOLLARS FOR APARTHEID

Today, more than ever before, it is totally accurate to say that American and other foreign corporations are the foundations of apartheid. This explains a large part of the recent concern of the US government and American press with South Africa. And it is why Henry Kissinger is maneuvering desperately to save as much of the status quo as he can.

The state sector is the strongest part of the South African economy and includes many of the most modern industries such as iron and steel, electrical supply and phosphate development among others. This sector has been largely financed by foreign loans and now encourages joint participation by foreign firms.

The private sector as well includes plants of many of the largest European and North American companies. Even so-called South African companies are deeply intertwined with western capitalism.

To take one example: The South African DeBeers corporation, which has a virtual monopoly on world diamond production, is owned by the Anglo-American corporation. Anglo-American controls a vast network of other so-called South African businesses in mining, investment, industry and transportation. But, Anglo-American itself, as the name indicates, is dominated by a consortium of European and American (Morgan Guaranty, First National City) banks.

#### BANK LOANS

At this time, however, it is not only investment, but even more critically

needed bank loans from US banks that are keeping apartheid above water. To date, US banks and their overseas branches currently have some \$2 billion in loans to South Africa. Most were for South African government corporations involved in specific development projects.

The largest single loan was made to the Electrical Supply Commission (Escom), a government corporation which supplies most of the country's electric power. Another loan has gone to the Iron and Steel Corporation, and several to companies involved in mineral extraction. These are aimed at increasing the South African exports, and thereby improving its balance of payments.

One particularly interesting loan has gone to South African Airways for the purchase of Boeing airplanes from the US. These planes are an example of the "dual purpose" items which South Africa is eager to purchase—as they can be used for military as well as civilian purposes.

Many of the private US banks are hoping to guarantee their loans by the US Export-Import Bank. In the past the Export-Import bank has denied loans, but all that seems to be changing now. Perhaps the strongest indication of US willingness to grant Export-Import support has come from President-elect Carter. In the November 5 *Financial Mail*, a major South African business magazine, when asked if he would "free up American investment through the Export-Import Bank loans and otherwise encourage an increase in private American lending and corporate activity in South Africa," he answered an unequivocal "Yes, indeed." Carter quickly went on to tie the increased investment to US efforts to bring "peace" to southern Africa.

Hence, it's clear that the struggle for national liberation is totally tied to the fight against imperialism in South Africa.

### IV. THE END OF THE MIRACLE

The conditions, both internally and externally, economically and politically,

are ripe for the start of the South African revolution. This does not mean that the powerful South African state is about to collapse. Like the Portuguese revolution, the other front-runner in the new world revolution, it may well take some years for the process to unfold to its conclusion.

But the process has begun—and revolutionaries in every other country must stride their maximum support. The struggle in South Africa is part of a worldwide struggle for freedom and liberation against an enemy, world capitalism, that oppresses us as well. Victory will not only liberate workers in South Africa, it will bring our own liberation one step closer.

The 1950's and 60's, the decades of South Africa's "economic miracle," were also the years in which the Nationalist Party consolidated its power and crushed a whole generation of black resistance to apartheid.

The Nationalist Party, the political machine of the growing Afrikaner section of big business, as well as the entrenched Afrikaner landowners, took over in 1948. Since then the Nationalist Party constructed a fantastically efficient and brutal police state, destroyed all meaningful white opposition, and made apartheid the unchallenged official philosophy and ideology of the country.

The English-speaking capitalists have recognized the effective monopoly of the Nationalist Party over all real political power, in return for guaranteed security and expanded profits for English, Afrikaner and foreign capitalists alike.

The Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, when 69 unarmed protesters were shot dead in a demonstration protesting pass-book laws, ended the traditional protest movements which aimed at reforming the apartheid state through mass pressure.

#### BLACK RESISTANCE

Now over 10 years later, as the economic growth is winding down, a new and very different kind of black resistance movement has begun, and not just in Soweto. In the province of Natal, the illegal black unions were successful in their strikes of 1973, and that movement has spread to other provinces since.

In Johannesburg, workers have tested their collective power with successful bus boycotts against fare increases and in solidarity strikes. And, for the first time in many years, the appearance in court of arrested African leaders has given rise to large and militant demonstrations in the white downtown areas of the twin capital cities, Pretoria and Cape Town.

It's becoming pretty clear that the Gestapo tactics of the South African security forces can do no more than slow this movement down. In an off the record interview with *Newsweek Magazine* (October 25, 1976) "key officials" of B.O.S.S. (Bureau of State Security) admitted as much: "South Africa must therefore come to grips with reality and make drastic internal changes... (it must) transform the policies of separate development (apartheid)... Vorster (South African Prime Minister) must ignore the wishes of his own right-wing or face political collapse within two years... (he must) change South Africa's present suicidal course."

Time to make changes is running out for the South African government. The economic boom of the sixties has given way to the economic crisis of the mid-seventies. Economic growth is at a stand-still and unemployment is rising at a rate of 250,000 per year. In addition, because of the apartheid "color-bar" which preserves the privileges of the highly paid, generally skilled white working class, industry faces a growing shortage of skilled labor.

The foreign loans which have financed apartheid for decades have threatened to dry up. So, as inflation continues at double-digit figures, *Business Week* (November 16, 1976) reports that Finance Minister Horwood "...has to be highly relieved... with the signing of a \$110 million Eurodollar credit... even though the money is expensive and falls far short of the \$300 million he is after."

And, while South Africa's income is declining—the total cost of South Africa's



Workers learn about the killing of 12 miners by police at the Western Deep Level Mine at Carletonville, in 1973. In 1976, over 1200 blacks fighting for freedom have been killed. But these Gestapo tactics cannot stop the struggle.

# Workers' Power Review no. 1

DECEMBER 13, 1976

MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT TO WORKERS' POWER

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ISSUE:

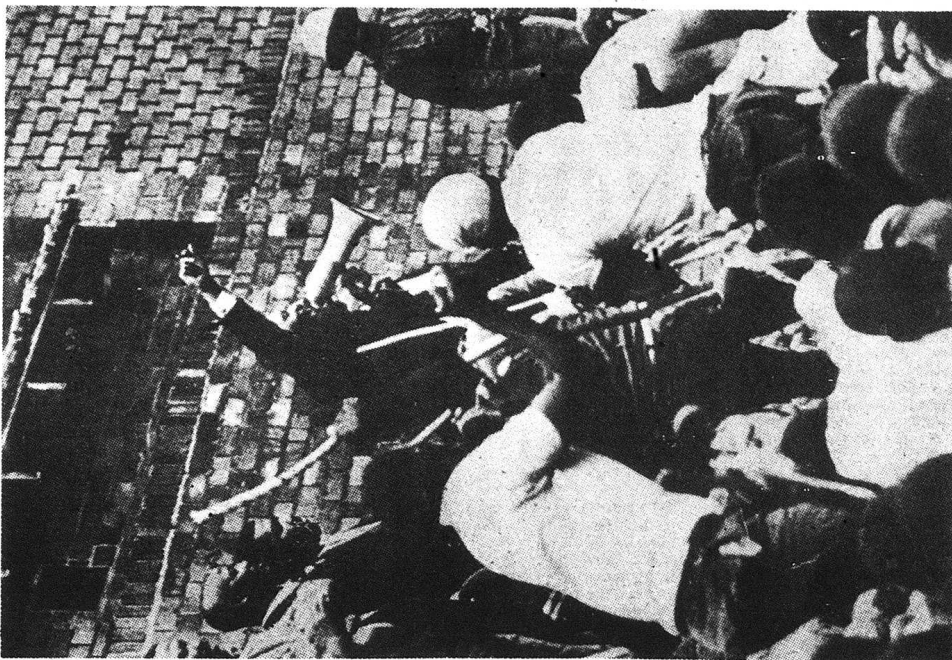
Teamsters  
For A  
Democratic  
Union



Portugal's  
Year Of  
Reaction



South  
African  
Revolution



Black workers at a strike meeting in Natal. The new wave of black resistance has spread since illegal black unions won wage increases in 1973. These workers represent the revolutionary future of South Africa.

PULL OUT AND FOLD OVER

imports has doubled since 1972 to over \$9 billion in 1975. The current estimated deficit is over \$2 billion a year. Further, government spending is up drastically—44½% higher for the April-June quarter of the current fiscal year over last year.

**Military spending has increased 42% over 1975 because of the independence won by Angola and Mozambique, and the opening of national liberation wars in Zimbabwe and Namibia. With the recent black uprisings throughout South Africa, the war budget is certain to expand even more rapidly.**

Indeed the very dependence on world capitalism, which sustained South Africa for so long, is now dragging it down. Over the past year the price of gold has declined severely. This further undermines the economic and political stability of South Africa given its massive dependence on the production and sale of gold for the world market. No matter how much success they have with their American TV campaign to sell Krugerrands, the South African government remains in deep trouble.

## V. SOUTH AFRICA AND PERMANENT REVOLUTION

As we have shown, the nature of the South African regime means first of all that every resistance struggle by black workers is inextricably bound to the anti-imperialist struggle. Secondly, the nature of apartheid regime means that even the most basic economic and political reforms can be only won and maintained by blacks in South Africa if power is seized from the white ruling class. The government's own response to this summer's uprisings proves this.

The Soweto rebellions began around the limited issue of the use of the Afrikaans language in black schools. Within a matter of days this political struggle was transformed by the reaction of the government into a movement which

challenged the whole basis of the apartheid system.

Not only did police repression fail to limit the agitation to a single issue, it could not be contained geographically either. In a situation in which all organization has to take place underground, in which mass arrests of leaders at every level takes place as soon as there is any open activity, it took only a little over a week to spread the agitation to all four provinces and most of the major cities of South Africa.

The response of the white regime was clear. Prime Minister Vorster told the western press that there would be absolutely no significant modifications of the racial structure, the Bantustan policy, or the total white monopoly of political rights.

And it is obvious that the regime cannot grant any change in the fundamental structure of the system. It is this structure that keeps 80% of the black working class below the poverty line. It is the wage structure, the barracks housing of the townships and the mines, the ban on black workers' union activity and strikes that brought western investments to South Africa in the first place!

In short, winning basic human rights for the black masses of South Africa requires the complete destruction, root and branch, of the system the white settlers and western investment have created.

### PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The struggle against apartheid will become a struggle for socialism. This is what Marxists call a "permanent revolution."

First, as we have seen, the national unification and liberation of the African masses is part of the same struggle as the wave of black workers resistance that began in 1973. Secondly, the wealth and power of the South African economy means that its liberation will lay the basis for socialism throughout southern Africa.

Third, and most important, the key to this whole process is the black proletariat of South Africa. Only the black working class, which has grown enormously in the

manufacturing and industrial booms of the last 40 years, has the collective power to overthrow the whole system.

And, a working class, in South Africa or anywhere else, which takes over the whole system does not restrict itself to merely making a series of reforms. The black South African working class will not just set up a system of democratic elections, abolish the secret police and pass book laws—even though these in themselves would be revolutionary changes.

They will not leave intact the system that robs them daily. They will take over the factories and the mines, seize the capitalists' assets and turn them into the collective property of the black masses of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and the rest of southern Africa. The struggle will not stop halfway. It will become a struggle for socialism.

### BUILDING THE PARTY

The development of a conscious revolutionary workers' party is needed to seal the doom of the white racist regime. The whole of capitalist history demonstrates that workers cannot seize and retain power without the organizational and political leadership of a mass revolutionary party. The growing movement in South Africa today is not such a party. It is composed of a fairly loose alliance of student, community, workers and defense organizations which are all more or less unstable.

Alongside the Black Consciousness Movement, however, two older stable organizations operate: The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC). The ANC is the smaller of the two, has the strongest roots in the working class, but is dominated by the bureaucratic South African Communist Party. The PAC, on the other hand, while larger, and containing various socialist currents within it, is for the unity of all African classes and calls for "natural African socialism" based purely on nationalism.

However, it is clear that the current upheavals have brought about real

advances in the politics, militancy and confidence among the urban workers and the radicalized students who are leading the Black Consciousness Movement. It is also clear that in this process the students have built strong links with a large section of the urban workers and this creates the potential for a much higher level of organization.

Forces are now coming into play as the revolution unfolds which can bring about the establishment of a conscious workers' party in South Africa. It is the duty of revolutionaries here and around the world to support every manifestation of the black struggle and resistance and to help in the process for laying the foundations of a mass revolutionary workers party. The development of serious working class solidarity with the South-African revolution in countries like America and Britain will play a small but vital and constructive role in that process. The I.S. will not shirk this international duty.



"Smash Apartheid" poster is 23" x 28" with black and white lettering on a red background. Price: \$2.50 postpaid. 5 or more: \$1.80. Order from: Sun Distribution, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI. 48203.

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# steelyard blues

DECISION TIME FOR THE UNITED STEEL WORKERS

# A Fighting Alternative To The ENA

The argument by the Steelworkers Union's present leadership in support of the no-strike deal (ENA)—that it prevents layoffs and stockpiling—does not hold water, as this column showed in last week's Workers' Power.

But many steelworkers think the no-strike agreement is still a good idea. They remember bitterly the 116-day strike in 1959. Who the hell can afford to go on strike and suffer months of hardship, they say, only to go back with nothing more than they started with?

They know the union is now very weak, and they have only contempt for the International leadership that allowed this to happen. But many of these same union members will vote for McBride if confusion over the ENA still exists come election day, Feb. 8.

As much as they may dislike voting for more of the same, a McBride vote will seem like a "safe" bet. They fear that a vote for Sadowski means a strike—and they fear that strikes can't be won.

Confusion on these issues must be cleared away. Eliminating the ENA won't automatically bring about a strike. Extending the ENA won't—in the long run—avoid strikes.

Extending the ENA may, in fact, be laying the basis for another long 1959-type strike that wins little despite much suffering.

## BEING NICE

The reason for this has to do with the very nature of labor-management relations.

The no-strike deal was based on the idea of collaboration between the union and the steel companies. Both sides would be "reasonable" and nice to each other. Both labor and management would end up with what they wanted, or so the theory went.

But that ignores one basic fact. Because of the very nature of the "free enterprise" system, employers are constantly under intense pressure to squeeze out the

**"You can't fight the bosses on bluff alone. You have to be prepared to actually fight if need be. And to fight to win."**

greatest possible profit. If they don't, they'll lose out to other businessmen.

In their drive for profits, the employers will follow the path of least resistance. If the union is weak and the workers afraid to fight, that means an attack on wages, benefits, health and safety, break times, crew sizes, and so on.

A McBride victory will give the steel companies the green light to move ahead with their attack on the workers.

And when the time comes that the union has to fight back, it will be so thoroughly weakened, so unused to fighting, that any strikes

that do occur will either be long tests of endurance, or they will be lost.

So what is the alternative? Ed Sadowski has said that the very threat of striking is sometimes as important as the strike weapon itself.

As one Sadowski campaign organizer put it, giving up the right to strike is like buying a watch dog and then telling the whole neighborhood that it doesn't have any teeth.

But it's just as true that you can't fight the bosses on bluff alone. You have to be prepared to actually fight if need be. And to fight to win.

And when and if it comes down to a strike, there are certain specific tactics that can keep the strike short, and make the difference between victory and defeat.

## STOCKPILES

The first step is making sure that the companies cannot make a profit on stockpiles.

In 1967, 50,000 copper workers and members of the USW went on strike. They were forced to stay out for over nine months. "Right to Challenge," a history of the USWA, has this note about that strike: "The companies, forearmed, had stockpiled copper to withstand the siege. Fully loaded hundred-ton copper cars squatted on railroad sidings ready for shipment."

A union that does nothing to stop shipments of supplies from company property does not believe in

SEE - ITS IN THE CONTRACT!



ENA: The Monkey On Your Back

striking even when it is on strike. With "tactics" like these, it is no wonder that the copper strike and the 1959 steel strike were forced to drag on for months and months. These strikes were gutted of their potential power.

Absolutely no movement of steel can be allowed to take place during a strike. This means setting up lines, not just at the mills, but sending roving pickets to the warehouses where steel is stored.

It means sending pickets to stop the movement of steel into the largest steel consumers—construction sites, for example, where steel is rarely if ever stored in advance.

The more that steel consuming companies are desperate for supplies, the more pressure there will be on the steel industry to settle—and to settle on the union's terms.

## FOREIGN STEEL

All importation of foreign steel must be shut down as well. Pickets must be set up at the docks to get the agreement of dock workers not to unload any shipments of steel. During the 1967 copper strike, for example, the International Longshoremen's Association agreed to respect the lines of striking USW members. It announced that its members would not handle copper going in or out of the United States or Canada.

But stopping the movement of

steel is only part of the solution. Every effort must be made to prevent the accumulation of stockpiles in the first place.

If steelworkers cannot stockpile paychecks in the period leading up to a strike, the same pressure must be brought to bear on the bosses.

This means a union fight against overtime, especially forced overtime, before a strike. No speedup or job combinations can be allowed.

As part of a longer-term strategy the union must also fight for shorter contracts. With more frequent expirations, it is much more difficult for the companies to continuously stockpile. More frequent expiration dates also give the union more bargaining flexibility.

These are all tactics which have been learned through the hard experience of the history of labor struggles. They have been used before. Many of them were key to organizing the first industrial unions.

No one wants to go on strike if you end up losing more than you gain. Going on strike is not a decision to be taken lightly, or without solid preparation, organization, and a militant determination to beat the company.

But with that organization and determination, a strike is the most powerful weapon workers have against the bosses' drive to slice wages and working conditions. It is a weapon that cannot be surrendered.

# Labor Dep't Won't Monitor Steel Vote

The United States Department of Labor announced December 7 that it would not monitor the February 8th voting for top officers in the United Steelworkers of America.

The stated reason was that the Department lacked both manpower and money to monitor the voting of 1.4 million members in nearly 6,000 Local Unions. Labor Department sources did say, however, that they may be available for technical assistance.

USWA President I.W. Abel first asked for "technical assistance" from the Labor Department last November. By involving the Labor Department directly in the election, he hoped to head off post-election challenges to the Labor Department citing campaign or voting irregularities, and disputing challenges to the election results.

Ed Sadowski, rebel candidate for USWA President, running on

the Fightback Slate, denounced this request in a telegram to Labor Secretary W.J. Usery. He called "technical assistance" a "sham," and demanded instead, "full and complete supervision" of the election including government observers around the country.

A campaign spokesman stated that Fightback would refuse to comply with a more limited plan.

Sadowski issued a statement that unless there were a fully supervised "honest election," there might be a "leadership vacuum" during the months and possibly years of litigation.

## VOTE STEALING

What fuels this dispute is a long history of vote stealing in USWA elections. In past elections, even when intentional vote fraud has

been discovered, punishment has been mild and ineffective, and the culprits have been protected by the union machine.

Particularly in the smaller locals, Union Staffmen are in a powerful position to manipulate results. There is fear that in a close vote, manipulated votes may be the margin between a Fightback victory or a defeat.

Fightback campaign director Clem Ballinoff states that his slate is setting up its own procedures for election monitoring.

Funds are being raised to set up a training program to teach thousands of USWA members how to serve as effective poll watchers.

On election day, Fightback hopes to have its own supporters carefully and professionally observing the election at Local Unions around the country.



Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You! Write: 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203

## "Politics didn't go out of rock music"

Dear Workers' Power,

Your coverage on South Africa and the upcoming steel workers' election is great, but I think the paper needs some changes.

The two items Workers' Power is sorely missing are humor and music. More cartoons to add a smile would help every week.

So would music coverage—especially rock. Politics didn't go out of rock music. Check out the Steve Miller Band's "Fly Like An Eagle" or the Ozark Mountain Daredevils' "Never Thought I'd Breakaway Those Chains." And there's much more. That's our music.

Tim Stone  
St. Louis, MO

## "I'm a mother with two kids and not about to be song and danced out of a job."

Dear Workers' Power,

This quote appeared in Newsweek's recent survey on women in the workforce: "In most recessions, women have been very obliging about getting out of the workforce."

It would be more accurate to say that in times of recession women have been fired, laid off, forced out through elimination of

childcare funds (this happened after World War II), or pressured by propaganda which created an image of the desirable, feminine creature who stayed at home.

I'm a mother with two kids and I'm not about to be song and danced out of a job.

So far, this time around, women are continuing to stay at work and even expand into traditionally male jobs.

But it isn't easy. Funds for childcare are decreasing, and men's attitude on their responsibilities in housework is largely unchanged.

Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter is saying, "Wait a minute, folks" about his campaign promises to lower unemployment.

It makes sense that something or someone has to give.

It's something of an illusion that women have made real strides in their working conditions in terms of new job categories or wages. In fact the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that:

- The majority of women who work are in the same ten "female" categories—beautician to bookkeeper.

- Women earn 59% as much as men and are losing ground from 20 years ago.

What it comes down to is that the economy cannot afford to allow real change in working women's conditions, such as bringing wages up to par with men's, providing funds for childcare, providing enough jobs and more training for women.

As long as there is the capitalist system, there will be the need to maintain a fallow work force, on reserve and ready to go. This reserve is used as a threat to those working to toe the line for fear of being replaced. And women have traditionally been a major part of this reserve.

A strong working women's organization is needed in this country to protect women's gains and fight for further changes. Such an organization would fight within a socialist movement for



Teamsters demonstrate outside union hall in support of fired car haulers. TDU Women's Group organized picket.

# TEAMSTER WOMEN GETTING TOGETHER TO BUILD TDU

Dear Workers' Power,

We would like to say we were very pleased with the article about the car haulers' demonstration. However, you failed to bring out a very important point. This demonstration was initiated and organized by the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) wom-

en's group.

Teamster women suffer even worse conditions on the job than the men because of the sexism of the companies and the union. Teamster wives see first hand the effects of the union's failure to represent their husbands.

We are banding together to

help build TDU, the only organization which can turn this situation around. The demonstration was only one of our many activities. You can expect to see many more in the future.

Sincerely,  
The TDU Women's Group  
Detroit, MI

thorough changes in this society that will bring about jobs, and control over them, for all of us.

In struggle, not obliging,  
Lenny B.  
Pittsburgh, PA

## "An Employee Can Never Trust the Bosses"

Dear Workers' Power,

I am writing this letter as a word of caution to all UPS employees who are now in or plan to join the UPS Thrift Plan. The plan is really only thrifty for UPS.

The brochure that management hands out to encourage employees to join explains that in past years the Plan has paid anywhere from 10 to 17% interest. This number looks fantastic compared to banks which pay 5%. Unfortunately, the many ways that the company keeps from paying this high interest are vague.

I had six dollars deducted from my check weekly for 11 months. Six dollars is the maximum. The total money deducted was \$270. They figured the interest on \$222, claiming that the other \$48 was still in the system. For my \$222, I got 23c and no specified time when I would get my other \$48. If I had known before I joined the Thrift Plan that I could give

UPS \$270 of my hard earned dollars in return for a mere 23c, I would never have done it. This lesson was costly for me to learn. When it's over I will be relieved to get my \$270.

An employee can never trust the bosses. UPS employees take note. Consider carefully the Thrift Plan and who is behind it. The chances are good that you won't make the same mistake I did.

Dwight Hansen  
Ex-UPS Employee  
Atlanta, GA

## "I have a death wish for capitalism: Change! Change! Change!"

Dear Workers' Power,

I am corresponding to let the brothers and sisters on the outside know how comforting your newspaper is to the brothers here at Huntingdon Prison.

Your newspaper gives me and the rest of the brothers an insight into what's taking place in this ever-changing world of ours.

I sincerely admire the way your newspaper tells it like it really is. In this capitalist system here in this so-called great country of

ours must change. And I mean change for you, and that's right—change for me!

I have a death wish for this capitalistic rhetoric which we have heard for so long: Change! Change! Change!

Still in the struggle.  
Bro. Leroy M. Washington  
Huntingdon, PA

## "Operator's job... tedious and boring. I wouldn't wish it on anybody."

Dear Workers' Power,

I'd like to point out an error in your November 29 issue. An article on AT&T stated that "there isn't an operator today who makes as much as five dollars an hour." Operators in Cleveland with four years and more seniority make at least \$5.30 an hour.

I agree with you that the work they do is very tedious and boring, and I wouldn't wish it on anybody.

I'd like to see more articles on telephone in the future.

Y.K.  
Cleveland, OH



## "I noticed an elderly woman eating garbage from a bin out back."

Dear Workers' Power,

On the way to the Workers' Power office I noticed an elderly

woman eating garbage from the bin out back. I returned with a camera to record this aspect of America's season to be jolly, but she had moved on. The picture above is of her Holiday Feast.

Any of the bankers across the street at Manufacturers Trust could have seen that skinny old lady picking scraps off the freezing bones. Maybe that's why there are no windows on that side of the bank.

God rest ye merry, gentlemen, let nothing you dismay.

David McCullough  
Detroit, MI

# Labor Notes

by Jim Woodward

In the middle of a snow storm, 400 steel workers turned out to a campaign meeting for Ed Sadlowski and his slate in Cleveland, November 30. The turnout indicates that the campaign is generating more sentiment for change among the rank and file. Prior to this meeting, Sadlowski had won nominations in all the basic steel locals but one in the Cleveland district.



The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power has been making its women employees pay 15% more into the retirement plan than male workers pay. Why? Women live longer, said the Department. A recent federal appeals court ruling has upheld a lower court decision that this practice is illegal sex discrimination. The suit was filed three years ago by IBEW Local 18.

The United Electrical Workers union has won a 36-hour work week at 40 hours pay at the Leavitt Machine plant in Orange, Massachusetts. The contract calls for four nine-hour days. The ninth hour of each day will be paid at double time. The contract was negotiated by UE organizer Alex Markley. Markley is the UE organizer who is being framed up on federal charges for his role in an earlier strike.

The indictment of Alvin Baron, a former official of the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund, made lots of headlines last week. But the fine print indicated that Baron must have been a sacrificial lamb, since the Pension Fund supplied federal investigators with information leading to Baron's indictment. We'll be skeptical that the changes at the Pension Fund are any more than just superficial unless they start going after Frank Fitzsimmons, Roy Williams, and William Presser.

Exposure to lead is a serious occupational hazard. In large concentrations, it can damage the brain, the nervous system, and the kidneys. General Motors has about 2000 employees who are exposed to lead in manufacturing automobile batteries. And for 20 years, GM has kept exhaustive records of the level of lead in these workers' blood and the amount of lead in the air.

The government is trying to determine what level of lead exposure is safe, and has asked GM to supply the information from its records. And good ol' public-spirited General Motors replied, NO. "It is preferable," said GM, "from the standpoint of the corporation as a whole to make such a submission for all plants and divisions of the corporation rather than on an individual plant-by-plant basis." Which is bureaucratic language for, "Get lost."

Teamsters Local 1384 in Philadelphia has won back the jobs of two suspended warehouse workers. Their tactic was very simple: union members simply refused overtime. Orders backed up at the Thriftway Foods warehouse, and customers began complaining of late deliveries. It's a tactic that deserves to be used more often.

News item: New York State Thruway employees have rejected the state's latest contract proposal. According to their union, the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA), 738 workers voted against the contract and 241 voted for it, so it was rejected by three votes. —Three votes! You can't add!

—Not me. Blame the CSEA. They count anyone who didn't return their ballot as voting in favor of the proposal.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: Workers' Power, Labor Notes, 1413 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203. Or phone 313-869-5964.

# Court Ruling Means Massive Employers' Attack On Women

by Elissa Clarke

The United States Supreme Court ruled on Dec. 7 that employers may refuse to compensate women employees who cannot work because of pregnancy.

The issue was brought to court by female employees of General Electric (GE). GE pays up to \$150 a week for 26 weeks to 'disabled' employees, but has always refused to compensate women unable to work because of pregnancy.

Six U.S. Court of Appeals' decisions had ruled in favor of the women's request, but the company took it all the way to the Supreme Court. The 6-3 Supreme Court decision reversed the lower courts.

## BIG SETBACK

Susan Ross, a lawyer for the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union, told Workers' Power,

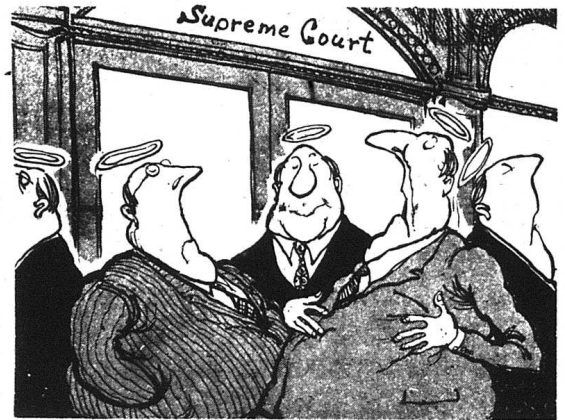
"This is a real setback for the women's movement. There is a strong possibility that employers will read this as a signal from the Court that it's all right to fire pregnant women, to refuse to hire pregnant women, to force them on unpaid leaves of absence, or deprive them of seniority when they have a child."

"Another possibility is that employers will say that because a woman might become pregnant, we can refuse to hire them."

The majority position on the Supreme Court held that excluding pregnancy as a disability was not discriminatory towards women, but rather regarded pregnancy as a "unique" condition.

The majority opinion stated, "pregnancy is not a disease at all and is often a voluntarily undertaken and desired condition."

The previous guidelines for pregnancy disabilities were established by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), an agency created by Congress to implement the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The EEOC labeled exclusion of pregnancy benefits sexually discriminatory.



If I were pregnant, I wouldn't expect maternity pay!

The minority opinion on the Supreme Court pointed out that pregnancy is the only "sex specific" disability excluded from GE's plan. The benefit plan includes coverage for "risks such as prostatectomies, vasectomies, and circumcisions that are specific to the reproductive system of men and for which there exist no female counterparts covered by the plan."

## MOTIVATING FACTOR

The Federal District Court found GE's "discriminatory attitude" towards women a "motivation factor in its policy."

This is only one way the employers discriminate against women. There are many, and all include increasing their profits in one way or another.

Today, with all the corporation's fighting for the best financial position in a weak economy, women are a special target. This ruling declares an open season on women's job rights.

A spokesman for GE in Fairfield, Conn., said, "We are very pleased with the decision."

Previously, GE had stated

"...women do not recognize the responsibilities of life, for they were hoping to get married and leave the company."

The president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, David Fitzmaurice, said he will fight this by seeking legislation to make discrimination because of pregnancy illegal.

It is true that Congress could write laws that would over-ride the Supreme Court decision or that individual state's laws could supersede the Court's ruling. But these are not winning strategies for working women.

The courts and the Congress, all are "anti-women." They will back up the corporation's side of the controversy unless the unions force them to respond to organized pressure. That is Fitzmaurice's and other union leaders responsibility—organizing a fight. But they won't do it by themselves. They, too, will only respond to mass pressure.

Women workers need to fight for paid pregnancy disability in their union contracts. Our unions should be leading the fight—not looking to Congress. □

## I.S. Branches

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If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to: INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.

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## International Women's Day by Alexandra Kollontai

This pamphlet was first written in 1920. The author was a leader of the Russian revolution and the Bolshevik Party.

Kollontai discusses the history of women's struggles for their rights throughout the world, and the importance of celebrating "the working women's day of militancy."

Order from Sun Distribution International, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203

Price 35c postpaid

# Job Rights Are Key Issue In Telephone

by Frank Newman

August 1977 is the contract deadline for about half a million telephone workers represented by the Communications Workers of America (CWA). That's almost eight months away. But even so, many phone workers are already concerned about preventing a repeat of what happened in 1974.

In that year the International railroaded through a contract with a wage increase well below what was being lost to inflation. There was no real improvement in working conditions or job security.

Since 1974 things have been going from bad to worse. Most important is the question of job security. Already there have been thousands of layoffs. Several Western Electric manufacturing plants have been completely shut down and the workers put out on the street.

Bell has devised other ways of shrinking its workforce. One is forced transfers. A worker who has worked for years in one city might suddenly find himself or herself transferred to a place hundreds of miles away. Many quit, rather than uproot themselves from family and friends.

Another tactic is the downgrade. Switchmen with ten or twenty years seniority have woken up to find themselves installers and repairmen. Their pay is cut drastically. Again, many have quit rather than accept this. Many more would like to, if they could find a job somewhere else.

And the union has done nothing about it. The 1974 contract gives no protection at all against forced transfers or downgrades.

## CONTRACT ACTIVITY

Here are some things going on around the country over the contract:

- In Louisville, Harold Kincaid, a local executive board member, got the Local 10310 executive board to pass a resolution to set up a strike fund right now. The membership is now voting on the proposal.

- Rank and filers in the local have circulated a flier calling for a "yes" vote. The flier points out that the better the union is prepared for a strike, the more difficult it will be for the company to get it to accept an inadequate settlement.

- In Los Angeles, Lorraine Darrington, a member of her executive board, has prepared a petition calling for six hour tours for operators and an upgrade for operators which would result in a huge pay increase. The petition is now being circulated nationally.

- In Dayton, Local 4322 has come out for a vastly improved pension scheme. Their demand is "30 and Out at \$800 per month." Local 4322 has sent leaflets and posters raising this bargaining demand to locals all over the country.

- In New York, Ed Dempsey, President of Local 1101, has been holding lunchtime meetings on the contract at all the buildings and garages under his jurisdiction. His talks to the membership have helped raise enthusiasm for fighting for good job security demands, including a short work week and early retirement.

## LOCAL OFFICIALS

Most activity around the contract so far has been initiated by local officials: presidents and executive board members.

Some of these officials, like Dempsey in New York, are bureaucrats of the worst sort. Dempsey has never shown much

concern for the well-being of rank and file phone workers. As readers of Workers' Power will recall, he has been trying to get four militants who oppose him thrown out of the union on phony charges.

But Dempsey knows that the 1977 contract is one issue that CWA members are going to move on. He knows that the sellout of 1974 is on everybody's mind. And he knows that there will be plenty of sentiment for a tougher bargaining line than the International is likely to take.

By playing to this sentiment, Dempsey no doubt hopes to boost his own position in the union. The International elections aren't that far off.

He hopes that by looking tough,



Phone workers are unprotected against forced transfers and downgrades.

## CWA Backs A Winner - And Loses!

"CWA put together the largest political effort in its history in 1976—a year in which the role of organized labor was crucial and perhaps even decisive in capturing the White House for Jimmy Carter." (CWA News, November '76).

Telephone workers really got taken this election year. Our union's political arm, COPE, invested more than a quarter of a million dollars of money in the final Carter campaign effort alone!

### "OUR HERO"?

CWA President Glen Watts' telegram to Carter shows how the labor bureaucrats are trying to sell working people on Carter as "our hero."

In it Watts says, "CWA is confident that your vision of social justice, economic recovery and integrity in government will illuminate the future, enabling America to forge ahead into an epoch unmatched in growth and development of technology and civilization."

Nice words. And those weren't the only ones, unfortunately. The

he'll appear a better alternative than Glenn Watts and the others who now rule the union.

But whatever Dempsey's motives, his actions present terrific opportunities for the rank and file. They can only serve to build momentum among the ranks to resist a bad contract being forced down their throats.

The task facing CWA activists around the country is to turn this momentum into organization. What has to be built is a movement that can lead a fight for a decent contract in 1977. It has to be a movement that speaks to the needs of the rank and file and isn't tied to any official's drive for personal power. □



Postal workers, the real victims of the "Christmas rush."

## Sombrotto Loses in Letter Carriers Vote

NEW YORK—In a close vote, Vincent Sombrotto has been defeated in his attempt to win the presidency of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC). The unofficial count is Joseph Vacca: 59,492; Sombrotto 54,317.

Sombrotto, the president of NALC Branch 36 in New York, is an opponentist who has tried three times for the presidency. He was defeated by Joseph Vacca, former NALC executive Vice President and candidate of retiring President James Rademacher.

to's forces commanded the loyalty of a majority of union members.

### AVOIDED ISSUES

However, Sombrotto ran a bureaucratic campaign that avoided issues important to postal workers. Instead of organizing a militant and hard hitting campaign, Sombrotto preferred to sit on his butt in New York and let his fellow bureaucrats around the country do the organizing for him.

Sombrotto did not even encourage the formation of local committees to work for his election. Sombrotto feared the power of the ranks even more than he feared his opponent. Without organizing rank and file support, enough votes swung to kill Sombrotto off.

In the aftermath of his defeat, the Rank and File Postal Worker newspaper is beginning a campaign around the country that will take on the issues that Sombrotto ignored—speedup, rehiring, and an all-full-time workforce.

Postal workers in New York are circulating a petition for refusal of overtime during the Christmas rush and the current UPS strike. □

Sombrotto was supported by a "big city coalition" composed of presidents of major branches throughout the country, including Brooklyn, Boston, San Francisco and Chicago. Sombrotto was also supported by rank and file oppositionists, including the militant newspaper, Rank and File Postal Worker.

At the national convention of NALC in Houston last summer, this coalition led and won an important fight over union democracy. Directly after the Houston convention, it was obvious that Sombrot-

entire first half of the November CWA News did nothing but hail the Carter victory in glowing terms.

All of this is especially timely for CWA officials—telling us our troubles are over just months before '77 bargaining with the Bell System. Convincing us our union money is better spent on one politician with high-sounding promises, than on a militant nationwide strike against the Bell System. Persuading us to count on Carter, instead of ourselves and our union, to save our jobs, raise our living standard or fight inequality.

Really the CWA bureaucrats are hoping that their troubles are over, that they can settle the contract without a fight—with either the company or the members. But that is probably just wishful thinking on their part.

### NO INTENTIONS

We're finding out already that Carter has no intentions of putting America back to work like he promised. Nor is he going to defend us against the all-out attack on our jobs, wages and working conditions by America's big bosses, like AT&T.

That will be up to us. We will have to organize rank and file pressure and leadership in our unions. We'll have to use our own power—to strike and fight back. Watts won't do it for us, and neither will Carter. And next we'll have to build a new political party. A party without the bosses, one that can represent working people because it will be our own independent party.

Then we will go to the polls! □

## WORKERS' POWER

A revolutionary socialist weekly, published by the International Socialists.

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# WORKERS' POWER

Pickets Hit Brooklyn Krugerrand Outlet

## BOYCOTT A&S - STOP SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD!



NEW YORK CITY—"A&S sells the rand—gold from a racist land! Boycott A&S, Smash Apartheid! A&S supports racism—if you buy from this store you're supporting racism."

These chants and signs greeted Christmas shoppers at the Abraham & Strauss store in downtown Brooklyn December 4.

A&S is selling the Krugerrand, South Africa's gold coin, as "an

ounce of pure love" for you to give your loved one for Christmas. Almost all of this store's customers are black.

Over 300 members and supporters of the American Committee on

Africa, Workers' Power and the Red Tide came to publicize this disgusting action and call on shoppers to boycott A&S.

### SHOPPERS HORRIFIED

We set up a picket line in front of the two main entrances, chanting and distributing a leaflet calling the boycott. Most people who stopped to talk to us, and a lot did, were horrified.

They either turned around to go elsewhere or joined the picket line. One person who had come to collect money for retarded children joined us and was real loud in demanding that people boycott A&S.

Many of the people who did go in left after they understood what was going on. One woman said she intended never to shop at A&S again and was going to rip up her credit card. Two other women went in just to yell at management. All told we stopped at least 300 people from shopping at A&S.

One black dock worker who joined the picket line said, "Working people have to stick together over things like this. If we had our shit together on the docks we wouldn't be loading or unloading anything going to or coming from South Africa."

Two of the most vocal demonstrators were two young women who had just arrived from Soweto. Their presence made the sense of solidarity much stronger and more meaningful.

The demonstration showed them that the struggle against racism is

international, and that their own struggle hasn't ended just because they left South Africa.

After we handed out all the leaflets, about 20 of us went up to the 8th floor where the coins are sold. For ten minutes we shouted that A&S is a racist store, that the people who bought the coins did so with blood-stained hands, and that black people were dying so A&S could sell the Krugerrand.

Then the brass showed up. One security man was so freaked that he called on his walkie-talkie for "some heavies." Two pip-squeak flunkies showed up who were shorter than Abe Beame.

Management told us that the Krugerrands were being sold by a separate concern that leases space from the store, and that A&S couldn't do a thing without talking to its lawyers.

One of us said, "Look, if this store is losing money, if no one is buying any toys or furniture or anything, you'll yank the coins off the shelves. And let me tell you, we'll be out here until you do stop!" They said nothing.

The last thing we said before we left was, "The black community of Brooklyn will remember for a real long time that A&S had the opportunity to stop selling these coins and refused!"

This picket was called on two days' notice. We'll be back every Saturday and as often as necessary to get rid of this disgusting symbol of racism and murder.

And we'll be bigger and louder each time we come back. □

David Dugan

## Hurricane Carter Lawyer Charges 'Racial Nightmare'

by Kate Stacy

The prosecution's case in the second trial of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis is becoming more dangerously outrageous every day. The judge is allowing the flimsiest "evidence" into the trial, despite the fact that it appears designed to inflame the mostly-white jury's racism.

In the first trial, nine years ago, the prosecution did not have to prove a motive. It had a few bought off "eyewitnesses." Together they were enough to convict Artis and Carter of the murders of three whites in a bar in Paterson, N.J., without the state having to show a motive for the killings.

All along Carter and Artis protested they were being framed because they were known and militant leaders of the black liberation struggle in Paterson.

The two men won enough followers to their defense that after years of struggle in the courts and

on the streets they gained a new trial.

But by this time, the state had lost its key witnesses. They admitted they had been bribed by the prosecution to finger Carter and Artis in exchange for leniency in trials that the witnesses themselves faced.

So, in the new trial, to get a conviction the prosecution has to prove that Carter and Artis had a motive. The prosecution is claiming that the two men were avenging the murder of a black bartender in the same bar several hours earlier.

### "EVIDENCE"

The evidence the judge is allowing into the trial is incredible.

For instance, the simple fact that there were racial disturbances in Paterson in the 60's is supposed to prove Carter and Artis' guilt.

Another piece of evidence: Carter knew the step-son of the slain bartender.

The allegation that the step-son—not either of the defendants—told the police that he knew the police would do nothing about his step-father's murder, but "we will," will also be allowed into the trial testimony.

And when Artis' lawyer complained the judge was turning the trial into "a racial nightmare," the judge nearly cited him for contempt of court.

One cop was allowed to testify about a crowd scene at the bar after the black bartender was slain. Even though he made no official report, kept no written notes, and could not remember what members of the crowd were saying, or who they were talking about, the testimony was ruled admissible.

By ruling that "the state has the right to prove whatever facts it wishes to prove," the judge opened the door for as much racially-inflammatory material as the prosecution can manage to ram through. □

