

WORKERS' Power

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WHITE HOUSE PLANS SUPER SLUMP

by Douglas Wolfe

It's official, mass unemployment will continue to the end of the decade. In other words the ten million workers now unemployed will stay unemployed. That's the prediction of the White House economists. Not until 1980, they say, will capitalism be over its worst problems and even then there will be 5 1/2% unemployment.

In short the bosses' top economists—the ones who are paid to be super-optimists—are saying that by attacking the working class the economic crisis can be solved. But in the end, their solution means a million more workers permanently on the bosses' human scrap-heap than when we had "full employment."

That is the official prediction. It is based on the belief that the working class will take whatever the bosses and the government hand out.

OUR PREDICTION

Our prediction is that they are wrong. Our prediction is that each new attempt to inflict further suffering on the working class will be met with increased resistance. Organized workers are not going to stay on their knees while the bosses kick them in the face.

The fact is that the working class has always fought back. During the thirties, the last period of mass unemployment, workers were ready to take to the streets and fight the whole might of the state to defend themselves.

They organized general strikes in San Francisco and Minneapolis. They forced the thirty hour week on the docks and the thirty-five hour week in the garment trades.

They took over the plants of the biggest employers in the land, faced the machine guns of the National Guard, and won. In just a few short years they built a mighty new union movement, the CIO, in mass production industries.

That is our tradition and if we have forgotten it the bosses have not. That is why they are scared. That is why for a full week after

Ford released his predictions, the newspapers, radio and television stations left no stone unturned in their search for "respectable" experts who would take a fat fee and deny that we were in Act One of the Second Great Depression.

FIGHT BACK

They were wasting their time. Workers are beginning to organize rank and file committees to fight back. It is a development that is still slow, halting, just under the surface.

It can be seen breaking into the news through events like the floor demonstrations at the Washington UAW rally.

But it is a development that guarantees that the next few years will not see the easy acceptance of mass unemployment but instead, class battles on an unprecedented scale waged by a working class that is immeasurably stronger than in the thirties.

It would be comforting if we could end with the prediction that the 1980's will be a decade of workers power, not mass unemployment. It would be easy to predict that the working class will defend itself and then go over to the offensive, take over the factories and ensure that working class families will never have to suffer the poverty and indignity of unemployment again. But that can't be predicted.

US OR THEM

It will only happen if we realize that every concession we force out of the system brings us closer to the day when the system breaks down completely and resorts to the vast barbarity of world war or fascism.

It will only happen if every rank and file committee, every worker now entering this new struggle says, "It's us or them and at the end of the day they are the ones who have to go because they are the ones who have nothing to contribute." □



'Jobs Now!'

Nearly 10,000 auto workers went to Washington February 5th. Their rally, called by the United Auto Workers, was the first major national union demonstration against unemployment since 1959.

Two days later, a government statement made official what everyone knew. Unemployment, at 8.2%, has hit the highest level since the end of the Great Depression. And it's headed higher.

The importance of the UAW rally is that it can be the beginning of a movement to attack unemployment.

Rank and filers, under the leadership of the United National Caucus, carried signs in Washington reading: "Defend Our Jobs, Not Big Three Profits" and "30 Hours Work, 40 Hours Pay."

The big demand of the day was, "We Want Jobs!"

The big flop of the day was the union leadership. With 300,000 auto workers thrown out on the streets, they refused to pin even a small part of the blame on the auto companies.

Story, page 3.
Editorial, "The Truth About Leonard Woodcock," page 10.

Once More: WHO MURDERED KAREN SILKWOOD?

The Federal government, the State of Oklahoma, the national news media and Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation have combined to cover up the possible murder of union militant Karen Silkwood.

Silkwood was killed in an automobile crash in the middle of last November. She had worked at the Cimarron Facility of the Kerr-McGee corporation near Crescent Oklahoma.

The Cimarron facility manufactures plutonium fuel rods for nuclear reactors.

Silkwood was a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), had led a successful fight to maintain OCAW representation at Kerr-McGee and was leading a fight against unsafe conditions at Cimarron.

Silkwood had been driving to a meeting with representatives of the OCAW and the press to discuss these conditions when her car crashed. With her was a brown folder filled with documented evidence of health and safety hazards and company falsification of quality control records.

The brown folder was never found.

PUSHED OFF ROAD

Last month, Workers' Power reported that tests ordered by the OCAW revealed that Silkwood's car had been pushed off the road by another car.

These tests were conducted by A.O. Pipkin Jr. of the Accident Reconstruction Lab of Dallas.

Since then the Oklahoma Highway Patrol issued a report stating that, in fact, Silkwood's car had not been pushed. According to the Highway Patrol the dents on the rear fender and bumper were caused by the car's hitting a cement wall.

Additional tests ordered by the OCAW, however, corroborated Pipkin's original findings: Silkwood's car was hit with impact from the rear by the bumper of another car. No trace of cement was found but metal and rubber were.

In total, four different experts concur on this analysis.

The Oklahoma authorities issued their report without bothering to re-examine the car since the crash or the findings of Pipkin.

The OCAW had been preparing a case against Kerr-McGee to present before the government Atomic Energy Commission when Silkwood was killed.

HARASSED

For weeks before, she was harassed on the job by Kerr-McGee and confided to friends that she feared someone was trying to poison her. A week before her death medical tests showed that she herself had been contaminated with radioactive material.

Further tests showed her apartment

had also been contaminated. Kerr-McGee maintains that as Silkwood had been in no industrial accident in which contamination could have taken place that she had poisoned herself to aid her case.

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) has gone along with Kerr-McGee, seeing the allegations of Silkwood and the OCAW as the fantasy of the overzealous.

Out of 39 charges by the OCAW the Atomic Energy Commission agreed with only two. They did this by denying any charge in which the background information (not the charge itself) was not precise from their point of view.

For example, the OCAW charged that Kerr-McGee has a 60% turnover rate. And that the company's poor training program combined with a high turnover rate means more accidents. The OCAW demanded better training for new workers.

The AEC claimed the turnover rate to be only 35%. The OCAW figures included only the bargaining unit—the AEC figures included management. All charges using the turnover rate as argumentation were denied by the AEC.

COVER-UP

The AEC has its own reasons for helping to cover up unsafe working conditions at Cimarron. The facility makes equipment for a second-generation nuclear power plant now being developed.

Kerr-McGee began its plutonium operations in 1970. Since then there have been 17 safety lapses—in which 73 employees were contaminated. All these lapses have been admitted by the AEC.

In mid-December, two additional cases involving five persons closed the plant for two weeks.

The AEC does not want plant closures because they do not want development halted. So they allow Kerr-McGee to continue unsafe practices as long as they do not violate the letter of the law—even if it means potential danger to plutonium workers.

MEDIA BIAS

In reporting all of this, much of the national news media has made Silkwood out to be a somewhat deranged militant willing to kill herself with radiation poisoning for the cause.

Time magazine called her possibly "emotionally unstable."

The possible murder of Karen Silkwood, its cover-up by the government, big business and the press, and the background of dangerous working conditions at Kerr-McGee reveal the inner workings of the capitalist system and how far they will go to protect profits. It also reveals how workers must fight—relying on our own strength. The institutions of capitalism will not fight for us, they are allied against us. □

HOW OIL PROFITS KILL

AMERICAN DREAM
Gay Semel



Police in gas masks search Texas home where eight bodies were found.

Imagine yourself suddenly awakening at 5 am. It's still dark outside, but there's a strange and frightening smell in the air. A heavy, sulfuric gas is burning your throat and starting to choke you.

Moments later, while you're still half conscious, the phone rings.

As you stumble to the phone and lift the receiver, you hear the voice of your next door neighbor frantically telling you to flee for your life. He has also just awakened and realized what is happening.

A terrible cloud of poison gas is erupting from the oil well 100 yards from your home. Within minutes it will kill everyone.

Your husband steps outside the house to look. Moments later he staggers back inside and collapses, unconscious.

There are also six other people in your house: your 17-year-old daughter and her girl friend, your mother and stepfather, and your sister and her husband.

There is no one to help you. Your neighbor has managed to get his family into a car and escape, his wife collapsing and slamming his foot on the accelerator just as he was about to black out.

You have nowhere to hide. There is only one chance: to get to the car and pickup truck in front of your house and flee.

Knocking over chairs, gasping and in panic, still in nightclothes, all eight of you somehow make your way to the vehicles. Only a few minutes have elapsed.

But that is as far as you can get. No one has the strength left to start the car or truck. Or maybe no one brought the keys. The heavy choking cloud, snuffing out your lives, is everywhere.

A few hours later, eight bodies are found sprawled inside and underneath the still parked vehicles...

This nightmare sounds like the theme for a disaster movie like

"Earthquake" or "The Towering Inferno." But it is not a story.

It happened on February 3 in Denver City, Texas. What caused it was an oil well owned by the Atlantic Richfield Corporation. An unattended injection system pumping carbon dioxide into the well to get more oil out of it, broke.

It was much like the devices you've seen the oil companies boast about on television.

Carbon dioxide and hydrogen sulfide, both heavier than air, billowed from the well. There was no safety system to stop it.

There were nine victims in all. Besides the eight in the house, the ninth was the company employee nearby, who was called on the alarm system and found dead in his truck in a ditch.

On Wall Street, Atlantic Richfield stock that day closed down one and five-eighths, at 82. □

Dan Posen

L.A. Police Train For Food Riots

LOS ANGELES—Already well-versed in quelling black rebellions, bombing out houses and beating anti-war protestors, the Los Angeles Police Department is now learning how to deal with "civil disturbances" expected to occur as the depression deepens.

In an interview on radio station KPFF, Commander Frank Bittell, former head of the elite Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) force, responsible for the SLA massacre, said the department was instituting a major training program for all department personnel.

He mentioned that the training would include food-riot control drills at each station house.

"A lot of officers on the street now," Bittell said, "weren't here during the 1965 Watts riots; there's been a tremendous change in personnel and we're trying to update our material."

Chief of Police Edward M. Davis immediately denied Bittell's state-

ment that part of the training was aimed at quelling food riots, saying "by the time you've gotten to the point where people are rioting for food, well you've lost the whole thing anyway."

CLEAR PURPOSE

From statements made by both Bittell and Davis, it is clear the purpose of the training is to prepare officers for charging picket lines, unemployment demonstrations and other militant attempts by the working class to fight back against the current crisis.

Unlike the tactics used in Watts or with the SLA, Bittell claims in the incidents they are training for they will use reason, not force.

Bittell to the contrary, there is little chance the police, part of the armed force of capitalism, will remain reasonable when faced with assaults against the corporations they exist to protect.

When faced with armed and militant workers during the great battles of the 1930's, the police didn't reason, they fired. Today will be no different. They are getting ready. We must get ready, too. □

Mary Franklin

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The United National Caucus coffee wagon. The UNC publicized the UAW Washington rally by providing free coffee to workers waiting in line at unemployment offices in Detroit.



Al Gardner (center) and Pete Kelly (right) of the United National Caucus in a floor demonstration at the UAW rally. Demonstrators shouted: "Woodcock, Woodcock, get on the ball, we want jobs, jobs for all," "We want jobs—to hell with Big Three profits," and "Share the work, full pay!" Other UNC signs read: "Defend Our Jobs, Not Big Three Profits," "No Layoffs, No Speed-up, No Overtime, No Wage Cuts," "30 Hours Work, 40 Hours Pay," and "Full Employment, Not Empty Promises—Labor Needs Its Own Party."

"We Want Jobs—To Hell With Big 3 Profits..."

10,000 Auto Workers Demand Jobs!

WASHINGTON—Ten thousand auto workers came here February 5th, demanding jobs. Some came from as far away as Texas and California. Many spent 12 hours on buses, coming from Detroit through a snowstorm.

The UAW called it an Emergency Unemployment Rally. With 300,000 auto workers out of jobs, there's no question that it's an emergency. But the rally was planned to be a tame affair, a gentleman-like lobbying of Congress on a mass scale.

One group of auto workers, though, the United National Caucus, was ready to fight. If it had not been for the UNC, everyone would just have sat listening to speeches all day and then gone home.

While everybody was sitting around waiting for the rally to start, UNC members began marching through the aisles chanting "We Want Jobs—To Hell With Big Three Profits!"

Workers from Region 8 in Pennsylvania came down from their bleacher seats to join in the demonstration, and hundreds of others did the same.

The chant "We Want Jobs!" became the theme of the rally. It repeatedly broke out in different parts of the hall. When Woodcock finished speaking practically everyone stood up and shouted "We Want Jobs!"

UAW PROGRAM

The UAW's program for the

crisis, in contrast, is similar to Ford's. It is designed to ease the burden of being laid off, rather than putting people back on their jobs.

Briefly, it calls for a bigger tax rebate than the one the Republicans are offering, unemployment benefits for the duration of the recession, and for an expanded public service program. It's a program that can't do much to stop the growing unemployment rate.

It's a program directed entirely at the government, and not at all at the auto companies. As one unemployed worker from the Linden, N.J. GM plant said, "Not one mention of profits."

Only once at the rally did anybody from the stage speak badly of the auto companies. That was when Doug Fraser again accused Chrysler of mismanagement. But Fraser was careful to say that the problem of layoffs is "insolvable at the bargaining table."

Instead of a policy of fighting the companies, the UAW leadership has taken their side. The UAW booklet put out for the rally, "A Program for the Nation's People," calls for a five year halt on new emission control standards to help the companies out.

CRAWLING WITH POLITICIANS

The UAW's real plan for action is to lobby their friends in Congress. That's why they had the place crawling with politicians.

The response of the workers at the rally to the speeches was one of lukewarm approval. The speakers were interrupted very few times for applause. Nobody, with the possible exception of Teddy Kennedy, received lengthy ovations. President Woodcock, in fact, evoked a considerable amount of booing when he was introduced.

An older Chrysler worker from Local 7 said the whole rally seemed to be just a Democratic Party political rally. It should have been a more militant demonstration demanding jobs now, he said.

And a young black woman laid off by Chrysler pointed out that none of the politicians or UAW bureaucrats making speeches was hurting for money. "Their talk won't get our jobs back," she said.

That's the way the United National Caucus felt, too. The UNC program, distributed at the rally, placed demands on both the auto companies and the government, and pointed to a strategy for winning these demands.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The one promise made by Woodcock at the rally that gives

Demand Jobs!

any cause for hope was, significantly, the one proposal workers seemed most excited about. Woodcock repeated his earlier promise to bring a quarter million workers to the streets of Washington in the spring if Congress doesn't act.

When Woodcock made this promise, many workers led by the UNC shouted, "Set the Date. Set the Date!"

That should be a major focus of rank and file activity. The ranks must ensure that this is one promise Woodcock can't back out of.

By spring, of course, workers will have been unemployed a lot longer. They will have seen the inadequacies of the labor leaders' solutions to the crisis. And they will have experienced the complete collapse of the SUB funds.

It's very unlikely that 250,000 workers will sit idly at the foot of the Washington Monument listening to Senator Mondale and Congresswoman Abzug calling for tax reform.

While workers went to listen in February, by May they'll go to demand.

UNC Program

The United National Caucus' program for ending unemployment points out that fighting layoffs means fighting the auto companies. Every laid off worker must be rehired.

Abolish all overtime as long as any worker is laid off. Full SUB pay for the duration of any layoffs. No plant closures. If there's not enough work, cut the work week while maintaining full pay.

If the auto companies insist that they cannot afford this, open their account books. And if the bosses in fact can't afford to provide full employment, then they should be given the same advice they always give workers when times get rough—THERE'S THE DOOR. If they can't afford full employment, then nationalize the auto corpora-

tions and let the workers democratically control production.

To fight for this program, the UAW should immediately set the date for the massive march on Washington. Woodcock is promising. And this march should be backed up by a national 24-hour work stoppage throughout the country.

In addition, the UNC insists that the UAW International Executive Board call a Congress of Labor for the purpose of forming a labor party. The time for workers to have their own political party is long past.

Finally, the UNC is attempting to build unemployed committees in the locals to protect the interests of laid off workers.

network

Voice Of UAW Militants

a new magazine, by and for active militants in the UAW

The first issue of this bimonthly will be available February 1. The theme will be **FIGHTING THE LAYOFFS**, with articles by UAW militants from all over the country on their ideas, experiences and strategies for organizing against unemployment.

Send 50¢ per issue or \$3.00 for a one year subscription to: Jack Weinberg, 16020 Second, Highland Park, MI 48203

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The Slump Of '75

The beginning of a sharp world recession is shown by figures on economic growth over the last few years.

From 1962 through 1973, which covers the last period of the great post-World War II boom, the combined output of the world's twenty largest industrial countries grew by an average of 5 1/2% per year.

A few countries had much higher rates than this. In Japan, for example, the annual growth rate was over 10% every year.

This rosy picture has turned upside down with a crash. Since mid-1973, in other words the last 18 months, the growth rate of the industrial economies has dropped to zero.

In 1974, the real gross national product of many countries, including Japan, actually dropped. It will do the same in 1975.

WORLD TRADE

One reason why countries like Japan are so heavily hit is that much of their growth depends on world trade, which is in trouble.



Look familiar? No, this parking lot full of unsold cars is not located in Detroit. It's in Britain, where 41,000 unsold cars have piled up. Similar scenes are occurring in the Volkswagen lots in Germany and

Italy. This is the picture of the onset of a world depression. In the next year or two, layoffs and mass unemployment will run rampant everywhere.

Capitalist governments in individual countries are trying to protect their own corporations with tariffs and devaluations, at the expense of other countries.

To restore the growth rates of the previous decades, world trade would have to be about \$250 billion a year larger than it is right now. Achieving such an increase is

virtually impossible, especially with so much wealth (between \$60 and \$80 billion a year) going from industrial economies to the oil-producing states.

What all this means is that production will not begin increasing again for some time.

Many governments, in both Europe and North America, will

probably adopt measures that will stimulate industries to produce again—profit incentives, lower interest rates and easy money.

As these measures take effect, and as stockpiles of unsold goods gradually dwindle, production will pick up again sometime next year. But as the recovery begins, inflation is likely to soar to almost

double the rates we are seeing today.

A short recovery, with inflation at 20% or more, is likely to be followed by an even worse crash than we are seeing today.

The cycle of booms and busts has returned to the capitalist system. The result will be sharper class struggles and political crises everywhere. □

War Rages

In Eritrea

Twelve years ago, the Ethiopian kingdom of Emperor Haile Selassie formally annexed the territory of Eritrea as a province of Ethiopia. Eritrea, which was once an Italian colony, had been entrusted by a United Nations mandate to be administered by Ethiopia as an independent territory.

Ever since they were forcibly taken over by the Ethiopian empire, the people of Eritrea have been fighting for national independence.

The struggle has been led by two organizations, the Eritrean Liberation Front and the more radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea. They are now working under a common military structure.

Eritreans have fought for independence because they want to maintain their own language and culture, as well as their own economic life, all of which were suppressed under the rule of the Emperor.

The war in Eritrea was one of the cracks which led to the virtual disintegration of Ethiopia and the overthrow of the Emperor by the Army generals who now rule the country.

However, the end of the feudal monarchy in Ethiopia has not ended the war in Eritrea. In fact, the current fighting around Eritrea's capital city, Asmara, is the

most brutal of the whole war.

ARMS FROM AMERICA

US-supplied fighter planes are bombing the city continually, as the new rulers of Ethiopia desperately try to restore their control over the province. The city's residents are trapped inside.

No one knows how many have been killed. If the Ethiopian generals succeed in crushing this revolt, the true number of casualties may never be reported.

This battle broke out after negotiations between the Ethiopian Military Committee and hand-picked Eritrean officials early in January failed to produce a settlement.

Like the Emperor they deposed, the generals refuse to speak to the rebels themselves, whom they dismiss as "bandits." Instead, they selected a committee of 38 public figures in Eritrea known for their loyalty to Ethiopia.

However, the popular support for the liberation struggle in Eritrea is so overwhelming that even this group of 38 was forced to demand that Ethiopian troops withdraw from Asmara.

They demanded also that real negotiations begin with the guerrillas who are the only representatives the people will support, and

that the general's plan to control the countryside with student brigades be annulled in Eritrea.

Other demands included the release of political prisoners, and full reports on the situation in Eritrea be printed in Ethiopian papers. News from the province has been systematically suppressed by the Ethiopian regime.

MILITARY TERROR

The generals realized that they would either have to grant federation or independence for Eritrea, or else install a reign of terror to permanently repress the population.

They have chosen the road of terror and all-out war, bordering on genocide.

The Ethiopian generals claim to be champions of socialism and freedom for Ethiopia. However, their actions in Eritrea prove that their goals are neither socialism nor national freedom—but their own power.

The wave of revolutionary struggle sweeping through Ethiopia has obviously only intensified the desire of the Eritrean people to control their own lives.

The result is likely to be that the same war which helped destroy Haile Selassie will lead his military successors to their own destruction. □

WORLD IN CRISIS



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"Every time you turn around something else is going up: milk, sugar...your telephone's going up, your electricity... But you never hear your wages are going up."

by Karen Kaye

Ron and Yvonne Banks and their four children live in Ferndale, a working class suburb adjoining Detroit. They both grew up in a small town near Lancaster, Pa., where their families have lived and worked for generations.

It was the economy that brought the Banks family to Detroit seven years ago. The light industry of Pennsylvania's "Dutch" country doesn't provide the living that it used to.

Yvonne's mother, for example, is indefinitely laid off from the small shirt factory where she has worked for 23 years, and where the workforce has dwindled from 50 to 17 through the years. Her father works at a shoe factory. They never made much money, Yvonne said.

Ron's mother and sister work at the Hershey chocolate factory. After five years, his sister is laid off, and his mother, with 24 years in, is also threatened with unemployment.

FUTURE CHANGES

Married when they were 16 and 18, Yvonne and Ron planned to raise their family in the area they knew. After jobs and Sears and at one of the shirt factories, Ron was working at RCA, and they were buying a trailer to live in when their future changed. "I was working for RCA, we were making color picture tubes," Ron told me. "At the time, (1966) RCA was the only company making color tubes. We were working all kinds of overtime, but we were only making \$2.50 an hour, and that was with the midnight shift premium.

"So things were going pretty good, we were making quite a bit of money. But all of the sudden RCA's patent ran out, and all the companies could make their own tubes, they didn't have to buy from RCA.

"We went to 40 hours, and instead of making \$180 a week I was making eighty. It was also at the time when Ford was on strike and there was a lot of publicity about how much auto workers got, and how much they were going to get.

"Ford was in the area we lived in, hiring people for their Trenton plant. I went there and I didn't get the job but I found out they were getting almost \$4.00 an hour. So I asked Yvonne if she'd like to come to Detroit, and she said no, but..."

"I didn't want to come here in the first place, but now that I'm here, it's okay," Yvonne said. "It's hard... We didn't know one person when we moved here. We didn't know where we were going to live.

"We found an apartment, had a baby six months later. Tim was two when we moved here. We moved into our apartment in Highland Park on Christmas day—no tree."

A JOB

"We came here for the work," Ron added. "When we came here, we took the freeway to the end, and it ended at Clark Street. I applied at Turnsted, Fleetwood, and Cadillac was the third place, and I got a job. "I like the city. The work is a lot harder, though. I was pretty

naive, too. RCA was kind of a nice place to work in a way, compared to Cadillac. It was a real modern plant, it was clean, for example, all the floors were hardwood, they'd be waxed a couple times a week.

"Every department had a bunch of janitors that just kept everything cleaned up. You could wear really good clothes to work and not worry about getting dirty. The work was so much easier.

"The operation I worked on was a three-man operation and it only took two people to work it so one person would be sitting down all the time which was really good. So the working conditions were good, but the money was bad. "So when I came to Detroit I figured, well, working at General Motors it must be even better, it's the biggest company in the world. They must really treat their people good. I got into that plant and it was incredible."

Cadillac is one of the few auto plants that hasn't been hit with massive layoffs yet. But Ron expects to be hit eventually—"There's a lot of workers that buy Cadillacs, then there's a lot of middle income people who buy them, and they'll be feeling the crunch.

"I think we're going to get laid off, but probably not until next model. I think that we're safe until

telephone's going up, your electricity's going to be going up, but you never hear your wages are going up."

They've had experience with layoffs before, and it was bad enough when things were not so bad as they are now, and will be if Ron is laid off in August, when prices will be higher and the SUB fund empty.

FOOD STAMPS

During one layoff, the family applied for foodstamps.

Ron told me, "We got paid on Friday and we were off the following week. We went into the foodstamp office and stayed there the whole day."

"We were sitting with thousands of other people," Yvonne explained. "People after people, just



Yvonne and Ron Banks

A HASSLE

"It was really a hassle," said Yvonne. "Why do you want it, why do you think you deserve it. You have to prove you have all the kids you say you have. You have to have proof who he is, who I am, who they are!

"We had to shop at the same store, like if you spend part of it at Berman's, you have to spend the other part of it there, you can't go to another supermarket.

"I remember I got awfully embarrassed over it because we went to Bi-lo and spent some of it," Ron told me, "and a day or two later I went to another store and went up to pay and they said, 'I can't accept this,' and he was really nasty about it. 'I said, 'What do you mean you can't accept it, because I was sure! I caused kind of

WHAT NEXT?

Those troubles are in the past, and always they were temporary. They ended, Ron went back to work. The future is not so certain. Yvonne speaks of going back home, but they agreed, it's not better there, if you need a job.

Ron explained how he feels about the situation.

"During high school I began to realize the contradictions that existed in American society. While students were being taught that freedom that US citizens enjoyed, black Americans were being beaten and murdered in the South for merely wanting those rights.

"After graduating from high school and entering the workforce, I soon found the quality of the rest of my life depended on American companies.

"In short, they had the right to work us overtime, on unsafe machinery or to choose not to work us at all. The companies had all the rights and the worker had only one—the right to join a union.

THE UNION

"When I first looked to the union for the changes that had to be made, I was told by union officials that they only had the power to raise demands during the contract negotiations once every three years. And only those demands that they thought the companies could grant could be raised.

"That type of thinking excluded the shorter work week at no loss in pay, a decent standard of living for every worker, no raise in the product's prices, and the right of workers to participate in deciding and approving the corporation policy.

"After a time I knew that the present union leadership was interested in their own soft jobs and their peaceful relationship with company management. They want rank and filers to be silent, not active.

"Socialists fight for the interests of workers, socialists make the best militant workers, and because of this I became a socialist."

Detroit has lured many families like this one from their homes in other states with the promise of high wages and the union protection, and the SUB. Most cannot go back to the failing light industries they left.

If the UAW sits by and lets the auto industry present these families with poverty, it's going to have a lot of angry young men and women to contend with. □



The Banks and children: Leslie [with Yvonne]—front row: Irene, Tim, Veronica.

about next August. Then I think that we're not going to be safe any more." "Here we are working, been working overtime until just a couple of weeks ago, and we can barely make it from week to week."

INFLATION

Inflation is a problem. "It's a lot harder to feed them," Yvonne said. "That's been about the roughest problem, trying to get the kids what they need.

"Now they're eating three regular meals a day and that's it. If they get a snack, it's a big treat. There used to be popsicles and stuff, you can't get that any more.

"Everytime you turn around something else is going up: milk, sugar. Every day you hear your

sitting around, waiting, kids crying. That first day we all went. "We got in line to talk to the lady, and Ronnie said he's here to apply for food stamps, and she said have a seat and that was the last we heard from her all day.

"Have a seat and keep it, cause if you get up somebody else is going to take it!"

"They just said come back 7:30 tomorrow morning," Ron added. "I went back the following day and waited half the day. Finally I got to see somebody and told them we wanted food stamps.

"And they said, why didn't you buy food with your check you got Friday? I said, we bought some, but mostly we used it to pay bills. They gave us a food order for \$22."

a big scene, you know, but it turned out you had to spend it all at one place, but they didn't tell us that."

"And that was food only," Yvonne added. "There was nothing like toilet tissue, or deodorant or anything—and candy! You had three cents left over or something—and you said, 'That's all right, and she said, 'No I have to give it to you.' And she gave you three pieces of penny candy!"

Ron and Yvonne laughed ruefully over the story of the mandatory penny candy, the seat at the foodstamp office that was all they got that day, and Ron's imaginary picture of what it would be like to work for General Motors when he took the freeway to its end in 1967.

labor notes

by Jim Woodward

Don't believe what the daily newspapers and TV say about the recession ending by the middle of the year. Newspapers for businessmen say something different. "The steep climb in unemployment, which still has months to run, will take years to reverse," reports the Wall Street Journal. The Journal quotes the joint Congressional Economic Committee, which says that high unemployment "seems destined to dominate the remainder of this decade."



Members of UAW Local 387 are demanding that Ford Motor Co. stop scheduling overtime at the Woodhaven, Michigan stamping plant. 2,000 workers are laid off there. Members of the local demonstrated in front of the plant recently against the overtime.

In Trenton, Michigan, Chrysler cancelled plans to begin a ten hour workday when a picket line at the plant was threatened. At GM's Chevrolet Gear & Axle plant in Detroit, overtime was scheduled for January 31, the very day several hundred layoffs were implemented.

The Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund may go broke by March. The GM SUB fund is expected to last only until June.

Wage increases last year: for the first year of new contracts, 9.8%; average over the life of new contracts, 7.3%. Inflation last year: 12.2%.

They own the judges. General Electric and AT&T are arguing against a court suit brought by the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). The IUE is asking the court to rule that workers should get sick pay during pregnancy. But the case had to be delayed until enough judges could be found who didn't own stock in either company. Those few judges who didn't own stock in either of these companies certainly are involved with other companies who will also be affected by the ruling. That's the nature of capitalist justice.

From the United Farm Workers Baltimore Boycott Newsletter: "Figures from the US Department of Labor show that for 1973 the Teamsters collected only \$638,838 in dues [from farmworkers]. A conservative estimate of the dues payable under their 'contracts' for the period would be over 1.6 million dollars. The workers are rejecting the Teamsters by not paying dues, even though the 'contracts' require it."

Cannery workers in California, mostly Mexican-American are also angry over the way their union, the Teamsters, treats them. The Western Conference Teamsters pension plan has been written in such a way as to exclude most seasonal workers, even though they contribute to the plan. Seven seasonal cannery workers are suing the Teamsters pension fund on the grounds that it discriminates in this way against women and Mexican-Americans.

The Air Line Pilots Association has announced that its members will refuse to fly passenger planes which carry hazardous cargo. Recently passengers on some flights have been contaminated with leaking radioactive material. But most airlines refused to do anything about this danger.

The United Mine Workers union is demanding the removal of John Ashcraft as director of the West Virginia Department of Mines. Despite a requirement that the director have fifteen years of underground mining experience, Ashcraft has only five years experience, none of it underground. It's not known precisely why Ashcraft got this position, but since becoming director he has assessed coal companies only token fines for safety violations. And he has collected only about half the fines that were imposed.

If you'll be in New York February 24—and can afford the \$80 registration fee—plan on attending the 46th Annual Personnel Conference of the American Management Association at the Americana Hotel. Doug Fraser, vice president of the United Auto Workers, will be there speaking on "Labor-Management Detente: Working Together for a Better Future." He will discuss "how to foster a general spirit of co-operation, not confrontation."

Fraser, a true expert on this topic, is the only union leader scheduled to speak. He will join executives of Ford, IBM, Gillette, Ralston-Purina, Schlitz, and other corporations. If you can't afford the \$80, maybe a picket line would be nice.

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

L.A. Hospital

Strike Settled

LOS ANGELES—A settlement negotiated by a federal mediator and tentatively approved by union and management appears to have settled a five-day strike by hospital workers against Kaiser-Permanente Medical Program.

The walkout began at 6:30 AM February 1. The previous day the 4000-member SEIU Local 399 voted 6-1 to strike. Union members include receptionists, clerks, laboratory assistants, housekeeping attendants, nurses' aides, and licensed vocational nurses. The major demand was parity with wages and benefits paid to Kaiser hospital workers in Northern California. In Southern California Kaiser charges nearly 25% more for medical care than in Northern California, while hospital workers in Southern California are paid 15-20% less.

Picket lines around the five hospitals and four clinics were vigorous and spirited. Most of the strikers were women and minority workers.

They made attempts to prevent scabbing by non-union hospital employees, Registered Nurses and doctors. Some of the RNs at Kaiser were recently organized as the American Federation of Nurses, affiliated with SEIU 535. Nurses from 535 joined the picket lines and attempted to stop other RNs from scabbing.

No other unions came out to the lines. However, several members of the LA chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women picketed with the workers.

Members will vote on the settlement by secret written ballot on February 6 in different areas of the city, at which time its details will be announced. □

Your Job Or Your Life

A new cancer epidemic among workers may be in preparation, thanks to the courts and an employers organization.

The Polyurethane Manufacturers Association (PMA), an industry organization, is gloating over its recent victory in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals. The court struck down emergency health standards which had been established by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) for the handling of a substance called MOCA.

MOCA is a trade name of the du Pont company for a compound used to control chemical reactions. It is used in the manufacture of such diverse products as business machines, cameras, and snowmobile engine components.

An official of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union told Workers' Power that the effects of exposure to MOCA on humans have not yet been fully established. But she said it has caused cancer in test animals.

In ruling against OSHA's ex-

UAW/CPA
WAW

Cliff Wirth for UAW Ammunition

"Another ridiculous grievance about working conditions? For Pete's sake, close that door!"

posure standard for the substance, the court did not challenge the validity of the standard. It only ruled that "the required procedures for the allowance of comments and hearings" were not followed.

"Sooner or later, we'll have standards for the use of MOCA," says Ellis Murphy, the PMA's executive director. The PMA's offensive is a delaying tactic, as well as an attempt to weaken whatever standard is finally established. □

"All the News That Fitz Won't Print"

LOS ANGELES—A new rank and file publication for Teamsters in this area has appeared. Called the L.A. Teamster Grapevine, it carries "All the News That Fitz Won't Print." The current issue of the Grapevine is devoted to the fight to defend Eddie Mireles, a shop steward in Local 208.

Mireles is a driver for Western

Gillette. Western suspended him indefinitely for supposedly destroying company property. The property was a shaker clock—a recording device placed in a truck to monitor the driver's movements.

Western illegally installed the clock—they can't do it to one driver unless they do it to all. In addition, they have absolutely no proof to

support their accusation that Mireles broke it.

The Grapevine says that Western's disciplinary action is an attempt to speed up the work force so they can lay people off and cut costs. Drivers for Western Gillette and Desert Express have been meeting to plan a counter-offensive.

The previous issue of the Grapevine contained a story on the fight of Pasadena school bus drivers to defend the school busing program. Teamsters wishing to see a copy of the Grapevine should write to: Teamster Grapevine, P.O. Box 64402, Los Angeles, California 90064. □

Boycott Gallo Wines



"I saw all those new automatic machines on your company's TV commercial. What happened to the jobs?"

You can't blame a company for wanting to show off its shiny new automated computerized production lines. They cut costs and improve margins. And that's exactly what a company's white-collar prospects like to hear. It's sweet music to the ears of security analysts, fund managers, customers, future customers and prospective junior executives. The white-collar community is for cost-cutting technology. The blue-collar community is for... jobs. It's hard for blue-collar thinking to accept the theory that when a machine replaces a man... the man eventually comes out ahead. The answer would seem to be... don't deliver a white-collar message to a blue-collar audience. But, that's one of the great dilemmas you face when you put your corporate advertising on television. Even some product advertising can rub some people the wrong way. But corporate advertising can be downright controversial. That big TV audience is such a crazy quilt of different backgrounds, educations, personalities, political views and economic

prejudices...it's almost impossible to talk meaningfully and persuasively to some groups without saying the wrong thing to some other groups. If a corporate TV commercial is specific enough, logical enough and aggressive enough to persuade white-collar viewers... it's almost certain to be misunderstood and even resented by those millions of blue-collar looking in. Since the middle of the 1960s... there's been a real fad for putting corporate advertising on TV. You would think that with this rash of positive, PR-oriented corporate commercials the image of big business would have gone... up. Instead... top public opinion researchers report just the opposite.

Newsweek	55%	21%
Forbes		
Business Week		
U.S. News & World Report		
Time		

Could part of the problem be that too many white-collar messages have been seen by too many blue-collar viewers? But even the most selective TV programs... NFL Football, for example... give you an overwhelming majority of blue-collar and a small minority of your real target audience. So... when you buy this unwelcome, unavoidable majority on TV... it not only can run your target CPA up to \$388 compared with only \$45 in our magazines... and reduce your target reach from 79% to only 16%... it also puts you in the questionable position of talking to millions of the very people you don't want to talk to when you're talking business. Why not review your corporate advertising objectives with one of our representatives... soon?

Where your business isn't everybody's business

Ad reprinted from Business Week.

If You Had Any Doubts...

Some people say there's no class struggle in this country—that the interests of workers and employers are identical. But businessmen know there is a class struggle. And people who write ads for businessmen know it too. They know that "it's hard for blue-collar thinking to accept the theory that when a machine replaces a man... the man eventually comes out ahead." That's why there are things they won't say in front of us. That's why they call us "this unwelcome, unavoidable majority." And that's why they're afraid of us.

Salt of The Earth On Strike Again

In 1950-52, a bitter strike occurred in New Mexico. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers struck Empire Zinc. That strike was re-created in one of the most moving working class films ever made, "The Salt of the Earth." Today, many of the original participants in that strike and the movie are involved in another bitter struggle in Bayard, New Mexico. Juan Chacon, who played himself as president of the union in "The Salt of the Earth," is currently president of Local 890, United Steel Workers. Chacon and Israel Romero, the local's financial secretary, were fired by Kennecott Copper Co. for a strike they led last July. When their contract expired last June 30, the members of Local 890 decided, by unanimous vote, to strike. The next day they set up picket lines. Despite this, the USW International made an agreement with Kennecott to extend the contract for fourteen days. But the picket lines stayed up until July 21, when the national copper contract was settled. Subsequently, Kennecott fired Chacon and Romero and disci-

plined 200 other workers. USW International representatives had tried to end the strike as soon as it began. Now they have abandoned the members of Local 890. No representative of the International showed up to argue the third step of the grievance procedure, as they are supposed to do.

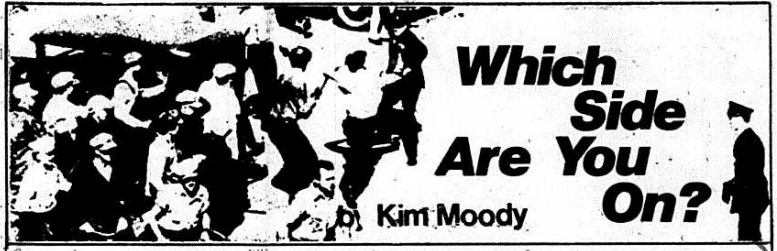
TEAMSTERS

Adding to these difficulties is another union-busting effort by the leadership of the Teamsters union. The Teamster bureaucrats have become true experts in stabbing other workers in the back when they are in trouble. Local 890 issued a statement saying, "The Teamsters union is helping the company divide the workers by raiding Local 890. Learning from the Farmworkers, we wonder if the companies invited them in to replace the union we have worked so long to build." Some of the old cast of "The Salt of the Earth" have not forgotten, however. Will Geer, who plays Grandpa Walton on TV, recently paid a visit to Local 890 to show his support. Geer had the sheriff's part in "The Salt of the Earth." □

THE EMERGING CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

socialists discuss modern imperialism, arms economy inflation, monetary system.

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Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

Last Hired, First Fired

In the last few years, thousands of women, black, and other minority group workers fought their way into unionized jobs in basic industry. Largely as a result of the mass social movements of the 1960's, the government imposed token hiring programs on a number of large corporations. The results are most noticeable among women workers. Jobs previously closed to women have been opened on a small scale in steel, telephone, trucking, auto, and other industries. But the economic crisis has wiped out most of those gains. For example, 300 women hired into General Motors Linden plant in the last year or two have been laid off. At GM's Fremont California plant, all 471 women workers were laid off. The same has happened throughout the auto industry. The reason that these women are being eliminated from the industry, reversing what little progress had been made, is simply that they are low on the seniority lists. Women and minority group workers, however, did not make this recession. The giant corporations, the banks, and their government flunkies—the capitalist class—made the recession, and through layoffs, are making workers pay for it. To women, black, Latin, Arab, and other oppressed workers, the bosses have said, additionally, "You can give up your hope for a decent paying job, for equal work and equal pay." It seems that those who had the least in the past, must now suffer the soonest and the most.

women. They gave General Motors four choices for how to do that: 1) to work a short week and "share the work," with those who lose a day receiving short work week benefits as specified by the auto workers' contract; 2) rotation layoffs with everyone working one week on, one week off. 3) Maintain the proportion of women working, without laying off any men to take their place; 4) Voluntary layoffs by higher seniority workers, who, under the contract, would collect Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, bringing their weekly income to 95% of their basic weekly wage. Another alternative would be to pay these laid off workers what they would have made if they had not been laid off, and allowing them to accrue seniority.

ALTERNATIVES

These alternatives would force the company to retain a large proportion of those women hired in the last couple years. Furthermore, it would not interfere with the order in which the men would be laid off. The demands of the Fremont women embody the principle that no lower seniority worker will be used to replace a higher seniority worker.

Some will object that although this would not

What have the unions done to protect these women and minority group workers from the effects of "last hired, first fired?"

Damn, near nothing! In the telephone industry, for the first time in history women have been hired into the higher paying craft jobs because of a government Affirmative Action decision. Yet the Communication Workers of America (CWA), which represents these women craft workers, has sued the company to block modifications of the existing promotion and layoff procedure. With the layoffs that are now hitting the Bell System, the success of the CWA suit would mean the near elimination of women from the crafts.

Even where the unions have not tried to overturn the effects of the various Affirmative Action programs, they have done nothing to save the jobs of those who have suffered discrimination in the past. Their general response has been to defend the existing seniority systems—some of which are quite discriminatory.

Seniority is a necessary and important means of defense for all workers. The winning of seniority for promotions and layoffs was a victory by the unions over the arbitrary practices of the bosses.

It would be a tragic mistake for the unions to allow the government or the employers to destroy the principle of seniority. This makes it all the more important that the unions develop a solution of their own that protects both higher seniority workers and workers who have faced discrimination in the past.

SENIORITY SYSTEMS

This is not to say that all of the existing seniority systems are either effective or just. The long-standing seniority system in the steel industry, for example, has always discriminated against black workers. It based seniority on job classifications and departments rather than on plant-wide seniority. Similar problems exist in other industries and many specific seniority systems need an overhaul. Nevertheless, the principle of seniority is good trade unionism.

In the present situation, the unions should have waged a fight against the mass layoffs. But the response of the labor leaders to recession, like their response to most situations, has been complete surrender. If the bosses need layoffs to protect their profits, then so be it. If the bosses need speed-up to keep the profits rolling in, then that is OK too.

When layoffs occur, however, the unions should stand on the notion that it is the companies who made the crisis and it is they who should pay the price, not women, black and minority group workers. The union should demand that these workers receive compensatory treatment.

A group of laid off women at the GM Fremont plant have put forward a set of demands that embodies the notion of compensatory treatment. They demanded the company not lay off all the



hurt the higher seniority men, it would force the company to retain workers they really had no work for or couldn't afford. No doubt, this objection will find its most articulate expression in the labor bureaucracy.

From the workers' point of view, however, this objection is just a variant of the argument used to justify layoffs or speed-up in the first place.

Compensatory treatment is, after all, an old trade union principle. What is a pension, but compensation for old age? When a company has to pay workers a pension, they are paying that worker for doing nothing—nothing from their point of view, that is. That is why the bosses never did want to grant pensions. The unions had to fight for them.

The unions can fight for the oppressed as they fought for the retired worker. To do this, however, the union leaders will have to worry less about the companies' profits and more about the needs of the workers they are supposed to represent. □

MALCOLM X:

The Man

by Kay Stacy

Ten years ago Malcolm X was slain. He was the greatest American revolutionary of our times.

Malcolm grew up in small town mid-America during the Depression. It was a time of hardship and brutal privation for most, but particularly for black people. Malcolm's father was a follower of Marcus Garvey. He was lynched for his political activity.

Malcolm was encouraged by racist white teachers not to spend time on intellectual studies in school, but to develop a manual skill. As a black, he was told, he could not expect to make a living as a professional. His childhood was typical for a black child.

In school, failure was drummed into his head. The American Dream was not for him or for other black people. When he left the mid-West for Boston and then Harlem, he had already begun to street hustle.

"SUNK TO THE BOTTOM"

He tried numbers, dice, theft, and pimping. He believed a man should do anything he "was sick, bad or bold enough to do." Eventually he wound up in prison.

At that point, Malcolm says, he had "sunk to the very bottom of the American white man's society." He was alone, trusting no one. He hated himself and his rotten position in white society.

But in prison Malcolm began to change. His family had been converted to the Nation of Islam—and they in turn began to convert Malcolm.

Across the country black people were picking up on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, founder of the Nation of Islam. The Black Muslims could explain why it was that black people stayed at the bottom of society. They said that this racism misery in America is not blacks doing—it is the white man's and he is devil.

The Muslims taught that blacks should be proud of their skin color, their heritage, their people. And because the Muslim's stood up for black peoples' dignity and humanity, blacks who wanted to change society were attracted to them.

The fifties was a period of little social struggle. The oppressive conditions black people experienced created rebellious sentiments, but there was no political movement or organizations to develop and strengthen those feelings.

Instead people got into things like religion, mysticism, drugs or astrology, searching for individual solutions to the oppression of class society.

Malcolm joined the Muslims, and eventually became minister of Temple 7 in Harlem.

But when the civil rights movement got off the ground in the late fifties it had an impact throughout the black movement. The conservatism of the Nation of Islam began to show itself.

Elijah Muhammad wanted to build a new black society, but that society was a mirror of white society—some blacks at the top, most at the bottom. The Muslims rejected whites, but not the capitalist system. Their solution to racism was to separate and build a black capitalist society.

THE NEW MOVEMENT

Black people were moving and struggling for freedom and Malcolm saw that this could be a

tremendous force for social change inside American society.

At first, as a revolutionary, Malcolm was skeptical of this new movement. Its precepts were non-violence and love thy enemy. Its goal was integration into white society. All of these things—non-violence, loving enemies and integration—were wrong to Malcolm X.

But black people were fighting to free themselves from racist oppression and Malcolm began to support and speak to that struggle.

As the civil rights movement grew it also began to change. The movement was originally organized through the traditional forces in the black community like the churches.

It became a mass movement, and began tapping the anger, drive, spirit and creativity of masses of black people. It had to break those bonds, and develop new forms of struggle and organization.

And while Martin Luther King was saying, "if any blood be shed,

human dignity.

And he realized permanent change would only come through organized struggle. The ghetto uprisings were violent explosions of anger against a rotten and decaying system. But they were spontaneous, disorganized, and lacked leadership.

Without a united and militant defense their gains could be quickly wiped away. Pride and self-confidence could be quickly replaced with defeat and despair. The result would be further disorganization.

How to organize that struggle was the question Malcolm wrestled with up to his brutal assassination.

Malcolm X's greatest contribution to the movement was his ability to combine the best experiences of black people in struggle. From those experiences he developed an outlook better than both the separatist movement and the civil rights movement.

Revolutionary change he learned from the Black Muslims—but separatism he rejected. Mass struggle he learned from the movement of tens of thousands of his people—but to transform, not adjust, society.

"If this house is a house of freedom and justice and equality for all, if that's what it is, then let's have it. And if we can't all have it none of us will have it."

**New York
April 8, 1964**

let it be ours." Malcolm X began to say blacks would struggle "by any means necessary."

REVOLUTION

Parts of the movement were becoming revolutionary. They were rejecting the liberal integration strategy of its leadership. Some looked to Malcolm X, his ideas and his strategy.

Malcolm began to envision a revolutionary struggle to transform this racist society—rather than to separate from it. He began to fight inside the Muslims for organizing the political struggle of black people. This fight caused his final break with the Nation of Islam.

The urban rebellions broke out. Martin Luther King showed the true depths of his non-violence by calling for the police and army to crush them. Malcolm X said "It was bloody in 1963, it was bloody in 1964, and all of the causes that created this bloodshed still remain. . . . blacks will struggle by any means necessary."

This society is wrong, he said. It is a racist, exploitative society and it must be transformed. We can do that, Malcolm said.

DEFENDING GHETTO REBELLIONS

Black people needed their own organizations, he said, organizations that could make alliances with whites to build and organize the struggle against racism and for

Malcolm X was developing a program to unify the struggle for black liberation with the necessity of revolution when he died. The return of crisis to the capitalist system raises these questions again today.

Again black people are suffering first and most brutally unemployment, urban decay, slashes in social services. Again, in the absence of a social movement, people are searching for individual solutions—religion, drugs, astrology.

But there are no individual solutions to problems caused by an oppressive, exploitative system. Today, unlike in the fifties, the economic crisis is affecting the entire working class, not just oppressed minority people. As the need for revolution becomes more apparent day by day, the united organizations Malcolm foresaw to lead that struggle become more possible.

"And in my opinion the young generation of whites blacks, browns whatever else there is, you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change.

"People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built, and the only way it's going to be built is with extreme methods.

"I for one will join in with anyone. I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth." □



TRIBUTE TO A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY



His Words

Because Malcolm X was a revolutionary he had a powerful impact on the civil rights movement. The goals of both Malcolm and the movement's participants were the same—the liberation of black people from racist oppression and degradation. But there were big differences on almost everything else.

The strategy of the civil rights movement was to put a lot of organized pressure on the Democratic Party. Malcolm's opposition to the Democrats, and his exposure of their long history of oppressing black people, was clear.

The tactics of the civil rights movement were non-violence and petitioning of the government, to right the moral wrong of racism. Because of his revolutionary perspective, Malcolm knew this point of view was folly, and his convincing arguments were one of his greatest contributions to the civil rights struggle.

Finally, Malcolm X knew and explained to people that centuries of racist oppression were not accidents, but part and parcel of the whole political and economic system of capitalism.

These then were the key questions that Malcolm was an uncompromising fighter on: pacifism, the Democratic Party, and the capitalist system. These were constant themes in his speeches. Excerpts are reprinted below:

"Anytime you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promises that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that political party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race."

"We won't organize any black to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out; both parties have sold us out."

"Both parties are racist, and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican Party. I can prove it. All you've got to do is name everybody who's running the government in Washington, DC right now. He's a Democrat."

"We don't feel that in 1964, living in a country that is supposedly based upon freedom, and supposedly the leader of the free world, we don't think that we should have to sit around and wait for some segregationist congressmen and senators and a President from Texas in Washington, DC to make up their minds that our people are due now some degree of civil rights."

"No, we want it now."

ON NON-VIOLENCE

"The history of unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob."

"We don't have to ask the man downtown can we demonstrate. We don't have to ask the man downtown what tactics we can use to demonstrate our resentment against his criminal abuse."

"We don't have to ask his consent; we don't have to ask his endorsement; we don't have to ask his permission."

"Anytime we know that an unjust condition exists, and it is illegal and unjust, we will strike at

it by any means necessary. And strike also at whatever and whoever gets in the way."

"This doesn't mean that the Negro should use arms to initiate acts of aggression. But if it costs me my life in the morning I will tell you tonight that the time has come for the black man to die fighting. If he's going to die, die fighting."

"And what else should we do? How can we continue to live in a community that's turned into a police state? Where the police are not there to protect us but are there only to protect the property of the merchant who doesn't even live in our community, who has his store there and his house somewhere else."

"They're there to protect his property. And as Negroes over the years see this, we also see that they don't protect us; in fact sometimes we need protection against them."

CAPITALISM

"You tell me what kind of country this is. Why should we do the dirtiest jobs for the lowest pay? Why should we do the hardest work for the lowest pay? Why should we pay the most money for the worst kind of food and the most money for the worst kind of place to live in?"

"I'm telling you we do it because we live in one of the rottenest countries that has ever existed on this earth. It's the system that is rotten; we have a rotten system."

"It's a system of exploitation, a political and economic system of exploitation, of outright humiliation, degradation, discrimination—all of the negative things that you can run into, you have run into under this system that disguises itself as a democracy."

"You and I want to create an organization that will give us so much power we can sit down and do as we please."

"To create a new society and make some heaven right here on this earth." □



The Truth About Leonard Woodcock

If Leonard Woodcock had been carried onto the platform of the Washington Armory last week on a stretcher to face the 10,000 United Automobile Workers who had gathered to hear their President explain how the International was going to get their jobs back, they would probably have a clearer idea of how little he is actually capable of delivering.

If Woodcock had then proceeded to handcuff himself to the podium and put on a heavy blindfold, three hundred thousand unemployed auto workers could have seen for themselves that the bureaucrats who preside over their union are totally powerless in the face of mass unemployment. Totally powerless because they want to be totally powerless. Incapable of putting up a fight because the Big Three bosses want it that way.

But Woodcock made his way to the microphone unimpeded by handcuffs or blindfolds. He even managed to give the momentary impression that he was a normal human being endowed with the average number of faculties that are common in adult members of the human race.

It was nothing more than a momentary impression though. As soon as he started to speak it was abundantly clear that when it comes to seeing what is happening in the auto industry he is blind. When it comes to understanding the vicious attack the auto companies have launched against the workers he is mentally deficient. And when it comes to taking some effective action he is paralyzed.

His answer to the worst crisis facing American workers since the Great Depression was summed up by the Washington Post as demands for a "broader public jobs program, tax cuts and food stamp programs to increase aid for the poor." In short he is asking the government for a watered down version of Roosevelt's New Deal... a policy

which failed to prevent long-term unemployment for tens of millions.

Unemployed auto workers, who this dummy is supposed to represent, might not want to accept fifty percent wage cuts in public service jobs. But leaving this aside, there is another glaring weakness in Woodcock's approach to the crisis. He never even mentioned the responsibility of the employers for laying off workers... he never even considers that labor should use its power to force the big corporations, who are still making considerable profits, to provide jobs for unemployed UAW members.

You might think that the only explanation for this curious state of affairs is that Woodcock, in the process of becoming mentally and physically paralyzed, has undergone a profound religious experience. He has decided that the layoffs have been handed down from on high by God and that Ford, GM, and Chrysler are only the instruments of divine will... powerless to stop the layoffs and as mere mortals, incapable of preventing a great natural disaster.

It is an alarming prospect for the American working class. The most "progressive" of all the unions is led by an impotent con-man. The union worst effected by the first act of the new depression has an Executive Board composed of fools and hypocrites whose ideas of direct action are to spend UAW funds advertising US cars and suggest that employed members sacrifice their cost of living allowance to keep the SUB fund afloat.

All that may seem a pretty unconvincing and complicated explanation of the record of the union leaders and their Democratic Party friends. It is.

The truth is much simpler. The union leaders do not represent the interests of their members. It has been many years since workers have

controlled their own unions. When the chips are down these bureaucrats will always be found on the side of the bosses, putting up a spirited defense of the exploitation and oppression that is the capitalist system.

That is what the UAW Washington Rally on February 5th publically demonstrated yet again. But the rally demonstrated something else as well. The thousands of auto workers who travelled for up to twenty hours to attend provided proof that the rank and file are ready to take mass action to defend themselves. When given a lead by the United National Caucus they were ready to support a fighting program to stop overtime, to share the work, in short to organize themselves and fight the companies.

It is clear that Woodcock only went as far as calling the rally because of growing pressure from the rank and file. If he wants to hold onto his position of privilege and power... and he does... then he will have to come to terms with the demand for mass action in Washington and a national work stoppage against the corporations' layoff policy as well.

It is this determination of the rank and file to take matters into their own hands, to insist that effective action is taken, that provides the best hope for the American labor movement.

It is also the source of the bosses' biggest fears. They feel that they can deal with the depression as long as they can force the working class to pick up the check for it. They have recruited the trade union leaders in their fight to cut our living standards and shore up profits, but they will only win if the rank and file doesn't organize itself and fight back.

Washington can be the beginning of that fight and it deserves the total support of anybody in this country who claims to be a socialist. □

Dear Workers Power, I just

Likes Labor Coverage

I just wanted to drop you a quick note to let you know how much I enjoy the paper. As a rank and file Teamster, there are few sources of information I can count on to get the facts about my union in print.

In my opinion, Workers' Power consistently provides the best labor news coverage and analysis available.

In particular, I found that your coverage of the miners' strike and your continuing reporting of struggles at United Parcel Service as good an example of labor coverage as I have ever seen.

Here's hoping for continued success for Workers' Power. You are a tremendous help in the struggle for workers' control.

M.P.
Pittsburgh

Legalize Abortion In Italy

I am writing to ask your support in the very serious situation that Italian women are in today on the question of abortion.

Four days ago, two neo-fascist deputies filed a complaint in Florence against a clinic which was performing abortions at very low cost, and free to those who couldn't pay.

Abortion is absolutely illegal here, although it is estimated that 1.5-2 million clandestine ones are performed a year. But since until 2 years ago contraceptive information was also illegal, abortion has been practiced widely here and the police, although knowing about it, do nothing.

There are about 300 arrests for



Abortion: an Italian tragedy

crimes relating to abortion per year.

The Florence Clinic was different however, because it was organized by the Radical Party and the Center for Information on Sterilization and Abortion (CISA). Thus as a political move to polarize public opinion, which has been gradually moving toward abortion, the crackdown was made.

Immediately after the police raided the clinic, arresting a doctor, several nurses, an anesthesiologist, and 40 women, the Radical Party publicly announced that it accepted full political responsibility for the clinic and that it intended to open 3 new ones in the next few weeks.

Yesterday the secretary of the Radical Party was arrested, and a warrant is outstanding for the arrest of the woman who heads CISA, and also several others.

The charge is similar to conspiracy and solicitation, but these

people clearly are being arrested for their political stance, and the country is in a furor. All parties except the neo-fascist have denounced the arrests.

Nancy E. Abrams
Rome, Italy

[Editor's note—This letter was originally sent to the Women's Rights Law Reporter.]

Police Brutality

I was at an anti-war march in San Francisco in January.

I am without a job, and President Ford is requesting \$300 million in extra military aid for the South Vietnamese regime of President Nguyen Van Thieu, and he is taking it from American citizens who are on food stamps and welfare. I feel, I, as a tax paying American, have a right to be angry.

I am writing about the vicious police aggression I saw.

We saw a brother running-up Market St., holding his bloody head with his blood soaked hands, as two helmeted cops were swinging at him with four foot long wooden clubs.

We continued chanting and peacefully demonstrating. The police then began plowing through the crowd of peaceful demonstrators, gouging their long heavy clubs into the ribs and stomachs of anybody in their path, as well as cracking heads open.

The police seemed to be taking out a built-up inner hate for humanity on us.

The aggressive police violence I saw was very much aligned with the descriptions I've read of the oppression of the Jews, during the Hitler regime in Germany. I am projecting that this type of police action will be inflicted upon our voices more and more, unless we, the underprivileged, the unemployed, and the racially rejected



Victim of S.F. police attack

people unite, so that our voices are heard.

The time to unite is now. We must unite to put an end to US imperialist exploitation of the underdeveloped countries, as they disguise themselves in sheep's clothing while using us, the taxpayers, as pawns in their game.

Brother Martin

Lawsuits

As the depression worsens, attacks on working conditions and the hard-won gains of the labor movement are mounting. The past failures of the unions, such as failing to resist discrimination against women, black people and Chicanos, are coming home to roost.

They are the hardest hit and have every reason to take the lead in fighting against layoffs and the system that causes them.

However, lawsuits such as the one by eight Fremont GM women (Workers' Power #113) are a dagger aimed at the very heart of union security.

There is no effective way, in fact, of maintaining the proportion of women without destroying the seniority system, except stopping the layoffs entirely.

Every other alternative proposed in WP's account of the lawsuit is in fact discriminatory, and thus potentially divisive of the work force and gives the employer one more weapon against the union, one we fought hard in the past to take away.

The reactionary impact of the demand is multiplied by relying on the courts. In other similar cases union contracts have actually been overturned.

As socialists we know, or should know, that the courts in general serve to bosses, not labor. To rely on them to protect workers, in any but exceptional circumstances, is to foster illusions.

D.L.
Santa Monica

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.

LOSING FAITH IN THE SYSTEM

by John W. Anderson

There is a growing fear among ruling class circles that the American people are becoming disaffected; that they are losing their loyalty to the American political and economic system.

These fears are well founded. During the Vietnam War tens of thousands of our young men deserted the armed forces. Many of them fled to Canada and other foreign countries to avoid the draft. Millions of Americans marched in opposition to the War.

The Watergate scandal and the corruption reported on local, state and national levels have left the majority of Americans disgusted with their government. Democrats and Republicans alike are guilty of corrupt practices and serving special interests.

The disaffection of the American people can be measured by their voting record. In the 1974 Congressional elections only 38 percent of the electorate went to the polls.

The highest disaffection is among youth, blacks, chicanos, and women. Only 21 percent of those 18 to 21 years of age went to the polls. It is the minority groups and

women who suffer most under our present economic and political system. They are the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Many Americans look to the Democratic Party to solve their economic and political problems. Are they aware that the Democrats have controlled both houses of Congress for 38 of the last 42 years?

It was a Democratic Congress that wrote our tax laws leaving the loopholes for the rich, and placing the heavy burden of taxation on middle and low income groups.

They have been equally guilty with the Republicans in getting the US involved in all the major and minor wars of the last 40 years. It has been a Democratic Congress that shirked its responsibility giving the Pentagon the power to determine American foreign policy.

Under Democrats and Republicans, the FBI and the CIA have been used to pry into the private lives of thousands of Americans. They have tried to eliminate all dissent from the Left.

Both these parties are equally responsible for the present inflation and the energy crisis.

ARMS RACE

The US has been the leader in the arms race that has consumed 2 1/2 trillion dollars in the wealth of all nations. We have been the principal exporter of armaments. The US continues to give and sell arms to military dictators in South Vietnam, Cambodia, S. Korea, Chile and Spain.

These armament sales have brought profits to a few American companies but they have increased the threat of war. If it were not for the armaments race there would be no food crisis in the world today.

If we are to solve our domestic and foreign problems the disaffected Americans must break with the Democratic and Republican Parties. They must build a party of labor, in which the voice of the worker can be heard.

Only a political reawakening of the American people can save us from the criminal leaders of our society or possibly a fascist dictatorship. Let us act now to form a labor party. □



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Human labor, of workers, produces all value. Yet under capitalism most of the wealth produced by workers belongs to someone else. It belongs to capitalists of all kinds—to factory owners, bankers, landowners and stock market swindlers.

The cars produced by the sweat and blood of auto workers don't belong to members of the UAW, but to the Chrysler, General Motors, Ford, or American Motors corporations.

Somehow the wealth produced by workers is taken away from them in this society. Only Marxist economics recognizes this seemingly obvious fact, and only Marxist economics can explain it.

SLAVES, SERFS

The way that workers are exploited in a capitalist society is different from the way European serfs were exploited during the Middle Ages, and it's different from the way black slaves were exploited in the pre-Civil War South.

Under European feudalism, the peasants worked a certain number of days on their own land, and a certain number of days on the lord's land.

In the South, slaves weren't paid at all. They were bought and sold on the market and all of their labor belonged to their owners.

Exploitation in these societies was very simple and straightforward. Serfs and slaves knew that they were working to enrich someone else.

But capitalist exploitation is much more subtle. What we see in the market appears to be equality. The worker sells his or her "fair day's labor" for a "fair day's wage." Then the capitalist "consumes" the product he has bought by putting the worker to work.

SURPLUS VALUE

At the end of this process the capitalist owns the goods produced by the workers whose "labor" he has bought. And these goods are worth more than what the capitalist has paid out for raw materials, machinery, and wages. This surplus value—which Marx called extra value—has been created by the workers. But it belongs to the capitalist—it is his profit. How does this happen?

It was Karl Marx who found the way out of this problem. He did so by separating the concepts of "labor" and "labor power."

Labor is human activity which adds value to the product we work on. Any value the product already had is there because someone else worked on it before. No products could exist without human labor, so each time someone works, a tremendous amount of value is added to the product.

If we were paid on the basis of the value of what we produce, capitalists would make no profits.

But the value workers add has nothing to do with how much they are paid for this activity. We are not paid for the value of what our labor produces, but for our ability to work, for our labor power, for the fact that we are available to work.

Marx called the modern wage worker "free labor." We aren't slaves or serfs—we're free to work for anyone who is willing to hire us. But we're also "free" of

any property—tools, machinery, or goods—that would allow us to work for ourselves and keep the value of what we make.

This second part of our "freedom" forces us to sell our labor power on the "labor market" if we wish to live. We have nothing to bring to the market except our ability to work.

Thus capitalists don't make their profits mainly by cheating us—putting less in the paycheck than our hourly rate says we should get. Their profits are based on the fact that the value our labor produces, which they sell, is greater than the value of our ability to work, which they buy from us.

To them, this is not cheating us. To us it is exploitation—they use our labor power to create things of value, then they keep them, sell them, and keep the profit.

Why, then, is the value of labor power less than the value of what our work produces?

LABOR'S VALUE

Under capitalism, human labor power is bought and sold like any other product. The value of labor power is determined in the same way as the value of any other commodity, by the amount of average labor needed to produce it.

What this means for workers is that our wages represent the value of all the goods and services needed to train us and maintain us in a condition that will allow us to keep working and to raise children who will work in the future.

Wages aren't just enough to allow us to survive and reproduce, though this is their minimum. At times the capitalists try to force wages below even this minimum, but that isn't a normal state of affairs.

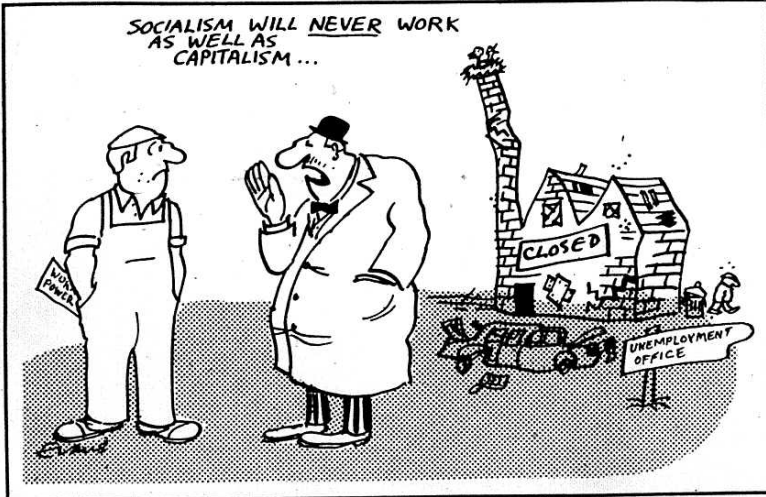
Our wages have to be high enough to allow us to live at the cultural level our society has reached. Hungry, illiterate workers couldn't run a complex modern industrial society like America.

Wages can be brought up much higher by organized working class action. As every worker who's ever been out on strike knows, the price of labor power is the price most dependent upon the fight between the "buyer" and the "seller"—between workers and capitalists.

All the tremendous profits of modern capitalism come from the difference between the wages we are paid in the market and the surplus value we create in production.

With today's productivity of labor that's quite a difference. But despite these profits, capitalism regularly gets itself into economic crisis such as the one it's in today.

The next column in this series will explain some of the basic causes of capitalist crisis. □



Illinois Welfare Workers, Clients

UNDER ATTACK

CHICAGO—In the past few months Governor Walker and the State of Illinois have been waging a fight against public aid employees, intimidating, demoralizing, and dividing them. This offensive comes just at the time when the union, AFSCME Local 2000 is about to begin contract bargaining.

It is part of a whole program to cut the budget at the expense of both welfare workers and recipients. It is done under the guise of "accuracy," "efficiency," "better services," and "necessity."

One of the first assaults was directly economic. The union had led a successful fight to win a cost of living increase for Welfare worker and recipients. Since then, Governor Walker has refused to release the retroactive pay.

Simultaneously the public aid department began a program of reorganization of office services and implementation of a "career ladder" for promotions.

Many people were transferred to

different offices. Caseloads, number of home visits, and paper work, increased resulting in speedup for the workers and less services and more harassment for the clients.

DISSENSION

The career ladder has also laid the basis for dissension among workers. The union has always demanded "equal pay for equal work" so that case aides who do caseworker work be paid caseworker wages. The agency has always threatened to downgrade the caseworker instead of upgrading the caseaid.

This month the agency eliminated caseaid category and replaced it with a system of different caseworker levels with different pay.

Since there is no system of seniority, the classification in each office can be used as punishment or reward.

The union was slow to respond.

With pressures from the rank and file, however, the leadership finally demanded the inequities be immediately remedied. Many workers benefitted.

But the state of Illinois is doing everything it can to demoralize Welfare workers and stall on the contract. They are also trying to break up the negotiating unit into two separate units of professional and clerical workers. If successful they would be able to destroy the union.

The union must break from its past practice of "waiting for collective bargaining."

Agency-wide seniority system must become a contract point. The union must demand that no member receive a loss of pay. Transfers from one office to another should always be possible when positions are available but should never be mandatory in order to keep the job. □

Sandra McCaulley



The Trade Union Educational League

Building A Fighting Workers' Movement in the '20s

by Sandy Boyer

(First in a Series)

"The TUEL [Trade Union Educational League] proposes to develop the trade unions from their present antiquated and stagnant condition into modern powerful labor organizations, capable of waging successful warfare against capital. To this end it is working to revamp and remodel from top to bottom their theories, tactics, structure and leadership.

Instead of advocating the prevailing shameful and demoralizing nonsense about harmonizing the interests of capital and labor, it is firing the workers' imagination and releasing their wonderful idealism and energy by propagandizing the inspiring goal of the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic.

The League is campaigning against the reactionaries, incompetents, and crooks who occupy strategic positions in many of our organizations. It is striving to replace them with militants, with men and women unionists who look upon the labor movement not as a means for making an easy living, but as an instrument for the achievement of working class emancipation."

These words are from the founding statement of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), an organization that existed in the 1920's.



Rank and file miners were extremely militant during their recent strike. The UMW leadership was still able to sell them out because the rank and file was unorganized. In the '20s, under similar conditions, the TUEL organized a national left opposition in the labor movement. That is what we need today.

The TUEL was founded in 1920 by William Z. Foster. At the time, Foster was universally recognized as the most prominent and effective advocate of industrial unionism in the American labor movement.

He had led the mass organizing drives and strikes in the packing-house and steel industries. The AFL bureaucracy's sabotage of these organizing drives convinced Foster of the need to organize a left wing in the unions.

He saw that the AFL leadership would accept industrial unionism only if they were forced to by a rank and file movement.

Despite his enormous personal prestige, Foster had almost no organization when he and a handful of supporters started the TUEL.

COMMUNIST PARTY

But in 1921 the Communist Party decided to participate in the TUEL. This gave the TUEL a new reality. For the first time it had the members and the resources to become a real force in the unions.

Before they had been a handful of experienced industrial militants. Now the TUEL had at least

a few members or contacts in virtually every important union in the country.

The Communist Party of the early twenties was nothing like the Communist Party today. Instead of the conservative bureaucratic machine we know today it was a party not only committed to revolutionary workers' democracy in society, but fully democratic internally.

Instead of supporting Democratic Party candidates they fought for a labor party. It was part of a Communist International functioning to promote world revolution. The Russian bureaucratic ruling class did not yet exist.

For the Communist Party the TUEL was part of a strategy for building a mass revolutionary party in the US. This strategy was originated by the Communist International.

The idea was that in countries like the US and England where there was a mass labor movement but a small revolutionary party, trade union work was crucial to building the party.

By building a left wing in the unions and especially by leading and giving political direction to

the struggles of rank and file militants the Communist Parties would be able to win a large number of those militants.

DUAL UNIONISM

Many revolutionaries at that time, including the American Communist Party, believed in dual unionism. This was the idea that revolutionaries should build their own, revolutionary, unions.

Lenin, in his pamphlet, "Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder," argued the absolute necessity for revolutionaries to work in the existing unions however reactionary their leadership.

In fact, it was the International that persuaded the American Communist Party to join the TUEL. But 1921 the International persuaded the American CP to give up its dual unionist ideas and join the TUEL.

The arguments in Lenin's "Left Wing Communism" were crucial.

As James P. Cannon, then the Chairman of the Communist Party wrote, "All that hodgepodge of ultra-radicalism was practically wiped out of the American movement in '20-'21

by Lenin. He did it not by issuing an administrative order backed up by police powers, but by the simple device of publishing a pamphlet...."

UNIQUE

The TUEL was unique in the history of American Labor. It completely rejected the old dual unionist idea which before the TUEL was the dominant left wing union strategy.

But unlike the social democrats who also worked inside the existing unions, they rejected all forms of class collaboration and cozy deals with the bureaucrats. The TUEL was in those unions to mobilize the rank and file for a militant fight against the bureaucrats and ultimately to win them to revolutionary socialist politics.

Many radicals before and after the TUEL have built a left wing in this or that local or this or that individual union. But the TUEL was trying to build a left wing opposition throughout the whole union movement.

For a few years it was hard to go very far in the American labor movement without running into a TUEL group fighting for indus-

trial unionism, organizing the unorganized, union democracy, a labor party and recognition of Soviet Russia.

In addition to its monthly magazine, The Labor Herald, the League put out national rank and file bulletins in mining, garment, textile, railroad, construction, printing and the metal trades.

LEFT WING

In these unions and others they organized national rank and file caucuses to fight the bureaucrats on a left wing program.

Shortly after the CP entered the TUEL, Foster and the industrial militants who formed the League with him joined the Communist Party. They were convinced that building a left wing rank and file movement had to be part of building a revolutionary party.

An all-out campaign was begun to win the unions on three crucial issues—industrial unionism, the labor party, and recognition of the Soviet Union.

The size and scope of that campaign has probably never been equalled in America. The next article in this series will tell the story of that campaign. □

Black Women's United Front Forms

by Kay Stacy

DETROIT—Over 600 members and supporters of different black nationalist and pan-Africanist groups met here January 25. The topic of discussion was the possibility of building a black women's united front, and the activities that front would begin.

The national meeting was organized by the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP).

The groups involved were: the All-Afrikan Peoples Revolutionary Party, Pan-African Students of America, Ethiopian Students, Black Workers Congress, National Welfare Rights Organization and Youth Organization for Black Unity.

After a full day's meeting, the body decided to begin a black women's united front, which was described as being "anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist"—explicitly not anti-sexist.

Many of the women present who did not belong to organizations were critical of the lack of discussion of the relationship of racism and sexism. They felt that the meeting was very unclear on how black women could relate a struggle against sexual oppression to the struggle against racist oppression.

There were several major political debates concerning the composition of the united front.

It was decided that the group would be open to black women. Proposals to include men as full members and to limit it to Pan Africanist women, were defeated.

The Congress of Afrikan People was alone in arguing for full participation by black men ahead of third world women. But while how to involve other third world women was raised, it was not decided.

Activities proposals were extremely vague.

There was no political discussion of the differences among the groups on several important questions that are being hotly discussed in the black nationalist movement today.

The relationship of racial oppression to class exploitation, or the relationship of the struggle against imperialism to the struggle in the United States, and the role of the black working class in the liberation movement are debates that all of the groups involved have vast differences on.

These questions are being debated because the black nationalist left is attempting to consolidate into a national force.

SQUABBLES?

The lack of agreement on basic ideas means that the Black Women's United Front may become

either involved in endless squabbles, or paralyzed from fear of dissension and split-offs.

Political unity is an important question for the radical and revolutionary left today, but it must be a unity that allows the organizations to intervene in events.

Capitalism is in crisis, and many people are now looking to the left movement for answers. Black women are the first group to pay the price through layoffs, mounting inflation and cutbacks in social services. The Black Women's United Front seems doomed to play no role in the growing movement. □

WONDER WOMAN

When I was 9 years old my favorite comic books were Wonder Woman and Little Lulu. And my most hated comic books were Archie and love stories.

I didn't know why I had these intense likes and dislikes until I grew up and was affected by the ideas of women's liberation. Then I understood.

Like little girls the world over I yearned for stories that allowed the female sex to be more than an appendage to a male.

Archie, his two rival girlfriends, Betty and Veronica, and love comics presented such a bleak future. How could I get excited about the prospect of spending my life fighting with women over men or having my heart broken over and over again.

INSPIRED

I wanted to find hidden treasure, explore the unknown and fight the bad guys. Betty and Veronica depressed me, Wonder Woman and Little Lulu inspired me. Little Lulu was a tough little girl.

She was smarter and quicker than the other kids (including the boys) and most adults. Even better—she had fabulous adventures and escapades. As her alter ego Little Itch (a girl witch) she even had magic powers.

Wonder Woman was a woman super hero, a member of an Amazon race of wonder women. She had magic bracelets and a magic lasso; she was stronger and smarter than mortal men and women. And she was good.

She loved a man—a mortal—but her role as super hero came first. The original Wonder Woman, which began at the end of WWII, was conceived by a feminist, Charles Moulton. Moulton eventually died and the writing and drawing of Wonder Woman was taken over by a comic book studio.

Wonder Woman lost her magic powers. When the comic ended in the mid-sixties Wonder Woman had lost her bracelets and her lasso.

She was reduced to a mortal, Diana Prince—her secret identity. The last issue shows Diana Prince

working as a secretary and planning to get married.

REVIVED

Two years ago Wonder Woman comic books were brought back. Today Diana Prince is a liberated woman of the 70's. The earliest issues were quite political. Diana and her women's group take on a junk merchant—Mr. Grandee of Grandee's Department Store—in New York's Lower East Side.

Grandee, like thousands of real life parasites, sells cheaply made goods to ghetto residents on credit at exorbitant interest rates and inflated prices. Grandee also pays his sales people, all women, less than minimum wages.

Later issues are less political. Wonder Woman no longer has a women's group and stops fighting sexism. Most of the stories are simple adventure stories.

But I'd rather be a super-hero—even without a women's group—than fight over Archie, any day of the week.

Gay Semel



Workers Against The Monolith

[Workers Against the Monolith: The Communist Party Since 1943, by Ian Birchall, Pluto Press, 1974.]

Ian Birchall of the British International Socialists analyzes the Communist Parties of the world, both when they are in opposition to the capitalist countries and when they are in power.

Starting from 1943 when Stalin dissolved the Communist International to please his imperialist allies, the US and Great Britain,

towards the end of World War II, Birchall goes on to discuss the changes in the various CPs up to our day.

For those on the American left who idealize Stalin, the foreign policy of Russia and the various Communist Parties which were completely tied to Moscow may come as quite a shock. The CPs approved of the dropping of the A Bomb on Japan in 1945, dismissing any objections on the grounds that it knocked Japan out of the war.

Stalin said of the Maoists, "The Chinese Communists are not real Communists. They are 'margarine' Communists." Russia was one of the last countries to keep recognizing Chiang Kai-shek as the ruler of China. In Yugoslavia, Tito was advised not to overthrow the monarchy.

The subservience of the Communist Parties to Stalin had particularly disastrous effects on the colonial peoples. In 1945 the French Communist Party sup-

ported Charles de Gaulle's attempts to rebuild French capitalism.

When the French government put down a nationalist revolt in Algeria, wiping out whole villages and killing 45,000 people, the French Communist Party paper approved.

In 1956 the French CP voted special powers to the government to suppress the Algerian revolt. French CP members were forbidden to make contact with the Algerian CP, and members were disciplined for supporting the Algerian National Liberation Front.

BUREAUCRATIC REGIMES

After 1945 the Communist Parties of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania took power, backed up by Stalin's invading army. In Yugoslavia, Albania, China and later North Vietnam they took power on the basis of peasant armies.

Birchall shows how these regimes had nothing to do with socialism, but reproduced the same repressive regime that existed in Russia. The working class and peasantry were oppressed and terribly exploited.

The ruling Communist Party formed a new state bureaucracy which took over the means of production. There was no longer the production of commodities for profit, which is so essential to capitalism, but a bureaucratically misplanned economy.

The secret of the Communist Parties is that they are anti-capitalist and feed off the anti-capitalist aspirations of the workers and peasants, yet they are also anti-

working class and anti-socialist. They wish to replace capitalism with a bureaucratic collectivist society like that of Russia. However the masses of the oppressed peoples, especially in the underdeveloped countries often see the Communist Parties as offering a way out of their oppression. That is why they follow them, even to their death in armed struggles.

NEW CRISIS

The 1970's have brought the return of deep economic crisis to the very center of the capitalist system, the industrial countries of Europe, Japan and North America. With this crisis has come a new workers' movement, and the possibility of building genuine revolutionary workers' parties to lead the fight for socialism.

As the crisis deepens, workers and revolutionaries will once again face the threat of betrayals and sell outs by the Communist Party bureaucracies. With the possibility of détente between the US and Russia, there is also the possibility that some Communist Parties may again strive to destroy capitalism only to replace it with bureaucratic rule.

The new revolutionary workers' movement is the key to destroying the influence of Stalinism and the Communist Parties among workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world. Ian Birchall's book, which describes the betrayals and crimes of the CPs since 1943, is a useful tool for building that movement.

Kevin Bradley



The Monolith in action: Russian tanks guard an intersection in Budapest, Hungary in 1956. In that year, the Russian army invaded Hungary to stamp out a workers' uprising.

Detroit Dinner On UAW Rally

On February 8, the Detroit IS sponsored a dinner discussion on the UAW's recent rally against unemployment held in Washington D.C. Three UAW members who had attended spoke about the event.

Said Enid Eekstein of Local 51, "The rally was called because the anger of the rank and file made them do it. But they had no solution—just the Democratic Party program. No one ever mentioned anything about jobs."

Other speakers noted that UAW leaders didn't mention making demands on the companies either, but stressed lobbying. The speakers were optimistic, however, about the future of a rank and file movement against unemployment.

They noted the enthusiastic response of those present at the rally to a floor demonstration



Enid Eekstein

started by the United National Caucus, and to Woodcock's mention of a possible mass march on Washington in the spring.

In the discussion which followed, many UAW members present in the audience recounted their own disappointment with the UAW leadership, and stated their determination to build an effective rank and file alternative. □

Los Angeles Forum Successful

LOS ANGELES—The massive layoffs and the rising unemployment rate must be met with marches, rallies and the organization of unemployment committees in the unions to fight for jobs, and make sure the working class doesn't pay for this recession.

This was the strategy for fighting the layoffs put forward by Marilyn Danton, IS National Secretary, in a dinner discussion before IS and Red Tide members and friends in Los Angeles, February 2.

Richard Stockman, National Industrial Secretary of the Red Tide (youth section of the IS) told the audience the problems of unemployment hit youth doubly hard.

New York I.S. Discusses Unemployment

NEW YORK—Unemployment was the subject of an all-day educational presented by the NY International Socialists on February 2. Nearly 50 people heard Mike Stewart open the morning session with a discussion of the current economic crisis, and the role of revolutionaries in combatting unemployment.

Sandy Boyer described the working class fight in the 1930's and 50's. He laid special emphasis on the work of the Minneapolis

One result of an unemployment rate over 40% among black youths is the growth of street gangs. Stockman said it is estimated over 35,000 young people are in gangs in Los Angeles alone.

In the discussion period, Los Angeles Teamster members spoke about plans to initiate unemployed committees in their local unions and publicize the issue through the LA Teamster Grapevine, a rank and file newspaper.

Members of the Coalition of Labor Union women talked about what CLUW should do to fight against unemployment.

The forum was co-sponsored by the International Socialists and the Red Tide. □

BLOOMINGTON I.S. IN DISCUSSION ON IRAN

BLOOMINGTON—The Bloomington International Socialists joined with the Iranian Students' Association in a panel entitled "Iran: Political Repression and the CIA." The panel was attended by 75 persons and was held at the Indiana Memorial Union on January 29.

Since 1953, when the CIA engineered a coup in Iran that led to increased control of Iranian oil by US corporations, the US has played a major role in backing the oppressive regime of the Shah. Demonstrations against his regime have resulted in the killing of thousands of dissidents and in the imprisonment of thousands of others.

The panelists representing the Iranian Students' Association pointed out that a revolution in Iran is necessary to dump the Shah and to eliminate US imperialism.

It was noted that the alliance of China with the Shah did not work to the advantage of Iranian opponents of the Shah and of his imperialist backers.

The need for carrying the revolution beyond anti-imperialism to socialism was urged by an IS panelist. Only then could the needs of the thousands of workers, peasants, and other lower class members, who have engaged in resistance to the reactionary regime, be satisfied. □

Workers' Power Workshop In Cleveland

On February 1 and 2, the Cleveland IS branch sponsored a Workers' Power workshop. A discussion on using the paper, led by Gay Semel, editor, generated enthusiasm for increasing circulation.

WP staff members led workshops on writing. Participants found the workshops helpful in learning how to use the paper more effectively. Similar sessions are being planned for other branches. □



New York, Friday, February 21—"Why the Unions Won't Fight the Layoffs." Kim Moody, I.S. National Labor Secretary, 17 E. 17th St., 7th floor, 7:30 PM.

Philadelphia, Friday, February 21—"Building the Revolutionary Party." Mike Stewart, member I.S. National Committee, Houston Hall, Rehearsal Room, University of Pennsylvania, 36th and Spruce, 7:30 PM.

Pittsburgh, Sunday, February 25—"The Economic Crisis and Unemployment." Marilyn Danton, I.S. National Secretary and Joel Geler, I.S. National Chairman, MUSA Center, 131 E. 9th Avenue, Homestead, 7:30 PM.

International Socialists
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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, but 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 negotiation. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when new contracts are negotiated, 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.

*Defend working conditions. No cuts in wages. Against anti-strike, shut, 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. Evero Black.

*Abolish all forms of sexual oppression. For complete social, economic and political equality for women. For equal pay, 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 Wallace 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 parties.

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RED TIDE NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETS

OAKLAND—The Red Tide, the revolutionary youth organization of the International Socialists, held a National Committee (NC) meeting on the weekend of Jan. 25. The NC meets every six weeks.

Three priorities were established towards helping consolidate the Red Tide as a national organization—education, recruitment and building the newspaper, the Red Tide. Also discussed were local perspectives for RT branches.

Richard Stockman, Industrial Secretary of the Red Tide, will write a perspective for strike support activity. Richard was also added to the National Executive Committee.

Michael Long, RT National Secretary and Merry Busch, RT Midwest Organizer, will be making a tour of mid-west and east coast IS branches during the last two weeks of February. □



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zation, Youth Section of the IS.

PORTUGAL IN CRISIS

Nine Months After The Coup

Portuguese capitalists have learned in the last six months that it is one thing to get rid of a dictatorship that no longer meets your needs. It is another to find a stable alternative to replace it.

Portugal's old fascist government, the Caetano regime, was overthrown last April by a group called the Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

The MFA itself consists of about 400 middle ranking officers. But its success depended on the feeling of the most powerful sections of business, and even among the upper ranks of the armed forces, that Caetano's government could not deal with the main problems facing Portuguese capitalism.

The Portuguese economy remained stagnant while its resources poured into colonial wars in Africa.

When the coup occurred, no important group in the society was willing to defend the old regime.

MASS ACTION

This political revolution, however, stirred up a response which its backers had not expected.

The MFA officers found it necessary to get rid of many of the fascists in the bureaucracy of the state, the armed forces and the police. But when this process began, the repressive bonds that had tied down the masses of people in Portugal for fifty years snapped.

The struggle to destroy the remaining power of the old regime spread first to the media, then to the streets. Soon it was raging in the factories as well.

Workers began to turn against those who had inflicted so many injuries on them. Factory managers were seized and tossed out.

The army was forced to take secret policemen into protective custody before they were lynched. Soon, Army officers were being called to factories to negotiate and end to strikes for the firing of fascist managers.

In virtually every industry there were successful strikes for massive wage increases. Unions, now legal, sprang up everywhere.

LAW AND ORDER

The businessmen and ruling families of Portugal, who were singing about "freedom and unity" in May, rapidly began to fear that their own power might be threatened. They soon began singing a new tune, screaming about anarchy and the need to restore law and order.

First, they placed their hopes in the first Provisional government, headed by an ex-fascist named General Antonio de Spínola.

Spínola was the man who above all else represented the interests of big business in the April coup. His book, arguing that Portugal would never win its colonial wars in Africa and should find a neo-colonialist solution, was published by the largest of the monopolies and helped to trigger the downfall of the old regime.

Spínola was not part of the Armed Forces Movement. Instead, he became the head of a Junta of senior generals who stepped in when Caetano fell.

Spínola put together a very conservative Provisional government closely tied to his big business supporters. This government tried to run the country by sharing power with the more radical junior officers of the MFA and the right-wing generals of the Junta.

This arrangement fell apart in early July, as a huge strike wave

swept one group of workers after another. Spínola's Prime Minister Palma Carlos resigned, complaining of "disorder, indiscipline and agitation."

Carlos was furious about both the strikes and a new economic law which limits the power of big monopolies and landlords. By resigning, Carlos hoped to touch off a crisis which would strengthen the senior generals and the right-wing parties. But the outcome was different.

THE SECOND CRISIS

The Armed Forces Movement would not tolerate an even more right-wing government than before—particularly since the generals and the conservatives had failed to end the wars in Africa.

Instead, many of the conservatives who left the government were

replaced by leading members of the MFA itself. Already in the government were representatives of the two big left-wing parties: the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, which had emerged from underground after the April coup.

The SP, and especially the CP, were included in the capitalist government because they are the parties which have political influence and respect in the working class for their years of activity in anti-fascist resistance. They are the parties which could be used to control and discipline workers who wanted big wage increases and a real fight against the right wing.

The Communist Party, which is especially strong in the unions, consistently argued against strikes, organized anti-strike rallies and even denounced the same minimum wage demand it had put forth a year before—when prices were

30% lower!

The CP and SP both accepted vicious strike-breaking legislation, and press censorship which led to the suppression and banning of any criticism of the armed forces.

When rank and file workers resumed the strike wave in textiles, among farmworkers, and in the shipyards in August, ignoring or defying their own union leaders, the right wing began to mobilize for a new crisis.

THE COUP THAT FAILED

Industrialists like the Champalimaud family who had welcomed the coup in April now began openly denouncing the Provisional government.

Spínola himself began expressing this change of mood within the ruling class. After inviting the CP into his government in May to control the workers, he began

denouncing the left in public and calling for the "silent majority" to take action against "anarchy."

Under this cover, a demonstration was planned for Lisbon which was intended to mobilize 300,000 people behind Spínola. Arms were distributed to groups of fascists, to create enough disorder to give the generals an excuse to step in and purge the left.

This right-wing coup attempt was poorly planned, badly disguised and even worse organized. Yet it could have easily succeeded.

What stopped it was that tens of thousands of workers—mobilized by the unions, the Communist Party, the anti-fascist Popular Democratic Movement and the revolutionary left—built barricades in the streets and showed they would use force to stop the march.

With his authority shattered, Spínola was forced to call off the march and resign from office. □

The Coming Showdown



Demonstrators in the streets of Lisbon after Spínola's resignation.

by Dan Posen

The first two crises in Portugal since the April coup may be remembered as minor skirmishes compared to the one that is erupting now.

When Spínola resigned as President, he was replaced by his old friend Costa Gomes, another conservative general who fought to crush the liberation struggle in Angola.

Gomes, however, is not a powerful figure. After September, political authority shifted sharply to the radical officers of the Armed Forces Movement. The older generals have lost the support of the masses of people by failing to end the African wars and by plotting with big business during the abortive September coup.

As the class struggle grows more intense, however, the MFA is in a dangerous position.

First of all, the MFA by itself cannot control the Army—it has only 400,000 members out of more than 100,000 career officers.

Second, the MFA does not have much of a social base of its own. Much of big business now openly distrusts the young officers. They do not have their own mass

organizations, or for that matter much of a political program.

CP-MFA ALLIANCE

There is only one way for the MFA to stay in power and protect itself. That is by an alliance with the left organizations with influence among the workers. More and more, this alliance has come to depend on the Communist Party and the Popular Democratic Movement, a CP-controlled organization which was a cover for left-wing groups under fascist repression.

The Portuguese CP—a tightly disciplined, politically effective party which has actively built the unions and claims to stand for socialist revolution—has enormous political influence even though many workers have carried out militant strikes against its orders.

The CP also needs the MFA in order to maintain that influence. In the elections now scheduled for April (which the CP is demanding be postponed), the CP is expected to get 15% or less of the vote. And even in its union strongholds, the CP's conservative policies have cost it some support as workers move left.

In the second largest city, Oporto, revolutionary candidates defeated CP members in a bank workers' election where the CP had been the strongest.

The CP's ability to protect its power in the unions depends on its influence in the state apparatus—and the MFA which governs the state needs a force to control working class unrest. As a result, the alliance between the MFA and CP is now the central axis of Portugal's political struggle.

The MFA and CP have pushed through a law to create a single legal union federation—with one union per industry per region—in Portugal. This means that the CP's union federation, called Intersindical, has greatly increased its power over all of Portugal's 3 million unionized workers through a maneuver at the top.

POWER STRUGGLE

Outraged when the union bill passed the Cabinet, the Socialist and Popular Democratic Parties (which have their own smaller union base) threatened to resign. But they changed their minds when they realized this would leave the

CP alone as the main political force in the government.

The debate over the union federation bill was only one part of bitter fight over power and economic policy. The MFA is also attacking the power of some monopolies and landlords through limited nationalizations organized from above.

There is no doubt that the right wing is preparing for another attempt to seize power. This time, it will be better armed and prepared.

There are masses of workers who want a real struggle against the right. However, the Communist Party is not mobilizing or arming them for that struggle.

The Communist Party wants a government that is dominated by the MFA, but one in which the MFA is dependent on the CP for support. To achieve this, the CP will continue to suppress working class militancy and independent action.

The Communist Party leaders see this as the first step toward achieving their own ambition for power. Their "Portuguese Road to Socialism" means that they would like to take over the repressive state apparatus, take over the monopolies and become a bureaucratic ruling class themselves.

This might possibly happen—but it is more likely that a right-wing takeover would happen first and that tens of thousands of workers would be slaughtered.

The Communist Party is a useful ally for the MFA today. It not only disciplines workers, it is willing to challenge the power and even the social system of big business—which the MFA by itself cannot. However, the CP's actions have proven that its program has nothing to do with socialism or workers' control.

If Portuguese workers are to win power for themselves, they will have to intensify their strike action and class struggle even though the Communist Party cries about "disrupting unity."

They must rely on their own strength to defend themselves, to arm themselves against the next right-wing assault, and organize a revolutionary struggle to destroy the power of the monopolies and sweep away the Communist Party bureaucrats. □

Workers' Power

FREE HAYWOOD BROWN!

by Elizabeth Jones

DETROIT—For over two years, Haywood Brown has successfully fought harassment and frameup attempts by local and federal authorities. Last month, he finally lost one round.

Brown was found guilty of three charges relating to a January 1973 fire-bombing of a Planned Parenthood Clinic. It was his fourth trial connected to the incident.

Brown, 20, faces a possible 25-year sentence. He is free on bond and his attorney's have filed for a new trial.

The long series of trials is a drawn-out conclusion to a case which began with sudden violence and tragedy. A bizarre series of events over two years ago left Brown the last survivor of three who became the objects of one of the most intensive and hysterical police manhunts in Detroit's history.

It began in early December 1972. Detroit had, for most of that year, experienced massive drug wars.

A shoot-out broke out near one of the headquarters of a major dope dealer, involving four undercover policemen and three young black men—allegedly Brown and two friends, John Boyd and Mark Bethune. Bethune had been involved in the black left and in anti-dope pusher activities in the black community.

The cops were members of the now-defunct STRESS (Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets) unit. It was a special squad of undercover agents who were used as decoys to entrap blacks. Even-

tually they killed 19 people, all but one of them black.

The police got the worst of it, by far, in this first battle.

A few weeks later a police ambush was set up to trap the men and a gun battle broke out—again the police got the worst: one dead, one badly wounded.

POLICE RIOT

The result was that the cops ran wild in the city for days; homes were broken into in the middle of the night, there were beatings and false arrests. Any young black man could be stopped on the streets by police and questioned, harassed and beaten. Many were.

Then the Planned Parenthood office was fire-bombed. Brown was captured in the aftermath.

A few weeks later, after an extensive and much publicized manhunt, Boyd and Bethune were spotted in Atlanta. In the chases and shootings that followed, both men were killed, as was Boyd's half-brother.

With Brown their only suspect, the local and federal authorities wanted a conviction badly. But several things got in their way.

First of all, Brown had a very angry black community behind him. Rather than becoming intimidated by the brutality the community began organizing protests and demonstrations to stop the cops and the STRESS squad.

Second, the police beat Brown so badly in jail that the alleged "confession" they extracted from him was thrown out of court.



March, 1973—Part of the crowd at funeral service for Mark Bethune, slain by Atlanta police.



Haywood Brown

photo by Fifth Estate

Brown stood trial after trial, for murder, assault, the bombing; each time he was acquitted, or the charges were dropped.

But in this final trial several things changed.

First, the charges were brought in Federal Court, on the grounds that the clinic received federal funds.

Second, the original confession

the police claimed was ruled inadmissible.

Third, the authorities finally managed to convince a nurse at the clinic that Brown had been there the day of the crime.

This nurse, and the other employees, had been unable to identify Brown in the two preceding years.

Finally, in past trials, Brown's juries had been majority black—much closer to a "jury of his peers" than the majority white jury that convicted him.

While the authorities appear to have the upper hand now, Brown's defense feels there is good reason to expect a reversal of the conviction on appeal. He still has a lot of public support that has helped him in past trials.

Brown's case fueled the movement that led to the dismantling of the STRESS squad. The vicious, racist purposes of the police were so transparently exposed, and people would not stand for it. It would be criminal if now the only survivor of that episode of terror were convicted.

GIVE THE UNION BACK TO THE MEMBERS



The leadership of the Communication Workers of America (CWA), is known among telephone workers for its almost magical ability to force through rotten contracts. They have been able to stick the CWA membership with repeated sellouts because they have total control of bargaining.

A series of resolutions recently passed a District 10 (South Central Bell) union meeting that would be an important step in giving control of bargaining back to rank and filers.

The resolutions demand: no news black outs, a mandatory strike vote before the contract expires, an immediate walkout when the contract expires if no agreement has been reached and that items in a national agreement such as back pay not be used to force local agreements.

In years past, bargaining has been done in complete secrecy. In the '74 negotiations a strike vote wasn't taken until after the contract expired.

The International has done all it can to keep the membership passive and uninvolved while they do the bargaining.

These resolutions would mean a reversal of past bargaining practices and although more is needed, it would mark a real step forward in the fight to bring the union under the control of the rank and file.

DISCONTENT

The District 10 resolutions are a clear sign of the massive discontent in the CWA membership. Local officers are scared for their jobs.

After supporting the International down the line last summer—either openly or with inaction—they are now suddenly changing their minds.

These resolutions will be on the floor of the CWA convention in June. A national movement of CWA members to fight for these resolutions and other issues is needed.

CWA militants can begin by electing delegates to the convention who stand in clear opposition to the sellout policies of the International.

Rank and file members should demand that their local officers use their positions to organize a national fight for these resolutions.

Ed Karney

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