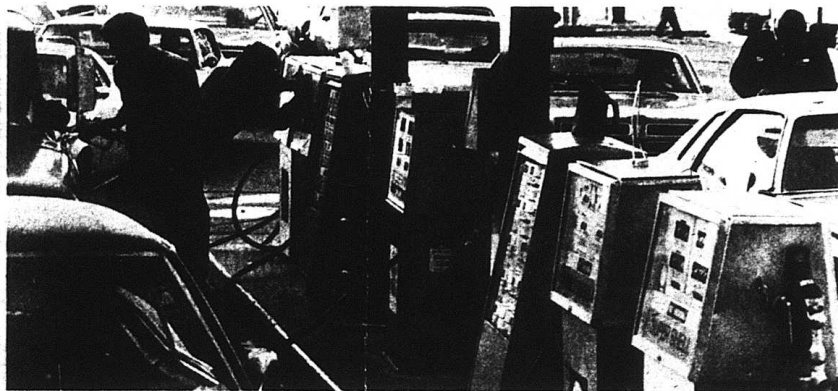


# Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NO. 92 MARCH 1-14, 1974 15¢

## Oil Giants Create Massive Fuel Mess:



**In some places you can get gas. In some places you can't. If you can't, and you need it, searching for it dominates your life.**

In New York City people wait for hours in lines that sometimes exceed 100 cars, waiting for \$3 worth at 53¢ a gallon.

In the middle of February, 31% of New Jersey's gas stations were already out.

Only 10% of Chicago's gas stations will pump gas after 7:00 p.m. The list goes on... Seattle, Pittsburgh, Miami... and on... Houston, Maine... and on.

But not everyone is having that bad a time of it.

Oil company profits are soaring. Gulf announced a 153% gain in fourth quarter earnings... a fourth quarter profit of \$230 million compared with \$91 million in the 1972 quarter.

Occidental Petroleum, not one of the seven sisters — just a close cousin — reported a 417% profit increase in the first nine months of 1973.

EXXON announced the largest annual profit ever earned by any industrial company — \$2.4 billion. And that is after taxes.

The oil companies are also taking this opportunity to modernize gasoline distribution. Many independent gas station owners have been forced to shut down. The major corporations are closing stations with insufficient profits.

While few people were looking they have also been buying up coal reserves and coal companies. Big oil interests now control more than 55% of the nation's uranium reserves (nuclear energy). They also control, almost exclusively, the technology to develop synthetic and natural gas.

In other words, the oil companies have become energy conglomerates and will be the financial benefactors of any turn to other energy sources.

Some people might say they have us coming and they have us going.

But record breaking profits, almost exclusive control of the world's energy resources, the Alaska pipeline and other victories over the environment don't seem to satisfy these voracious profiteers.

In the last two weeks they have reduced crude oil imports by 30%, claiming the government's allocations program makes crude oil importation less profitable.

A 30% reduction is more than four times as great as a total Arab embargo would have been.

This means that if you can still get gas, soon you won't be able to.

As the lives of more and more people are taken over by the quest for gas (or the lack of it) the weakness of the government becomes increasingly apparent. Nothing changes.

Daily, new gasoline allocations are pronounced. "Gas from one state will be shipped to another." Oops, that one caused an uproar, try it again. "Increased gas supplies from reserves (what reserves?) will be sent to the blighted areas."

Meanwhile the lines are just as long and things promise to get worse. The independent station owners are threatening to pump out and close down.

Nixon mumbles about the strengths of the American people and the good times ahead.

Simon allocates and reallocates. Whenever enough pressure is applied, he miraculously pumps new resources from a well we'd been told was already dry.

Scoop Jackson pushes rationing, instituting insufficient supplies for everyone.

A newscaster in Detroit attempted to make it on 45 gallons a month. He ran out in a little less than three weeks using his car only to go to work, the doctor and shopping.

In desperation many states have instituted the "Oregon Plan." Cars with even numbered license plates can buy gas on even numbered days, cars with odd numbers on odd numbered days.

This plan means everyone gets to wait in still very long lines on alternating days instead of the day most convenient for them.

# TAKE THEM OVER!

of the day most convenient for them.

The problem isn't what day you buy gas on but whether there is any gas. It is obvious to almost everyone (ask them) that the oil crisis is a colossal hoax cooked up by the oil companies to increase their profits.

The energy industry is owned and run for immense private profit. It is too important a resource to all people to be left in the hands of a greedy few.

The solution is not moving limited gas supplies from one state to another, gasless Sundays, odd and even days, daylight

savings time or any other kooky scheme cooked up.

The solution is simply to take it out of the hands of those who have created the chaos.

The oil profiteers should be stripped of their enormous assets. The industry should be nationalized by the government — the first step towards ending this hot-housed crisis.

The world's energy resources belong to the world's peoples and must be used for human need, not the profit of the oil barons. ■

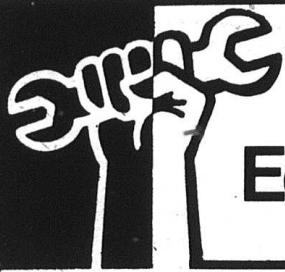
Gay Semel

## Recession Blues



Long lines at Detroit unemployment office. See story, page 9.

## WHO IS FRANK SERPICO? page 13



## Editorial

# The SLA, Terrorism & Revolution

The capitalist papers scream "No one is safe." The now-famous Hearst kidnapping makes front page headlines every day. Feature articles in every daily paper speculate wildly: who or what is really behind the "Symbionese Liberation Army," and where will it strike next?

Socialists have an obligation to put the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst in its proper context. All the media owned by Randolph Hearst and the other millionaires who run this country are very eager to publicize the demands and activities of the SLA. They are especially eager to denounce acts of violence against innocent victims like Patricia Hearst, and to distract attention from the real social and political crisis. They create an hysterical atmosphere to be used for a campaign against the entire left.

These same papers are completely silent about tens of thousands of brutal acts committed by the capitalist system against people in this country every day. None of them scream for the blood of the police departments who murder black, Chicano and Indian militants.

None of them attacked Randolph Hearst for his bloody strike-breaking tactics against striking unions at his San Francisco Examiner. None of them lift a finger against the Gestapo-style methods used inside prisons -- the methods used against those now thought to be among the leaders of the SLA.

These capitalist media do not attack this system for its violence against innocent people, because their purpose is to defend the system. They rise up in wrath only when victims of their system try to reply with a spectacular, but pathetically small, act of violence of their own.

While few people feel the free food forced from Hearst will help much, the boldness of SLA's action captures their imagination. For this reason it is important to clarify the differences between the methods of the Symbionese Liberation Army and methods that can bring about revolutionary change in this country.

Whatever its intent -- and the real politics and program of the SLA are completely unknown -- the SLA has no place inside the revolutionary movement. We support all actions to build a movement and to defend it against the violence of the ruling class. But individual acts of terrorism can only give the state the opportunity to organize even greater violence against the movement, with none of the long, hard, painstaking work of building that movement.

The aim of groups like the "Symbionese Liberation Army" is to hand liberation down to the masses of people from above -- from a secret terrorist army which does not put itself or its ideas forward before the people themselves.

Our goal, on the contrary, is to build a revolutionary workers' party that can organize masses of people to fight to rule in their own name. We don't need a few heroes to attack a few individual members of the capitalist ruling class -- we need a mass movement that can really tear its head off. ■

# Wounded Knee Election Stolen

Government harassment and terror aimed at destroying the militant American Indian Movement (AIM) continues unabated.

Russell Means, AIM leader, was defeated by 100 votes in an election for president of the Oglala Sioux tribe, after out-polling incumbent Richard Wilson in the primary election.

Both independent observers and the news media were barred from many polling places on the Pine Ridge reservation, a violation of pre-election agreements.

Five women were fired from jobs they held in a health pro-

gram after they walked in picket lines supporting the Wounded Knee occupation and circulated petitions calling for the impeachment of Wilson.

Many voters were threatened, verbally and by letter, with loss of jobs, housing and welfare assistance if they did not support Wilson.

Ballot stuffing

The Bureau of Indian Affairs police, solidly in the corrupt Wilson's pocket, were seen ferrying people to and from the polls.

AIM pollwatchers reported seeing ballots removed from ballot boxes before the election tally and seeing many whites, including some of the nearby ranchers, being allowed to vote.

In the Potato Creek District, where there are 30 registered voters, 80 votes were cast.

Means declared he would go to federal courts to freeze all of the registration forms in an initial move to have the fraudulent election overturned. A recount will also be demanded.

A week before the election, Russell Means' campaign manager, his brother Ted Means, was arrested in Rapid City, South Dakota. All the bondsmen refused him bail, which had to be raised in cash independently. No information about the arrest or the charges was released in this blatant harassment of the AIM candidate.

In the primary election over 80% of the voters had cast ballots for candidates who were involved in the Wounded Knee occupation. A defeat for Richard Wilson was on the agenda.

Through his total control of

St. Paul, Minnesota, for their leadership of the Wounded Knee occupation last year.

Some 65 additional Indian leaders, many of whom had never left the Pine Ridge reservation before, came to St. Paul to show their support. The group includes several in their 80's and 90's, survivors of the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890.

Chief Fool's Crow, the Traditional Chief of the Oglala Nation, made the following statement:

*"We have come to a court we don't know, which doesn't know us, to tell everybody who will listen that we stand with our brothers, Russell Means and Dennis Banks. Together we stand with our traditions, our medicine, and our treaty rights..."*

*"We called our brothers and AIM to help us because we were being oppressed and terrorized. They answered our call."*

Clear message

Dennis Banks, in a statement apparently aimed at the tens of thousands of Americans who participated in the anti-war movement, said:

*"Let the clear message from the peoples of Pine Ridge be heard by every tribal president on every reservation in America, and let it be heard by the Bureau of Indian Affairs..."*

*"Those Americans who believe in self determination for all peoples overseas, including the people of Vietnam, had better listen loud and clear to the voice of the American Indians."*

*"The Indian people have said in overwhelming numbers, 'Remove the federal government from our land; dismiss the charges against those who have acted for freedom for our peoples, and jail the real criminals who have stolen our land and oppressed our peoples.'"*

Kay Stacy



AIM leader Russell Means

jobs and social services throughout the reservation, however, and with the active assistance of the federal government, Wilson was easily able to orchestrate an illegal victory for himself.

Despite this setback, Pine Ridge Indians continue to rally around Means and Dennis Banks, another AIM leader on trial in

## Workers' Power 92

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# Lessons Of The Truckers' Strike

**CLEVELAND** — The strike of independent truck drivers is over. Steel is once again moving out of Gary, beef out of Omaha, and produce into New York City.

The strike is gone but not forgotten, because its significance goes beyond that of most other walkouts. This was a strike that directly challenged the biggest corporations in the world — the oil monopolies — and the federal government.

For months since the government and the oil companies proclaimed the energy crisis, working people stood by as the phony crisis ravaged their lives. Endless waits for gas. . .inflation which has already destroyed the measly wage increases of last year. . .layoffs. . .all at the same time as the corporations which started it all pile plunder on top of profits.

#### Fighting back

Into this mess of lies, confusion, and rip-offs, the truckers strike cut like a thunderbolt. Someone was beginning to fight back.

The strike came off so well that it surprised everyone. It was almost a spontaneous strike, with little national organization or recognized leadership. New leadership and organization sprang up everywhere.

The lack of organization was both a benefit to the strike and,

in the end, a fatal weakness. On one hand, there was no union bureaucracy, set above and apart from the truckers, to attempt to crush or control the militancy of the haulers. The result was an action more successful than the labor "statesmen" could achieve with their back room trickery.

The drivers knew winning the strike was up to them alone, and so they actively mobilized. Mass meetings were held in dozens of cities. Pickets, patrols, and national communication and coordination were organized.

Wives' organizations in several cities took on the job of winning support, and some — such as the committee in Gary, Indiana — plan to continue in existence to fight against inflation.

#### Lack of organization

The creativity, initiative and capacity for struggle shown by the truckers surprised the newspapers, the government, and the Teamster officials.

But the lack of organization was no substitute for a democratically controlled organization. Without this, there was no way rank and file truckers could have any control over the negotiations in Washington.

The final settlement pleased no one. But in the end, they had to go back to work because the Washington negotiators told them to, and there was no way to say no with a unified nationwide voice.

The most important demand raised by the truckers was a rollback of diesel and gasoline prices. Clearly, a victory for the truck drivers on this issue would be a victory for all working people, for all who drive a car or heat a home.

Millions of workers supported the truckers, particularly in the Midwest where the strike was the strongest. In response, the government and the press began a massive propaganda campaign against the strikers. Every alleged incident of damage to a truck was reported as a major event in the newspapers.

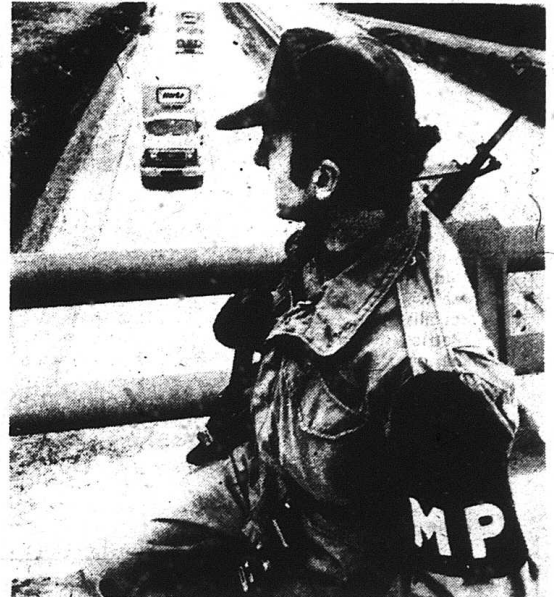
#### Government violence

The National Guard was called up in six states, by such supposedly pro-labor Democratic governors as Shapp (Pennsylvania), Gilligan (Ohio), and Walker (Illinois).

This was nothing but a move to intimidate and isolate the strikers. It did not limit violence but encouraged it by dispersing pickets, forcing them off the road and into the bushes.

All the government's talk about violence was exposed as a lie. While there were isolated acts of violence by truckers fighting for their families' livelihood, there was open and organized violence against the striking truckers that was condoned by government officials.

In Cleveland, one company hired 300 off-duty cops and Hells Angels to intimidate their drivers from respecting picket



Pennsylvania national guardsmen protecting scab trucks

lines. At one point these hired thugs used mace on unarmed pickets while the police watched.

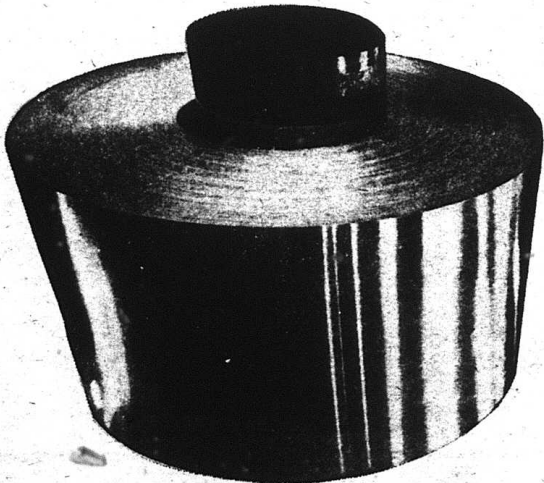
In Eastern Ohio, police burned down a makeshift strike headquarters and tried to burn it down. And yet the government condemned violence!

And in Pittsburgh the Teamsters' Joint Council chief Fagan personally led 300 armed goons, roaming the streets assaulting

trucks. Accompanied by police, they broke into FASH (Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers) national headquarters and tried to burn it down. And yet the government condemned violence!

The message was not lost on truckers: the police, National  
[Continued on page 14]

## Aluminum Workers Canned



Contracts signed recently in the aluminum and can industries have in all likelihood set the pattern for the important basic steel agreement now under negotiation.

What is going on now is according to the script that was agreed to in its essentials a year ago when the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) was signed by representatives of the steel industry and I. W. Abel, President of the United Steel Workers.

Both the aluminum and can agreements generally follow the terms of last year's auto contracts in wages and fringe benefits. They provide for an average of about a seven percent increase each year after cost of living increases are added.

The big contract improvement is in pensions. The

aluminum contract, for instance, will provide 85% of regular pay to retirees. A cost-of-living formula will increase pensions to make up for 65% of future inflation.

The pension improvements, particularly the addition of the cost-of-living provision, are important. But these gains were achieved at the expense of a wage settlement that would have protected USW members against inflation.

Compare the new aluminum contract's first year wage increase of 28¢ to the comparable figure for the 1971 contract: 50¢. This damage is, of course, compounded by this year's wild inflation. This contract is, therefore, a serious step backward.

The decision to push for pensions at the expense of wages came from I. W. Abel. Abel fancies himself an innova-

tive labor statesman. As such, he sees part of his role as helping to keep the U.S. steel industry in a strong, competitive position.

Abel's no-strike deal (the ENA) was part of this effort. For giving away steel workers' right to strike, Abel was acclaimed by leaders of business, industry, government, and union bigwigs as "a man of vision and courage." He found himself frequently mentioned as a possible successor to George Meany.

Rank and filers have had less kind words for him.

Abel termed the aluminum contract "one of the most revolutionary labor agreements ever." If that were true, a spokesman for the Nixon administration would not have called it "brilliant." ■

Jim Woodward

# international report



## Killer Famine Stalks Africa

Famine in Africa, which has already wiped out hundreds of thousands of people, threatens to destroy millions more. In Ethiopia alone, the figures are staggering.

French reporter Jean-Claude Gillebaud writes, "There are thousands of graves. Everywhere. These big, hastily arranged heaps of stone are to be found by the dozens in every village in Wollo or Tigre a day's journey off the 'historic road.' This is all one finds in some villages.

"In other places the bodies of those who made their way to relief camps only to die there are randomly thrown into an unmarked grave. At the end of November in the village of Kobo more than 2,000 corpses were buried in one camp alone."

Several other countries in sub-Saharan Africa have been affected following years of severe drought, although none on quite the same scale. But people do not die only of hunger — those who are weakened by the famine easily fall prey to the ravages of disease as well.

In Ethiopia, mass deaths from cholera epidemics have until recently gone unreported. In West Africa, 60,000 or more people are totally blinded by "river blindness," or onchocerciasis, carried by river flies.

The Ethiopian famine is a



product of several factors. Of these only one, the prolonged drought, is a "natural" cause. And in many ways the drought is the least important long-term factor.

Even under normal conditions, the masses of peasants in Ethiopia live under miserable conditions. The annual per capita income is \$60, an average which includes the enormous incomes of rich landlords and Emperor Haile Selassie.

This relentless misery, and Western culture's racism, combine to make this tragedy little more than an occasional newspaper headline, reinforcing the attitude that lives are cheap in Africa.

In other countries this disaster would be an immediate international issue.

It is believed, that Ethiopia could support a population of 100 million and become a prosperous breadbasket for Africa. The real factors preventing this are Ethiopia's feudal structure of land ownership, and the destructive role of imperialism throughout Africa.

Even in the midst of the killer famine, only 10% of Ethiopia's rich farmland is under cultivation. Peasant sharecroppers farm it with wooden plows. They are forced to turn over 75% of the crop to the landlords. The landlords also completely control the government, which has treated the starving peasants with neglect and contempt. *At the same time, food exports from Ethiopia doubled in the first quarter of last year.*

Made in U.S.A.

Meanwhile, it is impossible for Ethiopia, and most other African nations, to gain real economic self-sufficiency. Foreign industrial monopolies, and skyrocketing capital goods prices, rule out industrial development.

And Hubert Humphrey had the nerve to tell representatives of 45 nations at a food conference in West Germany in mid-November: "I want all African and Asian brothers to know that when the Arab nations boycott oil to the United States, all they are doing is signalling you that you will starve."

While US imperialism maintains the closest ties to the landlord-emperor Selassie and supplies his army with the guns to enforce a system that starves people, its representatives blame the Arabs for the consequences of its own filthy crimes. ■

## China: A New Cultural Revolution?

The new round of ideological warfare inside China may mean the start of a new period of upheaval on the scale of the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. Already such diverse figures as the late Lin Piao, Confucius, an intellectual named Hu Shih who died in 1962, along with the composers Beethoven and Schubert and the Italian movie director Michelangelo Antonioni, have come under attack.

So far, the reports of the new campaign are so unclear that only the most tentative assessment of its meaning can be offered. It is not yet known whether or not Chou en-Lai — the main diplomatic architect of China's new friendship with the U.S. — is a target of the new denunciations.

However, it is useful to review the circumstances of this campaign in the light of the unfolding of the first "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

### Forced industrialization

At the heart of the struggles inside the Communist Party bureaucracy which rules China lies the need to develop a centralized economy and heavy industrial base — something which all the efforts of the regime so far have failed to accomplish.

China remains a country based almost entirely on agriculture, with only a very limited national market. Under such conditions, regional differences and local powers continually threaten to pull the country apart.

Unless Mao's regime can carry through industrialization and economic centralization, it will never be able to complete the unification of China or consolidate its own rule.

### Speed-up campaign

The Cultural Revolution itself represented a campaign by the top leadership of the Communist Party to impose its discipline on middle-level cadres and regional officials.

To do this, the leadership went outside the party itself to mobilize popular support, through revolutionary-sounding slogans which glorified every breath of Chairman Mao and denounced so-called "capitalist road" officials.

Behind these fine-sounding slogans, unfortunately, was a

huge speed-up campaign against Chinese workers. The campaign against "capitalist road" factory managers was aimed at forcing the working class to work harder for less, in order to strengthen Mao by achieving faster economic growth.

In Shanghai, the workers eventually launched a general strike and went into the streets to defend themselves against this onslaught.

Eventually, the disruption reached the point at which Mao was forced to bring in the Army to restore order over both the workers and Mao's own Red Guards. When the Army itself became too powerful, its leader Lin Piao was later isolated, denounced and destroyed.

### Imperialist friends

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government has made huge strides toward friendship with U.S. imperialism. China's material support for anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa have been nearly liquidated, and with small exceptions the Chinese press has turned away from denouncing the U.S. to turn its guns instead against the Soviet Union.

Because the need for industrial development remains as desperate as before, China's new foreign policy could be linked to plans for importing machinery and technology from the west for a new industrialization campaign.

One possible motivation for the current ideological campaign might be to ensure that closer economic ties to the west can be developed without leading to any cracks in the internal political monopoly held by the top leaders of the C.P. While this requires denunciations of European literature and culture, these attacks need not affect friendly relations between Mao's bureaucracy and the imperialist ruling classes of capitalist countries.

### Revolutionary potential

The full scope of the new campaign will not be known until it becomes clear whether any officials currently in the regime are the targets, and how they will respond.

There is, however, the possibility that political turmoil may once again bring the Chinese workers into motion — this time perhaps in a revolutionary fight against the bureaucracy as a whole. ■

### CHILE



THE ROAD TO  
DISASTER

The violent outcome of Allende's "Peaceful Road to Socialism" has raised all the critical questions facing revolutionaries today. This new pamphlet from the International Socialists lays bare the dynamic that led to the reactionary coup and draws out the lessons for the workers movement internationally.

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# Black Woodcutters Lead Struggle

Barbara Adler

[Editor's Note: Black and white woodcutters in the deep South displayed a remarkable degree of unity in a well-publicized strike in 1971 and in a second strike last fall. The woodcutters are organized into the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association. Workers' Power recently talked with Charlie Gillespie, publicity director of the GPA, about the union and the progress the woodcutters have made.]

At least temporary gains were won by the 2,500 members of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association through their two month strike last fall, Charlie Gillespie told *Workers' Power*. The GPA did not win recognition as collective bargaining agent, and what the locals won in pay increases varied because they were dealing with many independent wood dealers who act as agents for the giant paper mill companies.

On the average, the woodcutters won a 25% increase in the price paid for their wood. That's not a magnificent sum when you consider that their wages are below poverty level to start with and that they have to pay for all their equipment, including the gasoline for their trucks.

The fall '73 strike was just one more round in the struggle by the woodcutters in southwest Alabama and nearby counties in Mississippi since 1955. "Our current vice president participated in a sort of spontaneous strike back in '55 around the Mobile area," said Gillespie, "and every few years since then when conditions just get so bad -- mainly inflation just catching up with people -- there's been a sort of a one week or two week or three week strike and then the pay would go up a little bit -- the price that's paid for wood.

"After the activity, there'd be no organization to carry over and expand the struggle. The latest one before '71 was in '67. At that time they had sort of a loose group called the Alabama Pulpwood Producers Association, but the GPA itself really didn't come into being on a mass basis until '71.

"That's when about two or three hundred guys quit working

at the Masonite plant in Laurel, Mississippi because they changed the way that they measured wood. What it did was cut their pay by about 20%.

"From there it spread out all across the south part of Mississippi. I mean not in every county but in about half the counties across the south part of the state. It's hard to say how many people it involved, it was sort of like an uprising.

"About all that could be done was just try to coordinate the thing and spread the word and expand the strike as fast as possible because it was a sort of a general strike. It was against all the paper companies, got against just any certain one because if you just struck one, then the other companies would supply that one company and break the strike."

Since timber land is spread throughout the south, the paper companies have a wide area from which to draw supplies. At the beginning of the '73 strike the GPA had 17 locals in 19 counties.

"When the strike started, we expanded, really fast," Gillespie explained. "A strike is a big

organizing tool. We picked up about 12 or 15 locals. These are small locals because the people are so spread out. Our biggest local is about 90 or 100.

"But we're sort of in a period of consolidation. We're planning, we've already started in a little way to expand further out, mainly in Alabama and in northwest Florida."

The GPA can only afford two full-time staff people, so a lot of the new organizing is done by woodcutters talking to people they know in the next county.

## Cooperation

The woodcutters' strength is based on more than their self-reliance -- and experience has taught them not to have any confidence in the government or politicians or the courts. From its earliest days the GPA wrote into its by-laws that membership includes the women as well as the men.

In some families both husband and wife are woodcutters. In others the women take jobs on the outside to try to make ends meet.

Woodcutters sometimes earn

as much as the \$4000 a year the government considers the bare minimum for a family of four. But woodcutter families average about eight, so the men and women share equally in the struggle.

The other source of strength is the "cooperation" between black and white woodcutters. That's the word Charlie Gillespie uses. "I wouldn't characterize it as black-white unity, it's a low level.

"A lot of blacks still have doubts. Black people are always worse off than white people are. This occupation right now is about 60 or 65% black, and in some counties, especially Black Belt counties, the occupation is probably about 90% or sometimes 100% black.

"So in '71 and '73 the main strength of the strike was black people. They weren't in all the leadership positions -- the president was white, we had black officers, a black vice-president. In fact the officers now, there's two whites and three blacks, national officers. So in a sense it has been the whites who are in the minority, recognizing that it's very definitely in their

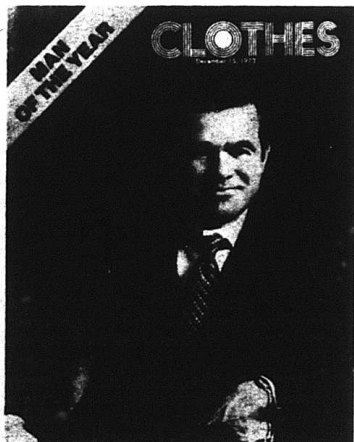
interests to go out on strike also.

"What it amounts to in a strike situation is whites supporting blacks who are actually leading it because of their larger numbers. The strong locals were the locals in the Black Belt where it's all blacks, most of the time. It is a case of the black people leading the strike, but wherever we organize, a majority of the whites participate (there are a few, of course, who don't). They see the advantage of it, even in their narrow self interest."

The woodcutters are relying on themselves to organize their brothers and sisters across the southern timberlands into the GPA. As the companies start buying directly from them, cutting out the middlemen wood dealers, the face of the enemy is becoming clearer and clearer, and the chance of the GPA's winning collective bargaining recognition is growing stronger. ■

Their resources being slim, GPA members welcome both moral and financial support. Their address is: Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, P. O. Box 219, Chatham, Alabama.

# Scab of the Year



WILLIE FARAH ON TRADE-MAGAZINE COVER

*Clothes* magazine, a clothing industry publication, has named Willie Farah its "Man of the Year." The editors of *Clothes* say they chose Farah after a three-month debate because "Willie was fighting to save the sportswear end of this industry -- the only healthy part -- from being taken over by an archaic craft union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America."

Shortly after his award, Willie Farah received notice from another direction -- a National Labor Relations Board judge who found the Farah Manufacturing Company guilty of unfair labor practices and ordered the company to reinstate 2,000 striking workers in their old jobs.

Farah, the nation's largest manufacturer of men's and boys'

slacks, "has been repeatedly directed to mend its lawless ways," said the judge, "and yet it continues on as if nothing had happened, trampling on the rights of its employees as if there were no National Labor Relations Act, no board, and no Ten Commandments."

Workers have been striking the company's Texas and New Mexico plants since May, 1972, because the company refused to negotiate with the ACWA, elected as bargaining representative in late 1970. The union is conducting a nationwide boycott of Farah products which has received support from the AFL-CIO and other unions.

"Nobody," maintains *Clothes*, "knows how to run a plant better than Willie Farah." ■



## labor briefs

West Coast longshoremen, members of ILWU Local 34, demonstrated their solidarity with the United Farm Workers by refusing to unload 100,000 gallons of wine concentrate from Spain. Fifty members of the UFW had set up a picket line January 29 to prevent the concentrate from reaching the boycotted Gallo winery.

A different kind of solidarity is being displayed by Teamster leader Frank Fitzsimmons. Fitz is associated with the Nixon group, "Americans for the Presidency." A recent letter from the group to other union leaders which he signed read, "We as leaders of business and industry cannot stand idly by...."

UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) passed a motion of solidarity with striking British miners, asking the UAW International to send financial support. Local 6 also asked longshoremen's unions to refuse to handle any shipment to Britain which could harm the strike.

Final statistics for 1973 are in, showing that inflation reached 8.8 percent. At the same time, major collective bargaining contracts negotiated during the year provided for only 5.2 percent annual wage increases over the life of the contract.

As if this weren't enough, the Labor Department reported that the number of employers caught illegally cheating their workers out of wages due them rose 21 percent over 1972.

The United Mine Workers Journal reports that Leonard J. Pnakovich, former UMW vice-president under Tony Boyle, has taken a job as head of the Ohio Valley Coal Operators Association. Pnakovich told reporters his job will include assisting the operators "with grievances and problems arising from contract interruption."

Another Boyle crony, Joe Ellis, former appointed President of UMW District 17, took a job with the Kanawha Valley (West Virginia) Coal Operators Association last year.

Among government officials, the hardliners in the recent independent truckers' strike were Attorney General William Saxbe and Labor Secretary Peter Brennan. They opposed granting any concessions at all to the truckers.

Since the strike, Saxbe has begun drafting legislation to make federal prosecution of truckers in future strikes easier.

Black longshoremen in New Orleans are mobilizing to defend rank and file leader Irvin Joseph against expulsion proceedings initiated by the leadership of Local 1419. Joseph was a leader of the eleven-day wildcat strike last summer of black and white longshoremen in the segregated Locals 1418 and 1419.

A recent survey by the California Department of Education shows that 87 percent of that state's migrant farm workers are unable to earn enough income without their children working in the fields. As a result, the average migrant child misses two to three months out of the nine month school year.

The survey also revealed that children in 36 percent of the farm worker families had been sick because of exposure to pesticides.

The United Farm Workers' January gate collection at the Lorain, Ohio U.S. Steel plant netted \$1,312.00. Steel workers there belong to USWA Local 1104.

UAW officials at Ford Local 325 in St. Louis have been telling the 1400 workers laid off there that they can have first priority in new hiring that is going on - in Lorain, Ohio and San Jose, California. This is the best strategy that the union has been able to come up with to fight the layoffs, which affect workers with as much as 5½ years of seniority.

George Meany met with George Wallace for an hour in a Miami hotel room earlier this month. Meany said they talked about the weather.

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



# Beirne Plans National Shaft

Telephone workers will negotiate future contracts with AT&T in a different way than in the past, a joint press release by the company and the Communication Workers of America (CWA) announced in January. From now on, bargaining with the giant corporation will take place nationally instead of by division as in the past.

The press release said that this new bargaining arrangement was "a logical outgrowth of past bargaining experience and one that served the best interests of both parties."

AT&T always wanted things its way. It fought to monopolize the telephone business and to control its employees. AT&T's Bell System pioneered company unionism.

When telephone workers organized real unions, AT&T resisted national bargaining and forced the CWA to negotiate separately with each AT&T telephone company, Western Electric plant, long lines division, and so on.

The union needed one national strike and one contract to beat the powerful Bell system. Fragmented "pattern-bargaining" was good for AT&T.

### Who's best interest?

Then, to everyone's surprise, AT&T and CWA announced they would bargain nationally. No one outside the top leadership of CWA knew that the union was negotiating for national bargaining. There was no fight, no campaign, not even an article in the CWA News to indicate this was coming.

Why did AT&T give in without a fight? The answer lies in

the purpose and structure of this particular national bargaining set-up.

The New York Times understood what "past bargaining experience" the company and CWA President Joe Beirne were talking about. It was the experience of a sell-out union leadership trying to "serve the best interests of both parties" when "both parties," the company and the workers, have totally opposite interests.

### Pattern of sell-out

In 1968 and 1971, CWA called nationwide strikes, but each bargaining unit still settled separately. AT&T was still able, when necessary, to concentrate its power on one unit to force a low "pattern-setting" agreement.

The conservative leadership of CWA could aid the company "pattern" by isolating militant sections of the union - as it isolated New York State in 1971.

The New York Times said that the new plan was meant to "eliminate regional dissatisfactions of the kind that produced a seven-month strike of New York telephone workers in 1971-72." Actually it was not "regional" problems that caused that strike, but the sell-out contract negotiated by Beirne.

The Times is right, however, to say that the plan is designed to head off dissident strikes and other forms of pressure.

In other words, the plan is meant to hold back the membership, not to fight the company. That's why it's in the "best interests of both parties": Beirne and AT&T.

This version of national bargaining will remove any power or influence the locals or ranks might have over the negotiations and the settlement.

According to Beirne, the

national contract will be negotiated by a committee of five or six top CWA bureaucrats. Local and unit bargaining committees will have no influence or control over national negotiations.

Only the CWA International Executive Board can recommend a settlement to the membership, and no one can influence what they do or do not recommend.

Of course, there will be a referendum vote to ratify the contract. But there will be no committee or body on which locals can express dissatisfaction with, let alone reject, a company offer. Only Beirne and his top flunkies have that right.

The "past bargaining experience" is that Joe Beirne will recommend to the membership only what the company is willing to give without a fight. Now there will be no way for the membership or the big city locals to pressure for a better offer. It's take it or leave it.

### Fight Bell, not ranks

Telephone workers need national bargaining. But they need control over negotiations, over what the union accepts as a valid offer, and over when and how to strike. There should be an elected bargaining committee - perhaps elected at regional conventions.

The national ratification vote should take place at local union meetings, held simultaneously across the country - not through the mail where you can't debate the merits of the offer. There must be no return to work until the contract is ratified.

Joe Beirne may have forgotten, but after all the purpose of national bargaining is to fight the company - not to fight the membership of the CWA. ■

Brian Mackenzie



New York telephone sit-in during 1971 strike

Workers' Power photo



# DON'T DRINK GALLO!

"Drink Gallo wine -- blood of the farm workers," reads a poster.

For months, supporters of the United Farm Workers union have been conducting a boycott of all products of the E. & J. Gallo Winery, in support of the demand for union recognition.

Gallo is by far the largest wine producer in the United States, accounting for one-third of all wine sold in the US, and almost half of all California wine.

Here is why the boycott was called.

In April, 1967, the Gallo Winery signed a contract with the UFW, recognizing the UFW as the exclusive bargaining agent for all its agricultural employees.

With the signing of the first contract, conditions drastically changed. Wages increased, bath-room facilities and fresh drinking water were present in the fields and child labor came to an end.

Dangerous pesticides were closely supervised, and a union hiring hall was established, eliminating the hated labor contract system which brutalized and humiliated workers. The hiring hall established hiring on the basis of seniority and gave workers job security for the first time.

In 1970, Gallo renewed the contract for another three years, agreeing to increased wages and medical insurance coverage.

## Teamsters herd scabs

At the expiration of that contract in April, 1973, Gallo changed its policy. Two days before negotiations on a new contract were to begin, Gallo arbitrarily fired one of its workers, Robert de la Cruz, a strong UFW supporter.

On May 1, Gallo sprayed its fields with the dangerous pesticide systox in violation of the contract. At least one worker required hospital treatment as a result.

Teamster representatives were invited into the fields by Gallo. On May 12, one worker was suspended. On May 14, another was fired for using strong language against the Teamster organizers.

In the middle of May, Gallo sent all its workers a letter stating: "You are in the middle of a contest between two unions..." UFW President Cesar Chavez immediately demanded an election to allow the workers to choose between the two.

Gallo negotiator Robert Deatruck responded, on May 29, "We have no reason to believe

that anyone but you (the UFW) represents the workers; an election just delays things."

In June, Gallo fired another UFW member, Feliciano Urrutia. Teamster organizers threatened workers in the fields, saying they would be fired if they did not sign with the Teamsters.

On June 26, Gallo stated that the Teamsters represented a majority of its workers and that negotiations with the Teamsters for a contract would be opened.

For good measure, Gallo fired two more UFW members. The next day, workers at the Livingston Ranch went out on strike.

A week later, the UFW presented signed authorization cards from 173 of the 222 Gallo workers on the payroll at the Livingston Ranch.

The next day, Teamster organizers brought in scabs to replace the striking UFW members, and on July 9, after a single negotiating session, Gallo and the Teamsters signed a four-year contract. On July 18, Gallo ordered striking UFW members evicted from housing owned by Gallo.

## Sweetheart contract

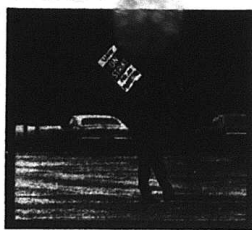
The Gallo contract with the Teamsters is far more favorable to Gallo than the former UFW agreement. It establishes lower wage rates, abolishes the union hiring hall, permits the reinstatement of the contract labor system, and eliminates important health and safety provisions, particularly those against the use of deadly pesticides.

In other words, the Teamster contract with the growers is a sweetheart contract -- the same type of rotten agreement that Teamster bureaucrats sign to cover many workers in non-trucking industries -- only worse than most.

Throughout the summer of 1973, a similar pattern was repeated all over California, as the leadership of the Teamsters Union conspired with growers to destroy the United Farm Workers union.

Supporters of the Farm Workers can help by refusing to buy grapes and lettuce which does not bear the UFW union label, and by boycotting all wines produced by Gallo and other non-UFW companies.

In addition to Gallo, all Guild and Franzia wines are under boycott. Any wine which says "Modesto, California" on the label is a Gallo wine. However, wines produced by Italian Swiss Colony, Almaden, Paul Masson, Christian Brothers, Novitiate of Los Gatos, and Perelli-Minetti are produced under UFW contracts and may be purchased. ■



# Which Side Are You On?

Kim Moody

To most of us, "collective bargaining" means company-union negotiations, conflict, and even strikes for improvements in wages, benefits, and working conditions. It appears to most union members as a process of "horse trading" in which the union and the company haggle and compromise.

It also seems that collective bargaining usually ends with a sell-out. Each time, with or without a strike, the top union leaders settle for less than the members need, less than they promised a couple of months earlier, and less than the company can afford.

Most labor leaders, however, no longer view collective bargaining as conflict or even horse-trading. What the workers experience as a sell-out does not come at the end of negotiations, but at the beginning.

Labor leaders and management may disagree over details, but in most negotiations today the basic terms of agreement are understood by both sides from the start.

Here is how industrial relations expert Albert Blum describes the ritual of contemporary collective bargaining:

"... a large share of collective bargaining is not conflict but a process by which the main terms of the agreement, already understood by the negotiators, are made acceptable not to those in charge of bargaining, but to those who have to live with the results.

"To accomplish the bargaining task properly often requires cooperation, not conflict, between negotiators; and cooperation, even if surreptitious cooperation, is what we frequently find if we look below the surface of collective bargaining." (Harvard Business Review, Nov.-Dec., 1961, pp. 64-65.)

[Professor Blum does not expect workers to read the Harvard Business Review or he would not be so candid. Blum, like most industrial relations experts, approves of "cooperation,"]

The point is that the union bureaucrats know and accept in advance what the company is willing to give. Knowing that the union members need and expect more than this, the union officials cooperate with management to put one over on the workers. They have called many a strike for the sole purpose of wearing down the workers' resistance so that they will vote for a contract they would not have accepted without a strike.

## Class collaboration

Of course, even the most cynical labor leader must propose some gains in each new contract. But, this is done in a way that is acceptable to the company.

As long as the economy grows a little, the corporations can afford regular wage increases without cutting into their profits. They simply pass on the cost of any increases by raising prices, on the one hand, and speeding up work, on the other. This year's wage and benefit increases represent little more than last year's growth in worker productivity and consumer prices. That is the basis, understood in advance by both union and company negotiators, for the terms of the agreement.

When a crisis hits, and productivity and prices won't cover significant wage or benefit increases, the labor leaders tell the workers that things are bad and it is no time to go for a big settlement. They join in the chorus calling for restraint and sacrifice in the "national interest;" that is, the interest of the corporations.

In good times or bad, the bureaucrats do not view collective

bargaining as a process of fighting for a better standard of living, but as a procedure for selling the company's offers to the workers.

Some people call this labor statesmanship. We call it class collaboration: the cooperative effort of the representatives of the workers and those of the capitalists to hold working class living standards within the bounds of growing profits.

Collective bargaining is a reflection of the class struggle; that is of the workers' fight against the employers for better living and working conditions.

It is certainly true that without any unions the employers would not be willing to give anything. But unions do exist and the fact is that class collaboration robs the workers of gains that could be won and the means to fight for them.

Workers today need a different view of collective bargaining. In place of "cooperation," we propose collective bargaining in which the union fights for the real needs of the workers regardless of what the company wants to give.

## Class struggle unionism

A good, all-out fight by the unions could cut through the legal red-tape and procedural hang-ups, and force the multi-billion dollar corporations to come across with some real gains for the workers. This policy of open, militant unionism we call class struggle unionism.

Class struggle unionism doesn't trade wages for speed-up. It doesn't just accept offers, it made demands and fights to win them.

Class struggle unionism is militant, democratic, rank and file unionism. The way things are going today, it offers the only kind of collective bargaining policy that the workers can afford. ■

don't buy  
scab  
lettuce,  
grapes,  
Gallo!





# MASS LAYOFFS THREATEN WOMEN WORKERS

Gay Semel

In the late 1960's women began demanding the right to control our own lives.

Hundreds of thousands of women organized and demonstrated for the right to control our bodies; the right to free abortions so that we could decide when to have children and when not to. We demanded equal opportunity; the right to all jobs, and equal pay for equal work.

We wanted free childcare controlled by parents and staff, so that working mothers would not have to pay out half their salaries. Childcare would free women to participate in all aspects of life -- the women's movement, unions, politics or just going to the movies without a hassle.

We wanted to be treated as

independent, intelligent beings, not passive sex objects and house maids. We demanded liberation.

At first the movement was treated as a joke. We were pictured as bra-burning man-haters and we provided a lot of cheap material for TV comics.

And there were many problems. The movement began among middle class white women and seemed unable to speak to black women and poor and working class white women.

Often the problem was more serious than a lack of communication. The radical women's movement had demanded free abortion. But the movement became dominated by career-oriented, middle class women. The question of payment was ignored leaving working class

and poor women little better off.

The needs and aspirations of different classes came into outright conflict over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The middle class movement aggressively lobbied for passage of the amendment, indifferent to the fact that it threatened to wipe out important legislation protecting working women.

Both socialists and trade unionists in the women's movement split over supporting the ERA. The bone of contention was protective legislation, which the ERA could have been used to eliminate. But protective legislation was also used to keep women out of some jobs.

This split seriously weakened the women's movement. Even more telling was that the trade unions never seriously fought

for the positions they held, leaving the debate in the courts and legislative chambers.

But in spite of the failures of the movement -- and the unending put-downs in the press -- the ideas of women's liberation spread throughout society.

Remarks like "I'm not for women's lib but I think women should get equal pay" became common.

Although most working class women didn't participate, more and more began to identify with the struggle because the ideas of women's liberation spoke to real pain and frustration.

**Women workers do much of society's dirty work. In jobs that have mostly been ignored by the trade union movement, and at the lowest rates of pay, we do mindless, repetitive, back breaking labor. We are the tele-**

phone operators, waitresses, domestics, factory workers, garment workers, sales "girls," file clerks, typists, janitresses -- the list of lousy jobs goes on and on.

For us the ideas of women's liberation held out the possibility of a decent job at a living wage.

And there have been victories. Job discrimination against women is now illegal and women are fighting their way into industrial jobs previously closed.

Women are climbing telephone poles, driving trucks, cabs and busses, building houses and working on production assembly lines.

Although the number of women in heavy industry is still token, not since World War II have so many women won industrial jobs.

For Clara Atkins, of St. Louis, the women's movement meant a job at Ford Motors' Mercury assembly plant making \$5.01 an hour rather than the \$2.20 an hour she had been making as a saleswoman at Sears.

**Last hired, first fired**

Yet the coming recession threatens to wipe out these minimal advances won by the motion of thousands of women.

Clara Atkins, along with the other 120 women hired at Ford's Mercury plant, has been laid off indefinitely. Three hundred women at the General Motors' plant in Linden, New Jersey are gone. Hundreds of thousands of auto workers, mainly black, have been laid off across the country, including almost all the women recently hired.

Auto is only the first hit. The recession will intensify. Cuts in auto production and layoffs affect other industries. There will be additional mass layoffs. Women and blacks, the last hired, will be the first let go.

Women first won jobs in heavy industry during WWII when the male labor force shrank severely. After VJ day, 600,000 women were kicked

## International Women's Day, March 8

March 8, 1974 marks the 66th celebration of International Women's Day -- the day established by the international socialist movement to mark the struggles of working women for equality, freedom and liberation.

The inspiration for International Women's Day came from striking women garment workers in New York City, who on this day in 1908 went into the streets demanding an end to sweatshop conditions, equal pay and equal work, childcare centers and the right to vote.

Most of these demands have not been won by women even today. They remain goals which can be attained only through the struggle of women organized into an independent movement, fighting for their own needs.

International Women's Day must not be simply a day for speeches and noble sentiments in memory of the past -- it must be a day that is used to help organize the struggle today.

We call on working women to lead that fight. ■

### International Women's Day Celebrations

New York, March 8--*Working Women and Women's Liberation*. Speakers from United Farmworkers, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, International Socialists. I.S. Hall, 17 E. 17th Street, 7:30 p.m.

Berkeley, March 8--*Working Women and Their Liberation*. 6453 Irwin Court, Oakland, California, 7:30 p.m.

Cleveland, March 9--*Women Workers on the Move*. St. Patrick's Church, 3602 Bridge Ave., 7 - 11 p.m.

Detroit, March 10--*Struggle of Working Women*. Speakers from United Farmworkers, Wayne State Assn. of Black Students Women's Caucus, rank and file woman auto worker, others. Dinner and two films: *Salt of the Earth* and *I Am Somebody*. 2930 Woodward, 3 - 9 p.m.



# Unemployed, Frustrated And Angry

## Down and Out In Motor City

out of the plants to make room for the returning men.

Today women face the same expulsion from industry.

After World War II women had to be convinced they did not belong in industry. A massive psychological campaign was waged in the women's magazines and the mass media, convincing women they belong in the home.

Fraudulent studies were conducted showing that children with working mothers were extremely unhappy. Other inane studies showed that working mothers (and all working women) were themselves neurotic.

As hundreds of thousands of women face unemployment, we can expect a similar campaign. This time they will tell us that the "old fashioned ways are really best." We will be encouraged to give up convenience foods and appliances.

By returning to time-consuming, tedious, household drudgery, they will tell us, "women can save both energy and family life." Unemployment will be pictured as a "lucky break" giving us an opportunity to "recapture a better day."

### Fight the layoffs

It took 25 years and a women's movement to undo all that psychological garbage and win back some of the gains lost after World War II: They must not be lost again.

We must not allow the victories of our struggle to be wiped out by the recession.

The unions must be made to fight the layoffs. A shorter work week at the same rate of pay could provide work for all. In auto, voluntary layoffs are a possibility. In other industries other demands can be raised.

Jobs in heavy industry are neither easy or pleasant. The only thing they have going for them is a living wage. Equal access to them is not liberation, just an important first step. ■

**DETROIT --** The coming recession is already here in Motor City. Anger is high, tempers are short and lines stretch for hours as auto workers jam the unemployment offices.

Daily the Detroit papers announce new temporary and indefinite layoffs.

Hard statistics on the numbers laid off, sex and race are hard to find but a quick tour of the unemployment offices tell you that the numbers are high, most are black and many are women.

At Chevy Gear and Axle women were fired at the end of World War II and not hired again until 1972, when the Office of Federal Contract Compliance established quotas for the hiring of women in production jobs.

### Layoffs and overtime

A young black woman from Chevy told *Workers' Power* that 600 had been laid off at her plant -- half of them women. Most of the women are young, many the sole support of their families. She supports two children, herself, and has no relatives in Michigan to help her.

Her rent is \$125 per month. Only having six months' seniority she is not eligible for SUB pay (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits) and must support her children on \$74.00 a week in unemployment payments. "Things were hard before, but now I just don't know how we'll make it."

She spend \$50.00 a week for childcare and feels that, because she is a woman, she won't be able to find another job that would pay her enough to cover baby sitters and feed her family. She is afraid that she will now have to apply for welfare.

She is angry. "Some plants are working a lot of overtime, even though they're laying off." She thinks that the union should refuse overtime when "people are out in the streets."

An older black woman, with five years seniority as a sewing machine operator at General Motors Fisher Body plant, agrees, "They're not supposed to work people overtime and have people in the street. That is where the union is no good. If workers refuse that overtime, they'd have to call some back."



She was working to put her daughter through college. Her daughter will graduate soon and she will get SUB pay. She says she will be all right, but "for some people it's already a depression."

She worked with almost all women, sewing upholstery for Buick, Pontiac and Olds (all big cars). "Almost everyone's been laid off going back to 1969" -- and most won't get back.

Many of the women had been on welfare before getting jobs in auto. "Now they'll have to go back."

A young black woman from Mack Avenue Stamping Plant told us that in her department, the press room, a majority of women have been laid off. Most had less than a year on the job, and would not get SUB pay.

The job is not that hard but the foremen are much harder on women. "Men could get away

with more." The foremen wanted the women to work through their break -- until they refused and finally walked off the job.

It didn't matter if he wrote them up "because the women stuck together. We didn't give him no trouble -- he gave us trouble."

A young white woman from the same plant stated that most of the women hired in the last year and a half have been laid off.

"They have signs all over saying they give equal opportunity according to race and sex, but mostly they're laying off women."

A black woman laid off from Chrysler Blue Print and Janitorial in Highland Park talked about the difficulty getting hired in an auto plant if you are black or female.

Her father worked for Chrysler for many years. When she

was a kid "they didn't hire blacks." But Chrysler had a baseball team and "they hired him so he could play baseball on their team."

"It took even longer to hire women." She went from various jobs, including keypunch operator, until she got a job in auto.

Her husband has also been laid off. Now she has to "go back and hustle." She has one child and is hoping to be able to get temporary work.

She believes working people should get together and fight. "No one should work overtime when other people are laid off." Her father tells her that "in the old days people were united; if one man walked out -- everyone walked out. Now one man says 'I got to feed my kids.'"

She thinks "it should be like in the old days."

### Unions must fight

When asked about the union, the women felt the UAW had failed to fight the layoffs. Over and over again we heard "the union should refuse overtime while there are people in the streets."

Most believe in the union but don't know how to make it fight "like in the old days."

They blamed the oil companies, the auto industry and the government for shafting working people.

Many waited a long time to get decent jobs. Now they face unemployment and welfare. They want the UAW to fight for them. They are frustrated and they are angry. ■

Rose Veviak



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Workers' Power photo

# India: Strangled by A World Slump

Nigel Harris



Starving sacred cow

An advertisement for 17 social education officers at \$35 per month recently attracted nearly 100,000 applications in the Indian state of West Bengal. That is only a small part of the more than one million educated unemployed in the State, which is only a small part of the 50 or 60 million unemployed in India.

The jobs could have been created. The factories could have been built. But not in a world that strangles the Indian economy every time it moves, and not with an Indian ruling class up to its eyeballs in corruption.

## Steady deterioration

India's economy has deteriorated steadily since the government largely scrapped economic planning in the mid-1960's. There was a slump and disastrous droughts up to 1969. Like an animal with its back broken, the economy made some efforts at recovery in 1970 and 1971, and then slumped again -- with another disastrous harvest -- in 1972 and 1973.

The country made nothing out of the last boom in world capitalism. Yet now the world

system is heading for recession, and will drag India down even further. Real income per head has fallen to roughly \$100 a year.

But Delhi still lives with its fairy stories. One -- just published -- is the Fifth Five Year Plan. It is full of stirring talk, but it assumes, for example, that oil prices will be three to four dollars a barrel up to 1978.

The price is \$11.65 now. At that price, more than half of India's export earnings must go to buy oil, and there will be almost nothing to buy machinery or scarce industrial raw materials.

## Gigantic famine

Without oil, fertilizer output will collapse. There will be nothing to run the well and irrigation pumps, to drive the trucks that get the seeds to the villages. One small variation in the weather could bring a gigantic famine.

With inflation running at more than 20 percent a year, with food in great shortage because of hoarding, speculation and corruption, there is nothing between the mass of workers and poor peasants and starvation.

Every demonstration inevitably turns into a riot in conditions of such desperation.

Some 35 people have been shot dead by the police after three weeks of food riots in the western state of Gujarat and military rule has now been introduced in the city of Ahmedabad.

In Maharashtra, Mysore and Uttar Pradesh, hunger turns men mad so that they attack not their enemies, but their neighbors -- Mysoreans in Maharashtra, Marathis in Mysore, Muslims in Uttar Pradesh.

Maybe another twenty have been slaughtered by the police in these states.

In all cases, the extreme right organizes violence against minorities as its means of moving to power.

Men turn to their neighbors instead of their enemies when they can see no way out. Scapegoats provide temporary relief.

## Gandhi and her leeches

The lack of an alternative is the failure of the labor movement to provide a clear workers' revolutionary opposition to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her leeches.

The militancy is certainly not lacking. The railway workers have waged a long battle. 200,000 jute workers have just been on strike, just as the em-

ployers were trying to force seven-day, three-shift working in order to scoop a world market deprived of packing material by the oil shortage.

Gandhi's response is to call for a ban on strikes for "a few years." This is a handful of straw to hold down a typhoon.

The last revolt -- in Calcutta and Eastern India between 1968 and 1970 -- found the rest of the country looking on while Gandhi tore out the heart of the rebellion. Now, however, the fire has ignited in Western India -- Gujarat and Maharashtra, which includes Bombay.

Perhaps this time the rest will not watch passively.

Whatever Gandhi invents, she can deliver very little. World slump and escalating oil prices are hammer blows on India's economy.

Internally she has given so much away to private interests -- it is called "liberalization" and is the government's response to any crisis -- she has little leverage over the economy.

Her ruling Congress Party is afflicted with the creeping plague of corruption, and the infection spreads throughout the State machine.

The one child Gandhi has pampered is defense. The shad-

ow of the armed forces has grown longer and longer. Bread may be short, but she has never skimmed on the bayonets to keep down the starving.

The generals, as always, watch and wait. Last year, the revolt of police in Uttar Pradesh must have alarmed them.

Now, the collapse of economic policy, the riots and rebellion must frighten them even more. If there has to be a change, the generals will try to ensure a change in their direction.

## Failure of the left

The long-drawn-out agony of India -- part of the apparently endless torment of the peoples of the backward countries -- continues solely because of the failure of the left.

The failure of the workers of the world to achieve victory in any single country, and the almost complete degeneration of the middle class parties in Asia that call themselves "proletarian" -- Communist, Revolutionary, Socialist, what have you -- means that there is no way out.

*With its large, well-organized and very militant working class, all the essentials for a workers' revolutionary alternative are present in India -- except that the party does not exist.* ■

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Repression and inflation sweep Spain

In Spain, General Franco's regime began 1974 determined to rescue its inflationary economy by forcibly creating conditions to impose sacrifices on workers.

The vicious sentences meted out to the "Carabanchel 10," workers' leaders who were accused of union organizing, were only the center of a massive campaign of repression. The regime now has major trials in the works for:

\* Strike leaders in the El Ferrol shipyards, two of whom were shot in cold blood by police during the strike.

\* Four alleged members of the executive of UGT, a socialist trade union federation that is automatically illegal.

\* Six auto workers from Spain's largest car firm, charged with organizing a factory occupation in Barcelona, and three lawyers charged with helping them.

\* Ten alleged members of a Catholic socialist union organization, also automatically banned.

The number of political trials in Spain every year exceeds 10,000. It is common knowledge that brutality and torture are a regular, systematic part of arrest and questioning.

The repression's intensity stems from 15-20% inflation,

along with other economic diseases, resulting from Spain's position as a cheap labor market for Europe's recession-ridden Common Market.

French, German and British capital pour into Spain to take advantage of the low (and unenforced) minimum wage of \$3.50 per day. Jails are reserved for workers who attempt to win more than this; they are not exactly bulging with employers who pay less.

Besides underground union activity, there is a major struggle by oppressed national minorities in Catalonia and the Basque country. Both show indications of developing toward revolutionary working class politics, but their tactics to date -- illustrated

by the spectacular assassination of reactionary minister Carrero Blanco -- have created crises for the regime but not taken advantage of it.

While European capital and American arms pour into Spain, and at a time when the regime is desperately trying to improve its foreign image, the People's Republic of China has opened an embassy in Madrid. This occurred immediately after the Spanish Maoists denounced the Polish government for doing the same thing. (East Germany also set up relations with Spain last year.)

To ensure good relations with Franco, Chairman Mao even sent a telegram of condolences to the regime following the Blanco assassination. ■

### Mass strike wins wage gains in West Germany

Two million West German public employees ended nationwide selective strikes after winning wage gains of 11%. Some of the lowest paid and worst treated workers led the strike, including transport, hospital and postal workers, garbage collectors and civil servants.

Unofficial local strikes and demonstrations, slowdowns and meetings during working hours had begun several weeks earlier. A national strike ballot, held by five large public employee unions, resulted in strike votes between 70% and 90% and the rejection of the government's 9% offer. ■



# What's Good for ARAMCO...

Are the big oil companies unpatriotic? This is the charge of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee investigating the oil crisis.

The occasion for Jackson's charge is the disclosure that the Arab-American Oil Co., a joint undertaking of four major U.S. giants (Exxon, Standard of California, Mobil, and Texaco) had cut off supplies of oil to the U.S. Sixth Fleet during the recent Arab-Israeli war.

"Scoop" Jackson, who, as the 'Senator from Boeing,' is a well-known expert on patriotism, calls the conduct of the capitalists a "blatant flagrant example of corporate disloyalty to the United States of America."

## Oil politics

Now patriotism is an ideology behind which lie the interests of the corporations, including these same oil giants. That's who the Sixth Fleet and the rest of the U.S. military is there to protect in the first place.

That huge multinational corporations themselves could be charged with a lack of patriotism is surely an original idea. What is the truth behind Jackson's charge?

The Arab-American Oil Co (Aramco) does not deny the truth of Jackson's accusation. Its alibi is solely that it was ordered to do so by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

Why was Aramco so anxious to do the bidding of Faisal, who, as is well known, is not an American citizen? According to Washington inside dopest Jack Anderson, Faisal had had the foresight to mine

the fences around Aramco's major oilfields.

Explosions set off near large quantities of oil have been known in the past to cause large fires. Oil that has been burnt is generally considered to have little or no market value.

Could it be possible that Aramco took out a balance-sheet, added up the figures, and discovered that an excess of patriotism on its part could have cost it millions of dollars in profits?

Perhaps the thought went through the minds of the directors of this company: which is more important to us, our patriotism or our profits?

Or perhaps the directors have a clearer view of the meaning of patriotism. If they were disposed to speak freely

on the subject, the directors of Aramco might want to tell Sen. Jackson: "You speak to us of patriotism. But aren't the profits that we make the very goal that our nation strives after? In safeguarding our property and our profits, aren't we acting in the true interests of the nation? What right do you have to lecture us about patriotism? We are the national interest."

Such frank talk is perhaps too much to expect from the captains of our industry. However, Mr. B. R. Dorsey, the Chairman of Gulf Oil Corporation, also a major multinational oil company, has remarked, "I hope that future historians will be able to say that oil producing nations did our country a favor in 1973."

## Patriotism and exploitation

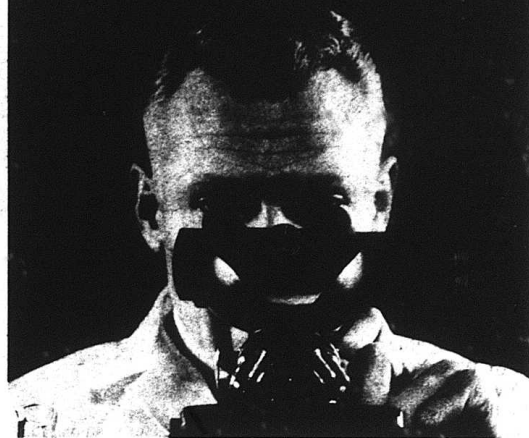
As Chairman Dorsey says, "Our greatest hazard is that our attacks on each other may continually divert us from getting on with this enormous task." This task is to raise the price of oil and further centralize the vast capital in their hands, at the expense of every working person in the world.

This is the real meaning of patriotism according to Chairman Dorsey and all other exploiters all around the world: don't criticize us, but let us get on with the job of exploiting you. ■

Emmet Casey



# Drug Firms Fatten On Prisoners' Blood



Today's victims of drug experimentation, like the victims of Nazi doctors during World War II, are in concentration camps. They are prison inmates across the country.

Drug companies favor prisoners for drug research because they can get by so cheaply. When prison volunteers, most of them black, most of them poor, are paid it is at ten percent the cost of research volunteers on the outside, between \$5 and \$10 a week.

In addition, when the experiments are so grisly that volunteers are hard to find — like injecting leukemia-infected blood into humans — prison officials will strongarm prisoners into becoming "volunteers." They get big rake-offs when their facilities are used.

Virtually every major drug company is involved in prisoner research. Wyeth, Lederle, Bristol-Meyers, Squibb, Merck Sharp and Dohme, Upjohn, and Parke-Davis.

One drug company rents the use of inmates at Vacaville (Medical Facility) Prison from the California Department of Corrections for \$15,000 per year. Upjohn and Parke-Davis recently acquired exclusive rights to the use of prisoners as "experimental material" at Jackson Prison in Michigan. The two companies maintain fully equipped laboratories inside the prison worth over half a million dollars.

Drug studies on prisoners include inducing disease such as cholera, typhoid fever, malaria, scurvy, and cancer.

The side effects range from headaches and drowsiness to hemorrhage, loss of hair or teeth, bone deterioration, nerve damage, heart disease, cancer and death.

The companies like drug research behind bars because prisoners can be easily controlled, watched, and if the going gets

rough, a prisoner can't quit. News of deaths or bodily damage can be easily hushed up.

It's clear the drug companies are criminally responsible for cruel and lethal medical experimentation on prison inmates.

The penal system is just as guilty, although its benefits are somewhat different.

On one hand there is the financial gravy. While the prisons maintain they get no pay, funds are funneled from the drug companies to the doctors in charge of a study who, in turn, kick back some of the grants to the prisons.

On the other hand there is an effect on discipline among prisoner-volunteers. An inmate has to have an almost clear behavior record to qualify. With an average of \$30 a month to spend in the canteens, prison officials figure the "volunteer" will be a little more docile.

Finally, there is the question of consent. In one case a prisoner sued after being in a drug study. He testified he was seized by four prisoner trustees who forcibly injected a drug in both arms.

He suffered an agonizing near-fatal disease of the muscles, in the course of which his weight dropped from 140 to 75 pounds. He subsequently developed chronic stomach ulcers as a result of being treated for his condition with steroids, a medicine requiring very careful control for safe use.

This inmate was awarded \$6,000.

Due to recent publicity of this racist, disgusting practice, drug companies are worried there may be bans or controls on the experimentation practices. The companies now plan broadening experiment programs in underdeveloped countries to take up the slack. ■

Kay Stacy

# AGAIN!

Another elderly man has been killed by the greed of a gas company. This time, it was the Wisconsin Public Service Corporation.

They wanted \$128. When they didn't get it, they turned off the heat and took the life of 71-year-old Harold Radtke instead.

Radtke was found Feb. 5 in his home in Peshigo, Wisconsin. He was wearing six shirts and huddled next to a hot plate for protection against the zero-

degree weather. He had been dead for two days.

"It would have been more human for them to give him a gun and shoot him," said Radtke's brother Wilbert. "At least it would have been fast."

District Attorney Daniel Miron said, "I'm convinced the company didn't violate any laws."

In any civilized society, the directors of the Wisconsin Public Service Corporation would be on trial for murder. ■

# Women's Liberation And Revolution

Beth Cady

The early women's movement, in the middle 1880's, believed that equality before the law, the right to an independent wage, and the vote were the key to liberation.

One hundred years later, having won most of these demands, their great granddaughters found that liberation is still a long way off.

The vote and equality before the law have not freed women. They are still tied to the kitchen and to society's worst jobs.

On the job women are confronted with the same lousy working conditions that men have been forced to work in since the Industrial Revolution. Usually the conditions women find are worse than those for men.

Lower pay for the same job, and less opportunity for advancement, are the rules for women workers. White women are paid less than both white and black men, and black wom-

en are at the very bottom of the wage scale. Poverty is highest among single mothers.

Women's position in the work force, like the position of blacks and other oppressed minorities, is highly unstable. They are used as a vast reserve labor pool.

In times of boom and prosperity, women are encouraged to work. In times of slump and recession, as today, women are expelled from industry.

Not only are women exploited at work, but their lot is a double burden of oppression. A woman worker is also responsible for the health and welfare of her husband and family.

After a day of hard work she goes home and moonlights at her other full time job - caring for her family.

Although legal rights and equal access to all jobs are important victories for women, they are not liberation.

Any movement that truly fights for the liberation of women will have to attack the eco-

nomie position of women in society. It will have to confront the role of women as a reserve supply of labor.

Most importantly, it will have to confront the role of women in the home.

For centuries women have been chained to the home as domestic slaves, often totally dominated by men.

To be free woman must be able to participate in all aspects of life. This means that many of the functions she now performs in the home will have to become social responsibilities.

One of the most important demands to liberate women is free 24-hour child care, controlled by parents and staff.

It is the unending responsibility women have for the care of children that keeps women chained to the home. Decent, free childcare, available whenever it is needed, will free women to participate fully in society.

But liberation cannot mean freedom at home and brutaliza-

tion on the job. Working class men are also oppressed in this society, working at backbreaking jobs while the fruits of their labor become the profits of others.

Liberation must mean freedom, independence, a job that is organized according to the needs of the workers, and a decent life.

This requires massive changes in production. For women it requires that the work they have always done in the home be converted from private production to public production. For all workers it means the creation of a system based on human needs rather than private profit.

Capitalism is the opposite of liberation for women and all working people. Under capitalism all of society is organized to produce profits for those who own the factories.

Women are pulled in and out of the labor force, not because of the needs of women, but because of the needs of the capitalists for more or less workers.

Free childcare is not provided because the enormous costs would eat up their profits, while billions are spent for war and destruction to maintain their system.

On the job workers are continually sped up to squeeze out ever more profits - no matter the cost in health and safety to the workers.

Liberation means overthrowing the capitalist system and building a government democratically controlled by working people.

This is not an easy task. The capitalists will not just hand things over. Working people and the oppressed will have to fight.

This means building a revolutionary party of women and men, black and white.

But women must insure that their needs and demands are part of the struggle to build a new society. A revolution that overthrows capitalism and destroys the economic basis of her oppression does not automatically mean the liberation of women.

Any movement that is committed to building the new socialist society must have as part of its program an attack on the institutions that oppress women. Women must be free to exercise every privilege and right that men enjoy in society.

## Independent movement

To guarantee this women must organize themselves in an independent movement to demand their freedom and liberation.

Today, as the struggle of the working class develops and grows more militant, there is the possibility of the growth of an independent working women's movement.

Unless women begin to organize a movement that attacks their oppression the working class movement as a whole will not be capable of understanding and eventually solving the oppression of women.

Women must organize themselves now so that the struggle ahead will include both men and women and be able to liberate women and all humanity. ■

## Russian Dissidents Back Solz'syn, Renew Protests

The sudden expulsion and exile of Russian oppositionist writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn evidently was carried out when the bureaucracy realized they could neither force him to be silent nor afford to prosecute him for speaking out.

Naturally, the pro-capitalist Western press has welcomed the author of the *Gulag Archipelago*, a heroic fighter for freedom and the rights of the individual. At the same time the controlled Russian press, assisted most actively by the US Communist Party through its paper, the *Daily World*, continues to shower Solzhenitsyn with slander and personal abuse in an effort to suppress any consideration of his ideas.

A number of papers have drawn a parallel between the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn and that of revolutionary left oppositionist Leon Trotsky in 1928.

Several capitalist governments, including Britain and West Ger-

many, have fallen all over themselves to welcome Solzhenitsyn and to offer him residence and the best of working conditions. When Trotsky was exiled, however, an entire decade was spent in trying to find a country that would grant him asylum.

Until he finally gained entry to Mexico, not a single country in Europe nor the US - all of which prided themselves on their "democracy" - would permit Trotsky to live on their soil.

Unlike Solzhenitsyn - whose religious philosophy has led him to support capitalist "morality" - Trotsky fought a revolutionary struggle against Stalinism. His efforts were aimed toward rebuilding the world revolutionary movement which Stalin destroyed.

The struggle against Stalinist totalitarianism cannot be left to such agents of Western imperialism as the governments of the US and Western Europe, so eager to praise Solzhenitsyn's work today. They have no interest in

real freedom or democracy, either in Russia or their own countries.

The most impressive statements on the Solzhenitsyn case have not come from the capitalist governments, but from the remaining Russian oppositionists whom Solzhenitsyn was forced to leave behind.

Just as he spoke out to defend them, many writers have begun to defend him and pledged to continue the struggle against political and literary suppression. Of particular importance was a long statement by historian Roy Medvedev, stating his political differences with Solzhenitsyn but defending the historical accuracy and integrity of the account of Stalin's concentration camps in *Gulag*.

Whatever the future career of Solzhenitsyn himself, it is already clear that his expulsion has failed to put an end to the opposition movement he came to symbolize. ■



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# reviews

## books

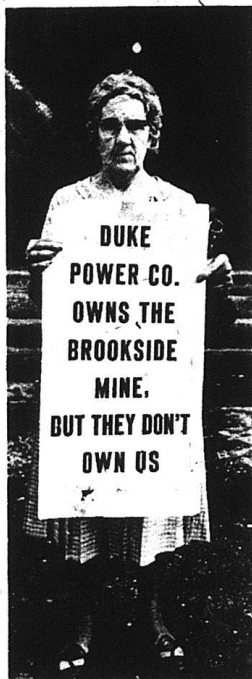
# Poor, Proud & Hillbilly

[Hillbilly Women, by Kathy Kahn. Doubleday and Co., New York 1973. \$7.95.]

"This book tells what it is like to be a woman when you are poor, when you are proud and when you are hillbilly." In her first sentence, Kathy Kahn, singer, writer and organizer, sets the tone for one of the best books out on women today.

Kathy Kahn spent two years travelling through Southern Appalachia, and in the hillbilly ghettos of midwestern cities interviewing poor Appalachian women. With some explanatory notes, she lets the women tell their stories about their lives — about their lifelong fight against exploitation of land and people, and their struggle for human dignity.

Nineteen women, from different communities and work experiences were interviewed, yet they all share the common bonds of sisterhood, of kinship with their friends, families and co-workers. All the stories are interspersed with poems and



songs produced by the mountain people.

Sarah Ogden Gunning, a labor organizer wrote the song for all hillbilly women:

*I am a girl of constant sorrow  
I've seen trouble, all my days,  
I bid farewell to Old Kentucky,  
Place where I was born and raised.*

Aunt Molly Jackson, a miners' organizer wrote:

*I am a union woman  
As brave as brave can be  
I don't like the bosses,  
and the bosses don't like me,  
Join the CIO, Join the CIO.*

Florence Reese was in the tradition of Aunt Molly Jackson and Sarah Gunning. She recalls the struggles by the mining communities, in particular, in Harlan County, Kentucky. She was a coal miner's daughter, a coal miner's wife, and through her life has battled with the miners against sheriffs, coal operators, local police and national guards.

In 1931, during one particularly bloody period of union organizing she wrote one of the miners' favorite songs, "Which side are you on":

*They say in Harlan county, there is no neutral there  
You either are a union man, or a thug for JH Blair.*

*Which side are you on, what side are you on.*

Granny Hagar, a miner's widow carried the fight against the coal owners through her life as well. She led the fight against Black Lung, for greater health and safety provisions in the mines, and an end to strip mining.

*"Really, I'm a-trying to put all my time into this, a-trying to help the people who have Black Lung and the widows. So I don't want no pats on the back. I don't want no reward for it. All I want is for people to get up an move forward and try and help themselves."*

Not all the women come from mining towns. Bernice Ratcliffe and Lorine Miller spoke about their activities during the strike against the Levi-Strauss company. In their fight, the women had to gain confidence and strength fighting not only against the company, but also against their own union, the ILGWU, which did little to help the women.

Bernice Ratcliffe, who was ready to lead the fight against the scabs, said:

"Well, I'll tell you about a union. You know what's true if the union is run and run by the people it would be a fine thing. But it's money; if the union gets a little money to go along with management, then the leaders will accept that money and then you and me are left holding the bag."

Almost all the women spoke about their experiences as workers. However, they also told stories about their childhoods, their families, and their attitudes towards family, friends, bosses, and government.

Throughout all the interviews, the women present the courage, anger, class consciousness, pride, and strength in being a hillbilly woman. Ruby Green a waitress in Hendersonville, N. C. stated: "We're the backbone, just like the women of the West. We're the backbone of this part of the country."

My only complaint is that the book is not out in paperback. Read it. ■

Celia Emerson

## movies **Serpico: Honest (ex-)Cop**

Serpico is a film about an honest cop. Honest cops are unusual, and honest films about honest cops are even more unusual. Serpico is one of these.

The police talk and act like real cops, and the movie gives you a good feel of New York, of the noise and tension, the violence always ready to explode.

Serpico is honest in another way, too: the Hollywood dreamland police heroes — both the *Mod Squad* and the *Dirty Harry* types — are absent.

Serpico is non-fiction, but movies have often distorted "true" stories beyond recognition. In *Serpico*, though, the situations are real, and the characters are forced to deal with them in the ways real people do.

This means that the emotions and conflicts in the film seem important and moving to the viewer. And the quality with which this film was made — especially Al Pacino's portrayal of Frank Serpico — greatly adds to its impact.

Like many rookies, Frank Serpico had always wanted to be a cop, to help people, to make the police "relevant."

Many cops are probably upset when they discover what the police force is really like: narrowminded, based on violence and racism, shot through with corruption at every level. But most, almost all, either leave the force immediately or make their peace with it — with the free lunches and small favors, the beatings and harassment of its victims.

Serpico did neither — he decided to stay in and fight back. The drama and power of the film come from showing us the cost of that decision. It brings home the power of the system to swallow up any one individual "reformer."

As Serpico gains experience in the department, he sees that the corruption is not only widespread, it is far from petty. As a Bronx plainclothesman, his share of the "net" would have been \$800 a month provided by loan sharks, pimps and gamblers, as well as by "legitimate" businesses.

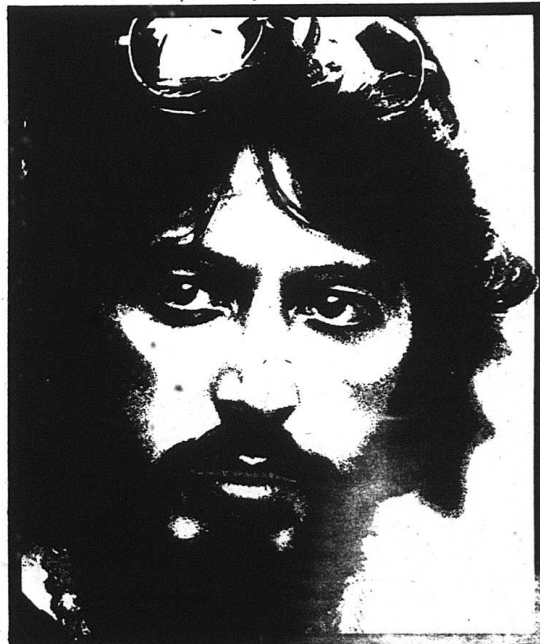
Later, he will discover that even this is chicken-feed. In other areas, and on special squads such as narcotics, the take is far higher. Fighting crime is only a time-consuming annoyance that sometimes can't be helped.

The story of Serpico's attempt to fight this corruption is the story of his education. He tries to inform his superiors, but they don't seem to want to know. He manages to get word to the Commissioner himself, and is told to keep his eyes open and wait for a phone call. Naturally, it never comes.

He gets to the mayor's office, but City Hall doesn't want to antagonize the police department — there's a "long, hot summer" coming, and putting down blacks is a much higher priority than cleaning out corrupt police. But maybe in the fall...

At last Frank Serpico gets to testify to a grand jury, where the DA carefully sees to it that no higher brass are implicated. An angry Serpico understands that a few Bronx plainclothesmen will be scapegoats for what he

[Continued on page 14]



# IRISH UPSET WAGE CONTROLS

Irish workers won an important victory recently when they defeated the Irish version of wage controls, the National Wage Agreement.

Delegates to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (similar to the AFL-CIO) voted by over 3 to 1 to reject the proposed National Wage Agreement even though almost all Irish labor leaders had strongly backed it.

Before the Congress meeting each union had a membership vote on whether to accept the agreement. The rank and file rejected their leaders' advice and voted down the agreement.

The National Wage Agreement is negotiated by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the National Federation of Employers.

The agreement puts a national limit on the wage increases any union can negotiate and forbids strikes to gain larger increases. The Irish government helps to enforce the ban on strikes.

One important reason why the employers, the government, and the union bureaucrats were unable to push through this National Wage Agreement was that rank and file union members organized to defeat it.

## Shop stewards committees

Shop Stewards Committees against the National Wage Agreement were formed in Dublin, Limerick and other cities to campaign for a "no" vote in the unions.

They leafleted factories and union meetings, held public meetings, and organized demonstrations. In Dublin over 1,000 people came to a rally against the National Wage Agreement.

The Shop Stewards Committees emphasized that since the cost of living is going up by 12½% a year in Ireland, only those earning under \$44 a week would get any increase in real wages from the proposed agreement. Above all they argued that any National Wage Agreement or any wage controls benefits the employers at the expense of the workers.

The Socialist Workers Movement, the Irish revolutionary organization with whom the International Socialists are fraternally related, are active in these shop stewards' councils.

In spite of this clear rejection of the National Wage Agreement, the employers and union bureaucrats are trying again. They have come up with a new proposed National Wage Agreement, identical to the rejected one except for giving larger increases to the higher paid workers.

Some unions are not allowing a membership vote on the new agreement. The Shop Stewards Committees are again organizing to fight the wage agreement.

The defeat of the National Wage Agreement was not just a victory for Irish workers, but a victory for all workers who have to fight wage controls. It was the first time that rank and file workers have organized and beaten wage controls.

As *Workers' Power* goes to press, the Tory government in Britain has just "discovered" that Prime Minister Edward Heath's nationwide campaign against what he called the greedy, overpaid miners who were holding the country up for ransom was based on an "arithmetical mistake."

Presumably, this also means that Heath's national lockout of British workers for two out of every five working days was also a small miscalculation.

It is much more likely that there was no mistake at all. The government deliberately overstated the miners' pay to crush their fight for a decent wage, then "discovered" its error to open the door for a settlement when the miners' strike gained widespread sympathy and forced the calling of new elections.

In the next issue of *Workers' Power* we will present a full report on the result of the general election in Britain and what it means for the struggle in the months ahead.

## THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

No. 3 in a series of educational reprints designed to bring to today's socialists the lessons of the past.

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# Strike

[Continued from page 3]

Guard, and state troopers all stand ready to protect the bosses' property and profits, with complete disregard for justice or human life. As one trucker put it, "They might as well have 'Exxon' insignias on their uniforms."

The strike did not win the big demand of a price rollback. The government wanted more than anything to hold the line on this, because giving in would encourage other workers to fight against inflation and super-profits. The oil companies didn't give Nixon's campaign \$5 million for nothing!

To win such a far-reaching demand would have required spreading the strike further, mobilizing more workers, especially the half-million Teamster over-the-road drivers who work for wages.

The basis for an alliance between the independents and company drivers was present, despite the role of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons who denounced the strike from the beginning.

Teamster drivers who work for a company are also being tightly squeezed by the fuel crisis. The reduced speed limits have cut sharply into their wages.

This and the inflation have more than eaten up the small wage increase won last year. As a result, Fitzsimmons has been forced to take the potentially explosive step of reopening the Teamsters' national contract, the Master Freight Agreement.

The independents could have won significant support by making appeals to the Teamster ranks and advancing demands on their behalf: a new scale for road drivers whose wages were cut with the speed limits, a pay boost to make up for inflation. Steel haulers, who are owner-operators but most all in the Teamsters, could have been organized to fight within the union for support.

## Sell-out in Washington

Without any strategy for spreading the strike, the independents' leaders who negotiated in Washington feared isolation of the strike, and accepted the government's paltry offer of higher freight rates and additional fuel allocations.

The Washington negotiators felt they could not spread the strike and that it might not hold solid much longer. This judgment may have been correct, although thousands of truckers wanted to stay out, with meetings often voting unanimously against the settlement.

But it was primarily the way the leaders settled that dealt the truckers a severe blow. Sometimes it is necessary to retreat, but in this case most of the leaders were selling the deal to the truckers with the



Independent truck drivers in Michigan discuss strike strategy

government providing the script. This included the leaders of FASH, the men who led the steel haulers, who have been in the lead fighting for better contracts, pension rights, and union reform.

Instead of announcing they were retreating now to fight another day, they called it a victory and called the rollback "unrealistic." Instead of placing responsibility on the government and oil companies, they apologized to the public for the strike.

Instead of calling on workers to launch a fight against inflation, rolling over the complacent labor bureaucrats, they called for settling things in the future by sending representatives to government hearings.

In short they blunted the effect of the strike, and lost a chance to claim it as only the first round in a fight by all workers against the crunch the oil corporations are inflicting.

## United movement

Whether or not the strike could have been spread and fought on is not certain. But the question of what strategy to follow, and what lessons to learn from this strike are extremely important to all truckers.

Some owner operator groups, especially in the West, see themselves as independent businessmen and often act as scabs in strikes or as rate-busters, as on the California waterfronts.

This strategy puts thousands of drivers into hopeless competition with each other, and will lead nowhere except working oneself to death and throwing health and safety conditions out the window. The only winners are the large trucking companies.

Many independents despise the leadership of the Teamster union, and often for very good reasons. But owner operators cannot wish away either the policies of the federal government and the oil companies, or those of Nixon's allies at the top of the Teamsters hierarchy.

The way ahead for the independents begins with bringing their fighting spirit into a movement of rank and file Teamsters. The power to attack Fitzsimmons and Co. lies with a united movement of all drivers, inde-

pendents and company drivers alike.

United, the truck drivers have the power to set an example for all the working people of this country. ■

Ken Smith

# Cop

[Continued from page 13]

now believes is the corruption of the entire system.

Finally, his life in danger, he goes to the newspapers. The scandal shakes the city and forces the establishment of the Knapp Commission to investigate police corruption.

Frank Serpico has given up a lot. His private life has been wrecked by his single-minded crusade, by his living on a tight-rope for so long. He has no friends on the force — and soon is hated and threatened by every cop he meets.

He feels as if he is the criminal, the outsider who refuses to abide by the rules. He carries a 14-shot automatic to protect himself from his fellow officers, his life is constantly in danger.

Eventually he is set up and shot in a raid. For he has threatened, not just a few dishonest men, but a whole network of corruption. There are only a handful who are not a part of it.

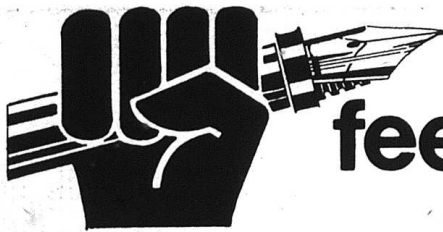
But as he testifies before the Knapp Commission, the same high police and government officials sit in the front row. The men who have purposely prevented any interference in police affairs now politely applaud him.

The Knapp Commission will win its headlines and disappear, and nothing will change. And Frank Serpico, who always wanted to be a cop, and who tried to reform the police force, gets on an ocean liner and sails into exile, alone and frightened and disgusted.

The next time anyone tells you that being a cop is just a job like any other, tell them to see Serpico. ■

Ken Morgan





# feedback

## Outsight

I have received my first issue of your paper, *Workers' Power*. It was most informative and "outsight." Thank you brotherly for your interest in my request. I have passed the paper on to other inmates.

Sincerely,  
Bro. JP

## owner operators

*Workers' Power* No. 91 was in general an issue that it was hard to be indifferent about. Most of the articles were really excellent. The two major labor stories on the truckers' strike and the Rheingold sit-in are models of socialist labor writing. Instead of rebrewing warmed-over pots of message, these articles focussed on the breadth of the movement and the reactions of workers caught up in the struggle. Cal Williams and Ken Morgan should be congratulated.

However, there were a few articles I was dissatisfied with. Unfortunately, the lead article on the front page was one of these. Two things about the article seem rather opportunistic. Is it really possible to con-

sider owner-operators to be workers? This seems to be stretching a point to me.

They are paid for their work, but they also own (appropriate the use value of) a force of production. This ownership is also somewhat illusory because many owner-operators are under contract to big companies who pay them for their truck's use for a specific job or period of time.

Yet there is an important distinction that accounts for the movement of owner-operators in response to gas price rises. They have to pay for their own gas and upkeep on their vehicles. This means that they appear on the market as a buyer and seller of commodities in a way that most workers never do. Even in the closest example I can think of, a craftsman who owns his own tools, the craftsman is not daily forced onto the market as his supply of tools needs to be replenished.

It might be possible to justify the use of the term working people, in the sense that the word "toilers" was used in the pre-WWI radical movement, that is, workers, peasants, small business-

men. What was missing from the analysis is the need for a union which can weld the independent truckers and the company-paid truckers firmly together. Otherwise, attacks on Fitzsimmons can be construed to fall in with

Parkhurst's attacks on the union. (Is Parkhurst himself a driver?) The appeal for organization is too vague. We should have posed direct demands on the union to support, and organize, a nationwide strike to support the independent truckers' demands.

Also in this line, it should be noted that it is inadequate to say, "We have the strength. Now all we need is organization." There is a third factor: awareness that the interests of all truckers are interrelated.

BG

## Proud distributor

Let me say that *Workers' Power* is steadily improving. I thought that the last issue (88) was really fine. It had a very good balance of articles, and was really interesting to read. All in all *Workers' Power* is more and more becoming a paper which I am proud to distribute and to identify myself with.

ML

## Correction

The last issue of *Workers' Power* incorrectly gave the date for the Chicago conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women as March 25. The correct dates are March 23-24.

# Workers' Power

## We Stand For:

\* **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.**

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# what's on

Berkeley, Feb. 28—Forum: *Is a Socialist Revolution Possible in the United States.* Joel Geier, National Chairman, International Socialists. University of California at Berkeley, Student Union, 12 noon.

Vancouver, B.C., March 9—Forum: *Crisis in Britain.* Patrick Doncaster, organizer, British International Socialists. Spartacus Bookstore, 8 p.m.

Portland, March 4—Forum: *Toward a Revolutionary Workers Movement.* Joel Geier, National Chairman, International Socialists. Reed College, Winch Social Room, 8 p.m.

Seattle, March 12—Forum: *World Economic Crisis.* Joel Geier, National Chairman, International Socialists. Seattle Community College, Broadway Campus, Room 430, 12 noon.

# International Women's Day Celebrations

New York, March 8—*Working Women and Women's Liberation.* Speakers from United Farmworkers, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, International Socialists. I.S. Hall, 17 E. 17th Street, 7:30 p.m.

Berkeley, March 8—*Working Women and Their Liberation.* 6453 Irwin Court, Oakland, California, 7:30 p.m.

Cleveland, March 9—*Women*

*Workers on the Move.* St. Patrick's Church, 3602 Bridge Ave., 7-11 p.m.

Detroit, March 10—*Struggle of Working Women.* Speakers from United Farmworkers, Wayne State Assn. of Black Students Women's Caucus, rank and file woman auto worker, others. Dinner and two films: *Salt of the Earth* and *I Am Somebody.* 2930 Woodward, 3-9 p.m.

## Robert Williams Fights Frameup

Militant civil rights leader Robert Williams is still fighting the legal harassment that forced him to flee the US thirteen years ago. During the early years of the civil rights movement Williams organized black self-defense units in Monroe, North Carolina, that withstood armed assaults from the Ku Klux Klan.

As the leader of this resistance tance he was singled out, suffered numerous attacks on his life, and was finally charged with the kidnapping of a white couple during a violent racial conflict.

Knowing that he could not receive a fair trial, Williams fled the country, making his way to Cuba, China and Tanzania. He returned eight years later seeking asylum in Michigan.

One month after his arrival, Governor Milliken made the decision to extradite Williams to North Carolina. Since that time Williams and his lawyer have been fighting the extradition in the Michigan courts.

Williams recently filed a federal civil suit charging Michigan Attorney General, Frank Kelly, with conspiring to deny him of

his civil rights. Williams produced a written statement from Leo Maki, the assistant attorney general assigned to review the case upon Williams' return to the US in 1969.

Maki stated that *the opinion that he submitted to the governor* recommended Michigan review the circumstances surrounding the alleged kidnapping in North Carolina before proceeding with the extradition. This investigation is what Williams has been fighting for.

The final draft submitted to the governor made no mention of the recommended investigation. It concluded instead that all the papers were in order for the extradition to proceed. Maki's signature was forged on the final document.

### Armed self-defense

The entire case is another use of the judicial system to harass and intimidate someone fighting against the capitalist system. Williams' advocacy of armed self defense for blacks who were being subjugated by white racism led to the charges facing him now.

In 1955, Williams became president of the Monroe NAACP. The Supreme Court's school

desegregation decision was an issue that polarized the community. When most of the middle class blacks fled the organization, Williams and the few remaining members recruited new members from the black working class.

This revitalized NAACP set out to integrate the local public swimming pool. The result was armed attacks on the black community by Klansmen, sometimes with police escort. Williams' response was to start a chapter of the National Rifle Association and to train self-defense units. When the Klan caravans opened fire on the black community, they were met with return fire from defense units placed strategically throughout the community.

Although defense units freed blacks from open attacks, racist conditions remained basically the same. The hope that justice for blacks could be found in the courts was shattered in instance after instance.

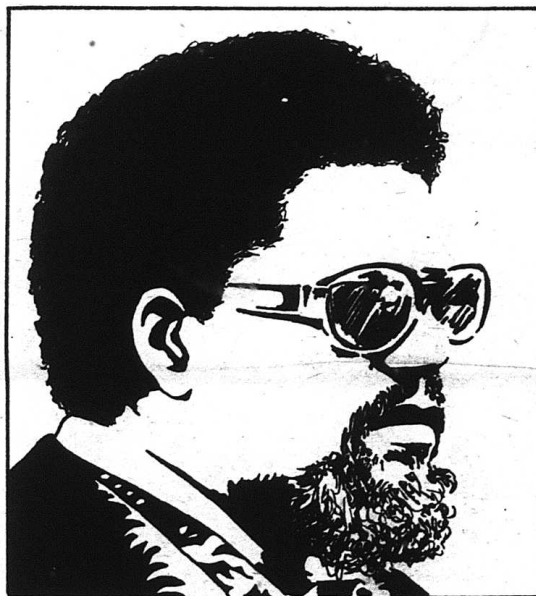
In another instance, a white man who beat and attempted to rape a black woman was tried and acquitted. Black feelings of anger overflowed. Williams then stated what many had known for so long — blacks could not expect justice within the present system. The only choice was to meet violence with violence. Williams was ousted from the NAACP by the national leadership for six months.

### Freedom riders

In August of 1961 the Freedom Riders came to Monroe to support the demands for equal employment and desegregation of public facilities. Their devotion to non-violence gave the racists a chance to vent their pent up anger. Williams and his defense units agreed not to interfere. No guns were allowed on the picket lines at the city hall.

Attacks on the demonstrators increased daily. On one Sunday thirty demonstrators were severely beaten and jailed. News of the incident spread and thousands of whites poured into town to prepare for an attack on the black section.

Blacks from the outlying areas poured in to aid the blacks of Monroe. Defense units were deployed awaiting



Black revolutionary Robert Williams

the attack. The National Guard was activated and state police surrounded the community. At dusk, cars began to speed through the community and shots were exchanged.

It was at this point that the Stegalls, a white couple, drove into the dead end street where Williams lived. Trying to turn around, they were surrounded by a crowd of angry blacks and taken from their car. They were in Williams' yard when he intervened, convinced the people not to kill the Stegalls, and let them into his home.

### End harassment now

Shortly thereafter, Williams and his family were convinced to flee their home and community until the conflict was resolved. Although the Stegalls were released unharmed from Williams' home later that evening, Williams and four others were charged with kidnapping. Upon hearing of the kidnapping charges, Williams fled the country and was later joined by his family.

The four other defendants

were tried and found guilty, but the decision was later overruled by the State Supreme Court due to exclusion of blacks from the jury. Then why the harassment of Williams?

By keeping Williams tied up in a lengthy legal battle the ruling class will have achieved its objectives -- to keep Williams occupied in fighting a battle on their grounds, and by their rules.

Without support from the people, Williams will eventually be railroaded back to North Carolina. With a show of support in the court room and contributions to pay for publicity and legal expenses, the real case of Robert Williams will be heard, and Williams will finally be freed of thirteen years of legal harassment.

### Committee to Free Robert Williams

For further information write to the Committee to Free Robert Williams, P.O. Box 823, E. Lansing, MI. In Detroit, call 341-9594.

## Workers' Power

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