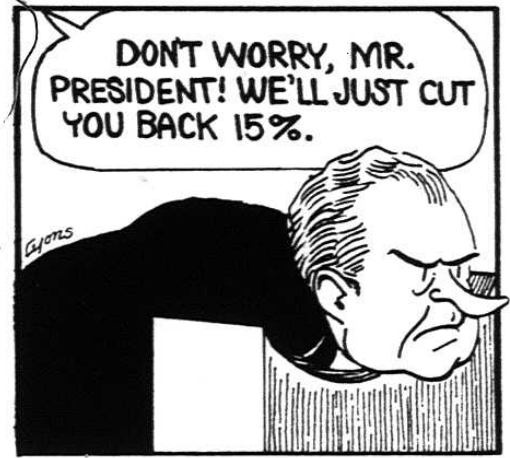


Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NO. 88 DECEMBER 21, 1973 - JANUARY 17, 1974 15¢

OUT OF OIL? CHOP NIXON NOT WOOD



The fuel shortage began when the oil monopolies began cutting back production to raise their prices and profit margins. By sitting on huge untapped-oil reserves, and cutting back investment in new refineries, the oil companies also created pressure to eliminate environmental restrictions on offshore drilling, strip mining and the Alaska pipeline.

The success of the oil companies' campaign has made the

fuel shortage America's number one crisis. As the threat of layoffs in heavy industry and serious consumer goods shortages spreads, a debate is raging over the steps the government should take to control the problem.

True, the Nixon Administration has already made its first moves. The new chief energy advisor, William E. ("Simple") Simon, has announced that "the American consumer, not industry, must bear the brunt" of the fuel crisis.

To back this up, the mass media are pushing a high-powered campaign to sell the idea

that the crisis was brought on by pig-headed consumption by workers driving their "luxury" cars on the weekend and keeping their homes too warm during the winter.

Despite this, some of the truth about the energy crisis is coming through. Gas stations in some parts of the country are going bankrupt and closing down in massive numbers, because the oil companies are inflating wholesale prices even faster than pump prices are rising.

To make sure consumption is cut down, Simon has an-

nounced allocations of oil which will hold gasoline production down an expected 15% under what would have been used in 1974, and will also raise the price by about 7¢ a gallon for openers.

The purpose of this cutback is to increase production of home heating oil. To make this a sufficiently profitable operation, the price of this commodity is going up about 9¢ per gallon for homeowners.

On the lunatic fringe, one Democratic representative from New York is introducing legis-

lation to turn off pilot lights in home gas stoves.

Despite these actions, the government's policies so far have satisfied almost no one. Nixon and Simon are trying to avoid taking a definite position on the main topic of debate — the question of gasoline rationing.

Free-market capitalist advocates have a simple answer: end all price restrictions on fuels, and avoid rationing at all costs.

Only if the profits of the oil industry are allowed to rise unchecked, they say, will the industry be stimulated to develop the extractive machinery and refining capacity which is their long-range solution.

Capitalist Solution

Let prices rise through the ceiling in the short run, in order to force down consumer demand to roughly the level of present supply. This is the classical solution of capitalism to its crises.

If, for example, the capacity exists to produce more food than can be sold for a profit, the free market forces food production to cut back and prices to rise until workers can't afford to buy it. When millions of people have to eat less or simply starve and all surplus stocks are finally exhausted, the "overproduction" crisis is solved and a new boom is ready to begin.

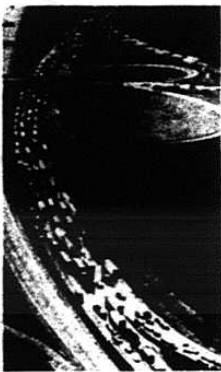
Other forces — including liberals, labor officials, and even the oil companies! — are calling for rationing.

This program, which makes cutting workers' consumption

[Continued on page 14]

[For more on the socialist view of the energy crisis, see the editorial on page 2.]

Truckers on Strike: "This Is Only The Beginning!"



On December 13-14 thousands of independent truckers struck against the Nixon energy crisis and the oil monopolies. Ninety percent of the steel haulers went out. The stockyards in Chicago were closed. In Omaha, they stopped slaughtering hogs. And even half the refers (refrigerator trailers) were off the road.

The show of solidarity was tremendous. Truckers across the country supported the strike, despite the claims of hysterical newscasters. Many regular drivers refused to drive for the big companies and many called in sick.

For most of these drivers this

was their first political protest. For some, it was their first strike.

Support for the truckers was widespread, despite all the media junk about "the public" and their right to drive the turnpikes. In Toledo factory workers showed up at the blockades to show their support. In East Liverpool, Ohio, sanitation workers went out in support.

The strike did not have the impact of the initial highway blockades, and the press, the trucking employers' association, and Fitzsimmons have tried to play it down. Nevertheless, the strike showed that the anger of

the truckers is not a passing thing. Even this stoppage led to food shortages, perhaps as high as 25% on the East Coast.

The truckers have taken the first step. And, as one member of FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) put it: "For not having much organization, particularly among refers, they did a hell of a job. It woke a lot of people up. Now people had better get some organization." ■

Further coverage of the truckers' protests will be found on pages 8-9, including an interview with Paul Dietsch, a leader of FASH.

Army Codes Mark Vets For Life p11



Editorial

Dump Oil Barons And Their Profits

Hardship and sacrifice for working people is the only solution our rulers have to the energy crisis. They are capitalists and profits are the name of their game. If their rate of profit is not maintained the whole system collapses. Production for profit, no matter what the cost in human suffering, is the principle that underlies everything they do. Rather than take on the profits and double dealing of the oil companies, they propose mass suffering as the solution to the energy crisis.

But the crisis can be solved without misery and chaos. The oil monopolies, and the other fuel corporations who created this mess, should be nationalized under workers' control. Energy resources must become the property of the American people, organized for our needs, rather than for more profits for the oil billionaires.

This is the socialist answer to the fuel shortage. Working people, democratically controlling resources of oil, coal and natural gas could plan for the functioning of the economy without the massive unemployment that capitalism is about to hand us. Because profits would not be the goal, the rapid expansion of refining capacity and rational, planned production of all our energy needs and development of new resources would also be possible without destroying our health and our environment.

The socialist solution to the energy crisis is not yet accepted by most working people. But the economic crisis and the oil companies' attack on our living standards is forcing many people to reexamine conservative assumptions and take a new look at their real interests. Like the truck drivers, more and more workers will be forced to take direct action to defend their jobs and lives. Out of these struggles, many will begin looking for more far-reaching measures.

No single crisis in recent memory has so clearly shown the desperate urgency of a movement to fight for revolutionary democratic socialism. The people of America and the whole world are being held in ransom — not by the Arabs as we're told, but by a few dozen oil companies who control this raw material which is vital for modern economic life. Exxon, Shell, Mobil, Texaco, Gulf and the handful of other giants control the world market.

They are owned decisively by an even smaller number of families — the Rockefellers, Morgans, Scaifes, Pews, Harkness, du-Ponts, Phillips and a handful of other robber barons. The Rockefellers alone are the major interest in Exxon, Mobil, Standard of California, Indiana and Ohio, Atlantic Richfield, Cities Service and Marathon.

"Blackmail!" screams the capitalist press against the Arab oil embargo. And "Blackmail!" soon they will be screaming at truckers as their strike creates food and industrial parts shortages on the market.

The press is outraged that a group of small, "backward" states have the nerve to "hold the U.S. and Europe over a barrel." They're even more upset that the monarchies of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iran are beginning to demand a little more ownership of the foreign oil companies. Good! We are for these states nationalizing the oil and the other foreign companies which dominate them.

We believe that to turn the use of Middle East oil to their own benefit, the Arab people will need a revolution from below to get rid of their own corrupt ruling classes. And — we need the same thing here! The capitalists say the Arabs are "backward" and American workers are "greedy." We say that American workers, like the Arab peoples, should take over and run the oil companies themselves!

Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialist.

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Workers' Power 88

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Editorial Board: Marilyn Danton, David Finkel, Joel Geier, Brian Mackenzie, Jack Trautman, John Weber.

Editor: Kit Lyons. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons. Staff: David Finkel, Kay Stacy, Rose Veviak, Jim Woodward. Business Manager: David Katz.

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15¢ per copy. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Workers' Power*, which are expressed in editorials.

Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August by the International Socialist Publishing Co. at 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to *Workers' Power*, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

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

MINERS: 'WE WON'T PAY FOR ENERGY CRISIS!'

A sense of militancy prevailed at the 46th Constitutional Convention of the United Mine Workers of America in Pittsburgh. The convention, lasting ten days, met to revamp the constitution of the union and to put together a collective bargaining package for the upcoming 1974 contract negotiations.

Only a year ago the long-time leadership of the UMWA, headed by W. A. "Tony" Boyle, was defeated by the militant reform group, Miners for Democracy. The struggle to oust Boyle was a bitter one that created deep divisions in the ranks of the union.

Yet, only a minority of vocal pro-Boyle delegates were visible at the convention. Many former Boyle supporters have made their peace with the new leaders.

This convention was different from the usual labor union convention. It was a working convention. Resolutions were voted out of committee, discussed, and often rejected and sent back to committee. The delegates were not the usual collection of 20-year, pro-administration hacks, but included many genuine rank and filers.

The Miller leadership had no

machine managing votes. Several times administration proposals were defeated.

All this is not to say that things were perfectly democratic. There was some maneuvering on the part of the leadership. For example, in a hot debate over dues structure some felt that the chair, Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick, was not playing fair.

New Constitution

One of the major goals of the convention was to revamp the archaic and undemocratic constitution of the UMWA. Among the new constitutional measures approved by the delegates were many dealing with the issues of health and safety.

The union's new constitution states that members can refuse to work under dangerous conditions. In addition, the new constitution provides for local health and safety committees and full-time elected safety men in each local.

Another important question was local and district autonomy. It was here that divisions between not only the former Boyle supporters and the new leadership, but also between supporters of MFD emerged.

Some old Boyle supporters

have retained power on the district level, and wanted to make sure that the districts would be self-supporting and not politically and financially dependent on the International. Thus, they wanted to increase the amount of dues money going to the districts.

Some of the best supporters of MFD were concerned both with district and local autonomy and effectiveness. They want to build the strength of the local union and they supported measures that would increase the amount of money and autonomy given to the local.

A representative from District 5, Pennsylvania, expressed an opinion common among Miller supporters. He told *Workers' Power* that he feels that Miller and Trbovich still favor autonomy, but are wrong on the dues issue. He said that he is for giving more money to the local and district — but not less to the International. This position on dues finally passed.

The convention also voted down a proposal that districts or locals could be put under trusteeship in order "to assure performance or enforcement of collective bargaining agreements or other duties as a bargaining representative."

Pro-MFD delegates voted against this proposal, feeling

that it would give the International too free a hand in restraining locals.

Another sign that the new leadership is moving toward ordinary "business unionism" was that the Miller leadership invited labor bureaucrats of the worst type like I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers and Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers to address to convention.

Miners know that men like Woodcock and Abel should not be speaking from their union's platform. One delegate from District 20 said that he has a brother who works for Ford and that he knew what Woodcock had pulled with the Ford contract. Even though he supports Miller, he didn't like seeing Woodcock up there.

The UMW set up a new political committee — COMPAC (Coal Miners Political Action Committee). Unfortunately, COMPAC is just another means of wasting union money on lib-

eral Democrats. In fact, "clean" Gene McCarthy, Ted Kennedy, and other lesser known supporters of wage controls and productivity pushes also spoke at the convention.

The UMW should run its own independent candidates on a program representing the real needs of working people.

The convention voted for a big collective bargaining package. The most popular demands were for sick pay (which miners do not now receive) and royalty payments of \$2.50 a ton instead of the current \$.90. (Royalty payments are used to finance the retirement and welfare fund.)

Most miners expect a long strike — at least six or eight weeks. Some even expect the national guard to be called out — and they're ready for it. And that is what is most important about this convention. Miners are ready to fight. As one delegate put it: "Those truck drivers may not know how to handle the national guard, but we do. Just wait and we'll show them."

1974: From Boom To Bust

On Nov. 23, General Motors Corporation announced that it planned to close 16 assembly plants for one week in December. Four days later, United Airlines announced that it was laying off 1,000 workers indefinitely. These two actions are signs of worse things to come. The US economy is now moving into a recession which will result in unemployment for millions of workers during 1974.

The stock market, a barometer of investors' confidence in the economy, has plummeted over 260 points, a decline of over 25 percent!

20% Unemployment?

During that period it recorded some of the largest single day declines in history. This proves that the capitalists don't really know how bad next year will be, and are preparing for the worst.

Exactly how severe will the

unemployment be? Some analysts are predicting that the number of workers unemployed will reach 20 percent!

That would mean that one out of every five workers would be out of work, and would represent a return to the depression conditions of the thirties.

Other estimates run anywhere from 6 percent (as in the 1970-71 recession) upward. In November, with overall unemployment at 4.7 percent, the rate for Black and Latin workers is over 9 percent.

While unemployment increased 0.1 percent for whites last month, it jumped 0.8 percent for Blacks and Latins.

Boom and Bust

The threat of a severe recession, if not a depression, is being blamed upon the energy crisis, caused partly by the Arab oil boycott. In fact, however, the US economy was headed into a recession before the Arab boycott began.

The growth rate of the US gross national product has fallen from a high of about 8 percent a year to 2.5 percent in Septem-

ber. This drop was due to the measures of the Nixon administration as it tried to harness inflation.

While profits have been soaring during the last year, so have prices. During October, prices were rising at the fantastic annual rate of 9.6 percent.

Over the past year, in spite of Nixon's so-called price controls, prices have risen 6.7 percent.

The capitalists became afraid that inflation would eat their boom alive. Through their government, restrictive policies — high interest rates, wage controls, welfare cuts — were imposed in an attempt to reduce inflation by slowing the rate of growth. The only thing that kept rising was military spending.

The intention was to cut inflation, while protecting profits, by cutting real wages and consumption by workers. Instead, as in the past, we are getting a developing recession along with continuing inflation.

Interest rates were raised, making it harder to borrow

money, and making it almost impossible for new home buyers to afford a mortgage. New home building thus fell off significantly.

Nixon had also vetoed numerous Federal spending bills in an attempt to reduce the government deficit. This included vetoing the minimum wage bill, condemning millions of workers to continuing poverty.

Nor is the US alone in its predicament. All the major capitalist countries are having similar problems trying to contain inflation. We can expect that all the major countries will be hit with recessions during 1974.

Sacrifice and Profits

The energy crisis caused by the oil monopolies, while not causing the basic, underlying problems of capitalism, will worsen them. The sharp dislocations in transportation, along with heavy layoffs in some specific heavy industries like auto caused by the energy shortage, could combine to turn the economic downturn into a severe recession.

The prospects facing workers

during 1974 are therefore very bleak.

The politicians, both Republican and Democratic, talk about the need of all Americans to make "sacrifices" in order to get through this crisis. There will indeed be sacrifices, but it is working people who will be sacrificed to maintain the profits of the major corporations.

It is working people's jobs which will be sacrificed to "cool off" the economy which the capitalists themselves can't control any other way. It is working people's standard of living which will continue to be eroded by inflation. Already during the past twelve months workers' real spendable income has declined by 3.3 percent.

The capitalists will raise prices and cut supplies enough to protect their own profits. The Rockefellers, DuPonts and their ilk can afford to pay \$1.00 a gallon for gasoline if they have to. And if weekend driving is banned, they can still afford to fly to their vacation spas in the Bahamas or Key Biscayne. ■



international report

David
Finkel



NORTHERN IRELAND: FIGHT WILL GO ON

The new Northern Ireland executive has finally got off the ground, marking a new phase in British domination of Ireland.

Thinly disguised as a major advance for "democracy and reconciliation" after five years of bitter struggle, the new set-up is nothing other than the latest attempt to stabilize British politi-

cal control in the Six Counties and economic control over all 32 counties.

The press has been saying that the executive represents "power sharing" between the Catholic and Protestant communities.

In reality it is a deal to let the Catholic middle class, represented by the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), share



Heath

some of the power of the Protestant middle class has always had in Ulster.

There will be no power shared with either Catholic or Protestant workers. The executive will protect the interests of British big business against these workers.

In a major concession to the extreme right wing of the Unionist party, ex-premier Brian

Chou Wants US To Keep Guns In SE Asia

[The following article is abridged from the Melbourne Age of Australia. It reveals new details on the counterrevolutionary foreign policies being followed by China.]

Bangkok, Dec. 5 - China's Prime Minister (Mr. Chou En-lai) has personally told Australia's Prime Minister Whitlam that the US should not withdraw its armed forces hurriedly from South-East Asia and the Western Pacific.

The Chinese leader went so far as to warn that the US would bear a heavy responsibility for the consequences of a hasty disengagement. Mr. Chou's remarks were made during lengthy private conversations with Mr. Whitlam in Peking last month.

The substance of Mr. Chou's views have been conveyed to Washington and to the Governments of the five South-Eastern States closest to Australia - Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines.

In his talks with Mr. Whitlam, Mr. Chou reportedly said that his Government wanted to see

the US military presence in Thailand, the Philippines and Japan gradually phased out. But he said US forces should not be rapidly withdrawn because this could create uncertainty and instability, providing an opportunity for the Russians to move in behind the retreating Americans.

The tenor of Mr. Chou's comments about South-East Asia is that China wants to establish normal relations with non-Communist Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, but is content to proceed at a pace that suits both sides.

He specifically assured Mr. Whitlam that negotiations with Malaysia on terms of diplomatic ties have just been resumed in New York after a delay of several months. The impasse centered on Malaysia's demand for assurances from Peking that it will not lay claim to, or try to influence for its own ends, the large number of Malaysian Chinese citizens and the smaller number of stateless Chinese in Malaysia.

Malaysia also wants China to

discontinue propaganda and other support for the outlawed Malaysian Communist Party.

Chou also claimed that China was not directly supporting national liberation movements outside Indo-China and had not done so in the recent past.

Mr. Chou's comments on American forces tend to confirm a recent statement by the Japanese Prime Minister (Mr. Tanaka) that the US Seventh Fleet based in the Pacific and the 170,000 American servicemen around its western rim provide "a very essential framework for stability and relaxation of tensions" in Asia.

Mr. Tanaka said, "None of the countries in Asia - including mainland China - are anxious to expel the US from this region. On the contrary, they are coming to realize more and more fully the importance of the American presence in this part of the world."

"In fact, we can say that at this particular time both the US-Japan security treaty and the Seventh Fleet are instrumental in improving relations between China and the US." ■



Chou

Faulkner has been made chief executive with a clear Unionist majority on the executive council.

Faulkner has a political record which has won him the hatred of everyone but the Social Democratic and Labour Party with whom he will now share power.

He has a long history of personally leading provocative jackboot style Orange parades through Catholic areas.

He has twice been responsible for imprisoning, without trial, the political opponents of Orangeism - in 1959 and 1971.

On the second occasion British Prime Minister Heath said "the decision whom to intern in individual cases is the decision of Mr. Faulkner."

He filled Long Kesh concentration camp with socialists, trade unionists, and republican supporters.

As chairman of the security council he was deeply involved in planning the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry, and total terror of Catholic areas throughout the North.

His new found friend Gerry Fitt of the SDLP is to be second in command. Fitt is one of the sharpest operators in Northern politics. He has personally stated that he would not like to see the internees released.

Fitt has recently been accused of providing the British with lists containing the names of internees whom his Catholic middle class friends think should be let out and those they would prefer to see kept locked up.

After Bloody Sunday, Fitt's own SDLP branch spoke of "Faulkner and his fascist clique." Now "socialist" Fitt and "fascist" Faulkner are jointly to run the Six Counties as British big business dictates.

Dangerous Illusion

The fact is there can be no further advance towards democracy within the Six County state.

The assembly executive, which simply institutionalizes sectarianism and does nothing to overcome it, is the peak of "democracy."

To ensure that it will function, against the wishes of a large section of the population, the British Army must continue arresting, beating and interning people, searching and wrecking homes, and terrorizing whole communities.

For socialists there can be no doubt whatever about the Assembly and its new executive: they must be destroyed.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, made up from Communist Party and official Republicans, continues to peddle the dangerous illusion that it can be made "more democratic," while the Provos (Provisional IRA) continue with their equally fruitless illusions that imperialism can be destroyed by a purely military campaign.

After five years of struggle here the lesson is clear: only an independent working class organization, fighting for socialist policies North and South, can hope to destroy British domination, replacing it with a genuine workers' republic. ■

Mike Miller from Belfast

notes

Two Peas In A Pod: U.S. Politicians Tour Russia

A bi-partisan delegation of young politicians (Democratic and Republican hucksters under 40) representing the American Council of Young Political Leaders recently visited the Soviet Union to learn how the Russian political machine works. The most important aspect of their trip was visiting Komsomol, the youth group (again under 40) of the Russian Communist Party.

The CP is the only party allowed in the Soviet Union and membership in Komsomol is a crucial step to political power in Russia.

The young American politicians were quite favorably impressed with the Russian set-up. One might even say jealous. They observed that the Soviet Union "trains its future political leaders as carefully as any American corporation grooms its executives."

In fact, these envious young Americans found that members of Komsomol who survive a rigorous weeding out process "enjoy benefits associated more with American corporate executives than politicians."

Workers' Power believes that Russia today is a class society, having nothing in common with socialism or working class democracy. It has a ruling class, the Komsomol-trained bureaucracy, which exploits the Russian working class as thoroughly as American capitalists exploit American workers.

It is only natural that two groups of parasites should learn from each other! ■

U.S. Buys Banned Drinks For Thirsty Refugees

When the US government bans something from the market because it contains dangerous chemicals or they think it isn't good for us, it doesn't just get thrown away. The government doesn't like to see things go to waste or to see manufacturers lose profits.

Usually the US buys the condemned material or gives it away as foreign aid. For instance, a large quantity of soft drinks containing cyclamates, banned by the Food and Drug Administration, went to refugees in South Vietnam! ■



Bebe Rebozo: Nixon's Sugar Daddy Xposed

Cal Williams

Bebe Rebozo is the President's best friend. He specializes in doing favors for Nixon. He cooks him steaks, Spanish style, takes him for rides on his yacht, and launders his dirty campaign contributions.

Rebozo took Howard Hughes' \$100,000 contribution and kept it secretly in his Key Biscayne Bank.

But while a great deal has been made of this favor, it was really not so unusual. And, had it not been for Watergate no one would have ever known.

At any rate, Rebozo has done the same for others. He regularly cleans money for casinos in the Bahamas. And he trades in stolen stock. In 1968, he bought and sold some 900 share of stolen IBM stock for Mafia friends of his.

In spite of this, Nixon was outraged when Rebozo's integrity was challenged. He called his friend "a supremely honest man." And he should have. For Rebozo has done much more for Nixon than entertain him in Florida.

He made Nixon a millionaire. **Fast Bucks**

Nixon and Rebozo have done business together for many years. Together they have speculated in Florida land, where everyone from Tricia to the Teamsters is after a fast buck. And they dabbled in stocks.

As part of "Operation Candor" Nixon has just come clean with one of these deals, and for him, it was a good one.

When Nixon became President in 1968, he divested himself of all his stocks and bonds. This was in keeping with what has become a big public ritual for new presidents.

They try to show they are independent, with no financial ties to the system they represent.

Among the stocks owned by Richard Nixon were some 185,891 shares in Rebozo's Florida land company, Fisher Island Co. Nixon bought these in 1967 for \$1.00 a share.

Rebozo apparently hated to see his friend leave the business empty-handed, so he asked his fellow investors to return Nixon \$3.00 a share.

They were not so generous as Bebe, so Nixon had to settle for \$2.00. That meant a profit of \$185,000.

Other Nixon cronies settled for \$2.00 as well. The President's dedicated and self-sacrificing personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, made \$10,000 on the deal.

Patrick Buchanan, the speech writer, made \$3,000. And even Manolo Sanchez, the President's valet, got a nice \$1,000.

Bebe Rebozo is a friend indeed. But friendship is not without its rewards. Nixon in turn has promoted for Rebozo's land company, posing for photographs and encouraging investors. And he got half his cabinet to bank with Bebe, including Haldeman and Ehrlichmann.

Good Business

More importantly, it's just good business, especially for someone like Rebozo, to have friends in government. And that goes beyond mere party politics. Rebozo, after all, did not even become a Republican until after Nixon's election.

Just as obviously, it's good for the President to have a friend in business. That's the way the system works. Under capitalism businessmen and politicians work together for their mutual benefit.

The politicians are supported in style -- and the businessmen get the contracts. Just like Agnew and the Maryland contractors.

Now all this may seem just a little crude, but if so it is only

because Nixon is a little crude. A Rockefeller wouldn't stoop to such methods. His grandfather did the dirty work.

But someone like Nixon who grows up a poor boy in Southern California can hardly expect to have the finesse of a Rockefeller or a Kennedy. Nevertheless, part of Rebozo's job is precisely to show Nixon how to live like them.

Nixon's corruption, however, should not be exaggerated. He's not the first President to become a millionaire. And it would be a mistake to imagine that Bebe's Miami friend "Big Al" Polizzi is running the government.

Big Al, the former head of Cleveland's Mayfield Road Gang, helps Rebozo out from time to time, but that's about it. The Mafia hasn't taken over yet.

Nixon and Rebozo are not that unusual. They are just cheap. And they are small-timers. In Florida, small-timers are bound to get their hands dirty.

But even if Nixon turns out to be not so unusual, it's good to know about him. And without Watergate, this would have remained the mere suspicion of socialists.

Three years ago, for example,



Bebe Rebozo and best friends stare into the Florida sunset.

Life magazine did a feature story on Rebozo without giving even the slightest hint he was a cheap crook.

Now, thanks to Watergate, everyone knows about Rebozo. And the same goes for his best friend. ■

Tricia at age 12



Elmer B. Bobst



WILL TRICIA GO TO JAIL?

From time to time, the media has hinted that Tricia Nixon Cox, oldest daughter of the President, has been involved in payoffs, kickbacks, and other illegal dealings involving her father.

Some observers have speculated that her implication in these deals may be a means of forcing an otherwise-reluctant Nixon to resign. They think that Nixon would quit rather than see his family hauled off to jail, one by one.

The latest scandal to surface involving Tricia concerns a \$25,000 trust fund established

for her in 1958 by one Elmer B. Bobst.

Bobst was not just another friend of the family, interested in the welfare of 12-year-old Tricia. He was chairman of Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Co., one of the largest manufacturers of prescription drugs.

At the same time, Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver was doing some muckraking in the drug industry, investigating the astronomical price of drugs. Out of his Senate committee came a proposal for governmental regulation of drug prices.

When they ran for President in 1960, both Nixon and

Kennedy came out strongly against this proposition.

The price of Nixon's opposition was obviously \$25,000. What the drug industry had to do to win over Kennedy has not been revealed, unless Kennedy was just naturally in favor of setting prescription prices so high that the poor couldn't afford needed medicine.

In any case, Tricia's trust fund later figured in another deal with Bebe Rebozo. When Tricia became 21 in 1967, she got the \$25,000 and promptly loaned \$20,000 of it to her dad. With the \$20,000 and some

of his own money, Nixon bought some real estate at about half the market price from the Cape Florida Development Co., a firm Rebozo was involved in.

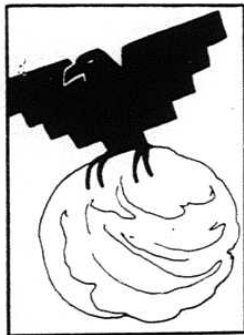
What Rebozo, or whoever Rebozo was acting for, got out of this deal is still a mystery. In any event, five years later Nixon sold the property for four times what he paid for it. Tricia got her \$20,000 back and 40% of the real estate profits to boot.

The rest of us are paying for Tricia's trust fund every time we buy drugs or medicine and contribute to the massive profits of the drug industry. ■

labor briefs

UAW Local 51, a Detroit Chrysler assembly plant, has voted to give the United Farm Workers \$1,000 to help with the grape and lettuce boycott. Rank and filers, who suspected that their union leadership was interested in supporting the farm workers only in a token way, had organized to be sure the resolution was introduced and passed at a local union meeting.

AFL-CIO Building Trades unions and the Teamsters have signed an agreement with a firm "no exceptions" no-strike pledge to build the Alaska pipeline. They also agreed to "more flexibility than ever granted before" in using prefabricated materials and to promote productivity by waiving certain work rules. In return, Alyeska, the employer, agreed to use union labor.



Talks between the United Steelworkers and the major aluminum companies have opened in an atmosphere of cooperation. Aluminum executives quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* expected agreement on the issues of wages and a change in the cost-of-living escalator formula, but balked at the thought of applying cost-of-living to pensions.

"What would happen in the event of runaway inflation?" asked one. "We'd have to convert our aluminum sheet operations into printing plants" to produce enough money to pay the pensioners, he said.

Much better to let them starve.

Not everybody is worried about unemployment in '74. The *Wall Street Journal* (Dec. 10) says:

"Even with today's near-full employment, the nationwide head count puts the 'unemployed' at well over four million. A 6% unemployment rate would add a little over a million to that. For the individuals involved it would be painful, but in a nation with over 85 million at work its aggregate impact would not be great.

"And there's one thing the average guy can be sure of. Whatever contraction in the overall job market there is, it will not be remotely comparable to the 25% break in the stock market." Merry Christmas, everybody!



The United Farm Workers in Detroit has won an agreement from the Great Scott supermarket chain to remove non-union grapes and lettuce from their stores effective January 1. The victory follows a similar agreement with the Farmer Jack chain.

Local unions throughout the country are joining the call for Nixon's impeachment. A random sample of locals calling for impeachment includes: Meatcutters Local 371 (Westport, Conn.); Shipbuilders Local 24 (Baltimore); the Detroit local of the American Postal Workers Union; and UAW Locals 1045 (Cleveland) and 51 (Detroit).

The US Labor Department has ruled that the election of Sam Evett as District 31 director of the Steelworkers was fraudulent and must be re-run. Evett took over as the candidate of retiring director Joseph Germano, winning election by a small margin last February.

US Steel Corp. is all set to throw six thousand Youngstown steel workers out of work. The company has threatened to close down two of its plants there if any local, state, or federal agency attempts to enforce anti-pollution regulations.

UFW Boycott On; Needs Union Support

Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farmworkers' Union, spoke to a jammed auditorium in New York on November 28 about his union's struggle to organize agricultural workers. The purpose of the rally was to make people aware that the highly-publicized negotiations with the strike-breaking Teamster bureaucrats have failed, and that the grape and lettuce boycott is still on.

The crowd's size and enthusiasm proved that important support exists which the boycott committees have not yet tapped for the picket lines at supermarkets.

Rally speakers included Mayor John Lindsay and various union officials.

Union solidarity is the key to the success of the UFW organizing drive. As Mike Mann of the AFL-CIO shouted: "They can't hold out against fourteen million members of the AFL-CIO."

"Right, Brother Mann, they can't. But the AFL-CIO has offered little support other than its kind words. The Federation still has not endorsed the UFW's nationwide lettuce boycott, even though it says it has been considering such a step for a long time.

It did give the Farmworkers \$1.6 million last year, but that has long since been used up and the AFL-CIO has not offered more.

If Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership threw their weight behind the Farmworkers, the struggle could be all but won. Past performance, however, shows that though Meany and Mann may talk big, real support, financial or otherwise, has been minimal.

Union members should put pressure on their officials to give concrete support to the UFW. They must show Chavez that he

does not need to cater to unresponsive bureaucrats for a few crumbs from labor's table, but that his real support lies with the rank and file.

Teamsters especially, can play a vital role here. It was encouraging to hear one speaker at the rally, Henry Unger, organizer for a New York Teamsters local, speak out against the strike-breaking policies of Fitzsimmons, Hoffa, and the like. Further attempts to involve Teamsters in the Farmworker struggle should be made a high priority. ■



Women Retail Clerks Battle Sears

Sears Roebuck comes on as a decent operation - a name you can trust. But for Sears workers it's a different story. The name Sears means low pay, minimal benefits and union busting.

In the California Bay Area, women workers are telling Sears that decency begins at home. Local 1100, Retail Clerks union, has been out for over two months demanding a union shop, increased health benefits, and changes in the commission rules.

The strike involves 6,000 retail clerks, 70 percent women. They are joined by Sears workers in four or five other unions.

Nellie Ward, a sales clerk for seventeen years and a strike picket captain, earns a basic salary of \$146. Health benefits do not include dependents, drugs or dental care and cover only half the costs of hospitalization.

Sears, long known as anti-union, is refusing to negotiate a union shop clause which would assure that management could not hire workers unwilling to join the union. A union shop clause is especially important because Sears has tried to break the union in other areas by hiring anti-union people and then challenging the union's certification.

Sears also uses the "profit sharing" fund to build new stores, buy merchandise and fight striking workers.

Sears is typical of the many employers across the country who hire unskilled women at low wages and threaten them like dirt. But the Bay Area women are showing that they can fight back. They are conducting a militant fight, sending roving pickets throughout California contacting trade unions and community groups asking them to boycott Sears.

"This is a fight for all our unions," says Nellie Ward. "San Francisco is a union town and the only way to keep it strong is to stick together. We're telling people that it's our fight today but it may be theirs tomorrow." ■

[Information for this story courtesy of Union W.A.G.E., a Bay Area working women's newspaper. Subscriptions: \$2 a year from 2137 Oregon St., Berkeley, CA 94705.]



Coors, Courts Team Up On Teamsters

Dan Sapir

Beer drivers in San Francisco were "tricked" into approving a sell-out agreement with the beer distributors after a five-month strike. Bob Biggins, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamster Local 888, warned the San Francisco drivers that the "other drivers" had already signed and started back to work.

These "other drivers" from the East and North Bay cities are still on strike one month later. They face stubborn employers, harassment from the NLRB and courts and only lukewarm support from the union.

The employers provoked the strike over health and welfare contributions, but quickly escalated into an all-out attempt to break the union. The distributors, led by the Coors company, which holds a phenomenal 42% of the California market, threatened to fire strikers and hire scabs to replace them.

Distributors have also filed

organizers of the boycott, got cold feet and called off the pickets.

By then about 80% of the East Bay drivers had given up their \$35 a week strike benefits and gone back to work. The Local bigwigs used the scabbing to justify their refusal to expend any energy on the strike.

When San Francisco settled, trading small wage increases for speed-up, the remaining strikers felt betrayed and looked desperately for a way to spread the strike. Some of the drivers invited members of the United Farmworkers Union to join their picketing at a liquor store in the Berkeley hills which carried both Coors beer and Gallo wine.

The UFW and IBT have been enemies because the IBT is signing sweetheart contracts with growers who formerly recognized the UFW. The UFW is currently boycotting stores which carry scab grape products.

The United Farmworkers showed up but the joint picket-

It was a familiar script. Written and produced by the leadership of the Teamsters union, the scenes were acted out behind the backs of the 1,100 members of suburban Seattle Local 910.

After a year of struggling to take control of 910, the rank and file woke up one October morning to find their local no longer existed. It had been divided and then merged into two other Seattle locals, Warehousemen's Local 117 and General Driver's Local 174.

The director of the operation was Arnie Weinmeister, secretary-treasurer of 117, president of Washington Joint Council 28 and a recently elected International vice-president.

For most of 1972 and all of 1973, 910 had been without a business agent. To get a grievance handled, members had to go directly to Weinmeister. Being a busy man with three IBT jobs, Arnie could usually only be reached at home.

Weinmeister's response to aggrieved members of 910 was to tell them first, he didn't get involved in internal local affairs, and secondly, to get lost. Their own secretary-treasurer, John Sorweide, wasn't about to hassle Weinmeister.

Rank and File Campaign

The rank and file decided to take control of the situation by taking control of the local. They began a vigorous campaign to oust Sorweide and his cronies in the 1973 spring elections.

Sorweide was prepared for the challenge. When the opposition was nominated, he declared all of them ineligible to run for office. In order to run, a candidate was supposed to have attended eight out of the last nine meetings. Nobody had ever been told this before.

This defeat didn't stop them. They went to the Department of Labor, the Joint Council, even to the International. They also went to the *Seattle Semi*, a rank and file Teamster paper.

The *Semi* turned out to be

Who's Got The Local?

Mary Franklin

the first sympathetic ear they got. But the *Seattle Semi* couldn't stop Arnie Weinmeister. Through personal contact, front-page stories in the *Semi* and agitation at union meetings, they began trying to organize the rank and file of the local.

That's when Arnie's iron fist came down. Without the knowledge of the members, with no discussion in the local and with no recourse provided in the IBT

by some of the rank and files. They want their local back. Under the rules of the IBT, though, Weinmeister did nothing wrong.

The court case will take years, and the chances of winning are slight. The only effective road to victory for members of former Local 910 is to link up with the opposition groups growing right now inside the Seattle Teamsters union.

There are opposition groups in Local 174, in Line-Drivers



constitution, Local 910 was merged into 117 and 174.

Workplaces where both drivers and warehousemen had been in the same local are now split. Arnie claims the merger was necessary in order for the union to "better serve" the members of 910.

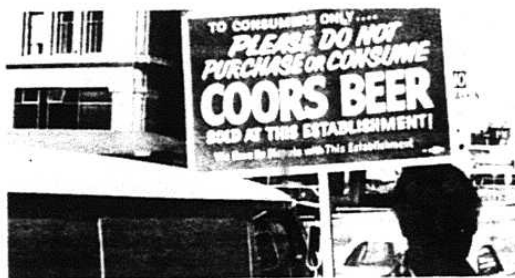
What the merger was really intended to do was isolate and neutralize the dissidents. They had come too close to succeeding in their attempt to kick out Sorweide. They were getting too powerful.

A court suit has been initiated

Local 741, in Newspaper Drivers and Chauffeurs Local 763 and there is the *Seattle Semi*, a voice for Seattle's Teamster rank and file.

All of these groups, combined with all the rank and file Teamster groups throughout the country can build a movement capable of taking over the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Democracy and rank and file control of the IBT cannot be won just in Seattle. Every local success will be in jeopardy until the International itself is in the hands of the ranks. ■



decertification elections with the NLRB. The beer drivers fought back with a boycott of Coors and other scab beers.

When strikers set up round-the-clock informational picketing at a Safeway supermarket in a shopping center in North Oakland, they stopped all deliveries to the entire shopping center for three days.

That Safeway store finally agreed to stop selling Coors beer but refused to promise that the other stores in the chain, California's largest, would do the same.

Two weeks later the strike almost blew up after the police attacked pickets at a liquor store in nearby Alameda. Most trucks turned away when strikers blockaded freeway entrances to the island city. But the Teamster leaders and their friends in the AFL-CIO Alameda County Central Labor Council,

ing effort was sabotaged by local labor officials.

The next blow against the strike was delivered by Judge Alfonso Zirpoli who, acting on a request from the NLRB, outlawed all picketing for 45 days (until after the Christmas season). "The legal picketing has become so intermeshed with illegal acts it cannot be distinguished," said the judge.

Local 888 had already been fined thousands of dollars, faced a Coors' suit for \$2 million, and paid out plenty more in bail bonds keeping its pickets out of jail.

The response of the leadership to the latest crisis will undoubtedly go down in the history of bureaucratic impotence. They suggested the pickets carry signs the size of postage stamps! (Maybe mint-flavored, so they could be swallowed in case of arrest.) ■

Seattle UPS Hits Work Force To Keep Profits Up

How does a company maintain its profits under the burden of the energy crisis, inflation and stiff competition? By taking it out of the workers' hides, of course! And that is exactly what the bosses at UPS are doing.

Seattle UPS workers face a contract proposal which threatens to lower the wages of part-timers (primarily loaders and sorters) from \$6.00 per hour to \$3.00 and institute a period of "apprenticeship" for new drivers. Apprentice drivers would receive a substantially lower wage than regular drivers for doing the same work.

This proposal follows the pattern set by Pittsburgh and Cleveland UPS contracts. The company pays less to part-timers and is attempting to reorganize the workforce so that most loaders

and sorters will have part-time status.

Seattle UPS is in Teamster General Drivers' Local 174. George Cavano, secretary-treasurer, has led the local for the last 39 years. Cavano is playing things in his usual way.

None of the ranks know what is going on in negotiations. Cavano ignored a strike vote taken for November 23 and instead called the workers back to another meeting where he convinced them to give him power-of-attorney to settle the negotiations. They have already been working without a contract since June 30.

Christmas is the biggest time of year for UPS. A strike right now could cripple operations and probably force a quick settlement. Cavano, however, is afraid to mobilize the ranks for fear of ending up the target. ■





TRUCKER SLOW-DOWNS SHOW THE WAY

Cal Williams

As the nation reels under the impact of the energy crisis and the President staggers from scandal to scandal, finally something has been done. The truckers, once built up as Nixon's best defenders, found themselves being ground beneath the wheels of his system. But they stood up and said "No!"

First in the slowdowns and blockades which disrupted America's concrete arteries, and then

in the massive stoppage of December 13 and 14, the truckers did what no one else would do. They told Nixon and the oil companies, "Pay for your own mess."

Gouged by skyrocketing fuel prices and slowed down by the new speed limits, the truckers had to fight or go under. As Edward Clay, 26, of Catlettsburg, Ky., said, pointing to a picture of his wife and kids, "I had to get involved in these protests, because, damn, that's my family, and this rig is my livelihood and theirs."

Owner operators have been called the aristocracy of the American working class, but with few exceptions these people work hard just to make a living.

They drive long hours, days on end. Some rarely see their families.

They face harassment by the state police and the taxman, and now this system is thanking them by pushing them under. Yet without these drivers, this country goes nowhere.

As thousands of big tractor-

trailers jammed the turnpikes in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and choked off the New York-Washington route at Delaware's Memorial Bridge, there could not have been a more vivid picture of the power of American workers.

Before the blockades were more than a few hours old, the giant Vega plant near the Ohio Turnpike at Lordstown was short of parts and shutting down.

As truckers were quick to point out, a prolonged strike could cripple the nation's indus-

trial heartland, if not the whole country.

More, the strike showed what happens to workers in action. Most of these truck drivers were conservatives. They voted for Nixon and Wallace.

Yet before their first confrontations were done, there was blood on the turnpike, and many minds were changed. The Ohio State Patrol, riot clad and backed by the national guard, arrested 42 drivers, and sent a few to the hospital.

Robert C. Holmes of Baltimore was just one of those who changed his mind. He admitted that he had previously been critical of blacks and college students for breaking the law.

"Maybe those college kids had a legitimate problem that I didn't know about then."

Holmes said. "I certainly have rethought my views now. I guess there are times when you just have to yell."

Another man, Jerry ("Fat Albert") Muhamet, of Syracuse, Ind. told drivers assembled at Ohio's Vermillion Valley Plaza how he and his partner, John Lorick of Mt. Vernon, N.Y., had been arrested and handcuffed during the Berlin Heights, Ohio blockade.

"Most of the truck drivers objected to Kent State and the violence there," Muhamet said. "But now we can understand how those kids got killed."

"Hell, most of the guys here have fought wars to keep this country free, but I guess the kids have taught us if you don't like the way the country is running, you protest."

Cops in Action

The truckers also got a first hand account of how the state patrol treats blacks. When Muhamet's partner, John Lorick, was arrested, the patrolman said, "You black bastard, when you get out of that truck you better have your hands behind your back."

The cop threatened to "blow his head off," but as Lorick said, "I didn't give him a chance. I just stood there and took his racist stuff."

These first blockades were nearly all spontaneous. Their leaders were rank and file truckers. But they showed the work-

Owner Drivers Find Themselves Under Nixon's Energy Gun

Ken Smith

The first demonstrators in the streets against Nixon's energy policies have been the independent truck drivers, or owner operators. Anonymous men who go by the names "River Rat" or "Cocaine Kid" have become heroes to everyone fed up with Nixon's gang of thieves.

Owner-operators have always been an important part of the trucking industry. Although their numbers are much smaller than the number of truckers who drive for wages, today there are 200,000 owner-operators.

Actually the system of drivers owning their own trucks and then contracting with (working for) a company that has carrier-rights with the government be-

gan as a company scheme.

Back in the Thirties, profit-hungry companies forced men to buy and maintain their own rigs. The companies didn't have to maintain equipment and it helped divide the men into "competitors" instead of fellow workers.

In the Thirties, furthermore, there was little work and many men tried to make a living on their own with one truck.

Today many independent-minded workers, tired of time clocks and bosses, have tried to find freedom in their own rig. But most find a hard life, and seven out of ten give up within two years.

A little bad luck can mean missed payments on equipment, and years of effort down the drain. As a result, owner-operators often cut corners on working conditions, and throw their health and safety out the window.

This leads union truck drivers to regard them as rate busters and "gypos" who pull down

conditions for all drivers.

Many owner-operators and their organizations see themselves as "independent contractors" or small businessmen rather than as workers. They see their future in hopeless competition with each other and with the big outfits.

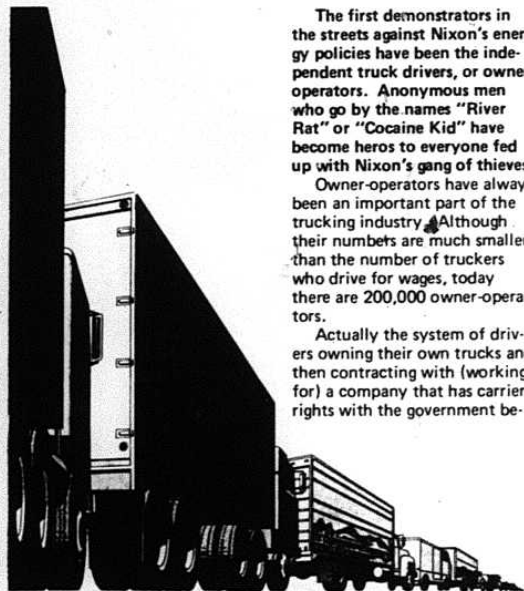
But others, especially the steel haulers, recognize the unity of interest they have with other drivers. They are generally union-oriented and in fact have been among the most militant Teamsters, leading wildcat actions and union reform movements.

Their organization FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) contends they are not "independent businessmen" but workers, and has won NLRB union elections on this basis.

The present fuel crisis puts the owner-operators up against the wall in a cost squeeze threatening their very existence. They are fighting back as workers, acting collectively in strikes, protests and blockades.

They are also finding out who their friends are. The Ohio Trucking Association, the bosses, came out 100% against them. The Association would like to use this manufactured crisis to drive out the independents (just as the oil companies drove the independent gas stations out of business).

On the other hand when the owner-operators have acted together in protest they have found widespread sympathy and support among the Teamster ranks. ■



ers' tremendous capacity for organization and struggle.

The truckers organized the action with their citizen's band radios, and the leaders were known only by their radio nicknames.

In Pennsylvania, the best known militants were River Rat, the Cocaine Kid, and Jewboy. Nevertheless, they were listened to.

Roger Dole, a 25 year old owner operator from Janesville, Wisc. said, "If Fitzsimmons says roll 'em and River Rat says shut 'em off, they're going to be shut off."

Many owner operators have already been squeezed out, and more will surely follow. They are going the way of the independent gas station operators of last year, driven out of business as the monopolies strengthen their grip on the economy.

Despite the complaints of the ATA (American Trucking Association), they care little for these small men. Companies like Roadway Express and Consolidated Freightways are only too happy to see their competitors washed out.

Workers Can Fight Back

These truckers have shown how to fight the government, and more importantly they have set an example for the whole working class. The government's plan is to make the workers pay for its mess.

Already they have effectively frozen wages for more than two years. Now they plan to drive the price of fuel to \$1.00 a gallon or more.

This will hurt not only truckers, but everyone. And, as it must be clear by now, no one but these workers has had the courage to stand up to Nixon.

Fitzsimmons, the so-called Teamsters leader who makes \$125,000 a year, calls for patience and hides out.

The Governor of Ohio, a liberal Democrat, just threatens to use more national guardsmen. And the President orders people to slow down, making no allowances for those who, like the long haul drivers, will be hurt.

Every worker in this country should pay close attention to the truckers, for they are now showing that workers can fight back.

Already it is common to hear truck drivers discuss a general strike. One Cleveland line driver suggested "shutting the whole country down for a week or so."

This may sound extreme right now, but the alternative is more of the oil baron's squeeze. The point is to sustain and organize the struggle that has just started — then what sounds "extreme" today will be reasonable tomorrow. ■



"Why We Closed The Highways"

Special Interview With FASH Leader

[The following exclusive Workers' Power interview was given to us by Paul Dietsch, a leading militant in a rank and file organization of steel haulers known as F.A.S.H. (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers). The interview was held after the December 8 meeting of the Pittsburgh chapter of FASH. FASH was formed during Teamster contract struggles in 1967 and '70. This year, its members are again leading the fight to junk Fitzsimmons' sell-out contract, which the steel haulers have already rejected three times.]

Workers' Power: At tonight's meeting, Paul, about 500 or 600 people voted to support the stoppage for next Thursday and Friday, December 13-14. Why don't we go over some of the basic causes that are sparking this revolt among truck drivers?

Paul Dietsch: Well, the fuel shortage and the inflation of the economy have caught the owner-driver in a cost-profit squeeze, or price crunch or whatever you want to call it. He operates at a very slim margin to begin with, and with the recent inflationary thing we've been going through, especially in fuel, he's reached the point where he can no longer operate. He needs relief and in frustration shut down the highways last week.

WP: Now some of the issues involved, especially the speed limit and the necessity for increased fuel stops, affect cross-country and over-the-road company-paid drivers too, don't they?

Paul: Yes they do—because of the scheduling. The company drivers and the company equipment are paid on miles. Their waiting time they're paid hourly, but on over-the-road miles they get so much a mile.

Of course they can't cover as many miles in the ten-hour driving period allowed by the interstate driving commission at 50 or 55 miles an hour that they could at 60, 65 or so.

WP: So this constitutes a pay cut as well as an increase in expenses for owner-operators. In the fuel crisis one of the things we've seen is the oil company squeezing out the independent service station operators. Do you feel that there is a similar tendency with respect to owner-operators in terms of a further consolidation of the trucking industry?

Paul: Well, anything that might offer the carriers an opportunity to put the squeeze on the smaller companies, using say the owner-operator competition, they will take advantage of.

I think everybody in general has realized the larger companies, Shell and National Oil and so forth, are seeing to it that their company outlets, their company-owned stations, are getting their supply of fuel. The squeeze at the short end of the fuel pipeline is the independent or cut-rate bulk station.

Owner-operators buy their fuel on the open market and shop for good prices, so they buy at the cut rate station. All across the country wherever you find owner operators, you're going to find them fueling at cutrate stations.

We're being especially hurt because the cutrate station is not getting its share of the fuel. We're finding the cutrate stations running out, just past mid-month. We're finding that we have to go down the street to the name-brand station and we're paying a nickel or 6 or 7 cents more per gallon.

Nixon Whiplash

WP: So there is a general inflation in cost for owner-operators. In the television coverage of the stoppages, President Nixon's name came up fairly frequently. Do you think that the general credibility loss suffered by the government through the Watergate scandals is one of the reasons that people have felt the necessity to take this direct action?

Paul: Well, now we have a strange situation here, in that I think that the independent trucker, many of them from rural backgrounds, are of a very conservative political viewpoint. Therefore Nixon or Wallace, and then finally only Nixon after Wallace was wounded, offered them what they thought was the ideal thing.

Nixon was going to put a stop to the radical students, put a stop to the anti-war-type people and so forth. So they were solidly, most of them, behind Nixon in the last election. Now

the whiplash has come back up on them.

They find their hero has been caught red-handed doing things that they considered to be done only by un-American type elements, and that's been a blow to them.

They are finding that not only has this taken place, but it seems that the Republicans and the Nixon administration have so totally mis-managed the economy that there's chaos. They have no trust in the government whatsoever. They feel that the so-called pressure groups and special interest groups are manipulating the economy and that Nixon is able to be bought. And they are the victims of it.

They see company equipment being able to get fuel, and here

in shutdowns, they're learning how to go about doing it.

I know in 1967, when we staged our first protest in the steel industry, the great majority of steel haulers then were ashamed to hold up a picket sign. We had to encourage them. We had to hold the sign up and call the guy to stand on the corner. And you'd come back 15 minutes later and he's got the sign behind his back or against the fence because he thought there was something wrong with picketing. So you learn.

Our steel haulers learned that it's respectable to picket. And it's right to picket or protest. And they enjoy it now.

Now the people that were involved in these shutdowns on



Police moving in on truck blockade in Ohio

they are, not able to get their share of the fuel. Well, it's brought about an awakening of the owner-operator; he finds himself out-and-out protesting when he wouldn't have thought of doing it six or seven years ago.

WP: The first protests were pretty spontaneous, organized mostly over the citizen's band radio. Do you think that through these protests there'll be more of an awareness by owner-operators of the necessity for some kind of organization?

Paul: Well, I think that what we've been seeing happening in the transportation industry, beginning probably in 1967, is the birth pains of what will eventually become owner-operators becoming organized. And it's new to them, they're trying to work it out in some way. They're participating together

the turnpikes this past week have been predominantly re-fer-haulers, meathaulers, other types of owner-operators, moving van operators and so forth. There were steel haulers that were involved also. But the greatest majority of them were these other types of operators.

This is their first attempt at protesting, and they learned a lot about it. They learned that you have to be well organized to gain concessions from those powers-that-be. And in each one of these protests that comes about, we learn a little bit more and we draw closer together.

We would predict that eventually we're going to have an organization of owner-operators. It's been our experience that to go into the labor union offers the only means to bargain with

[Continued on page 14]

Geneva Talks: New Borders, No Peace

David Finkel



HENRY KISSINGER & MOSHE DAYAN IN WASHINGTON

Henry Kissinger prepared for the Geneva Mideast peace talks by meeting with European foreign ministers trying to patch up the split in America's NATO alliance. Promising American money for a crash program to develop new energy sources, Kissinger is trying to convince the NATO powers to adopt a unified hard line against the Arab countries' oil cutbacks.

The purpose of the Geneva talks — scheduled to begin just as *Workers' Power* goes to press — is to allow the US to draw new borders between Israel and the Arabs.

Kissinger's solution would reduce the territory occupied by Israel — but also effectively give legal approval to Israel's denial of national rights to the Palestinian Arabs. If Kissinger is unable to force the leaders of the Arab states and Israel to accept this "compromise solution," the Geneva talks may well end in total failure.

Should this occur, the threat of a new and even bloodier Mideast war will be imminent. Such a war would probably involve much more than Israel and the neighboring Arab states — it could well become a general war throughout the whole region, with the western nations moving to seize Arab oil resources.

But what if the talks are a "success"? Can Kissinger's promises and threats to the Arab countries produce a peace settlement that will last?

From a socialist point of view, the answer is no. Even if Kissinger produces a compromise, all the preparations for the next war will continue. The new Middle East war will be postponed — not prevented. There are three fundamental reasons for this.

Garrison State

First, Kissinger's proposals are based on maintaining the character of Israel as a *garrison state stuffed to the gills with US arms*. In fact, the US will commit itself to further strengthening and underwriting the Israeli military apparatus.

Second, Kissinger wishes to maintain the weaknesses and divisions in the Arab world. He is trying to force his solution down the Arabs' throats in order to destroy the limited degree of unity reached by the Arab states around the oil embargo.

Arab Disunity

A lasting Arab unity, in the interests of the Arab masses, can never be achieved by the rulers of the existing Arab states. They are tied to the great powers, and to maintaining their narrow local power bases.

Nevertheless, unity is desperately desired by the Arab people and is the key to the future of the Arab Middle East. To carry it through, the resources of the Middle East, especially oil, must be taken away from the imperialist interests which control them.

This will also mean a fight to destroy the power of Arab rulers like King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and his new ally, President Sadat of Egypt.

Faisal is willing to lead an oil embargo in order to strengthen his position among the Arabs

and to settle some accounts with his Israeli enemies — but he will never allow the oil wealth to be redistributed to the masses in the Middle East, or used to create economic development and prosperity for the whole region.

The oil embargo is a weapon which has worked well so far, but can succeed for only a short time before great-power threats begin to split the Arab regimes apart.

These threats will provoke sharper resistance by the Arab peoples, however, who have begun to see the need for a united Arab world and the power it could wield.

Palestinian Limbo

Third, Kissinger's peace plans are designed to leave the Palestinian Arabs in a state of limbo. These are the Arabs whose lands and homes have been stolen, bulldozed and blown up by 25 years of Zionist expansion and occupation.

Kissinger proposes to put the Palestinians in the West Bank under some kind of "international protectorate," occupied by UN

troops instead of ruled by Israel or Jordan.

The Palestinians, though, are not allowed to attend the Geneva talks. The idea of recognizing their national rights, and returning what has been stolen from them, is not even considered a decent topic for discussion.

The Palestinian workers must play a central role in any liberation struggle in the Middle East. In the latest war, however, most Palestinians evidently saw nothing to be gained from launching their own resistance against Israel.

To do so, Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank would have had to face great dangers and military repression. Although they hate Israel most Palestinians probably felt that an Arab victory would simply return them to Jordan, where repression is even worse and living standards lower than under Israel!

Tinder-box

Kissinger's peace can produce nothing but a tinderbox. It means nothing but future wars fought for reactionary aims: new Zionist expansion and domination of the Arabs or the destruction of Israel as a nation.

The road to a lasting peace in the Middle East does not lie through Geneva or in Kissinger's super-power diplomacy. In this war-torn region, peace can only be made as a *peace among peoples, from below* — not an armed truce between warring states.

A revolutionary vanguard must be built among both Arab and Jewish workers — a vanguard which recognizes and fights for the national rights of both Arabs and Jews, wages an uncompromising struggle against Zionism, and aims to make the fight for Arab unity a struggle for socialist revolution against imperialism throughout the Middle East.

The people of Israel cannot live in peace so long as they support the exclusionist policies of Zionism, its arrogant denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, and the injustices and crimes carried out in its name. ■

The Socialist Road To A Democratic Peace



Today, the forces who advocate a revolutionary democratic solution to the Middle East crisis are small and weak. But the political crisis growing inside the Arab states and Israel may give these ideas a chance for a wider hearing.

To begin with, these revolutionary forces and their supporters internationally must respond to the Geneva talks with a series of demands to fight for a *genuine peace*.

I. **Unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories!** The Israeli regime has no right to the land stolen from the Arab states.

II. **Return the lands and homes stolen from the Palestinians!** The homes and fields destroyed by the Israeli army must be rebuilt. All Palestinians who were expelled from lands now belonging to Israel must be allowed to return, with full political rights and compensation.

III. **Drive imperialism out of**

the Middle East! Nationalize the oil companies under the control of the workers. No imperialist diplomacy to settle the future of the Middle East. For revolution against the existing regimes and a united socialist Arab federation.

IV. **For a bi-national state in Palestine.** Full recognition of the national rights of both Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Socialists advocate that Jews and Arabs live together in one *bi-national state* with a unified economy and full democratic rights for both peoples. But this solution cannot be imposed by force on either nation — both nations must have the right to secession, and to their own separate states, if they so choose. *Only when the Jewish workers break with Zionism, and the Arab workers recognize the rights of Jews as a national minority in the Middle East, can a democratic, just settlement of this conflict be reached.* ■



INDIANS PUT BROKEN TREATIES ON TRIAL

Karen Kaye



tion at Wounded Knee, the American media played up the drama of the situation to the hilt.

The occupation began on February 23 of this year and held the attention of the public until "surrender" by the Indians on May 8. After that, news of the Indian struggle vanished from the press.

History of Betrayal

Although many other Americans were sympathetic to the action of the Indians at Wounded Knee, the surrender seemed just another chapter closed in the history of broken promises, broken treaties and broken lives that the Native Americans have suffered since the white man arrived on this hemisphere.

This chapter is not yet over, however, despite attempts by the press to give that impression. The Oglala and their supporters are continuing to wage their struggle for justice. They stand by their original demands: enforcement of the treaty of 1868 and government investigation of corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and in the government administered tribal government.

For the Wounded Knee occupation began as the result of a fruitless attempt to impeach

Richard Wilson, the corrupt Tribal Chairman of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Tribe members were fed up with him and with the BIA because neither had done anything to relieve the miserable conditions under which Indians are forced to live as the result of broken treaties.

All Wilson did was to provide a few government jobs at \$8,000 - \$9,000 a year on a reservation where the average yearly income is less than \$1,500. Unemployment is over 50%. Only nine percent of the homes have electricity; five percent have indoor plumbing and running water. The Indian suicide rate is five times the national average.

BIA Murder

During the occupation, two Indians were killed by government forces. Since then, four others including a nine-year-old girl, have been shot by BIA police. Another, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Pedro Bissonette, was killed in October: shot nine times at close range by BIA police. He had been a leader of the occupation. None of this has received the attention in the press that was given the occupation. Apparently, government murder of Indians is not as important to the media as seizure of property.

In addition, over 500 arrests have resulted from the occupation. These include 130 - 135 federal felony indictments, 250 cases before Tribal Council Courts, and dozens of state court arrests. Many of these people are charged with "conspiring to abet a civil disorder" - for bringing food and medicine to Wounded Knee.

The major trial, however, is that of seven AIM leaders who are charged with conspiracy, arson, assaulting Federal offi-

cial and riot. Part of their defense will be that the government broke the 1868 treaty.

These Native Americans need your support - to spread the word about the continuing betrayals, and financial support to defray the costs of legal defense.

Contributions can be sent to: Wounded Knee Information and Defense Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 213, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Last spring, the newspapers were full of stories of the dramatic occupation of the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by members of the Oglala Sioux Indian tribe. As government forces surrounded the village and tried to get the Indians out through both negotiations and violence, it sounded like a modern Western.

Wounded Knee was the site of the 1890 massacre in which 300 Indian men, women and children were brutally murdered by the Seventh U.S. Cavalry. During the second confronta-

The Treaty of 1868

Here are the main points of the Treaty of 1868 between 10 bands of Sioux and the Northern Arapaho Indians and the U.S. Government:

1. Peace between the US and the Indians. The U.S. will punish anyone, Indian or white, who violates the Treaty, and reimburse the injured person for the loss.
2. The Sioux and Arapaho will have a reservation of everything west of the Missouri River in present South Dakota. The area north of the North Platte River and east of the Bighorn Mountains (in Wyoming) will be unceded Indian territory, where no whites will settle or pass through. The Indians give up claims to other land.
3. If the reservation yields less than 160 acres of farming land per person,

the U.S. will provide nearby land. Anyone living on the reservation may take land for his own or his family and own it privately; otherwise land is held in common by the Tribe. The U.S. may pass laws about passing down land to descendants.

4. The US will provide Governmental, educational and economic buildings, an agent who lives on the reservation and who can forward complaints of Treaty violation for prosecution; schools and a teacher for every 30 children; assistance for farming; clothing and necessities for 30 years; food for four years; oxen and a cow for every family that farms.

5. The Treaty can only be changed by a vote of 2/3 of the adult males of the tribes.

Army Rating System Hounds Vets

A recent veteran of Vietnam applied for a job at a brokerage firm on Wall Street. Since he was a veteran, the company asked to see his DD-214 form, a form given all vets on their discharge from the military. After they took a look at his form, he was turned down for the job.

This man had enlisted in the Army, served three years, and had been given an honorable discharge. On the DD-214, however, were the code letters "SPN" (or Separation Program Number Designator) followed by a number.

That number (there are 530 possibilities) is also given to every service man or woman as they leave the military. And since this vet's number was a code for "apathy" he didn't get the job.

The SPN code is one part of a complex system that makes vets double victims, and black and Latin vets triple victims. First they were dragged off to fight in a war most GI's wanted no part

of. Once they're back, this rating system helps the companies, which profited greatly from the war, refuse them jobs.

Minority vets consistently have higher percentages of bad SPN codes because of the racism of the military and their willingness, often, to fight against it.

Labor Passbooks

The codes affect whether a veteran can get money (loans) to go to school, medical care for wounds received in war, or a job. These codes, which are the only systematic "passbook" for workers in this country, are a big step toward destroying the freedom of individual workers.

The SPN numbers, for instance, can be good or bad. There is one discharge "to accept employment with a legal, established law enforcement agency" or "early release for Christmas." There are also, however, "unfitness-unsanitary habits" or "for the good of the service."

So many Puerto Ricans have been discharged early because they can't speak English and

have been given bad discharges that there is a code number meaning "early release of Puerto Rican personnel who failed to qualify for training." Because of this they are now marked for life.

The racism of the discharge system can clearly be seen when comparing the percentage of blacks and Latins in a service to the number of bad discharges that they receive. In the Air Force, only 12% of the enlistees were black, yet they accounted for 30% of the Undesirable Discharges.

There are five classifications for discharge: honorable and four less-than-honorable. Any one who gets one of the lower three is not eligible for any veterans' benefits. A boss doesn't have to give a job back; the vet is not eligible for any civil service job and is entitled to no money for school or medical care.

The people hit hardest are those who have not gone along with the military's way of life. Black GI's who have resisted racism in the military or who have merely been in conflict

with their sergeant have gotten a huge number of less-than-honorable discharges.

Political activists who have worked for even the slightest change in military structure or against the war are also prime candidates for less-than-honorable discharges as well as drug users (who largely began taking drugs while in the military) and gays.



Over 93% of all less-than-honorable discharges fall into an "administrative" category. They are up to the sole discretion of the commanding officer. The military prefers to give administrative discharges, as it costs anywhere from \$5,000 to \$15,000 to put on a courtmartial trial.

Court martial Blackmail

In fact, most GI's are threatened with a heavy courtmartial trial to force them to accept an administrative discharge. The line is that after a while it will be automatically upgraded. In fact, NO discharge is ever auto-upgraded.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) is the largest left veterans' organization. It is presently fighting to eliminate all less-than-honorable discharges, beginning with a campaign to overload the military review process in Washington, D.C.

For more information about discharges write the Discharge Upgrading Project, P.O. Box 151, San Francisco, Calif., 94103.

Are Union Contracts Reactionary?

Brian Mackenzie

There have always been working class radicals who opposed working in the existing trade unions. Years ago in the U.S., the Industrial Workers of the World attempted to set up new revolutionary unions.

The heroic "Wobblies" of the IWW saw the craft unions of the AFL as reactionary, "yellow" unions that held back the working class movement.

The "Wobblies," in fact, had a strong argument against those who advocated "boring from within" to change the AFL and build industrial unions.

The AFL refused to organize the millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the mass production industries. While the IWW set out to replace the AFL, in practice they organized among the unorganized.

Today, it is in these mass production industries where unionism is the strongest. Even many of the old AFL craft unions now have industrial structures and organize among the unskilled.

Yet, by socialist and "Wobbly" standards alike, the unions are still reactionary and "yellow."

Racist and sexist practices all too often bear the union label. Union leaders pour millions of dollars into the cess pool of the Democratic Party. They support American imperialist foreign policy in Vietnam, Chile and the Middle East. There is no shortage of union officials willing to help the company discipline the workers.

Like the "Wobblies" of old, there are those radicals today who say the source of the problem is the union contract. By its very nature, they say, the contract requires the union to act as part of the company's disciplinary apparatus.

Certainly, the contracts negotiated by today's union leaders do this more often than not. But this explanation misses the point. It cannot explain, for example, why union leaders in countries and industries where there are no contracts behave in the same reactionary manner. The leaders of the giant

leaders played the same role then as they do now with contracts.

The leaders of unions without contracts are just as rotten as I. W. Abel, Leonard Woodcock, and the rest. They side with the company because they are a privileged social group that believes in the capitalist system of production for profit.

Class Collaboration

They have no interest in social revolution, or even raising the workers' living standards significantly, because they have risen above the ranks of labor by collaborating with the bosses.

These bureaucrats would collaborate with or without contracts. Since they sign contracts and since they are still in control of the unions, the contracts they negotiate reflect

union officials, and the workers.

In so far as the bosses and their flunkey labor leaders have the upper hand, that is what the contract reflects.

Balance of Forces

Naturally, the contract also enforces and strengthens the balance of forces it represents. Thus, the average contract outlaws strikes during the life of the contract; at the same time it puts down in writing some protection which the workers have won through struggle.

In the end, however, the contract is a piece of paper. It cannot and does not stop workers from fighting any more than it stops bosses from violating those sections that protect the workers.

In fact, a growing percentage of strikes now occur during the life of the contract.

In the American labor movement, socialists fight for union contracts because they can provide protection for the standard of living of the workers. In the days when there were no contracts, the bosses could cut wages at will, fire who they wished, and promote on the basis of favoritism.

The contract limits the power of the boss, even at times when the workers are unable to wage a winning fight — and there are such times.

Defeat the Bureaucrats

But socialists are not for any contract. We organize for the rejection of rotten contracts. We oppose any limitation on the right to strike.

We fight the inclusion of "management's rights" clauses, which write class collaboration into the contract. We fight for a grievance procedure based on the principle of innocent until proven guilty.

As partisans of the working class we are for unions that fight the company and contracts that protect the workers' interests. To get these, socialists and militants have to take on and defeat today's reactionary labor leadership. This can never be done without fighting in the unions.



"The Hand That Will Rule the World—One Big Union."

French Confederation of Workers sign no contracts with the French employers, but they discipline the workers just like American labor leaders.

Until recently the public employee unions in this country had few contracts, but their

policy of class collaboration.

A union contract is like any other legal document in capitalist society. It reflects the reality of social relations: that is, the real balance of power between the bosses, the top

From Pigeon Watching To Bird Brained Racism

Kay Stacy



A few years ago a couple of pseudo-scientists named Shockley and Jensen came up with a theory that said black people are less intelligent than white people and there wasn't anything to be done about it. They've been cleaning up on the lecture circuit ever since.

Now someone else wants to cash in. A Georgia psychologist named Morgan Worthy says eye-color is related to physical and mental performance. Using sports as his example he says the lighter an athlete's eyes, the more likely he is to be a quarterback. The darker they are, the more likely the athlete is a defensive player.

Since black people have dark eyes, he "proved" his hypothesis with statistics showing that black athletes play positions which demand "quick reactions" instead of intelligent decisions.

This trash is no more than a variation on the old racist "blacks have natural rhythm and whites have brains" myth. The only reason these crackpot theories get any publicity or interest at all is that they rein-

force the racist assumptions built into this society.

This guy is a quack. To begin with, he's no geneticist; he's a psychologist. And he got his eye-color theory by studying pigeons. Second, nowhere does he provide any analysis of why black athletes are generally defensive players. He merely says they are, therefore it must be their natural inborn qualities that put them there.

There are no black quarterbacks because there are no coaches, general managers or team owners who are free enough of the racist attitudes of American society to stake next year's conference title on one.

The only exception is third-stringer Joe Gilliam of the Pittsburgh Steelers. He only played this year because the first-stringer broke his collarbone and the second stringer separated his shoulder.

It has nothing to do with eye-color, reactive ability, or self-pacing as the Georgia quack maintains. It has to do with racism. So does all the national publicity this phoney scientist is getting.

International Socialism



International Socialism No. 64

Politics & the Shop Floor
Background to Middle East Crisis
The Spanish Civil War

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reviews

movies

In The Bad Old Days



American Graffiti

Where were you in '62?

"American Graffiti" is a movie that is supposed to be about growing up in the early 1960's. We're introduced to four guys, all of them just graduated in the spring and coming back to visit their old high school for one last time at the first "hop" in the fall. After a few opening scenes where

we meet the main characters, the movie goes on to follow their exploits during the night.

The idea is that these four guys are supposed to show us a "typical" 1962 graduating class going through a "typical" set of experiences at that big point in life, high school graduation. We're supposed to see the world

through their eyes and remember what it was all like.

Back to the Fifties?

The whole attempt to revive the culture of the 1950's, of which "American Graffiti" is only one example, is an attempt to push us back in time. It's an attempt to present the 50's—before the Black Liberation Movement, before the Women's Liberation Movement, before

the student movement—as the "good old days."

"American Graffiti" is probably the most realistic and best of any of the current movies and plays of its type. It at least attempts to present life as it really was for some people, and it tries not to be sentimental.

This is where the movie runs into its first problem. It's only "typical" for white men.

Blacks, or any other minority, are just non-existent according to "American Graffiti." They simply don't appear in the movie in any significant way—unless one shot of Wolf Man Jack counts as significant.

Women do appear in the movie—as supporting characters for the men. But nowhere do we see a woman who's concerned about her own life.

We do not meet a single really intelligent woman. We do not meet a single woman with any ambition or independence. As this movie tells it, all women exist for and through men.

Secondly, the movie has a class prejudice.

Of the four main characters, two are supposed to be leaving for college the next day. Exactly what the two college rejects—one of them a total fuck-up and the other a hot-rod freak—are supposed to do with the rest of their lives is not clear. We find out in the end that they both died—the first in Vietnam and the second in a car wreck.

The moral of the story is that it pays to go to college—and if you don't you'll be sure, at best, to lead a terrifically boring life. The only really successful figure in the entire movie is the one guy who does go away to college. He ends up a writer. The other guy gets convinced to stay at home at the last minute and ends up spending his life as an

insurance salesman in his home town.

The movie still ends up falling into the very trap it is trying to avoid. By presenting such a thoroughly lop-sided view of the period, it ends up making 1962 seem pretty much like the good old days after all. Well, 1962 wasn't the good old days at all for most of us.

Nostalgia Fraud

Women, for example, had just one way to define themselves: could we catch a man? "American Graffiti" shows that part of woman's life well. But it doesn't show the agony that goes along with it.

The movie doesn't show any of us who failed, for instance. And it doesn't show any of us who were too successful and ended up pregnant and dropping out.

In fact, it doesn't even show what happened to those of us who were successful—and ended up with too many kids and too many bills and too little freedom.

1962 was definitely not the good days. It can only be presented as such because the movements of the 1960's are gone. But, much as America's rulers may wish for a return to the quiet of the '50's, they won't get it. Those movements will soon begin to grow again, and when they do this whole nostalgia fad will go down as just what it is—a whole lot of bullshit. ■

Lynn Jones

books

The Great Carve-Up

[The Politics of War, by Gabriel Kolko.]

December 7, known as "Pearl Harbor Day," marked the anniversary of US entry into World War II. Just as in today's fuel crisis, American workers were urged to sacrifice for the good of the nation and to protect democracy. What was World War II really fought for?

"The war with Germany ended in an ignoble maze of obvious intrigue and jockeying for advantage," writes Gabriel Kolko in this book.

The carve-up at the end of the Second World War drew the map of the world we live in.

This book begins with a warning that should be engraved

into the front of every history book ever written:

"Solely as a form of literary convenience, throughout this work I refer to the "United States," "Americans," "Washington," "London," "Moscow," and the like.

"In fact what is meant is the leaders or rulers of these abstracted nations... in no case should it be thought I am referring to the entire people of a nation.

"In the conduct of wartime grand diplomacy the people of all the major nations were the object of worried attention, manipulation, and, in many places, physical restraint, but nowhere were they consulted."

What was the war all about anyhow? We're usually told it was a war against fascism, against evil man like Hitler and Mussolini who had destroyed

democracy and thrived on concentration camps and racial massacres.

But this wasn't quite how men like Roosevelt, Truman and Winston Churchill felt about it. The attitude of the Americans to the war was perhaps best summed up by Harry Truman, the man who became president in 1945.

He declared in June 1941: "If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible, although I don't want to see Hitler victorious under any circumstances."

Kolko quotes what Churchill wrote in his Memoirs about Mussolini, the fascist who smashed the Italian trade union movement and destroyed all political opposition:



"The alternative to his role might well have been a Communist Italy, which would have brought perils and misfortunes of a different character both upon the Italian people and Europe.

"His fatal mistake was the

declaration of war on France and Great Britain... Even when the issue of war became certain, Mussolini would have been welcomed by the Allies."

After reading this, it comes as little surprise to learn what

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Carve-up

[Continued from page 13]

happened when American and British forces invaded Italy. Fascist officials and administrators were kept in office.

The partisans, working people who had fought against Mussolini at the risk of their lives, were thrown into prison and threatened with the firing squad.

The end of the war left Europe in ruins. Those who were lucky enough to have escaped the bombs and bullets faced a slower death from starvation.

The well-fed rulers who attended the various peace conferences treated this with the cynicism one would expect. As Kolkko puts it, food became a "conscious political weapon."

As the American official Joseph Grew wrote in June, 1945, the various plans for feeding the starving were inspired by the fact that when people have no food they tend to act in undesirable ways:

"I am deeply concerned over conditions in Western Europe and the possibility that serious disorders may develop during the coming months.

"If the people of that area, particularly those in France, have to face another winter without heat or without adequate food and clothing, I can foresee disturbances of such serious consequences as not only to

involve conflict with our troops, but to gravely imperil our long-term interests."

From late 1944 onwards the US had been massively bombing Japan, using an early version of napalm. In one raid 125,000 people were killed.

Out-doing Hitler

The man who headed the US atomic program was Henry Stimson. Writes Kolkko: "By June 1945 the mass destruction of civilians via strategic bombing did impress Stimson as something of a moral problem, but the thought no sooner arose that he forgot it, and in no appreciable manner did it shape American use of conventional or atomic bombs."

"I did not want to have the United States get the reputation of out-doing Hitler in atrocities,"

Stimson noted telling the President on June 6th.

There was another difficulty posed by mass conventional bombing, and that was its very success, a success that made the two modes of human destruction qualitatively identical in fact and in the minds of the American military.

"I was a little fearful," Stimson told Truman, "that before we could get ready the Air Force might have Japan so thoroughly bombed out that the new weapon would not have a fair background to show its strength."

"To this the President 'laughed and said he understood'."

This review has only scratched the surface of this book. Kolkko also shows us Joseph Stalin, sharing completely in the behavior and attitudes of the

Western leaders. He explains why the Western Communist Parties played such a conservative role at this time.

Glimpse of an Alternative

Kolkko never shows us the revolutionary alternative to the great carve-up. As the war drew to an end, working people all over Europe began to take power into their own hands.

Local committees, factory councils, people's courts were set up. They were crushed by either the Russian or the Western armies.

Kolkko gives us only a glimpse of the possibilities of workers' rule. There is another book to be written. But for the time being, Kolkko's book is one from which every socialist can learn. ■

Ian Birchall

No Oil?

[Continued from page 1]

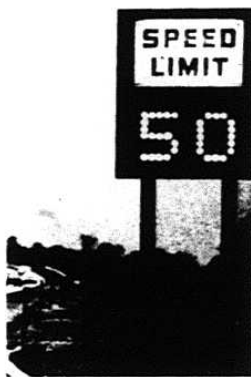
across the board a matter of state policy, is what liberals call "equality of sacrifice." In other words, let the capitalist state, instead of the free market, determine who gets how much of what.

Nixon, however, is too crippled by Watergate, missing tapes and tax scandals to take direct

responsibility for making workers tighten their belts. So he's looking for some middle way out — like setting up limited rationing with a monstrous excise tax for every gallon over 10 or 12 gallons a week.

Actually, the differences among all these proposals don't amount to much. They're really different techniques for achieving the same result — making workers settle for a lower living standard so that more of the benefits of production go into profit.

Polls show that most workers support the idea of rationing. They believe, correctly, that if there are shortages then there



should be a social response to the crisis instead of letting all the available supplies go to whoever has money to pay for them.

The real question, though, isn't whether the system works by rationing or the free market. The question is: who controls the system and who does it work for?

It is a crime that the oil companies are allowed to maintain a monopoly of information on the real reserves of oil and the cost of obtaining them, let alone raise their profits while millions are laid off, suffer and even die from lack of heat.

There should be an immediate freeze on all fuel prices.

Higher prices don't mean more energy supplies — only higher profits.

All the oil companies' secret records should be seized and published — to see how much they've been soaking us with inflated prices, and how they've lied and deliberately stopped producing in order to get rid of the inadequate laws which protect the environment against their dangerous practices.

Workers must be prepared to fight for a solution which they control and which ensures their welfare instead of Exxon, Mobil, and Gulf. ■

David Finkel

Interview

[Continued from page 9]

the employer or with the industry.

An independent contractor is isolated and because of the trust laws and so forth he's forced to bargain as an individual with the company he works for, and of course there's no equity in such bargaining.

So we will eventually see a labor union formed with owner-operators. We're seeing it come about today and these are the birth pains of it.

WP: One other interesting item this past week has been the process of education that various negotiators from the blockades have gone through in Washington. You've been in contact with people who've been involved with the negotiations. Can you tell us what they found out about government promises?

Paul: Well, they had the best intentions, they are elected in a particular area where there was a shutdown to go to Washington to represent the interests of those fellas that were shut down.

And as we had experienced in the past, they arrived in Washington and they were given a ticket on the Washington merry-go-round. We understand they

were given limousine service.

They were given personal attendants by the Coast Guard that is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Transportation. They were chauffeured all over town by these governmental agencies.

They blew a lot of smoke at them. They said, "Now here is what we're offering to do for you," and in the agreement were double-talked,

They didn't actually do any more than tell them to go through the normal procedures, and that they would attempt to speed the normal procedures up. These are the same procedures that haven't responded to their problems before that they're telling them to go back through.

It's a little bit like the Teamsters Union telling you to file a grievance. You know, "If you'd only file a grievance and go through the court system you're going to find justice."

Well, the government took this same position, and then they said "Now that we've made these tremendous concessions to you leaders of the independents, we expect something in return and good faith. Now you have to ask these fellas to take down the blockades and return to their homes peaceably and wait for the system to work."

And the fellas were in a compromised position. They got back in touch with their people in their local area and they said, "We've made a bargain. The government's made these pro-

mises and we have to do our part. We said you'd go home." They found that many of the fellas that were back in the truck stops didn't think much of the offers and said, "You can pull it out your ear, we ain't going nowhere," and they were caught in the middle.

WP: One of the things that has probably shocked the Nixon administration and Frank Fitzsimmons a great deal has been the response of the public-at-large and the support, and in some instances the participation, of the men who drive company equipment. Could you comment a little on why you think the public has responded favorably to these actions by the independent truckers?

Paul: Well, of course, the American's first love is the automobile. They can take shocks like Watergate and losing the Vietnam War and other things like this, but when you start to tell them they can't get a tank of gas for their car, then you're screwing around with apple pie and motherhood and everything else.

And they've been looking for somebody to try to show their dissatisfaction with the way this fuel situation's been handled.

Here they see these tough truck drivers, these drivers of these big rigs out, they're blocking the roads, trying to make the government act, to do something about this situation and they identify with it. In fact, I

understand one woman told a fella in a restaurant or called in on a radio call-in show or something, and she says it's about time somebody did something about this situation concerning the fuel crisis.

So we find the public didn't mind being inconvenienced, as long as somebody was getting out there and screaming bloody murder about what's going on.

They're sick of hearing everybody say don't worry about it, just tighten your belt and park your car in the garage and sacrifice and we're all going to pull through this thing.

The oil companies are going to make a bunch of money and we're all going to end up with a dollar, a dollar-fifty-cent a gallon gasoline. So this protest happens at the right time. ■

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NEWS

Fund Drive - 102%!

The IS annual Fund Drive ended on December 10, going over the top for the third straight time in its three-year history.

Two branches, Seattle and Detroit, exceeded their quotas, as did the members-at-large and the National Office. With only one exception, every other branch achieved 100%.

Congratulations are due to all IS members for their contributions, and to the local coordinators who reminded members to pay their pledges, and organized diverse fund-raising activities around the country, including a rummage sale, film show, plant sale and a dinner. We also thank friends of the IS, including many readers of *Workers' Power* who sent in contributions.

The success of the drive means that the IS will be able to expand our work in building a revolutionary workers' organization in this country. We will continue publication of our new pamphlet series, of which the first, *Chile: The Road to Disaster*, is already available from IS Books.

We will be purchasing new typesetting and headline equipment for *Workers' Power*, which will make production more efficient and help us produce a more professional publication.

We will also be able to continue to send IS members on speaking tours to present the socialist viewpoint on crucial domestic and international events such as Watergate and the government crisis, the coup in Chile and the Middle East war. A speaking tour will be set up early next month on the energy crisis and the recession.

These activities, through which we spread the world view and perspective of revolutionary socialism, are carried out along with the work of the IS in winning workers to class struggle unionism and socialism on the shop floor and in the unions, where IS members are active in the growing rank and file labor movement.

It is from this movement, of the unskilled and skilled, women and men, blacks and whites, fighting for their rights against the companies, the union bureaucracies and the government that the movement for revolutionary socialism will grow. Every penny raised in our fund drive will help us to build that movement, and we thank all who contributed. ■

Scoreboard

| BRANCH | QUOTA | COLLECTED | % |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| Bloomington | \$ 250 | \$ 200 | 80 |
| Champaign | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Chicago | 1,100 | 1,100 | 100 |
| Cleveland | 900 | 913 | 101 |
| East Bay | 1,500 | 1,515 | 101 |
| Detroit | 3,000 | 3,118 | 104 |
| Louisville | 200 | 200 | 100 |
| Los Angeles | 900 | 900 | 100 |
| New York | 2,400 | 2,400 | 100 |
| St. Louis | 250 | 250 | 100 |
| San Francisco | 500 | 500 | 100 |
| Seattle | 1,200 | 1,367 | 114 |
| MAL's | 650 | 676 | 104 |
| National Office | 2,150 | 2,197 | 102 |
| TOTAL | \$15,100 | \$15,436 | 102% |

Big 3

Bill Hastings

[Continued from page 16]

voted no as well, but in a different way. The vast majority of them just didn't vote.

GM workers were as disgusted with the contract as were Ford employees. But after seeing the results of Woodcock's tactics at Ford, they felt it wasn't worth jeopardizing Christmas holiday pay when the UAW would ram the contract down their throats anyway.

Although the UAW refuses to reveal how many GM workers actually voted in the contract ratification, the number was apparently quite small. At Chevrolet Local 235 in Detroit, only 1,748 out of 6,000 workers -- 29% -- cast ballots.

The auto contracts were negotiated under the threat of a veto by the Cost of Living Council. By removing wage and price controls from the auto industry the day after wages were set for the next three years, the CLC showed that its interest was in holding down only wages -- not prices.

But it was the failure of the Woodcock and Meanys to fight wage controls in the first place that allowed this to happen. Five labor leaders, including

Woodcock, still serve on the government's Labor-Management Advisory Committee, while prices and profits go up and wages are held down.

Even Woodcock's minimal demand for a wage reopener in the contract was dropped as soon as negotiations became serious.

The lifting of wage-price controls from the auto industry should invalidate the whole string of contracts signed with the Big Three. Militants should demand that Woodcock throw out the entire package and re-open the contract!

In fact, there is growing support for a campaign to dump Woodcock at the UAW convention this spring. At Ford Local 228 steps have already begun for a slate of convention delegates that are committed to opposing the Woodcock Team.

The UAW leadership, so proud of its reputation as a liberal, democratic, progressive, and socially conscious union cannot come through this recent bargaining round with its image intact.

After resorting to gangster tactics and thuggery at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant, after violating its own Constitution, after continually lying to the membership, after caving in to the pressures of the company and the government, the differences between Woodcock and Co. and the most reactionary union bureaucrats become less and less. They all must go! ■

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• **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM:** The displacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

• **WORKERS' POWER** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank-and-file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight -- independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties -- toward a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

• **THE LIBERATION OF ALL OPPRESSED GROUPS:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination -- an end to all racial and sexual oppression -- the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

• **WORLD-WIDE OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALISM AND EXPLOITATION:** for the self-determination of all peoples -- for an end to U.S. domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power -- for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes -- **FOR WORKERS' POWER EAST AND WEST TO BUILD INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.**

MASSIVE LAYOFFS HIT AUTO WORKERS

Layoffs and unemployment have begun to hit the auto industry, with the promise of more to come. The expected drop in car sales has the auto barons swinging their axes.

It is impossible at this time to predict exactly how large and how long layoffs will be. But in Michigan, the heart of the auto industry, Employment Security Commission director S. Martin Taylor predicts that half-a-million workers could be out of work in that state next year.

This would give Michigan an unemployment rate of 12%, the highest rate since the recession of 1958 when it hit 13.7%.

In that '58 recession workers with up to 10-12 years' seniority were laid off for periods of over a year. Many were off 3-4 years and some never came back.

Massive short-term layoffs have already hit auto workers. General Motors has closed all of its Buick, Pontiac and Oldsmobile assembly plants for a week before Christmas, idling 137,000 workers. Smaller numbers of workers in other GM plants face similar layoffs.

Chrysler will shut down 7 of its 10 assembly plants for 3 days after Christmas vacation. Some 44,000 workers will be put out. In addition 1,000 workers at the Mack Stamping plant will be laid off before Christmas, but only half of them are scheduled to return after the holidays.

Ford will close two assembly plants for about a month in order to retool them to build smaller cars. This will lay off 10,000 workers.

After months of working exhausting amounts of overtime, many auto workers view short layoffs like this as well-deserved vacations.

We do need some time off to recover! But long layoffs of a year or more are no vacation. And longer layoffs are already here.

Union officials at Chrysler's Jefferson Assembly plant have announced that about 1,700 workers will be given indefinite layoffs on December 21.

In addition, production will be cut from 66 cars per hour to 40. 400 workers at Mack Stamping and another 400 at Belvedere, Ill. assembly will receive indefinite layoffs.

Reports trickling down from



top company officials indicate that Chrysler will drop the second shift at its Lynch Road Assembly plant before the '75 model year. The same thing is being considered at Jefferson.

GM has already stated that 2,000 of the assembly workers being laid off before Christmas are not scheduled to return to work. Reports from the shops indicate that workers in other GM plants will get the ax too.

GM, Ford and Chrysler have

been laying off probationary employees (less than 90 days' seniority) and chances are good that they won't be back.

"30 for 40" could prevent many of these layoffs. Cutting the work week to 30 hours would spread the workload among a larger number of workers. We would retain our jobs and suffer no loss in pay.

Many auto workers point out that loss of pay will be offset by unemployment compensation and Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) pay.

Workers must have a full year's seniority to get SUB pay, and then they are eligible for six months. Workers with two or more years are eligible for one year.

SUB pay is added to unemployment compensation to give a workers 95% of average take-home pay. But these payments are only made until the SUB fund runs out.

Articles in the *Detroit Free Press* say that SUB funds at Ford and Chrysler are only about half full, and the GM fund is only 30% full. The kind of large-scale layoffs that are only starting now would wipe out SUB funds in a few months.

Even though upcoming layoffs could hit hundreds of thousands of workers, they will not affect all workers equally. Blacks, Arabs, women, Chicanos and young workers will be hit hard by this recession.

Because they were hired last, and have the lowest seniority, they will be the first to go, stay out the longest and receive the least in unemployment benefits.

For years auto companies refused to hire black and other minority workers. For example, at Lynch Road Assembly in Detroit the first shift, which has the highest seniority workers, is about 60% white. But the second shift is about 70% black workers and 10% women, many of whom have less than a year seniority.

The effects of layoffs could be alleviated, although not eliminated, by Voluntary Reverse Seniority Layoffs. According to this device, layoff lists would be filled by the highest seniority workers on a voluntary basis.

They would stay off for a specified period of time, say 3 months, drawing full SUB pay. When their time was up they would return and those next highest in seniority would get their turn.

Unemployed Committees

This demand would provide some protection for low-seniority workers. It's not enough by itself, however. If black and women workers were simply last on the list, they could be laid off after SUB funds ran out!

To protect blacks, women, and minority workers who have only recently entered the auto industry, there must be a fight for super-seniority. Black workers, who suffer heavy unemployment, and women workers who are just gaining a foothold in the auto plants, must have special protection against permanent layoffs, and special guarantees that they won't lose SUB benefits.

In the '58 recession some UAW local unions had Unemployed Committees. These committees helped workers to get all of their unemployment compensation and pay their bills.

It seems it would be a good idea to have Unemployed Committees on the International and local levels again. They would be a good place for the rank and file to organize ourselves around demands to meet our own needs.

Dennis Richards

Government Plays Santa Claus To Big 3 Wage-Cutters

The U.S. government presented the nation's auto manufacturers with an early Christmas gift this year. Exactly one day following the announcement that the GM contract was overwhelmingly accepted in a vote by UAW members, the Cost of Living Council lifted all wage and price controls for the auto industry.

As a result, prices for cars will go up about \$100 to \$150 while wages remain fixed at the levels accepted by the United Auto Workers (UAW) under the threat of wage controls.

The government's action was a fitting close to the 1973 bar-

gaining in the auto industry. It drove the final screw into the sellout of 800,000 auto workers engineered by the UAW leadership.

The contracts they negotiated did not deal with any of the problems auto workers face every day. There were no improvements in disgraceful and dangerous working conditions.

The wage increase of 3% a year plus a "cost of living" clause does not keep up with the full cost of living. To deal with discrimination and other in-plant problems, token committees with no power were set up.

The much-praised "voluntary overtime" agreement is so full of loopholes that oil company executives doing their income

tax would look on admiringly. And, of course, once the SUB (supplemental unemployment) funds run out, there is no protection against the coming unemployment.

Ford workers led a revolt against this settlement. The skilled trades at Ford voted no overwhelmingly. But the Woodcock leadership managed to crush this revolt simply by saying that the rejection didn't count. They declared the contract accepted anyway, in violation of the UAW Constitution.

Actually, Woodcock did more than just trample the Constitution - he threw out every scrap of democratic procedure.

GM workers appear to have

[Continued on page 15]