

WORKERS' Power

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WAGE CONTROLS = NO

by Gay Semel

You've heard about Ford's WIN Program and biting the bullet. You've also watched unemployment rise to over six million while inflation continues out of control. And you're probably disgusted.

Well, you're not the only one. Almost everyone is disgusted with the simpleton in the White House—including a large section of the capitalist class.

Enter the Democrats. . . .

At their recent mini-convention in Kansas, the Democratic Party put forward their program to fight the economic crisis.

Amidst incantations to Frank-

lin Roosevelt and the spirit of the New Deal, the Democratic Party went on record for tax cuts, tax reform, a federal job program, health insurance, consumer protection, easier money, and wage, price, rent and profit controls.

When it is all listed like that it looks like a possible break for working people. But just listing what they have gone on record for does not tell the true story.

The Democratic Party is a capitalist party. Its program is designed to prop up capitalism as much as is the Republicans'. Health insurance, and consumer protection are minor reforms that they claim to fight for only to maintain popular

support. In the end whatever they get passed in Congress will be so watered down it will be useless.

HARDLY A DENT

The Democratic Party program for increased federal jobs to fight unemployment adds up to only 300,000 jobs—hardly a dent in the six million unemployed.

But even before the Federal Government can begin hiring the cities are laying off. Almost 10,000 New York City workers have been laid off in the last few months. City jobs were once considered depression-proof.

The question of tax reform is simply hot air. The Democratic Party and the capitalists that back it, just like the Republican Party and the capitalists that back it, believe that the purpose of taxes is to enhance "business, investment, and the free enterprise system."

The Democratic Party built the present tax structure—including the massive loopholes for big business and the oil interests—and have controlled it for years.

The real heart of the Democratic Party program is wage controls. Although, officially, they claim to be for price, rent

and profit controls as well, it is wage controls that will be implemented.

During World War II, under wage-price controls, wages were frozen while profits rose. In 1971 the same thing happened.

In fact, the 1971 program of economic controls was so clearly wage controls only, that the conservative labor leadership has been forced to officially oppose them.

PACIFYING LABOR

To keep the labor bureaucrats pacified, rent and profit controls were added.

But these will be administered the same way as price controls—not at all.

Even if the machinery of control profits were set up the corporations would simply lie. Without access to their books who knows how high their profits really are.

The real purpose of controls is to keep wages frozen while prices rise so that profits can increase allowing business to expand.

This is what caused the short lived boom for the capitalists in 1972-73. And this is what the Democratic Party wants to do again.

That means making working

people pay for economic recovery and growth.

Many working people desperate for a break in the ever upward inflation spiral and frightened about their jobs or already out in the streets, will see to the Democratic Party program as a possible way out.

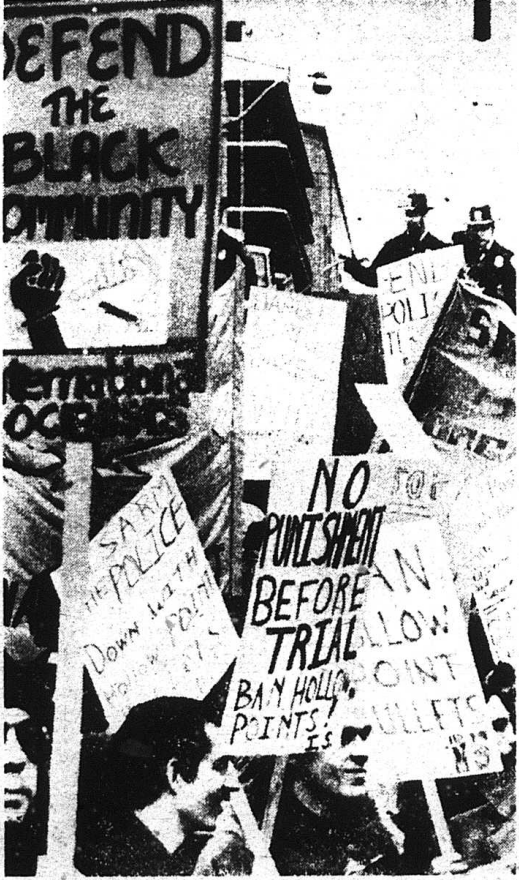
Have no illusions, The Democratic Party represents the capitalist class. Their program is designed from that point of view—if implemented it will mean an attack on working people just as clearly as the massive unemployment of Ford's WIN program.

WAGE CONTROLS SOON

The Democratic Party is committed to getting wage controls passed early next year. In 1971, wage controls deflated rank and file resistance. Militants felt they could not fight the government.

We must not let this happen again. Wage controls can be fought by a militant trade union movement. The British labor movement defeated wage controls by striking against them. We can do it here.

Militants must begin fighting controls now by convincing their fellow workers that wage/price controls are not in their interests.



Members of the International Socialists were among the 350 persons who marched through Seattle December 14 supporting the demonstration against racism in Boston.

Thousands March Against Racism

—See Page 3



20,000 marched in Boston December 14 against racism.



AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

If We Had Ham, We'd Have Ham & Eggs... If We Had Eggs

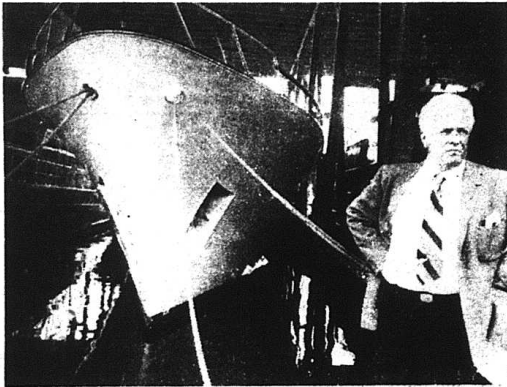
On May 7, 1969 President Nixon announced that under his administration, hunger in America would be ended "for all time."
But today, 105,000 go hungry in Detroit alone—30 thousand more than last year.
Old people living on fixed incomes often eat mainly cereal and dog food. Children in families forced onto welfare suffer, too.
With more and more layoffs and rising inflation, it can only get worse, unless something is done. Just what is being done?
Emergency food programs, always inadequate, are now being

cut back.
President Ford's budget proposals include a \$325 million cutback on the Food Stamp program in 1975, and another \$650 million decrease in 1976.
And food prices are rising faster than welfare payments and food-stamp allotments.
From 1970—1973, food prices based on a diet for the poor designed by the Department of Agriculture, rose 35.2%. Welfare checks rose only 14.7%.
It is the foods the poor depend on that have doubled and tripled in price. While butter rose only 8.9%,

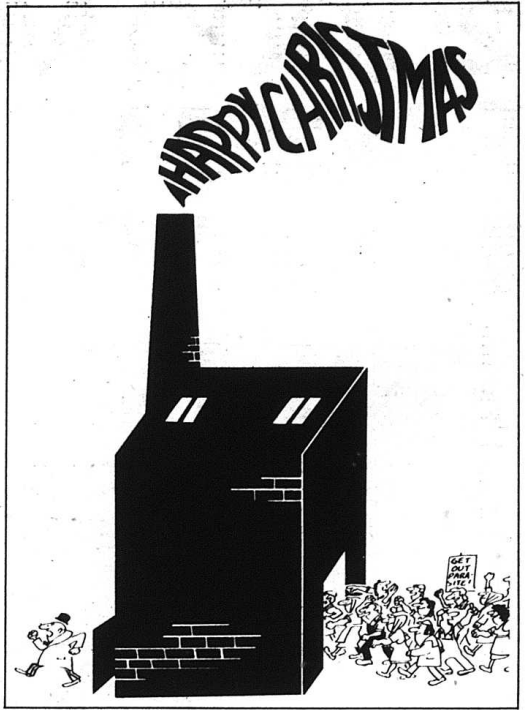
margarine went up 63%. Steak is up 38.2%, but dried beans rose by a whopping 256.3%!
Yet the government is cutting back the Food Stamp program by a total of almost a billion dollars. This is less than 1 1/2% of the yearly military budget.
During the Great Depression, four people died every day from hunger in Detroit alone. It could happen again.
The capitalist class has decided that the money spent to feed the poor is better spent increasing their own wealth. □

But No Slump In Yacht Sales

While many people have trouble affording food, luxury items are selling well.
While November car sales dropped by almost 30%, sales of Cadillacs and Lincoln Continentals rose 15—20%.
During this Christmas season, diamond bracelets are selling much better than their rhinestone imitations. The sellers of yachts are experiencing a boom.
Leonel Beakbane, yacht broker, says the recession is not hurting him at all.
"We have a very limited business. You have to have an annual income of over \$1 million after taxes so our clients usually are not affected by temporary economic conditions."
Beakbane's customers include the Shah of Iran, Henry Ford II and Malcolm Forbes of Forbes Magazine (a business publication), among others. □



Beakbane and one of his yachts.



'Common Cause' Fights For The Common Rockefeller

Common Cause is a liberal lobbying group in Washington set up in 1971. Its aim is supposedly "clean government" and combating the influence of big money in politics.
As the slime of the Nixon administration oozed to the top, "Common Cause" filled American newspapers with ads asking for financial aid.
Through public donations from working people Common Cause claims to work for the interests of working men and women. It has the support of sections of the trade union leadership.
As Nixon looked worse, Common Cause looked better. Many people sent in their bucks as a way of registering their disgust with

Watergate.
As it turns out, one of those people was Nelson Rockefeller.
Rocky sent in a measly \$45,000—not much compared to what he gave Kissinger, Ronan, and Morhouse—but quite a lot compared to the fives and tens sent in by working people.
Interestingly, when Rocky's nomination for Vice President was being investigated by Congress, Common Cause was nowhere around. They neither testified nor issued any statement publicly.
While one of the world's richest men was being passed as VP, the organization supposedly dedicated to fight the influence of this man and his friends remained silent.
Whose cause was that again? □

THE GREAT LABEL RIPOFF

Noticed this funny little pattern on your food labels lately? It's the mark of your friendly food capitalist, getting ready to mess you over good.
Now, we all know from past experience that the American food industry takes its job seriously, and they wouldn't be spending several thousand dollars per label change for nothing, right?
This label is part of a new system that will replace the supermarket checkstand operator, the price on the label [and the person who put it there] and most of the people who do inventory. In addition it will provide a very easy way to raise prices.
You say, Now how are those little strips gonna do all THAT! With computers, baby, and you have to

hand it to 'em, it's ingenious.
This little pattern is the Universal Product Code, or UPC. The one illustrated above is for Jello Pudding and Pie Filling. The stripes and numbers are a computer code for the manufacturer, brand, size, etc. of an item.
What they aim for and are trying out in some areas is a special scanner in place of a checkstand in the supermarket.
Computers have memories, see, and they work very fast. The item moves over the scanner and the computer reads: "Jello Pudding, Chocolate." That goes into the memory bank, where it says, "Jello Pudding, Chocolate, 30c." So it racks up 30c on your bill, and also checks off one box of chocolate pudding sold from the inventory.

Now if the store wants to raise the price of Jello Pudding (and who doesn't?) the manager just reprograms the computer memory to say "Jello Pudding, 35c." You never even saw it.
RAISING PRICES
The price doesn't appear on the item, because that requires labor. So that guy with the stamper will lose his job, and you won't be able to compare prices on items.
And you won't know if the computer ever makes any little "errors." You'll just have to trust them, sweetheart.
And just think, the days of the highly skilled checkers, who know the daily prices of 6,000 or so items, are numbered. All the stores

will need is unskilled (i.e., poorly paid) baggers.
So what can we do about it? One way suggested saving your Jello UPC's to stick onto steak or milk. Another natural saboteur, who made her debut quietly smashing scab grapes in Safeway stores, plans on taking a magic marker to obliterate the stripes.
But seriously, the retail clerks' union, who will be creamed if this is successful, will have to lead a joint labor-consumer movement to force stores to retain item prices and pay scanner operators checkers' wages. □
Yvonne White

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20,000 MARCH AGAINST RACISM IN BOSTON

Demonstration A Massive Blow To Racist Forces

by Mike Hirsch

BOSTON—Over 20,000 demonstrators marched in Boston on December 14 to protest institutional racism, racist violence against the black community and the segregationist policies of the Boston School Committee.

The turnout for the National March and Rally Against Racism was higher than all but the most optimistic march organizers had predicted. It was much larger than any right-wing mobilization to date.

In composition, the march was largely white, with no more than 15% black participation. Working class participation came largely from members and supporters of the city's numerous tenants' unions.

While some labor unions formally endorsed the demonstration, they did not mobilize their members. Those trade union contingents that were involved were organized independently by socialists active in those unions.

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, whose leader Bill Lucy was a speaker, was ineffective in getting many unions to endorse the march or in getting black trade unionists to the demonstration.

THE COURTS OR THE STREETS?

The demonstration was primarily built by the left, and socialists in particular. On the whole it was one of the most successful efforts of this kind in a long time.

The NAACP, whose suit against the Boston School Committee initiated the busing program, refused to support or build the demonstration. NAACP head Tom Atkins, interviewed on ABC's Black News, was asked why his organization did not endorse the demonstration. "We march on the courts," he said.

Atkins, since early fall, has been calling for the placing of federal troops in Boston—and after the previous week's violence he asked that those schools involved be permanently closed.

The demand that no school be allowed to function if it is not open to black children is correct, but it is not a strategy for winning support for the busing program.

The NAACP from the start has been hostile to popular participation in this struggle. It has called for the troops both as a substitute for community participation—either in the form of self-defense or demonstrations—and in order to keep things quiet with themselves in control.

Among the black politicians, only Democratic State-Senator-elect Bill Owens was active in organizing the demonstration.

When a dispute over the march route resulted in a clash with police, Owens charged collusion between the police, the Mayor's office, and Boston shops

and businesses. Interviewed the next night on Black News, he charged that "The Mayor decided in the interests of big business and capitalism and against the interests of the people," to deny the requested route.

Mayor Kevin White is a Democratic Party liberal—the same as Owens. The Democrats are always claiming to fight for the little person—as long as the fight is in somebody else's back yard.

But when the lines are as clearly drawn as they are now in Boston it is no accident the Democratic Party is on the same side as the capitalists, and black people are on the other side, marching.

Owens has to decide where he really stands: on the side of the people and outside the Democratic



Party or inside the Democratic Party acting as a black cover for the racism of the capitalist system.

"ROAR" HUSHED

The mobilization has had a devastating effect on the organized

racists in this city. The anti-busing Committee to Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) had planned a massive counter-demonstration for the following day, but was forced to set its plans back to January.

Threats to disrupt the anti-racism demonstration never mater-

ialized. With the exception of the brief scuffle with police the march was uneventful.

The most significant outcome of this mobilization was that it clearly demonstrated that the political field is no longer monopolized by the racists and their lynch mobs. □

NY City Jobs Cut

by Clyde Hanson

NEW YORK—On Thursday, December 12, Mayor Abe Beame announced that New York City will lay off 3,725 workers. Beame is a Democrat, elected with labor support only a year ago.

Adding this to 1,510 layoffs previously announced and 2,700 forced retirements brings the grand total to 7,395. The cuts are a greater percentage than during the Great Depression. Hardest hit were Social Service workers, teachers, and the uniformed services—police, fire and sanitation.

NO UNEMPLOYMENT PAY

These workers are not now eligible for unemployment benefits because government jobs have always been considered secure. Congress is presently debating whether to extend coverage to government workers.

Most of those leaving the Department of Social Services were recently hired to alleviate a severe staff shortage. Welfare recipients begin to line up at 7:00 A.M. and many don't get seen until late in the afternoon. Demonstrations by AFSCME District Council 37 had forced the hiring of over a thousand workers.

Since unemployment is swelling the welfare rolls daily, these cuts will only make a bad situation worse. Welfare workers have been grimly joking that they hope they are given welfare applications along with their pink slips.

THE MAYOR'S SPIES

The city is using the tight job situation as an opportunity to begin a speed-up. Productivity rather than length of service may decide who will be laid off.

In welfare, meetings were held to announce that anonymous spies from the Mayor's office will be watching for workers who take long breaks and lunch hours, drink coffee at their desks, or punch in other worker's time cards.

For teachers the productivity drive will mean larger classes. Many are already over the contract limit of 34. The city is cutting substitute teachers by the equivalent of 875 full time positions.

When teachers are absent their students are split up among other classes. The budget cuts will affect supplies and after school activities, adding to the teachers' woes.

FINE WORDS, NO ACTION

How have to powerful city unions reacted to the cuts? All of them have denounced the plan but proposed no action for city workers to fight back.

Albert Shanker, United Federation of Teachers, called the layoffs "intolerable." Victor Gotbaum, AECME, said "The Mayor is putting the economy completely on the backs of the workers."

Richard Vizzini of the Firefighters said the layoffs will cause loss of life from fires. And John DeLury, leader of the Sanitation union, said he had a "secret plan" to avoid laying off any permanent Civil Service employees.

But when the unions met with Mayor Beame the secret plan was to reduce to mandatory retirement age to 63. The forced retirements reduced the number of layoffs by over 800.

Instead of quibbling with the Mayor about who gets laid off, the unions should take a firm stand against all layoffs. City workers are not responsible for the budget crisis. It is a nationwide, long-term

problem. The city is holding back on already negotiated wage increases retroactive to July, and is considering an across the board wage cut of 1%. The unions must demand full wage pay now.

STOP INTEREST PAY

Before a single job is cut, the city should eliminate the billions of

dollars in tax-free interest it pays each year to the banks and businessmen who own the bonds on city construction projects.

Even now municipal bond offers promise, "our creditors are our first obligation." High profits for these parasites are bleeding the city's finances—they should pay the price of their budget crisis. □

Flint Workers Demand Full S.U.B.

FLINT, Mich.—The Buick Local 599 here is one of the major local unions in the United Auto Workers. On December 6, the local membership meeting passed an "Employment Proposal" to deal with the massive layoffs that have affected UAW members there. It called for a shorter work week, at close to full pay.

Originally, word had it that the Local 599 leadership planned to introduce Vice President Bluestone's wage cut proposal. Bluestone had suggested workers take a cut in their cost-of-living protection in order to finance the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit (SUB) fund, which is rapidly going broke.

But by the time of the meeting, the local officers apparently had second thoughts. It was good they did, for the very mention of Bluestone's proposal was answered with boos.

The proposal they did present

had three parts: first, that unemployment compensation payments be increased by 50% for those workers not collecting SUB; second, that the work week be cut to four days, with workers drawing short work week benefits of 80% as provided in the contract; and third, that federal funds be given to the auto companies to help finance SUB benefits.

Although some members disliked the third part of the proposal, they voted for the resolution because of the first two points, and it passed unanimously.

If the second part of the proposal were implemented, UAW members would work 32 hours and receive payment for approximately 38½ hours per week. According to the UAW's contracts with the auto companies, short work week benefits are paid out of general corporate funds rather than taken from the SUB fund. □

Portuguese workers to Army: "You are sons Of the people"

[Manuel Cresco, a Portuguese revolutionary worker who is a leader of the steelworkers' union in the huge Lisnave shipyard near Lisbon, Portugal, addressed British workers attending the National Rank and File Conference in Birmingham, England on November 30. We feel his remarks will be of interest to our readers also.]

The Portuguese working class knows there is no alternative in between fascism and the socialist revolution. Our struggle in Portugal against fascism cannot be separated from the struggle against capitalism.

The overthrow of Caetano (the dictator thrown out by the military last April) was a result of the deepening crisis of capitalism in Portugal. The country was economically backward, and the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies in Africa added to the crisis of the ruling class. The country was permanently in agricultural crisis, with mass emigration and widespread poverty.

The April 25 coup was the coup of the middle class in the army. The parliamentary democracy promised by the Movement of the Armed Forces was welcomed by the ruling class. It could enable them to increase foreign investment, solve the problem of the colonies, work the capitalist system better.

For the capitalist class to rule through parliamentary democracy it must control the working class. The reformist parties were prepared to do this for seats in the government.

Before the overthrow of Caetano the trade unions were fascist bodies, under government control. Workers had to ask permission

from the government to hold meetings and the government could veto any item on the agenda.

There were 320 trade unions. We were forbidden to federate nationally, or to have any international links.

The trade unions were split. Each district had separate unions for each trade. In single factories workers were divided according to trade. There were often up to 35 unions in one factory.

The trade unions negotiated only with the government, and the government was also the arbitrator. This enabled them to keep wages down, to use us as cheap labor.

Inside the factories, when we began to work underground, we set up factory committees of militant workers. They were under the control of no political party.

These committees led many struggles before the coup, including strikes and work-to-rules [slow-downs]. These affected many firms, including ITT and my own workplace, the Lisnave shipyard.

The corporate structure of the unions which existed under fascism still remains much the same, only now it is at the service of the reformists in the government (the term "reformists" refers to the Socialist and Communist Parties in Portugal).

For 48 years in Portugal we suffered fascist rule. Trade unionists were barbarously tortured and jailed by the political police.

After the coup the workers demanded the return of what had been stolen from them. There were strikes of 35,000 workers in textiles, of clothing workers, pharmaceut-

ical workers, post office workers, 9000 workers in my own shipyard went on strike for nine days. No one left the shipyard except women who had children.

The reformists in the government accused us of playing into the hands of fascism. The Intersyndicale (trade union federation) did not help us. They insulted our militants. The trade union leaders were called in like firemen to put out the fire of our struggle.

Our strike was successful. We demanded the firing of any management who had collaborated with the previous fascist regime.

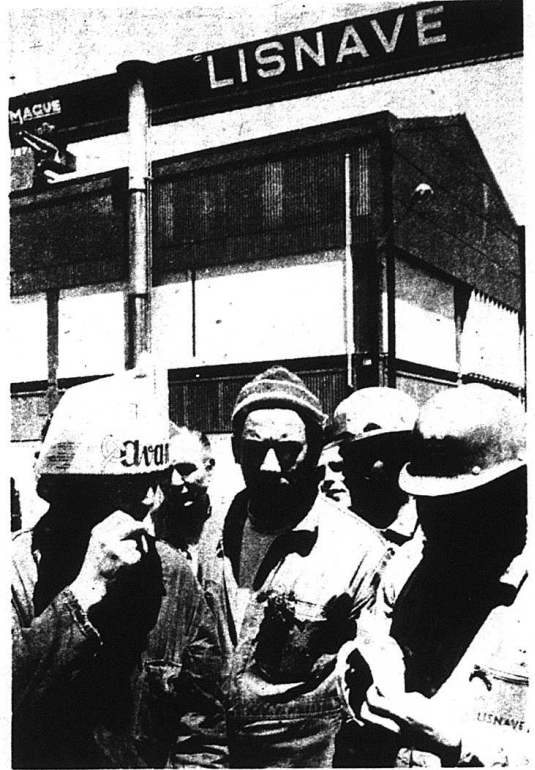
The government brought in an anti-strike law in the summer. In my shipyard the overwhelming majority voted to march in a demonstration against the right wing.

The yards were surrounded by heavily armed troops, paratroopers, rangers and police. The march was led by workers' delegates, arms linked.

We shouted to them: "You are sons of the people, you have been workers and you will be workers again." Many of them cried and we were let through.

We were unarmed workers. Our only weapon was our unity. When the working class is organized there is no lack of weapons.

Our class organizations in the factories, the workers' committees, show the way for a truly democratic rank and file workers' movement. They are the embryo of the workers' councils in a workers' revolution. But the schemes of bureaucratic control by the reformist working-class leaders are a serious threat to the development of our class struggle.



"...we set up factory committees." The author helped lead a successful strike at this shipyard in Portugal.

Many of our wage increases have been swallowed by inflation. The capitalists are trying to attack us through layoffs. Our country is to a large extent controlled by international imperialism. But the workers are now linking up with each other inside the multi-national companies.

Our organization must be directly controlled by the rank and file. We must have mass meetings with full control, shop stewards' committees elected and controlled by the rank and file, with proportional representation of trades.

Long live the working class. Long live the struggle for socialism. □

Northern Ireland

British Troops - Out Now!

The British Labor Government has used the recent bombings which killed 20 people in Birmingham, England, to enact the worst repressive legislation in recent British history.

The new laws are supposed to be aimed at the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) and its sympathisers, who are thought to be responsible for the Birmingham bombings.

The law makes the IRA an illegal organization and people can be arrested for belonging to it. The law also makes it a crime to contribute money to the IRA.

The Home Secretary can order anyone from Northern Ireland living in England sent back at any time even though Northern Ireland

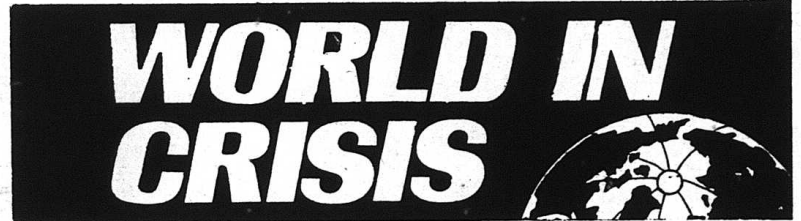
is supposed to be part of England.

The Home Secretary can also declare any other organization besides the IRA illegal any time he thinks it necessary.

Roy Jenkins, the Labor Party Home Secretary who introduced this legislation, has said many times that banning the IRA would do nothing to stop the bombings or destroy the IRA. It is not hard, however, to see the ways these laws could be used.

The British government faced a general strike to free imprisoned dock worker pickets in 1972. In 1974 a miners' strike brought down the government.

After the rulers of Britain have banned the IRA, and presumably its political arm Sinn Fein, they will



have a handy tool for banning revolutionary organizations or the activities of militant workers who threaten their control of the factories and unions.

When they are already deporting Irish Republicans how difficult will it be to deport the many industrial militants who are also from Ireland?

MASS ANGER

The tremendous popular anger resulting from the bombings has made these repressive laws possible. In Birmingham there have been several anti-Irish marches.

Irish workers have been attacked on the shop floor. One Birmingham worker said he would rather have a police state where he would feel safe than have the present situation continue. The British Government has taken advantage of this feeling to pass the repressive legislation, even though they know it will not end the bombings.

The Birmingham bombings took place while the Provisional IRA has

been carrying on a bombing campaign in Britain. While the Provisionals have denied responsibility for these bombings (an unknown group called Red Flag '74 claimed them) their campaign clearly encouraged it.

In a recent TV interview David O'Connell, the Provisional IRA Chief of Staff, defended civilian bombings in Northern Ireland and Britain and said British railroad stations and public highways were legitimate targets.

It is easy to see what drives some Irish Republicans to bombings in Britain. They have seen the British Army destroy their houses in arms searches, their friends and relatives imprisoned without charge or trial, and other friends and relatives shot down by British troops.

Every night more people in the Catholic ghettos of Belfast are murdered by Protestant terror gangs while the British army stands by. When this is your life, it is easy to decide that the answer is

to bomb British cities.

The problem is that these bombings do nothing to free Ireland. They are the British governments' last best hope to rally support for a war that has been becoming daily more unpopular.

Instead of seeing British workers as powerful potential allies to be won, the Provisional IRA is treating them as deadly enemies.

TROOPS OUT NOW!

There is only one answer to the bombings and the repressive laws: a fight to get the British troops out of Ireland. The British International Socialists are working with others in the British labor movement to build a powerful Troops Out Movement.

The Troops Out Movement could tremendously encourage and strengthen the mass resistance to British imperialism in Northern Ireland. □



Recent bombings in Birmingham, England by Irish terrorists killed 20 and led to anti-Irish sentiment and repressive laws. Such tactics won't get these IRA members out of prison, nor liberate Ireland.

Irish Socialists Condemn Bombings

The Socialist Workers Movement, revolutionary socialists fighting for a socialist republic in Ireland, issued a statement on the bombings in Britain and the following wave of repression. The statement reads:

"It is impossible to find any justification for the Birmingham bombings in the context of the struggle against repression in

Northern Ireland. We support that struggle, which is against the army, the police and the state, and not against the British working class.

"Bombings such as those in Birmingham do not in any way advance this struggle. They only increase the determination of the British government to put down that struggle by force. They defeat

the attempts of the left to convince the British working class that it is in their interest to defeat British imperialism in Ireland.

"Even if the Provisionals were not responsible, their declared commitment to bombings in Britain would lead to such bombings. We call on their rank and file members to press for an end to this campaign." □

The Democratic Party— ROOM FOR EVERYBODY

by Jenny Benjamin

Representative Barbara Jordan (D-Tex), a black woman, glowingly introduces Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia—a former Kluge of the Ku Klux Klan. Allard K. Lowenstein, liberal ex-Congressman from New York, is seen cozily chatting with George Wallace's aides. Jesse Jackson of PUSH warmly embraces racist Mayor Daley of Chicago.

This scene is not some social spoof in Mad magazine or a list of things that could never happen. It is the recent mini-convention of the Democratic Party.

This revolting little scenario dramatically demonstrates what the Democratic Party is and why it cannot be used by working and oppressed people to get ahead.

The Democrats claim to be the party of the people, as opposed to the Republicans, who are the party of big business. But the Democratic Party, too, is funded by big business. It represents the program and strategies of the liberal wing of the capitalist class. Out of power it claims to stand for the people. In power it does whatever capitalism needs.

To get into power it tries to appeal to everyone. It says to movements for social change, "We are the only party that is big enough and broad enough to help you."

Once these movements are inside it says, "The only way we can win is if you tone down your demands." In the end, those struggling for change—working people; blacks, latinos, other minorities and women—wind up supporting the Democratic Party as a lesser evil—even after it has completely abandoned support for their demands.

IN CRISIS

But keeping racists, blacks, reformers, machine types, capitalists and labor in the same party is no easy trick. Thus the Party is continually in crisis.

This mini-convention was the last gasp of an attempt, begun two years ago, to turn the Democratic Party into a disciplined party, forcing its leaders to abide by its program. The attempt completely failed and the only result of the mini-convention was to codify existing power relations within the party.

The challenge facing the Democratic Party was unity. The Party was badly splintered following the McGovern campaign. It was pulled together by Watergate and the sweet smell of success in 1974.

The major question that threatened to blow the convention open was the role of blacks, women and minorities within party delegations.

Middle-class blacks and women—who support the system, but want an equal share for themselves—have continually tried to use the Democratic Party as a vehicle for their advancement.

This mini-convention was no different. In 1972, in an attempt to reform the Democratic Party, convention delegations were chosen on a quota system.

Party regulars, including the labor bureaucracy felt that quotas undermined their power.

After McGovern's whopping defeat, the Party machine and the labor bureaucracy attempted to reclaim the Democratic Party.

Robert Strauss, with the backing of George Meany, was made national chairman. Meany and the old party machine types set about



Jesse Jackson

to undo the quota system. The women's caucus and the black caucus tried to keep them.

The party machine and the labor bureaucrats were opposed. Strauss broke from George Meany to push a compromise: no quotas, but affirmative action.

The black caucus sounded very militant and threatened to walk out.

In walked Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW. He, along with Strauss, reworked the wording of the compromise and sold it to both the black caucus (led by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young) and Mayor Daley.

Everyone supported it except the Meany forces. And the Convention ended in a big display of affection between all the disparate groups. It hasn't always been so easy to patch up differences in the Democratic Party though.

Ten years ago, under pressure from the civil rights movement, blacks in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party walked out of the Democratic Party Convention rather than accept a compromise with Southern racists.

Out of that struggle and the realization that the Democratic Party could not be used to fight for black liberation, the black power movement developed.

Today the Democratic Party black caucus flexed its muscles and then gave in. In fact these black Democrats were not at all interested in the struggles of black people. All they were interested in was a bigger piece of the pie for themselves inside the Democratic Party.

While the country falls into increasing economic crisis these self-proclaimed "leaders" of oppressed groups are concerned only with their own position within the Democratic Party.

Six million people are already out of work. Blacks and women are the hardest hit. Yet, neither the black caucus or the women's caucus raised demands that the Democratic Party fight the increasing hardships affecting blacks and women.

WAGE CONTROLS

Another possible fissure within the Party was the question of wage controls. Everyone in the Democratic Party supports them except the labor movement. Before the Convention the trade union bureaucrats made a lot of noise against them.



George Wallace

liberal alternative within the system. Every time people get disgusted, the Democratic Party comes forward promising reform and a new socially-conscious program.

WALLACE A LEADER

But the Democratic Party is a capitalist party funded by one wing of the ruling class. It cannot fight for the needs of the bosses and the workers at the same time—because bosses and workers have very different needs.

It cannot fight against racism

when its Southern delegation is led by George Wallace. And it is running out of reforms to promise as the economic crisis deepens. Business wants more and will give less.

Different groups walk in and out, and the whole thing may even give an aura that change is possible. But in the end it is always the capitalists and the racists who win inside the Democratic Party.

This mini-convention was just one more example. Working and oppressed people need a party of their own. □

Teamsters Flop In Lettuce Field



Police arrest lettuce striker.

The Teamster drive to organize lettuce workers in Arizona has fallen flat on its face. In a representation election held at Cooks Produce Company, the Teamsters lost 52-2 to no union at all.

The United Farmworkers Union, the union the Teamster leadership would like to crush in the fields, boycotted the elections and did mass leafletting of the fields prior to the elections urging the workers to vote against the Teamster

"sweetheart" agreements.

A UFW representative told Workers' Power they had boycotted the elections because under Arizona's "right-to-work" laws, they would be required to sit on a board consisting of the Governor (a known racist and outspoken union hater), representatives from the Arizona Chamber of Commerce, and representatives from the Teamsters Union leadership. These same laws prohibit any union which holds contracts in

Arizona to have in those contracts any controls against the use of pesticides, any union veto on the introduction of machines in the fields and the setting up or use of a union hiring hall.

All three of these demands are demands the UFW has fought for and some of its members have died for since the union began. The UFW said it will boycott all state administered elections under this law until these provisions are repealed. □

labor notes

by Jim Woodward



A coal miner was killed on the first day back at work after the coal strike ended. He was Arthur Gaudiano, who worked at U.S. Seel's Maple Creek Mine in western Pennsylvania. Gaudiano was killed when an underground coal train jumped the tracks, crushing him.

The county coroner said the accident was caused by overloaded coal cars and the poor condition of the track. The company had been warned repeatedly about the track.

For the last two years, Arnold Miller has blamed coal mine deaths on "Tony Boyle's contract." This time he has no one else to blame. He was the one who sold the right to strike over local issues.

Members of Teamsters Local 407 in Cleveland have tried for two years to make some changes in their by-laws, especially to gain the right to elect their own stewards. The officials used one delaying tactic after another, but finally a vote was scheduled for the November 24 meeting.

Supporters of the proposal got flyers out and 600 angry members showed up to stand up for their rights. So the officials refused to allow a vote, claiming one had already occurred.

For over an hour the ranks let their feelings be heard with motions, speeches, boos and yells until the President declared the meeting "out of control." But the fight will continue. And at least for a little while members of 407 won't have to listen to that disgusting whine of union officials about members "who don't care enough to come to meetings."

Sam Evert, former director of United Steel Workers District 31, has been appointed I.W. Abel's personal representative in the midwest. Ed Sadlowski defeated Evert by a 2-1 margin in last month's elections for district director. That election was a major defeat for the Abel machine. Now it appears that Abel is attempting to get around these election results by setting up his own personal organization in District 31.

It is becoming a regular feature of this column to report on dues increase votes in CWA Local 10310, Louisville. For a third month in a row, a dues increase has been defeated. United Action, a rank and file group in the local, leafletting against the increase played an important role in mobilizing opposition votes.

The United Farm Workers union points to figures from the Department of Agriculture as a sign that the growers are suffering from the effects of the UFW's nationwide boycott of scab grapes. This year, as of October 15, there were over 7.1 million boxes of scab grapes in cold storage, up 75% from last year. The highest cold storage total in recent years was 5.2 million in 1969, the year the first grape boycott was won. For those grapes that can be sold, growers are receiving 20% less than in 1973.

Extensive publicity has been given to an agreement between the U.S. Steel Corp. and the United Steel Workers covering health and safety conditions for coke oven workers at the Clairton, Pa. plant. USW officials said they expected the agreement to be used as a model for similar agreements nationally. What they didn't publicize is that the agreement was rejected at a local union meeting by a vote of 500-0 because the workers felt it was inadequate and in some ways worse than what they had before. Despite this rejection, USW officials signed the pact anyway. Joseph Odorich, USW District 15 Director, told the local, "You never had the right to vote on this agreement." Neither do you have the right to strike or the right to vote on national contracts.

Editorial and business employees of the Washington Star-News have accepted the proposal of their union leadership that they go on a 4-day work week and take a 20% pay cut to prevent 100 layoffs. But Philip Kadis, unit chairman for the Newspaper Guild, gave the whole thing away as nothing but a massive speed-up plan. He said "our members are confident they can accomplish in four days what others need five to do." Joe Albritton, Star-News publisher, said he was "appreciative," and added, "I am confident we will be well on our way toward a vastly improved product and profitability." With a 20% speed-up and a 20% wage cut, he's bound to be right about the profitability part.

The November issue of CWA News lists recent organizing victories for that union. CWA organizers have managed to organize hospital and nursing home workers, credit union employees, and workers for the Ocean County (New Jersey) Mosquito Control Commission. Of the nine organizing victories, only one was at a telephone company. While mosquito employees need a union as much as anyone else, the number one job of the CWA should be to build a powerful industrial union of telephone employees. But apparently the CWA leadership finds it easier to take on the Ocean County Mosquito Control Commission that AT&T, which still has large numbers of telephone workers under its thumb in company-controlled unions.

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

Midwest CLUW: "Fight Layoffs"

by Renee Eves

CINCINNATI—On Saturday, November 30, the Program and Activities Committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women held a mid-west regional meeting here.

Detroit, Atlanta, Cincinnati, and Louisville were represented.

All were enthusiastic about the potential of CLUW. Members saw recruitment and participation of rank and file women as the major task. Women saw building CLUW through activities as the way to do that.

The women agreed that the CLUW leadership is not moving and that the rank and file will have to build and lead CLUW. A plea

was made to move CLUW into the workplace.

As one sister stated, "CLUW must go out to the worker and we must design our strategy according to how to reach that worker. We must work more on the job and less on the outside as a group with once a month meetings."

It was also suggested that women form their own committees within unions and that educationals or study groups about unions be held.

Community involvement was stressed as well, to supplement work on the shop floor.

The Program and Activities committee developed a proposal to

the National Coordinating Committee which will be combined with proposals from other regional meetings.

The proposal focused on fighting the layoffs currently sweeping industry. Pointing out that past discrimination in hiring has meant that women and minorities bear a disproportionate burden in layoffs, the committee suggested adjustments in the seniority system as a demand to counteract that.

The committee recommended research into target industries affected by layoffs, including union response to the situation, with the goal of making these industries a focus for propaganda and organization.

Nationwide demonstrations against layoffs and unemployment were proposed to demand effective protection from unemployment. A shorter work week without loss in pay, and full unemployment insurance for the duration of layoffs are among the suggested demands.

The committee also pledged support for the United Farmworkers, and endorsed the National Mobilization against Racism held in Boston.

Sisters left the six-hour meeting feeling energetic, excited and hopeful. The focus of the conference was definitely on the rank and file, and the issues of concern to them.



Detroit CLUW doing some strike support.

Union-Busting For Fun...And Credit

Credit courses in union busting are given to nursing home administrators to help them meet requirements for maintaining state credentials.

One of the dozen subjects given this year by The American College of Nursing Home Administrators is called "Avoiding Unionization."

The course, given by a Philadelphia lawyer included a lot of hints to "maintain good employee" relations. Bosses should keep a record of employee birthdays and send them cards—"It only costs a few cents." Bosses should remember to say hello to employees and call them by name.

Raises should be spread out over the year rather than given in yearly lump sums. The employees will be more grateful more frequently during the year. Besides, if you spread out a 25c raise over a year the cost will average out to only a 19c increase for the whole year.

This kind of paternalism can be seen through easily by trade union militants. But the lawyer also suggested some less well known tricks for beating unionization in NLRB elections.

OFFICIAL PROGRAM . . . continued
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5

8:30 am COLLOQUIA



"Avoiding Unionization"
Stephen J. Cabot, LL.B.
Pechner, Sacks, Dorfman
Rosen & Richardson
Philadelphia

Sound employee relations can be utilized by employers to enhance organizational effectiveness and as a result counteract unionization.

California West

Major support in nursing homes for unions tends to come from the lower paid kitchen staff and Licensed Practical Nurses (called Licensed Vocational Nurses in some states). Therefore, the lawyer says, the official written job categories for as many of these workers as possible should include some "supervisory" responsibilities.

For example, an LPN who is

officially in charge of an aide and officially makes recommendations on hiring and firing, is disqualified from voting in the union elections.

ANTI-UNION VOTES

This gets rid of some of the pro-union votes. But how do you get anti-union votes?

When you, the boss, know an organizing drive is on then you should talk to your buddy nursing home boss down the street, get a few of his or her supervisors and put them on your payroll as regular workers for a couple hours a week. This makes them eligible to vote against the union in a union election.

Nursing homes are among the lowest wage industries. Much of the staff makes little more than the minimum wage of \$2.00.

Keeping wages so low means that workers have to moonlight to survive and there is high turnover.

Rotten working conditions and wages mean big profits for the nursing home owners. They also encourage nursing home workers to seek unionization—something that threatens profits. That is why the nursing home administrators are organizing courses like these.

James Morrison

Milk On Strike

NEW YORK—For two weeks, most New Yorkers went without milk, as the 3000 striking members of Teamsters Local 584 overwhelmingly rejected a contract their leadership had negotiated. The local represents drivers, platform and plant workers at New York's 115 milk processors and distributors.

The major reason for the rejection was management's attempt to change drivers' commissions from 1.5% of dollar volume to a fixed commission per volume of milk sold. Given the rate of inflation, this formula would effectively undermine drivers' earnings.

While negotiations proceeded, increasing amounts of milk began

showing up in area stores, delivered by non-union drivers from New Jersey and Connecticut. The union leadership did nothing to effectively stop these deliveries, and in fact approved an increase in "emergency" deliveries by its own members.

Problems like this led to a weakening of the strike and eventual acceptance of a less than satisfactory offer. The latest offer, accepted 1130-604, retains the fixed commission per volume formula, but applies it only to new business.

As one driver said, "Frankly, I think the contract stinks, but many of the men felt they were being squeezed out by the out-of-state milk, they felt they had to end the strike."

Women Steelworkers Fight Company Harassment

Equal work and equal pay were two of the main demands of the women's liberation movement. Beginning in the early 70's many jobs were opened up to women for the first time. But sexist practices did not end.

Women are often given jobs much harder than men, to prove they can't do the work. When they fail, management justifies the exclusion of women from the job in the first place. Often the union's leadership is unwilling to fight harassment of women because they too believe women should not have these jobs. The experience of Betty Mann, a steel worker, is a graphic example.

Benada Aluminum is a small aluminum processing plant near Youngstown, Ohio. Normally, Benada employs about 250 people, roughly half of them women.

Since October, the company has been following a policy of systematic discrimination and harassment against women.

According to Betty Mann, who has worked for Benada for two and a half years, the problem first began with the women who worked on the paintline. Usually nine

75 pounds!

This angered many of the women. None of the men had to lift weights over forty pounds. Betty Mann went to personnel, and quoted their contract which stated that lifting such weights was a health hazard, and workers could refuse such work.

Mann refused to work in shipping, and asked if she could work in another job. Personnel refused, even though there was another opening in the plant.

Betty Mann was laid off and Peggy Tucker, recording secretary of local 4564, was sent home with serious back problems. She was in bed for over a week.

Benada's company doctor told Tucker that she would have a serious breakdown if she continued to work in shipping.

Peggy Tucker, Betty Mann, and the other women have a tough fight against Benada. The leadership of the United Steel Workers Union has done nothing to help these women in their fight against the company.

Betty Mann claims that Frank Nuzzo, local president, is "nothing but a company man."

But there is a way to fight back. Some of the women at Benada have met with other women from the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and Rank and File Team (RAFT), a rank and file organization of steel workers.

Organizations such as CLUW and RAFT can help organize a fight in the United Steel Workers Union so that companies like Benada will not be allowed to continue their dangerous policies of harassment and discrimination. □

Celia Emerson



Betty Mann

women worked on the paintline, and the line stopped during lunch and other breaks.

As a result of a productivity drive, two women were laid off and at the same time, the line was not shut down during breaks. This meant that for most of the time, four or five women had to do the work of nine.

About a week later, personnel told the laid off women they could return to work, if they agreed to work in shipping where they would have to lift heavy weights.

Most of the women agreed to the work, even though they felt they could not lift heavy bundles for eight hours.

HEALTH HAZARD

The women had to lift aluminum sheets, with a person on each end, every five minutes, lifting the bundles four feet off the ground to over their heads. One woman, three months pregnant, was lifting

L.A. CLUW MEMBERS WIN OPEN MEETINGS

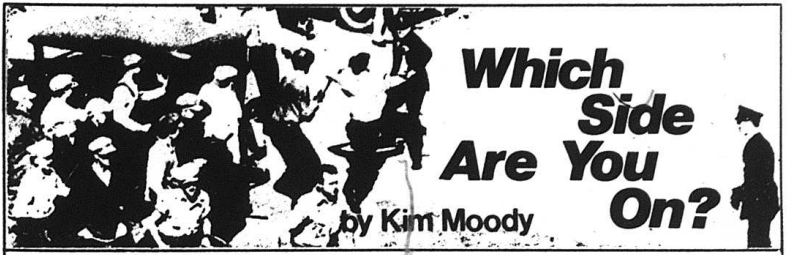
LOS ANGELES—Eight months after the founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), the Los Angeles chapter has finally started to draw up chapter by-laws. The slow moving procedures set up by the national and local CLUW bureaucracies are largely responsible for the long delay.

But once the rank and file were finally given the chance to have an impact, they were prepared. The bureaucracy's stalling only gave the rank and file more time to organize themselves.

The result? A rank and file caucus was able to lead a fight to win amendments to the steering committee's by-laws proposal.

At a meeting attended by 77 voting members, by-laws were passed which will allow participation and speaking rights for non-members. This is important because many working women are not yet in unions, a prerequisite for CLUW membership.

The rank and file also struck out an article requiring a quorum of 20%, and created a standing committee on minority women.



Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

Why Miller Sold Out

Coal miners can be skeptical people. After all, they've seen leaders come and go and promises made and broken. In spite of it all, conditions just seem to get worse and worse.

So, when Arnold Miller was elected president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) a lot of miners said they thought Miller was for the coal miners, but they were going to keep their eyes open just the same.

It turns out that their skepticism was justified. In his first test as chief bargainer for the UMWA, Miller collapsed in the face of pressure from the companies, the government, and probably from anti-rank and file bureaucrats like Leonard Woodcock and I.W. Abel.

The first offer Miller recommended to the miners was so bad that even the 38-member bargaining council sent it back. The second offer Miller tried to peddle barely got by the bargaining council.

In any case, it wasn't very different from the first. The wages were not good. Certain demands relating to safety were not in the offer. The crucial right to strike over grievances was nowhere to be found.

Perhaps the most surprising thing was just how fast Miller collapsed. He had excellent bargaining conditions and he had the ranks behind him expecting a real fight. But there was no fight. Two days after the strike began, Miller proclaimed his tentative agreement.

WHAT HAPPENED?

Why did Miller collapse so rapidly? What happened to this reform leader who came from the ranks as leader of a genuine mass movement.

One answer some give is that leaders always sell out; or, what amounts to the same thing, that it is impossible to change the unions.

These answers are based on a limited view of society and history. Unions have been reformed. Mass movements of workers have transformed the nature of the labor movement and the politics of society.

In the 1930's a trade union movement composed of tiny craft unions was transformed into a mass movement led by giant industrial unions.

The resistance of the union leaders was great then, just as it is now. But the militancy and insistence of the masses of

industrial workers swept past that resistance.

Great struggles like that of the 1930's, or even the struggle that kicked Tony Boyle out of the UMWA and put it new leaders, took mass actions. But they also took leaders.

LEADERS

Many of the rank and file leadership of the 1930's were able to fight consistently in the interests of the workers because they did not care one bit for the interests of the bosses. Many were revolutionaries and socialists.

The leaders of the great struggles of the early 1930's, like the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, were convinced revolutionary socialists. Similarly, many of the rank and file leaders who built unions like the United Auto Workers and the United Steel Workers were socialists or communists.

The union leaders of today, however, believe in the capitalist profit system. They believe and argue for the idea that unless the bosses get their profits, the workers will have no job. Their answer is to give up or tone down labor's demands to make sure that the bosses get their profits.

One of Arnold Miller's problems is that he agrees with the rest of the American labor leadership. His political and social ideas are not different from those of I.W. Abel, who favors giving up the strike weapon, or George Meany, who never believed in striking to begin with.

Miller believes in strikes, but like the rest of these labor bureaucrats he believes you have to watch out for the interests of "the industry," that is, the bosses.

SOCIAL FORCES

History did not predetermine that Arnold Miller would have such ideas or make the choices he made. But social forces were hard at work to make him do so.

First of all, the rank and file movement throughout the unions in the US was weak at the time Miller defeated Tony Boyle. Searching for allies who could give some real support, he turned to those who had some power. In particular, he turned to the leadership of the United Auto Workers.

For all their liberal rhetoric, the leaders of the UAW are no better than most labor bureaucrats and

worse than some. They took Miller and the other new leaders of the UMWA and gave them some political training—training in their own conservative pro-company way of looking at things.

Miller did carry through many of the reforms he had promised. He did open the affairs of the UMWA to a good deal of rank and file influence. But, other promises were put off.

In particular, the headquarters of the UMWA was kept in Washington, D.C. This meant Miller lived, worked, and socialized in the world of the top labor bureaucrats, capitalist politicians, and company lobbyists, instead of being in the coal fields.

Miller let it be known early that he didn't like wildcats and that he was concerned about productivity in the mines. When a union leader gets concerned about productivity, the ranks had better watch out. They did, and Miller has been able to do little to stop wildcats and increase productivity.

When Miller took office, he disbanded the Miners for Democracy (MFD) and the Miners for Democracy (MFD) had been the rank and file organization that led the mass movement of miners for a democratic and militant union.

Whatever Miller's reasons for doing this, it is clear that it removed him one more step from the ranks who put him at the head of their union.

BUREAUCRACY

That is what bureaucracy in the labor movement is all about: leaders being farther and farther removed from the ranks and more and more involved with other non-worker big shots.

From executive offices in Washington, D.C., Detroit, or New York, these labor bureaucrats begin to look at things from a different angle than the workers they are supposed to represent. The bureaucrats think their views are more objective, but really they are just closer to those of the bosses.

A couple of issues ago, Workers' Power reported one miner as saying, "This union is going to be run by the rank and file, even if that means throwing out Miller and a dozen more after him."

That may be necessary, but if the same thing isn't repeated itself a dozen times, the miners will need leaders and ranks, strategies and ideas that respect the needs of the workers and reject those of the bosses. □

Deborah Landau

Several black bureaucrats opposed this committee on the grounds of "segregation."

A significant victory for the rank and file was the passage of a motion to allow members of National CLUW from other countries, who have not yet organized an official CLUW chapter, to participate in LA county CLUW as voting members until they form their own chapters.

DESTROYING CLUW?

The bureaucrats charged that this violates the charter granted LA

CLUW by national CLUW. They threatened revocation of the charter, and charged that the rank and file caucus was destroying CLUW.

Rank and filers responded that it is the bureaucracy that is destroying CLUW by finding excuses to revoke charters of groups engaged in struggle to achieve the goals of CLUW.

The rank and file success was largely due to the activity of a CWA CLUW caucus. This group of telephone workers has been working to attract women to CLUW. They recruited members, caucus-

ed, and began to train their members in political functioning.

The caucus was initiated by rank and filers and local leaders of Southern California CWA [Communications Workers of America] and the American Federation of Women Telephone Workers [an independent union that recently affiliated with the CWA].

At the meeting the group won rank and file support for its proposals. They will continue to try to build CLUW into a fighting organization for working women. □

Deborah Landau

THE FREE

Ten years ago, thousands of students at the University of California at Berkeley went out on strike, demanding the right of free speech. The strike marked the end of almost two decades of political conservatism in the United States.

The Free Speech Movement (FSM) seemed to appear suddenly, surprising everyone with its intensity and massiveness.

The FSM was sparked by the civil rights movement coming to the North. Northern business men, threatened by boycotts and pickets, pressured the University to ban Civil Rights literature and agitation from the campus.

Almost overnight thousands of previously uninvolved students rose up in defense of the civil rights activists.

Borrowing tactics from the civil rights movement and the militant period of the labor movement, the FSM made common again tactics involving masses of people.

Out of the FSM came the student movement of the 1960's. Within a few years hundreds of thousands of students were organizing in open opposition to American society.

In turn, the anti-war, women's liberation and gay liberation movements developed out of the student movement.

The social protest movements of the 60's touched a whole generation of young people reaching even into the junior high schools, and having a profound effect on the consciousness of the people in the US.

Young people entering the factories and shops over the last several years have been markedly affected by the student movement. They began work having witnessed or been part of a massive challenge to American society and are not as willing to accept the authority of the bosses as were their counterparts of the Cold War era.

Many of these young workers are part of the growing rank and file movement.

On the tenth anniversary of the FSM, Workers' Power discussed the FSM with Jack Weinberg and Kit Lyons, two of the participants.

Jack Weinberg was a member of the Berkeley campus Chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE). He was a leader of the Free Speech Movement, and is now a member of the International Socialists.

Kit Lyons was a graduate student at Berkeley at the time of the FSM. He was a member of the newly founded Independent Socialist Club, predecessor of the present I.S. to which he now belongs.

A discussion of the FSM will be useful in understanding how quickly a movement can grow and consciousness can change. We are now at another turning point, where radical ideas are beginning to gain a hearing within the working class.

This time things will move even more quickly. The student and civil rights movements had to combat the conservatism of the 1950's. Beginning in a period of economic crisis, the radicalization going on in the shops today is being built on the lessons already learned from the student movement, the struggle for black liberation, Vietnam and Watergate. □



Jack Weinberg inside police car, nearing end of 32 hour demonstration. Interview with Weinberg and Kit Lyons at right.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

June-Sept. — Berkeley and Oakland business community complains to university about student off-campus political activity. Students are demonstrating against racial discrimination by local businesses.

14 Sept. — Dean Towle bans posters, easels and tables at Bancroft-Telegraph gate of Berkeley campus "because of interference with flow of traffic."

17-18 Sept. — Some 20 organizations of students announce coalition as United Front in opposition to this reiteration of "historic policy."

28 Sept. — Several United Front organizations made test issue of rules by manning tables to

organize political and social action.

30 Sept. — University begins disciplinary action against 5 students for manning illegal tables. 400 students sign statements that they too have manned illegal tables, enter Sproul Hall demanding disciplinary hearings, sit-in awaiting hearing.

1 Oct. — Protest rally and manning of tables on Sproul Hall

steps. Arrest of Jack Weinberg, former grad student in Mathematics, for operating a CORE table.

3-4 Oct. — Emergence of Free Speech Movement (FSM) out of United Front.

5 Oct. — Appointment by the Chancellor of a committee of administration, faculty and students to investigate and propose solutions of campus political problems.

13 Oct. — Academic Senate passes motion favoring "maximum freedom for student political activity."

15 Oct. — President Kerr asks Academic Senate to establish ad hoc committee to advise on disciplining of the 8 suspended students (Heyman Committee).

5 Nov. — FSM, impatient with committee, resumes picketing of Sproul Hall.

Workers Power: It seemed that the FSM came out of nowhere. Is this true?

Jack: From the point of view of the national mass media it seemed that the Free Speech Movement was something that came from nowhere.

Throughout the country the question was asked, "where did this thing come from?" because it seemed to break through, in the first massive way, the quiescence of the 50's. Although it was the early 60's actually.

The FSM began when campus authorities, under pressure from the business community, tried to put a lid down on political activity on campus.

The business community was saying the campus was being used as a launching pad for illegal actions, illegal demonstrations, sit-downs, attacks on the business community.

They were really talking about civil rights demonstrations; the mobilization of students on the campus for a civil rights action.

It was all right with them if students agitated for civil rights in the south, but not when they brought the struggle home.

They would allow "free speech" if you only talked; but if you talked about doing something, and tried to do it, they stopped you.

The students who had been most active in the civil rights movement became the first leadership group of the FSM.

Kit: What the FSM symbolized was the first big break in the climate of the cold war McCarthy climate of the 50's. On the campuses, on the Berkeley campus, it was already gone but people didn't realize it, and it took this sudden spark to make it clear that those days were gone.

Jack: I was a member at that time of the campus chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality, CORE. During the summer preceding the FSM we had about 15 members who virtually spent full time all summer on civil rights activism with a larger base they called on.

That was also the summer in which the Harlem riot occurred, the first riots on the 60's.

That was the summer when students from all over the country had gone down south to help on voter registration drives, the summer which culminated the attempt to get the Mississippi Freedom Democratic delegations seated at the Democratic Party Convention in place of the racist traditional delegation.

In the spring before that there were mass demonstrations of up to thousands of people including hundreds of people arrested, demanding desegregation and equal employment opportunities at the Sheridan-Palace Hotel in San Francisco, at the car agencies in San Francisco, at Mels Drive-in.

There must have been in the Berkeley area probably as many as a hundred people who saw themselves as activists before the summer even began.

It was an attempt to put a lid on something that was just starting up and that was what caused the mass explosion.

Kit: It was something where a little bit of motion goes a long way, too.

Lots of people had new attitudes and new ideas, and were receptive to the sort of FSM development, but they didn't realize that anybody else did. They assumed it was only their own individual opposition to what was going on with society.

When they suddenly realized that there were lots of other people who felt the same way, that reinforced and escalated their own movement to the left.

Jack: Right when school opened, a united front of campus political groups set up picketing at the entrances to the university.

A week later or so the FSM took its first aggressive act and started violating the rules in a blatant fashion: setting up the prohibited literature tables and soliciting money.

The university clamped down on them and threatened discipline.

Spontaneously organized, in a matter of hours, 300 people were prepared to go into the administration building and stage a sitdown.

That was unplanned, that was organized between 12 noon when the discipline came out, and 3:00 pm when people went in. Most people who participated had never been involved in such a thing before. They were just walking by the area where the deans were giving disciplines.

People handled around a sheet of paper saying, "I too sat at the table, and I demand the same discipline that you're giving to anybody else."

Hundreds of people signed the piece of paper and then surprisingly, at 3 o'clock, when the time for discipline came, all these hundreds of people marched into the building. The next day was the incident around the police car. I was arrested, and as soon as I was put in the police car, spontaneously, dozens of people all at the same time, without consulting each other, sat down.

When they went to arrest me, I, following the civil rights movement pattern, went limp. They carried me to the police car.

By the time they got me in the car, the car was surrounded. That kicked the thing off.

The administration picked a lousy time, they did it about 2 minutes before 12 noon: At 12 noon thousands of people stream past that spot.

Within a couple hours there were thousands of people standing around the police car. By the next day the police had mobilized around the campus, and they were threatening to break the thing up.

There were people sitting around the police car and other people standing around watching.

People were chanting "Sit down, sit down, join us, sit down," and more and more and more people sat down, till there were probably over a thousand people prepared at that point to get arrested, to sit down around the police car to face the police.

During that period of 32 hours around the police car, a microphone was set up on top of the police car. People were getting up one after another and speaking. There was never a moment when there weren't people ready to speak.

SPEECH MOVEMENT



FSM rally on Berkeley campus.

Photo by Charles Leinenweber

One after another they got up and spoke for their five minute rap and there was another person to come up. Speakers' lists were taken and people were getting up there and saying, "I've never done this before in my life, I'm saying things I never knew I knew."

And that's how the thing began. Within the period of a couple months, Free Speech Movement leadership had captured the leadership of the entire student body, and had an organization that reached into all the departments, and all sections of the university.

When a strike was finally called on December 3rd, the strike was 85 to 90% honored.

It was then that we won our demands for free speech on campus.

Kit: At the beginning of the FSM, the majority of Berkeley students shared most of the illusions of

American society, that were the dominant ideas of the 50's.

That American society was fundamentally healthy, that there were a few little problems here and there but they were just blemishes on a basically sound society.

Those ideas were exploded one by one.

They found that the press did not tell the truth. The press and the TV systematically lied about what the FSM was doing, about what it stood for, about its strength, its base on the campus.

It was characterized as being a little group of loonies when in fact more and more it was the voice of the campus community as a whole.

They saw the police being used again and again to break up demonstrations, the sort of thing again that became common in the later part of the 60's, was a new experience for most of the students at that time.

They saw a Democratic Party

Governor, Brown, be the one who finally called the police in and had 800 students arrested in December.

A general lesson that was learned was that going through channels does not work. That is that you cannot make fundamental changes by trying to permeate establishment status quo institutions, that you have to go outside of them into open opposition.

Workers Power: How was support built for the Free Speech movement?

Jack: The FSM leadership insisted that all negotiations with the university be carried on openly and in public and all relations with the university, all developments were reported in intimate detail.

People would read the newspaper and they wouldn't believe anything but the Free Speech Movement leaflet.

Everybody, there were thousands and thousands of people who knew every detail of the FSM line

and could argue it with tremendous passion and of course, that was just an unstoppable type force.

Workers Power: Where did the FSM leaders come from?

Kit: On the Berkeley campus was an organization called the Independent Socialist Club. It was the direct forerunner of the International socialists today.

It was founded literally on the eve of the FSM; a matter of days before the FSM demonstrations began in Berkeley.

Jack: I was not in the ISC at that time. Campus Core, which I was a member of, represented the most militant FSM activists and was very much influenced by the people who then joined the ISC. Many of them had been active in Core.

Hal Draper, who at that time was in the ISC, a few days before the big demonstration gave a talk right off the campus.

The topic was Clark Kerr's (statewide university of California

President) view of the university as a factory. He analyzed the corporate liberal political views of Clark Kerr, and gave a critique of those ideas.

Throughout the FSM, the ideas, the categories, the analysis of that talk and then later a pamphlet also by Hal Draper, expanded and called "The Mind of Clark Kerr," became the major portion of the political ideology of the FSM.

That whole conception of the university was a factory which has been popularized ever since.

Workers Power: What happened after the FSM?

Kit: There were a whole host of organizations that were born out of the FSM. There was a sudden sentiment that the university could not be trusted, that it was not a benevolent institution working in everybody's best interest, and suddenly everyone began to feel that they had to have their own organization.

Jack: Afterwards, the Berkeley campus was one of the main centers in the country of the left wing anti-war movement.

At Berkeley one of the victories of the Free Speech Movement was the right to have political activity on campus.

Workers Power: Besides the political student movement, a student power movement developed in the US after the FSM.

Jack: The FSM very early on had two souls within it.

There was the more political soul, the people who came from the civil rights movement, who wanted to get this business on with so that they could go back and carry on their off campus political activities. They were interested in changing society.

Then there were the people who became involved because they wanted to change the university, who were involved in the student power—university reform type issues.

They wanted to fight against alienation, they wanted professors to talk to them, they didn't want grades.

The two souls co-existed for awhile, but there was always a tension between them. When the political movement found a real force, it was not in the civil rights movement this time. The whole idea of black power was starting to come up. At that point there wasn't really much place for a predominantly white student movement within the framework of the civil rights movement.

It was the anti-war movement which became its own. Very quickly the people who wanted to continue changing the university, wanted to focus on university reform because the more conservative, liberal wing of that milieu.

It was the anti-war, anti-imperialist movement that became its cutting edge.

9 Nov. — FSM rally on Sproul steps attracts 1200. Tables again set up by FSM groups. University officials take names of some students manning tables; 800 students sign statements declaring that they too have manned tables.

12 Nov. — Heyman Committee recommends censure of 6 students, suspension of Savio and Art Goldberg for six weeks beginning September 30, 1964.

20 Nov. — Regents accept recommendation by President Kerr and Chancellor Strong for suspension of the eight students for the period 30 Sept.—20 Nov., and for the placing on probation of Savio and Goldberg. Rally of 4000 on Sproul steps and march to University Hall where Regents are meeting.

22 Nov. — FSM sit-in of three hours in Sproul Hall over issue of University discipline for off-

campus activities.

25 Nov. — Letters of reprimand sent by University to some 600 students who had manned illegal tables on 9 Nov.

30 Nov. — FSM announces its leaders, Savio, Art Goldberg, Jackie Goldberg, and Brian Turner, face disciplinary action.

1 Dec. — FSM demands University drop charges in 24 hours or face demonstration.

2 Dec. — University ignores ultimatum. FSM rally attracts 6000; 1000 engage in sit-in in Sproul Hall; over 800 remain for the night.

3 Dec. — Police begin arrest and removal of students. Grad students in large numbers begin picketing of University buildings in protest of police action.

7 Dec. — Release of agreement between department chairmen

and President Kerr on amnesty and modification of regulations concerning student political activity.

8 Dec. — Meeting of Academic Senate; passage by vote of 824 to 115 of motion of Committee on Academic Freedom saying that the University cannot control student speech and advocacy in politics since the function of the University is education, not control. FSMers sweep seven student Senate seats.

Rocky And Watergate

Watergate brought down a President. That's quite unusual in this country.

By the time the Nixon administration finally collapsed, almost everyone felt good about it. Those at the top wanted to get rid of him so they could go back to business rebuilding faith in the capitalist system. We at the bottom felt, Good! Get the bastard!—it couldn't happen to a nicer guy.

The newspapers, radio and TV tried to use Watergate to show how democratic and honest the American way is. Watergate shows that Capitalism can cleanse its own house, they cried.

Less than six months later all of that nonsense about the essential fairness of the system has crumbled. Nelson Rockefeller has been confirmed as Vice President.

During the hearings some of the things that couldn't fit under the rug were carried by the national media.

Henry Kissinger has been on Rockefeller's payroll for decades, developing and influencing strategies for the maintenance of U.S. imperialism. During that time Rockefeller forgave loans to Kissinger of over \$1,000,000. In return Kissinger's influence was used to protect the interests of the Rockefeller family abroad.

• \$625,000 was given to William J. Ronan, Chairman of the Port Authority of New York. In exchange Ronan worked out various deals

between New York City and Chase Manhattan Bank—a Rockefeller family controlled bank. The result was millions for the Rockefellers as New York City was bled dry.

• Rockefeller forgave Morhouse, head of the New York State GOP, \$100,000 in loans. In return Morhouse kept his mouth shut about the connection between Rocky's governorship and scandals in the New York State Liquor Authority. Morhouse went to jail and Governor Rockefeller pardoned him. This was Rocky's Watergate—only his cover-up worked.

The list goes on.
• Funding the Lasky book against Arthur Goldberg.

• Rockefeller paid a lower percentage in federal income taxes than most working people.

• Estimations of his incredible wealth continually spiraled upward.

• Rockefeller donated \$200,000 to the Committee to Re-elect the President and Nixon overturned rulings negatively affecting Eastern Airlines. Eastern Airlines is another Rockefeller family enterprise.

These disclosures only scratched the surface. Rockefeller family money touches almost every aspect of American capitalism.

But even scratching the surface revealed enough corruption that Rockefeller's confirmation should be shocking. That is—if you believe that

Watergate cleansed American politics.

The point is Watergate did not cleanse American politics, because they cannot be cleansed. American politics are the politics of big business. All of Rockefeller's bribes and wheeling and dealing are part of the business of business. The man perfectly matches the job—as long as he doesn't get caught.

It is not the fairness or justice of the American system that brought Nixon down. If that were the case, Rockefeller would never have been confirmed.

Nixon fell because the Watergate revelations got out of hand and he could no longer command the respect that doing the system's dirty work demands.

Rockefeller was confirmed because Ford is floundering. American capitalism is in crisis.

Those very same apologists for the system who heralded Watergate as the beginning of a new era of clean government have rushed forward to defend Rockefeller. "Why is this man being attacked for generosity?" they say.

The only way out for the capitalists is a massive attack on the standard of living of working people. To carry that out a strong self-confident leader is needed. Rockefeller is their candidate. □

Dear Workers Power & Commerce

On Busing

Commenting on the busing article, I would say you raised some valid issues: racism, the position against calling the national guard, black armed self-defense.

You also raised the issue of quality education. That I think is the real issue. It makes no difference qualitatively whether black students are taught in classrooms with or without white students if what they're taught is lies.

I presume that Boston, like Omaha, has a white racist school board which determines what is going to be taught in the school system. Busing students is not going to alter that fact and the resulting curricula. Racism is not going to be rooted out by the mere fact of third world and white students going to school together.

Rather, it is how children are brought up, what they are taught in the schools. Black people have a right and duty to see to it that black students are taught respect for themselves, the true history of this country, the role black folks have played, and our relationship to history, etc. All the busing in the world is not going to accomplish this.

What will busing accomplish? The chance for black students to be in better physical plants, have access to more modern educational equipment (chemistry labs, visual and audio aids, etc.), possibly better qualified teachers (of course, a white racist school board will assign its highest qualified teachers to white rather than black schools). That's about it.

As far as the above goes, black students being bused to white schools is a good idea, but that relates to the development of skills in areas like math, chemistry, biology and other sciences.

However I believe busing advocates tend to act under the presumption that white middle-class students get a good education, and that is a great misunderstanding.

White middle-class or any other class white students get, as far as those courses which deal with the development of one's self, a poor

education, a miseducation.

They are taught lies and half-truths about the role the US has and continues to play in the world, in the lives of its citizens. They are taught malechauvinism and female submissiveness, racial chauvinism.

They are taught the capitalist ethic: accumulate material goods regardless of the lives you may step on or destroy in the process. I do not want any children I might father to learn such demonic ideas.

Yes, the issue is quality education and black people are not going to get quality education unless we either seize some significant degree of community control of our schools or supplement present schooling with revolutionary, extra-public school education, or a combination.

Just like we cannot depend on the Boston police or national guard to safeguard the bodies of black students, we cannot and should not depend on white school boards to safeguard their minds.

David Rice
Omaha

Attica: The American Way

I am Dacajewiah (english translation "Splitting the Sky") indicted under the name of John Hill, on trumped-up charges stemming from the 1971 Attica Prison Uprising.

I am of Native American descent (Mohawk and Blackfoot Indian), born on the lower West Side of Buffalo and raised in foster homes, reform schools, prisons and various ghettos.

The State of New York has held me confined in a total of 15 institutions, such as reform schools and prisons. It was the prison experience that finally awakened me to what this system is all about.

I found out that the white man was full of greed for riches, lust and power; that this greed caused the development of a very angry, distrustful and deathly being.

Do not get me wrong, I don't put all white people in this category,

but instead, a particular segment—those who run and control our lives, like the Nixons and Rockefellers.

This same breed of lost souls are the ones responsible for the genocide of my Indian people. 12 million were murdered by the 19th century, our ancestors were denied the right to roam the Mother Earth, restricting us to reservations. At the same time, they enslaved our black and brown brothers and sisters, beginning a process of exploitation which is carried on to this day.

Attica is a perfect example of the American way: An institution built for people who violate the laws of this land, who are denied years of their lives for petty charges, while Nixon gets an unconditional pardon for any crimes he may have committed out of Watergate by Gerald Ford, your leader.

Attica was a twin to the average ghetto. The only difference is that the people who controlled your life were free to racially harass, attack, and murder you because you were behind walls and the public would never hear a sound.

Throughout the white man's history, we have been able to witness mass attempts (by this corrupt government) to cover-up their acts of wrong-doing, such as Kent State killings by National Guard, the My Lai murders of



Dacajewiah, indicted Attica Brother.

innocent Vietnamese women and children who had no weapons, Wounded Knee 1890 Massacre and Wounded Knee killings 1973 of two Indian Brothers.

Attica is no different. Rockefeller and his henchmen have coerced, drugged and beaten prisoners into making false testimony to an all white grand jury, making 61 Brothers scapegoats for their killings.

Dacajewiah
Attica

LOUISVILLE: Exclusive interview with Dalou Ashai, indicted Attica Brother and member of Attica Brothers Legal Defense, on "Black Is," WAVE-TV, channel 3, Dec. 29, 6 pm.

Why Bus?

I want to voice disagreement with the article written by Mary Gates, "Why Socialists Back Busing."

To be for busing simply because racists are against it is a patently absurd position. Many socialists, black and white, oppose forced busing for a number of non-racist reasons (e.g., neighborhood control of school systems, concern for children's safety and convenience, etc.).

To take the position that we are opposed to everything the racist is for could clearly lead us into untenable anti-working class positions.

We are clearly against black children being kept in the worst schools. We are also against brown, yellow, red, and white children being offered inferior education. We should, instead, be devoting ourselves to fighting the whole system of education in this country as a tool of the capitalist class. To be in favor of forced busing, in this instance, is to lend credence to the mistaken notion that only one section of the working class (i.e. a racial minority) is being oppressed.

It seems clear to me that busing is being used to divide and demoralize workers as well as to reinforce the conception in the black community that integration will end oppression and exploita-

tion.

The racist reactions of South Boston stem less from basic racism than they do from a dangerous misconception as to who their real enemies are. In this instance, as in all instances of overt racism, only the capitalist class rejoices. The white working class areas of Boston are frightened for their lives because they are under a tremendous attack from above. It is no coincidence that the government encourages busing at this point.

Integration and multi-racial harmony is surely a socialist goal. It occurs when the working class as a whole is forced to unite to protect their own interests. Unfortunately, this has not yet occurred (although I truly believe it must and will occur).

This being the case, to throw our weight behind what is essentially a ruling class initiative for forced busing is to increase dramatically racial tension and to impede our efforts to unify at levels where unity is possible.

John E. Poole
Richmond, CA

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

What you like about the paper - and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people.

But please be brief.

New Attacks On Indian Movement

by Kay Stacy

Repression against Native Americans is mounting. New indictments, possibly hundreds of them, against Indian militants at Wounded Knee are expected daily.

Racist violence by police against Indian youths has become so widespread that demonstrations have begun in Minneapolis. Native American prisoners in a St. Paul prison staged a sit-in to protest increased harassment and arbitrary discipline.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull, an Indian militant framed by the South Dakota state after her son was murdered, was recently released on bond. Only a massive public support campaign forced her freedom, after a racist judge refused bond, calling her a "dangerous criminal."

The struggle of Native American people for civil rights and human dignity, and against institutional racism is meeting increased resistance.

Wherever Native Americans live in the United States they face racial oppression. In areas where Indians have been best organized and most militant, Native American civil rights have become a political issue.

In South Dakota "law and order" is the response—reminiscent of the hue and cry against black power demonstrations and anti-war marches.

The State Police reflect the racist disregard of Indian people's lives and rights with vicious brutality. Police broke up a peaceful demonstration in Custer with clubs and Mace. In the aftermath photos show a woman protestor being dragged naked through the snow by two warmly clad police. It was 20° below zero.

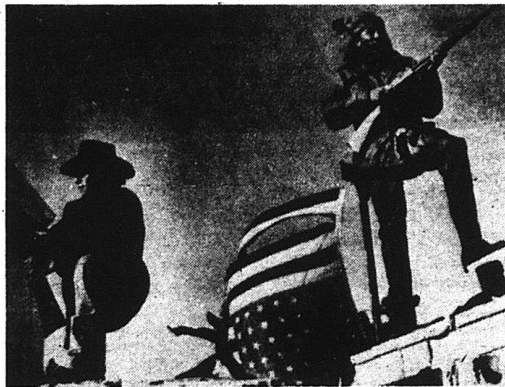
In response to this increased violence and repression the American Indian Movement (AIM) is looking for a new strategy. Unfortunately it has not been very successful. From a recent news-letter:

"The change in battle fields has been a disastrous one. It has been a change from the pride and courage of the 71-day liberation to the agonizing arena of the courtroom... The trials could last for years, and AIM will not be free to do the kind of grassroots organizing that must be done until they are over.

The entire movement has become a prisoner of the trials."

Financial pressures are mounting as well as political. The Wounded Knee Defense Committee alone needs \$30,000 every month to provide adequate defenses.

At Pine Ridge reservation the fight continues against the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its corrupt henchman, Tribal Chief Richard Wilson. But Indian militants are not united, and increasingly violent attacks by BIA thugs are not being



AIM members stand guard during the Wounded Knee occupation. "The change in battle fields has been a disastrous one. It has been a change from the pride and courage of the 71-day liberation to the agonizing arena of the courtroom... The entire movement has become a prisoner of the trials."

effectively fought.

The reservation is reported to be more torn than ever before.

The State's forces are taking advantage of the indecision of the leading militant organization. They are trying to break the back of its popular support among Indian people.

In Minneapolis the target of police brutality seems to be primarily AIM members, AIM youth group members, and Native American members of the Communist Party. The message to less active supporters of the Native American cause is clear—Flight back and you will pay, perhaps in blood.

The difficulty for Indian people is that there is very little for them to fight back with. Whole Indian

tribes have been massacred. The remaining few, their ranks reduced, have been shoved off onto lands so unprofitable that no white people want them.

Jobs are marginal. Education is a sick joke. The cultures have been trampled. Native Americans have been kept out of the mainstream of society socially, economically and politically.

Their struggle for civil rights and human dignity depends upon allies who have more social power than Native Americans do. The battle

for civil rights and liberation has been waged before in America: black people, women, Latino people have struggled and won social and economic gains.

Inequality has not been wiped out, and never can be under the capitalist system which breeds racial and sexual oppression. But veterans of these struggles are in a position to use their organization to assist the Indian battle.

The courage and organization that freed Sarah Bad Heart Bull can win more battles in the Native American struggle.

[For further information contact Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, PO Box 80931, Lincoln, Neb. 68501.]



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Lately the people who run America are constantly telling us to tighten our belts. We are told that the country just doesn't have the resources to maintain the standard of living that US workers won by the mid-1960's.

President Ford openly considers imposing a 20c or 30c tax on every gallon of gasoline to "cut consumption"—in other words, to make it a lot harder for working people to get around.

The gas companies tell us to turn down the heat and wear sweaters inside during the winter.

The price of sugar has tripled in a few months. There seems to be a new shortage of some important product every other week. Is America really running out of resources?

Ever since last year's so-called "Energy crisis," people have pretty much gotten used to this kind of talk. But how much of it is true. Take gasoline, for example.

ENERGY SUPPLIES

At the present rate of consumption, the world will run out of oil-based fuels some day. There is indeed a long-term crisis in terms of the types of energy that are used today. But for right now there is still more oil than we could possibly use.

There are also other types of energy sources, such as methane fuel, that are not sold in our society, because of the oil monopoly.

What really happened during the "energy crisis" is that the oil companies pretended that this long-term crisis was an immediate one.

They cut back production and produced a shortage, then used that shortage as an excuse to jack up prices and make incredible profits.

The media helped them create the panic atmosphere that led to hour-long gas lines. They tried to put an incredible hoax over on people.

The question of whether or not the world has the resources to provide everyone with a high standard of living is a crucial one for socialists. Marx believed the possibility of a classless society to be based on the growth of the productivity of human labor.

At a certain point in history, under capitalism, labor becomes so productive that poverty can be entirely eliminated. For the first time, it becomes possible to provide everyone with a high standard of living and a chance to develop all the human talents.

But obviously this can never be done if the planet earth simply lacks the resources to do it with.

LACK OF RESOURCES?

But blaming the present sorry state of the economy on "lack of resources" is a lot like blaming the rise in crime on "human

nature." In both cases, mysterious, uncontrollable "forces" are used to "explain" the problems that are really due to the way capitalist society is organized.

The "lack of resources" that plagues us today is a result of the irrational way that capitalism functions.

There's a shortage of grain because the government pays huge agricultural corporations not to grow "too much" wheat. Much of the wheat that is produced is then sold abroad by speculators in such schemes as the recent Russian wheat deal.

In the same way, there's a meat shortage because calves are slaughtered so that there won't be a "surplus" of beef—in other words, so prices won't fall.

There's a gasoline shortage because the oil corporations have not built the refineries that are needed to process it. You could go on down the line for almost every major "shortage."

The long-term shortages that do exist are also tied to the crazy way that capitalism uses natural resources.

MASS TRANSIT

In America, for example, the long term shortage in oil products wouldn't be such a problem if a first-rate mass transit system existed in all the major cities.

If there was real mass transit, people could get to work and take care of their personal business without having to hassle with private cars. The use of cars could be limited to long trips and recreation.

And even more important, the internal combustion engine could be phased out in favor of electricity or some other power source.

But the way things work today, General Motors and Standard Oil can prevent any such thing from coming about.

Another major cause of today's "shortages" is waste production. Since before World War II, the world economy has been tied to the production of weapons to an incredible degree.

Arms production doesn't produce consumer goods and it doesn't produce machines that produce consumer goods.

Tremendous amounts of resources—tens of billions of dollars a year in the US alone—go into it.

Most research and development doesn't go into discovering new ways to grow food or non-polluting sources of energy. It goes into building bigger and better missiles that will be obsolete in six months' time.

No, if you look at the way the world economy works you realize that the resources are there. The problem is that capitalism can't use the resources to satisfy human needs. Satisfying human needs doesn't always produce a profit.

Jersey Teachers Strike

NEW JERSEY—A statewide college teachers' strike here ended November 28. It was the first strike of its kind anywhere in the country. The governor will mediate the dispute.

For ten days teachers coordinated their power against an entire state school system—eight campuses at once. The strike was caused by the many ways college teachers are under attack. Increasingly, college teachers face conditions of speedup, threat of layoff, and loss of control over their work—

conditions which other workers have recently experienced.

The crisis in state colleges is aggravated by the fact that New Jersey, the sixth richest state in per capita income, is 47th in per capita spending on higher education.

In response there have been relatively successful efforts by college teachers in New Jersey to organize a union, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), to fight back. Last spring, a not very impressive contract was signed, containing a no-strike clause as its

most meaningful provision. There was also a provision to re-open wage negotiations on October 1 for presentation in the budget for the next fiscal year.

The state, in a union-busting attempt with an eye to scaring off union organization of public employees throughout New Jersey, refused to negotiate.

The AFT was then presented with a choice: strike or become a laughing stock. It struck.

At least nine AFT and UFT (The New York City local) bigwigs came to Jersey to help out. Unfortunately, they were mostly found to be more of a nuisance than a help.

Some campuses, notably Ramapo and Paterson, were extremely successful in pulling out faculty, gaining student support, and stopping some deliveries. At others, fully one-third of the teachers scabbed.

The strike as a whole had enough power to force Governor Byrne, a New Jersey Democrat elected with labor support, to drop his blatant campaign to bust the AFT.

The struggle in the Jersey State colleges isn't over. With this first statewide strike in history, it has just begun.

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I.S. YOUTH GROUP FORMS



LOS ANGELES—On the weekend of December 14-15, 40 people from around the country arrived to found the Red Tide, the youth section of the International Socialists.

The convention was attended primarily from two other youth organizations in California, the Red Tide in Los Angeles and the Contra Costa Socialist Coalition in the Bay Area. There were also representatives from the Midwest.

Both the Red Tide and CCSC have been leading struggles of young people for several years in

their areas.

Red Tide began as a high school paper in several schools in Los Angeles in 1971, out of young people who had been involved in the anti-war and youth movements of the 1960s. It was involved in fights for student rights, and developed a city-wide reputation for its activities, which included a mass sit-in at University High in 1972 over the right to distribute the Red Tide newspaper in the schools.

Last summer Red Tide expanded its focus and moved to involve not only high school students, but

young workers and young people at junior colleges. In the last few weeks it had been involved in leading the fight against police on high school campuses.

UNIONIZATION DRIVES

The Contra Costa Socialist Coalition (CCSC) was also formed in 1971 and was extremely active in the movement to end the Vietnam War. Its members include several young workers who had been active in unionization drives at their work places in northern California. In the

last year CCSC has mobilized numbers of people in support of a unionization drive and strike at the Ruckers electronics plants, the struggle to support the United Farmworkers, as well as other struggles such as the right to have gay speakers at Ygnacio High.

Both groups have changed significantly since they began. The defeats of the movements of the '60s have meant we have had to think through our politics and perspectives.

This has led us to the understanding of the need for a national revolutionary socialist organization.

The recognition that local organization of youth alone is not enough to make a revolution has led us to joining the International Socialists.

The goals of the IS are the same as ours, and its members have been active in building a movement among rank and file workers. We feel that we can be most effective in building a revolutionary workers' party as the youth organization of the IS.

FUTURE PLANS

The discussions at the Convention centered around several documents outlining the objectives and activity of the Red Tide in the coming months.

The focus of activity of members and branches of the Red Tide will center on problems that affect young people, such as deteriorating schools, youth unemployment,

the special oppression of youth and minorities.

We will continue to expand the work that has been carried on by the Red Tide and CCSC. Organizing committees in several cities in the Northwest and Midwest will be established, and the Red Tide looks toward quickly developing into a real national organization.

The Red Tide newspaper, which will be the paper of the Red Tide, will be coming out monthly at first and will be a crucial tool in the growth of the organization.

The convention also affirmed the Red Tide will be primarily an organization of high school students and young people who work or go to junior colleges, all of whom will be under the age of 23.

Our major contribution in the coming months will be carrying on work in the black and Latino high schools and communities.

We believe that the Red Tide has an important part to play in developing the struggles of young people, for a working class revolution in this country. We call on any young people who agree with us and want to fight to join with us in our activity and in building the Red Tide.

Young people are generally apathetic because they feel they have no power over their lives. We aim to show them that power. We have a world to win.

For further information, write: Red Tide, P.O. Box 64402, Los Angeles, CA 90064. □



High School Youth Fight LA Cops

LOS ANGELES—Three weeks ago, the Los Angeles Police Department arrested over 200 students for "sale of narcotics" through the use of undercover cops posing as students at 24 high schools in Los Angeles. Since that time, hundreds of students around the city have taken action in their schools to get the police off the campuses.

Through demonstrations at a number of schools, students have shown that they won't stand for their schools being run by the police; that if they try to run them, there will be a price to pay.

This price so far has included a number of damaged police cars, cops, school administrators and a bad and getting worse reputation for the police and the schools.

At University High School, for instance, about 400 students walked out of school two weeks ago and nearly destroyed an undercover car on campus. The administration and police looked helplessly on as a garbage can flew through its front window.

The Red Tide, a socialist youth organization in L.A. has been carrying on a campaign against the police in and around the schools, especially in the black and brown communities, where the harassment of the police is the worst.

The Red Tide has taken the lead

in pulling together the local anger of different schools and creating a city-wide movement against the police.

DEMONSTRATION

A high point in this effort came on December 11th. 75 young people from around the city demonstrated at the Board of Education after the action was called by the Red Tide.

The demonstrators presented several demands to the administration.

DEMANDS

The school administrators of all L.A. schools must disclose publicly the names of all police agents on campuses. If they refuse to do this, they should be kicked out of all schools.

Amnesty was demanded for all of those arrested in the recent drug arrests.

The AFT, NEA, and all labor bodies must oppose police in the schools. Police are arresting, spying on and hassling students today. Tomorrow, they will be doing the same thing to teachers.

The police have always been on the side of the government and big business and against the interests



Cartoon from leaflet opposing undercover police in the schools.

of working people. Teachers must cease to be the accomplices of the police.

An end to police harassment of black and Chicano schools and community was demanded by the students.

The Red Tide is continuing and broadening the campaign to include not only the question of police, but also that of youth unemployment. Unemployment for black youth is almost 40%.

With the many contacts made during the campaign, the organization is planning a January conference around these and other issues, and is working towards the creation of local Red Tide groups on different schools, and for the development of a larger struggle. □



Members of Red Tide and other high school students demonstrate against police entrapment of high school students.

THE RANK AND FILE



[Rank and File: Personal Histories of Working Class Organizers, edited by Alice and Staughton Lynd, Beacon Press, \$3.95.]

Rank and File, a collection of working class histories, is an important contribution to the emerging rank and file movement. The twenty-one working class organizers, interviewed by Alice and Staughton Lynd, vividly describe their past working and living situations.

They also tell how they organized, fighting racism and sexism, in their struggle for industrial and political democracy.

Rank and File is a very moving and powerful book. The past struggles are dramatic, but they are also relevant to militants who are beginning to organize in their shops, unions and communities today.

Most of the people interviewed had been involved in revolutionary or radical political organizations—the Communist, Socialist, Workers, Socialist Workers Parties, or, in the case of Burr McClosky, Ed Mann, and John Barbero, the United Labor Party.

Many like John Anderson of the UAW joined revolutionary organizations as they realized that it was only the revolutionaries who came to the aid of striking workers.

Others, such as Stella Nowicki, saw the Young Communist League important, because it not only helped her organize in the meat packing industry, but also, because it educated her and her friends about art, literature, and all aspects of society.

For Jesse Reese, the CP helped him fight against racism in the steel industry.

Revolutionaries also were the best fighters for the rank and file. They fought on every issue—racism, sexism, union democracy, wages, working conditions.

Sylvia Woods, the only Black committee woman in a UAW airplane parts factory, said, "I became a shop committee woman, and I never lost a case. I settled most in the first phase of the grievance procedure, because the foreman knew that I wasn't going to let up."

"They saw how we fought. They'd come out and tell it. You better join the union. I mean because if you get in trouble, Sylvia goes in there and wrecks the place."

BLACK LEADERS

Many of these organizers, such as Sylvia Woods, Jesse Reese and Jordan Sims, talk about being Black, and their fight against racism, on the job, and in society.

They describe how they were able to get white workers,—often extremely racist southern white workers—to support them as leaders.

Almost all of the white organizers spoke about racism, and how it prevented rank and file organizing. John Barbero, for example, discussed how they tried to bring Black workers into the higher paying open hearth area in his steel

mill. Stan Weir, who had been forced to be in the all white Sailors Union of the Pacific fought to end this discriminatory practice.

The position of women in industry, as union and revolutionary organizers was another theme of the book. Many of the men discussed how women were treated.

John Anderson, told about how, before the UAW was successful, in the auto plants, wives of workers and women working in the plant would often have to sleep with foremen in order to keep their, or their husbands jobs!

All the women interviewed in the book are very strong militants, who obviously were leaders of both men and women. In many instances they saw themselves as fighting for women's liberation.

Stella Nowicki, for example, spoke about how the women in meatpacking worked harder than the men, and didn't get equal pay. In spite of the hard work of the women, union men quite often believed that "a woman's place was in the home."

Also, her descriptions of the role of women in the CP may sound familiar to women today. "Some of

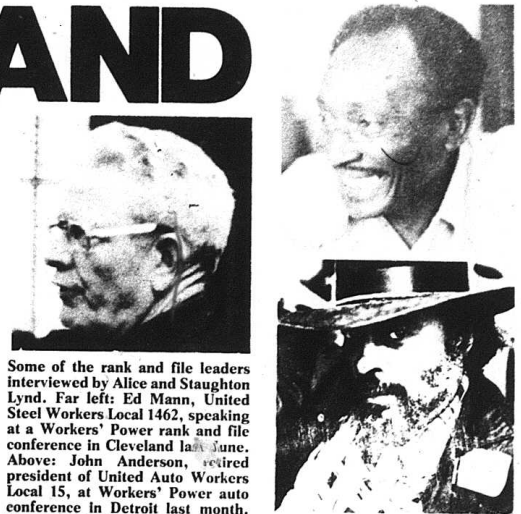
my brothers, who believed in equality, and that women should have rights, didn't crank the mimeograph, didn't type."

BUREAUCRACY

Another theme that was touched upon, but not in any great depth was the problem of cooptation of rank and file and the bureaucratization of once militant unions. Burr McClosky, who organized rubber workers said that "American Labor died the day the check-off went in; that once we lost the voluntary principle, we were screwed like a Christmas goose."

Others like Jesse Reese commented that "Today we have in our unions a pet company dog—led by the caretakers; and the caretakers are the leaders of the unions. And our dog is being fed red baiting and his teeth have been pulled out (that's the no strike clause), and your dog don't bark no more for you."

The very real problem of rank and file leaders being coopted, and how to prevent bureaucratization was not adequately dealt with either by the organizers, nor by the Lynds in their introduction.



Some of the rank and file leaders interviewed by Alice and Staughton Lynd. Far left: Ed Mann, United Steel Workers Local 1462, speaking at a Workers' Power rank and file conference in Cleveland last June. Above: John Anderson, retired president of United Auto Workers Local 15, at Workers' Power auto conference in Detroit last month. Top right: Bill Worthington of the miners' Black Lung Association in a recent interview with Workers' Power. Lower right: Jordan Sims, UAW Local 961 at the Workers' Power auto conference.

The reactionary role of the CP in the late 30's and 40's, which paved the way for the anti labor legislation and activities, should have been explored more. Yet the people interviewed were not big union officials. They were regular workers, but they were leaders, and this is their strength. Said Ed Ryan, who had been active in the Miners

That's where your strength lies. One of the most exciting aspects of the book is that many of the participants are still active in the rank and file movement: John Barbero, Bill Litch, and Ed Mann in Steel. Bill Worthington of the UMWA, Jordan Sims of the UAW to name just a few.

They are now providing experience, guidance, and leadership to younger militants, who are organizing in their shops and unions.

This is a book for all of us involved in the rank and file movement.

Celia Emerson

CLASS STRUGGLE IN BRITAIN

[Radical America, Sept.—Oct. 1974 issue.]

The decline of the economy and the increasingly militant response of workers isn't isolated to the U.S. Throughout the world, workers are being forced to take militant action to protect themselves from rampaging inflation and mass layoffs.

The September-October issue of the magazine Radical America is about the working class response in one country—Britain.

The lead article, written by Ian Birchall of the British International Socialists, does an excellent job of analyzing the successes and failures of the workers' movement.

THINGS TO COME

Birchall's description is a picture of things to come for American workers. The economic crisis hit Britain earlier and harder—inflation is nearly 20% and unemployment is expected to double.

The British government has, for some time, been attempting to deal with the crisis by putting the burden on wages. Wage and price controls have been around since the '60's—though as in this country, only wages were really controlled.

Social services have been cut. Legislation limiting the rights of trade unions has been passed.

In each case it was the Labor Party that first proposed these attacks. In the first they put protecting profits first. American workers can expect the same from the Democratic Party as the crisis grows.

Birchall describes the cowardly response of the labor leadership.

Time after time British workers have seen their struggles sold out and undercut by the union bureaucrats.

In response, a movement of rank and file workers has arisen to fight when the labor bureaucracy won't.

The rank and file movement has won a significant number of victories for British workers.

Flying pickets and sympathy strikes have been used to defeat increasingly stingy employers. Factory occupations have successfully fought layoffs. Political strikes defended the right to picket.

In each case it was an organized membership, not the union bureaucracy, which carried out these

tactics. American workers will have to adopt similar means if they are to successfully defend themselves.

It is out of this growing rank and file movement that revolutionary parties are being built.

TRANSFORMED

The British I.S. has transformed itself from a small group of students to a workers' organization of 3,500 by taking part and providing leadership in the opposition movements within the unions.

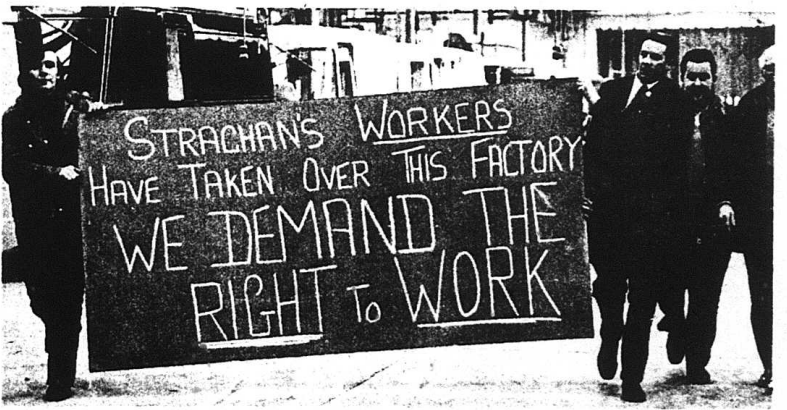
And it is this same strategy which can build a revolutionary workers' party in this country.

Besides Birchall's article there are shorter pieces on the growing working women's movement, the struggles of black and Asian workers and the miners' strike that toppled the last Tory government.

Each one fleshes out the overall picture given in the lead article. Only the last article on the role of the shop stewards—which it badly misunderstands—is not worthwhile.

This issue of Radical America should convince militants and revolutionaries that their actions can significantly affect the course of events in the next few years. □

Ed Karney



British workers fight layoffs, March 1974.



Dalou Ashai (right) and Jack Trautman, speaking in Louisville.

I.S. BUILDS ATTICA DEFENSE MEETINGS

LOUISVILLE—On December 12, an enthusiastic crowd of 100 attended a forum here on the Attica prison rebellion of three years ago. The event was sponsored jointly by the International Socialists and Workers for Collective Progress, a local group of black workers, in conjunction with the Attica Brothers Legal Defense.

The audience heard speakers from each group and saw a film titled "Teach Our Children."

Brother Dalou Ashai, now facing indictments for his role in the Attica uprising, gave a rousing talk.

He said, "Look at Attica, look at yourself"—Attica is not an isolated situation. In fact, in the words of Malcolm X, "America is a prison."

He said that the Attica situation is happening everywhere—both in

terms of our oppressive social conditions, and the nature of repression that comes down when we fight back.

He said we cannot be fooled by so-called reforms in the prisons or in society. Changing the name of prison to "correctional facility" in no way changes the nature of the prison system.

Brother Dalou urged that we organize ourselves for resistance to the attack on all of us by Rockefeller and his class—armed resistance when necessary.

POLICE STATION

Fred Hobby, speaking for WCP, addressed a local issue of a new police sub-station being built directly across the street from the meeting in the midst of the predominantly black housing projects.

He advocated the community organize its own protection rather than rely on the police who have traditionally harassed—not protected—the black community in the past.

Hobby said the real crimes in society are being committed against black and other working class neighborhoods by the rich.

Jack Trautman, of the IS, spoke on the current economic situation and how the working class is being forced to pay for the crisis.

The capitalists are trying to divide us in the usual way: along racial lines. As workers, we must unite ourselves to fight the bosses.

Trautman said that white workers must be won over to the cause of black liberation and equality. He said we must be organized to carry out the battle with the ruling class and pointed to the need for a revolutionary party.

The forum was an unqualified success. Numerous people expressed interest in the future activities of the IS.

Dalou Ashai and Trautman have been on tour in the midwest. They have spoken on Attica in Chicago, St. Louis, and Cleveland, building support for the Attica brothers now facing trial.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALISTS PUBLISH PAPER

The Socialist Workers Action Group (SWAG), revolutionary socialists in Australia, have begun publication of a regular newspaper. SWAG is a fraternal organization of the I.S.

The paper is called *The Battler*, and features exciting coverage of working class, women's liberation, and national minorities' struggles in Australia.

Issue #2, November 16, features the fight against layoffs and unemployment, the government's plans for wage controls, and the developing rank and file trade union movement—very similar to the critical issues facing American working people.

Anyone who would like to read a copy of *The Battler* or request subscription rates should write to: *The Battler*, P.O. Box 187, Fitzroy 3065, Australia.

What's On

Detroit, Sunday Jan. 12, "Building the Revolutionary Party." Joel Geier, IS National Chairman and L'I Joe, former Central Committee member Socialist Collective, now member IS Executive Committee. Call 869-3137 for details.



What We Stand For

The International Socialists is a revolutionary socialist organization. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and work as a member of our organization to achieve them. These principles are:

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Socialism must be achieved by the independent action of the working class. The liberation of the working class can be won only by the struggles of workers themselves.

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

Both capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism (the system of dictatorship in Russia, China, and the other so-called "Communist" societies) must be replaced through working class revolution. This will create a socialist society, controlled democratically by mass organizations of all working people. The wealth produced by labor will be controlled collectively by workers and used to produce a decent life and freedom for all.

DESTROY THE CAPITALIST STATE

The state is a weapon of capitalist class rule. Its institutions like the legislature, army, police and courts cannot simply be taken over by the working class and used to build socialism. The working revolution must destroy the old state and create one of an entirely different kind. It will establish direct rule by the masses of people based on workers councils elected at the workplace.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The trade unions are today the only mass organizations of the working class. To make the unions fighting instruments of workers against the employers, we work to build their struggles, and fight for rank and file control.

INTERNATIONALISM

The socialist revolution must be international. We fight for solidarity with workers in other countries. We oppose all racism and imperialism, and fully support the struggles of all oppressed peoples, in this country and worldwide. We call for international solidarity and cooperation among unions in different countries. We oppose all immigration controls, protectionism, and strike-breaking by workers in one country or one union against those in another.

AGAINST BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVISM

The first successful socialist revolution was made by the Russian working class in 1917. But the revolution was isolated, and destroyed by a counterrevolution led by Stalin. Today Russia, China, and the rest of the "Communist" countries are not socialist, but bureaucratic dictatorships. We support workers' struggle in these countries for democracy and freedom and call for revolution against the bureaucratic ruling class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To create socialism, the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The party does not represent an elite to rule over the workers "in their interests." It is a political force helping to organize workers and leading them to take state power and control society as a class. The activity of the I.S. is directed toward building such a party. Building a rank and file movement based on the principles described here strengthens the consciousness, self-confidence and organization of the working class, and is the road by which a revolutionary party will be built.

WHERE WE STAND

- *For rank and file control of the unions. No secret negotiations. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight, and national rank and file opposition caucuses in the international unions.
- *For class struggle unionism. Abolish all anti-labor legislation. No restriction on the right to strike, picket or boycott.
- *Defeat working conditions. No control on wages. Against unemployment, layoffs, and speed-up. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.
- *Equality for all oppressed peoples. Full support to their liberation struggles. For the right of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, police harassment and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

for their own demands. Independence for Puerto Rico.

- *Abolish all forms of sexual oppression. For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion. For a working class women's liberation movement. End discrimination against gay people.

- *Against imperialism. East and West. Against all nuclear weapons and imperialist alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. For unconditional support to all national liberation movements, against both US and Russian imperialism. We support the military victory of the National Liberation Front over US imperialism in Vietnam, but we give no political support to the anti-working class dictatorship the NLF represents.

- *No support to Republican, Democratic and Wallaceite parties and candidates. For an independent political party of the working class, based on the unions and controlled by the rank and file, to struggle against the capitalist system.

I.S. BRANCHES

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FUND DRIVE AT 98%

I.S. FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Collected	%
Bloomington	500	500	100
Boston	400	319	80
Chicago	1,300	1,207	92
Cleveland	1,850	1,935	104
Detroit	3,500	3,655	104
East Bay	2,400	2,400	100
Los Angeles	2,500	2,500	100
Louisville	800	800	100
Madison	150	170	113
New York	2,700	2,800	103
Portland	300	195	65
St. Louis	900	925	103
San Francisco	500	500	100
Seattle	1,700	1,809	106
MAI's	1,200	1,085	90
National Office	1,500	1,365	91
Totals	22,500	22,035	98

Our fourth annual fund drive has ended. To date (late contributions are pledged and still coming in) we have collected \$22,035 or 98% of our goal.

For having set such a high goal, this year's drive was a tremendous success. We wish to thank all of our friends who contributed to the drive.

The funds raised have already been put to use. We have launched a youth group, *The Red Tide*, which, although it is still primarily based on the west coast, will be a national organization soon and a leader of the Red Tide will be making a national speaking tour shortly.

New pamphlets, like "Bureaucratic Collectivism: The Stalinist Social System" and "The Communist Parties in the West" are now out. We have a national traveler already on the road and more speaking tours are already scheduled.

This month a speaking tour on Attica was made by Dalou Ashai.

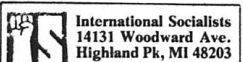
an indicted Attica brother and Jack Trautman, I.S. National Committee and Executive Committee member. The speakers met with enthusiastic audiences in Louisville, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Chicago.

Needless to say, the contributions raised during the fund drive made all these activities possible. Your continued support will help us move further toward building a socialist workers' movement and a revolutionary party.

MINERWORKERS SUPPORT COMMITTEE HOLDS FORUM

The Bay Area Mineworkers Support Committee held a forum on Sunday Dec. 8 at the Retail Clerks (Local 1100) hall in San Francisco. Speakers were Kim Moody, Industrial Secretary of the International Socialists, Joyce Maupin of Union WAGE, Jim Ketola of Boilermakers Local #6, representing the Committee, and Leo Seiditz, of the Bay Area Committee on Safety and Health (BACOSH).

The Committee distributed 5,000 leaflets to workers in the Bay Area, explaining the issues in the miners strike and indicating why the miners should be supported. In the discussion period that followed, several speakers expressed interest in further strike support actions of this sort. Many people signed the contact list which was circulated at the meeting.



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RACIST RULE NEARS END IN ZIMBABWE

Just last week, Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith announced a cease-fire plan which he claims will produce black-white unity and eventually end white minority rule. The plan has the backing of the white racist government of South Africa headed by John Vorster.

Nine years ago, on November 11, 1965, in an emotional white racist rally at Drill Hall in Salisbury, Rhodesia, Ian Smith declared there would never be black majority rule as long as he was alive.

The punch-drunk, all-white audience cheered and celebrated the Unilateral Declaration of Independence through the night.

The 250,000 whites of Rhodesia refused from that day to recognize British jurisdiction, and stepped up the suppression of the country's six million black people.

All black political organizations were banned and their leaders imprisoned. Unions were outlawed and leading unionists sent to detention without trial.

The British Labor government imposed half-hearted economic sanctions against the racist regime. Their main concern was to protect "stability"—the \$6 billion dollars invested by British capitalists in Southern Africa—even if this meant accepting the enslavement of the black majority in Rhodesia.

For fear of upsetting South Africa, the sanctions were never enforced. So the Smith regime survived by shipping its goods to South Africa and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique.

Nine years later, however, the black African liberation struggles have thrown this arrangement into deep crisis. The victory of FRELIMO over Portugal's colonial government in Mozambique exposed Rhodesia's entire eastern border and threatened its previously guaranteed route to the sea.

GUERRILLA WAR

More importantly, the Rhodesian army has been pressed to the limit by an unremitting guerilla war inside Rhodesia. The anti-guerilla war has come to depend on support from South African police and troops, now numbering more than 2000 in Rhodesia.

As they lose the way, Rhodesia's white rulers have grown more brutal and desperate in their repression. 70,000 black people have been herded into concentra-

tion camps, called "strategic hamlets," in the northern part of the country.

This repression has not stopped the political protests. From the capital city Salisbury and Bulawayo have come reports of soccer matches being turned into political rallies. Young black workers are taking the lead in more intensive political mobilization, many heading toward the areas where the guerrillas are operating to get military training.

TALKS IN RHODESIA

White racist rule has had it in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Vorster of South Africa knows it. Ian Smith knows it.

Two weeks ago in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, negotiations were arranged among the Presidents of Zambia and Tanzania—Kaunda and Nyrere—and the leaders of the black nationalist forces in Rhodesia. The latter included Muzorewa (African National Congress), Nkomo (ZAPU) and Sithole (ZANU).

ZAPU and ZANU (Zimbabwe African People's Union and African National Union) are the guerilla organizations fighting in Rhodesia. ZANU has been doing most of the fighting, while ZAPU has suffered from internal divisions and is considered more moderate.

Both South Africa and Rhodesia agreed to the negotiations in Zambia. In fact, Nkomo and Sithole were prisoners in Rhodesia and were released in order to attend.

"COMPROMISE"

Vorster and Smith hoped to curb the demand for full-scale majority rule by getting the African leaders to agree to a "compromise" and an interim government. By slowing the drive for majority rule, they can maintain control of the political situation. This is the intention of the announcement by Smith, following the meetings in Zambia, which will supposedly bring about an end of racist rule at a snail's pace.

Under this proposal, Zambia would crack down on black guerrillas entering Rhodesia from bases in Zambia. In return, the rulers of Zambia and newly independent Mozambique would get profitable trade agreements with Rhodesia.

Kaunda and Nyrere were pre-

pared to go along with this scheme. But the black guerilla freedom fighters have lost over 2000 of their comrades in the years of struggle against white racist rule in Southern Africa. They know that the imperialist South African regime, which is the prop of white rule in Rhodesia, is the force behind Smith's plan, and they are unlikely to willingly accommodate that imperialism when it is losing the war in Rhodesia.

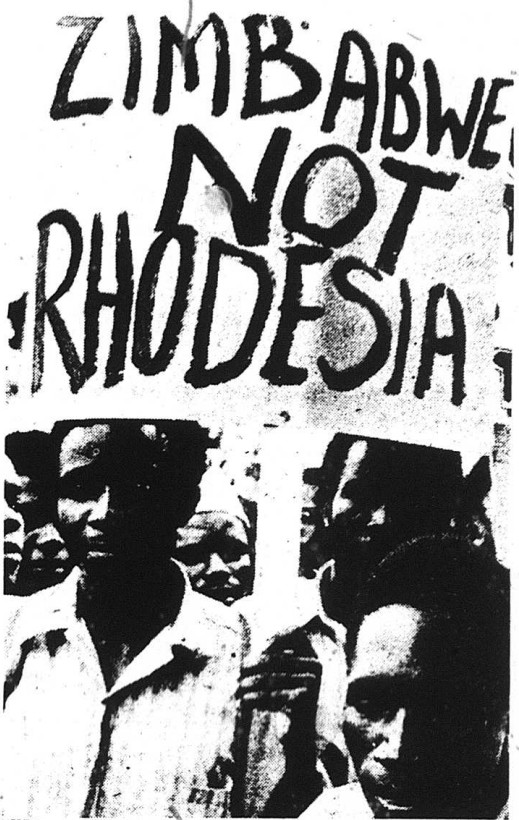
One former political prisoner in Rhodesia, Marshall Lizwe Mlambo, writes:

"The press portrays Kaunda and Nyrere as very left-wing. But these African leaders have betrayed the people who got them into power by maintaining capitalism and imperialism in their countries."

"Why are Kaunda, Nyrere and Vorster trying to bring about a settlement? Because they have seen the masses taking over in Mozambique and Angola. They will follow suit in Smith's Rhodesia and South Africa. The shock waves will be felt in Europe and America."

"Unfortunately for the imperialists and their fellow travellers, they always seem to forget about the resolve of the people of Zimbabwe... the masses in Zimbabwe have seen how the Mau Mau was betrayed in Kenya and how the masses who fought in such countries as Zambia have also been betrayed. They will never be a party to any sham independence."

The liberation armies will have to be on their guard against more "initiatives" such as that set up by Smith and Vorster. There is only one answer for the masses of southern Africa: all political power to the liberation forces, and the seizure by African workers of the wealth plundered from them by imperialists in Washington, London and Pretoria. □



"White racist rule has had it in Zimbabwe."

EX-AGENT CALLS DRIVE TO EXPOSE CIA

A former ranking official of the CIA has announced that he has begun a "campaign to fight the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency wherever it is operating."

Philip B.F. Agee, formerly employed in the Latin American department of "dirty tricks" of the agency, has released a statement through correspondents in the U.S., London and Mexico City. He is intending to form and work with an "international committee to coordinate a campaign with two main functions: first, to expose CIA officers and agents and to take measures necessary to drive them out of the countries where they are operating; secondly, to seek within the United States to have the CIA abolished."

Agee began his campaign to expose and "neutralize" CIA station operatives by releasing the names, home addresses and cover occupations of thirty-seven operations officers and administrative employees "who together constitute the bulk of the CIA station under various covers in the U.S.

embassy in Mexico City. Agee's statement added that he had trained a group of Mexican associates "to follow the comings and goings of CIA people" while he was in Mexico City.

Agee, whose credentials as a former ranking CIA officer were confirmed with "authoritative sources in Washington" by the Washington Post last July, is presently working in seclusion near London on a book detailing his experience in the CIA during the period 1956-1969.

The Mexico City list included mention of the current Mexican President, Luis Echeverria, a former Minister of Government in charge of internal security, who was said to have had a "close relationship with CIA Station Chief Winston Scott." Agee said that there were indications this relationship had been broken when Echeverria became President in 1970.

All of the thirty-seven names were said to be "full-time employees and U.S. citizens. Not included, therefore, are the hundreds of paid

CIA agents and collaborators in Mexico, mostly Mexican citizens, whose work is directed by those on the list."

Other agency operatives were said to be working "under non-official cover posing as students, professors, businessmen, journalists, retired people or tourists."

The 39 year old ex-CIA official added that he was forming an international committee to cooperate on further exposures of "the CIA's intervention on behalf of transnational corporations, that for generations have been stealing the natural resources of underdeveloped countries and robbing workers of the product of their labor."

The CIA, according to Agee, "can have no other task than to serve the interests of the business and financial elites who are the ruling minority of the U.S., the same ruling minority that struggles against real integration of Americans at home and that prolongs the misery of the thirty or forty million Americans who live in poverty." □

Rodney Larson

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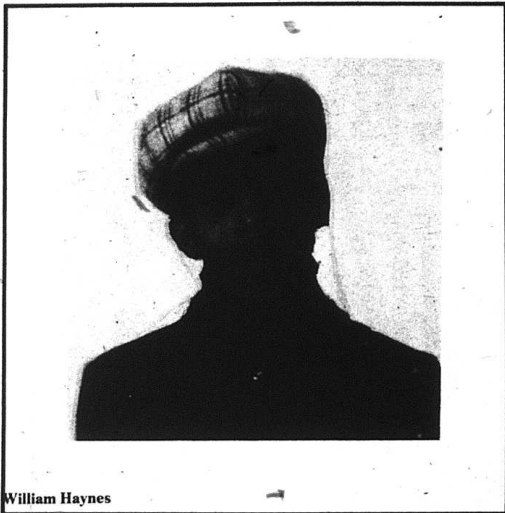
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"Fifty of us ... they can say turn around. But now if

Workers' Power

there's a thousand of us, they can't turn us around."



William Haynes

DETROIT—Chrysler's Lynch Road Assembly plant is located on this city's near east side, along with three other Chrysler Plants. The assembly plant is over forty years old, but from the outside its age is hidden by a shiny coating of aluminum siding.

As assembly plants go, Lynch Road is fairly typical these days. It's closed.

Its 5,000 workers were laid off November 27. The plant won't be open again until January 6, but less than half of those 5,000 workers will be back then. The second-shift, says Chrysler, is no longer needed

or wanted.

William Haynes was one of those second shift workers Chrysler didn't want anymore. He's also a member of the Lynch Road chapter of the United National Caucus, and is fighting along with the UNC to stop the layoffs.

Haynes is part of the UNC because he's angry that the UAW leadership isn't fighting.

"They didn't have anything to say," he notes, "except that they were trying and that it was our fault because we didn't come to work when we had the opportunity to work."

The Lynch UNC is trying to set up an unemployed council in the Local. A UNC leaflet stated, "...we need political action to provide jobs and insure paychecks for all laid-off workers."

PETITION

The UNC, along with other rank and filers at Lynch Assembly and Mound Road Engine—both part of UAW Local 51—circulated a petition to the Local executive board.

Over 1,000 workers signed, but the Board said it already had a committee—the Social Service Committee—which would do the job.

"The Social Service Committee has had no meeting for years, and is dead," replied the UNC. Furthermore, it "has been stacked by appointments of all kinds of local bureaucrats and flunkies. The same people who sold us out on our local contract are now going to get paid to sit on their asses and do nothing—while we are out in the streets."

"We want the chance to have a real committee," says Haynes.

"For example, if someone was going to get their house foreclosed or getting something repossessed we would help them directly."

At the December 8 union meeting, supporters of the unemployed council proposal had the votes to pass it over the Executive Board's objections. But when Local President Tony Jannette saw he was going to lose, he adjourned the meeting and walked out without allowing a vote.

NOT OFFICIAL, BUT REAL

Many of the workers continued the meeting anyway and set up their own Unemployment Council. "We may not be official yet," its first leaflet says, "but we are real."

Members of this unofficial Local 51 Unemployed Council are working with a city-wide Unemployed Committee created by the United National Caucus. The city-wide group, located in the Local 961 Hall, provides information for workers "who are unable to get adequate counseling about their rights from their own union officials."

It is also committed to "building a mass movement of the unemployed." Among other things, the UNC Committee demands: no layoffs, no plant closures, and a shorter work week at full pay.

William Haynes thinks that building a mass movement is the key to success. "It may be 50 of us, well, they can just say we'll turn them back around. But now if there's a thousand of us they can't turn us around. If there's 500 of us they can't turn us around, and they're going to listen."

The alternative, he says, is pretty bleak. "If they keep laying off as many people as they are doing, then the struggle will come to that any person working or making money will have to carry a pistol."

Construction Workers Shut The Mines



120,000 members of the UMW were on strike for four weeks. Then many of them stayed out to support the mine construction workers.

by Jim Woodward

The weekend before Christmas 4500 mine construction workers began voting on a second contract negotiated for them by the leadership of the United Mine Workers. Neither the details of the agreement nor the outcome of the vote were available as Workers' Power went to press. But even before the voting began, the construction workers had won one victory, firmly turning back efforts to break their strike.

The 4500 mine construction workers are members of the UMW, but work under a separate contract. They had been on strike along with the 120,000 coal miners since November 12.

construction workers' contract was settled, this group kept its picket lines going. They kept thousands of miners off the job.

BREAK THE STRIKE

Within a few days, the negotiators reached a tentative agreement. But again, Miller couldn't get it past the UMW Bargaining Council. When the Bargaining Council rejected it, the union leadership, the employers, and the government joined in an effort to break the strike.

"We've made our deal, and that's it," said Francis Coleman of the employers association.

The contractors normally don't get much work done this time of the year anyway, and said they were perfectly willing to let the mine construction workers strike until

January. That way, they noted, they wouldn't have to shell out holiday pay.

Arnold Miller, for his part, was ready to wait it out too. "UMW officials," reported the Wall Street Journal, "seemed content to let the situation simmer at least partly in hopes that pressure from miners in the field would force the [bargaining] council's members to change their minds on the construction workers' contract."

INJUNCTIONS

And the government added its muscle. Court injunctions were issued throughout the coal fields forbidding the construction workers to picket the mines.

Since the workers were picketing mines as well as construction sites, the courts ruled that they were

engaged in an illegal secondary boycott. The UMW also sent telegrams to the construction workers, telling them not to picket.

But the union leadership, the employers, and the courts had not counted on the determination of the workers. Instead of backing down, they set out to win the strike.

The construction workers sent picket lines to as many mines as they could reach, ignoring the injunctions. From 20,000 on December 13, the number of coal miners respecting the picket lines rose to almost 60,000 by December 16. That's half the UMW miners in the country.

A NEW SONG

Steel companies began announcing that they would have to start laying off again if the strike continued. And very quickly, the bosses were singing a new song. "The losses are astronomical," said D.C. Hall of Peabody Coal, "not only to the company but to the energy situation as a whole."

Within a few short days, the negotiators had returned to the bargaining table and produced another contract.

A spokesman for the UMW told Workers' Power that the details of the contract would not be released until after the construction workers had voted on it. This suggests that there are only relatively minor changes from the first contract. It seems likely that Miller will attempt to shove this contract through as he had done earlier for the miners contract.

Regardless of whether he is successful, the construction workers and the miners have shown they have the power and the will to change their union and their conditions of work. In the last several years, they've come a long way. But there's still a lot to be done.