

WORKERS' POWER

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AUTO SITDOWN: "WE TOOK THE PLANT OVER"!

First-Hand Account by a Mack Worker

"We took the plant over!"

That was a phone call from Ray early Tuesday morning. It's been a long time since anyone got a phone call like that -- not since the UAW was organizing 35 years ago. Now Detroit is exploding. The last month has seen a sit-down strike at Jefferson Assembly, a five day wildcat at the Detroit Forge, and now a sit-down strike at Mack Avenue Stamping Plant.

Working conditions at Mack were getting steadily worse. The plant is located in the heart of Detroit's black ghetto, and -- like most of the inner city plants -- it has been allowed to deteriorate. The mostly black

workforce understood this as another sign of Chrysler's racism.

Every Mack worker has horror stories to tell. A die setter got his head blown off last September when a press exploded. Fingers and hands are lost regularly when the presses repeat. Legs have been crushed by loads of steel improperly balanced. Hi-lots don't get repaired, and run into people when their brakes don't hold.

The summer was hot and rainy. The plant was flooded regularly because the company will not patch the roof.

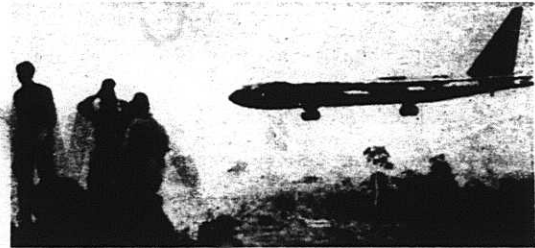
Anger and consciousness were at a peak. A steward had been fired early in the summer, leading the second walkout at the plant since 1957.

Consciousness was heightened by a rank and file publication, *The Mack Safety Watchdog*. The *Watchdog*, published by members of the United National Caucus at Mack, has regularly exposed the murderous conditions and pointed out how the workers can fight to change them.

In the welding department, workers participated in work stoppages to force the company to install fans to relieve some of the heat and ventilation problems. Things were coming to a head.

I went down to the plant as soon

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B-52 returns to Thailand after final raid on Cambodia

Cambodia: Record Of an Atrocity David Finkel

The US bombing of Southeast Asia ended on August 15. The four-year "withdrawal" of the United States from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is now complete -- at least according to the criteria of the US government and press. US troops, planes, infra-red "guerrilla detectors," 500-pound bombs which destroy whole villages, napalm bombs which turn live human beings into flaming jelly, and other instruments of "defense against Communist aggression" have -- at least publically -- been removed. Only the "advisors" who train Saigon's police in the techniques of "counterinsurgency," political suppression and torture of political prisoners will remain.

In reality, the US government's attempt to protect its client regimes in Southeast Asia is far from over. Massive economic and political "aid" from the US to the Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes will continue. This "aid," paid for by American workers, will not go to lessen the suffering of the war refugees, the masses of unemployed, crippled war veterans and starving workers of South Vietnam and Cambodia. Its use will be to prop up the tottering pro-US regimes and to strengthen their vicious, anti-popular, police-state repressive apparatuses. Much of it, of course, will go to further enrich the generals and other profiteers who control the black market.

The influence of American imperialism will be felt in other ways as well in Southeast Asia. With direct military aid from the US apparently ruled out, overtures have been made by the Lon Nol regime for assistance from South Vietnam and Thailand -- where US war-planes remain based. At the same time, opponents of Lon Nol who fear the collapse

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Workers' Power photo

Special: Explosion In Auto p. 9-12



Editorial

Food Shortage Fraud: "Let Them Eat Horse"

The long-predicted shortages of food and other essential consumer items have begun to appear. Many items, especially beef, which had been soaring in price under Phase 3, have now become virtually unobtainable at any price under Phase 4. While the beef shortage has received the most attention, the beef crisis is only the first sign of the new inflationary spiral, and resulting dislocations in supplies of goods, which lie ahead.

The government's economic "experts" and spokesmen continue to push the line that the shortages -- and the wild price spirals which have resumed since most price controls were lifted -- are merely temporary, minor difficulties along the road back to a "free economy." The President's chief economic public relations hack, Herbert Stein, worked up the nerve to announce that the problem of shortages and prices was really an "artificial" one, produced by the "hysteria" of housewives buying everything in sight.

It is possible, at least, to admit that if workers' families stopped eating, the food shortage wouldn't be a problem anymore! The problem, however, is that the crises result precisely from the policies which Nixon began in order to protect the "free economy" from the threat of collapse.

In at least one state -- Michigan, long known for its "high standards" for meat sales -- large quantities of horsemeat have appeared on the market as a beef substitute. Right now, this horsemeat is selling at prices comparable to the price of beef two or three years ago. If horsemeat should become a staple of working people's diets, who knows what its price will be a year from now?

The newspapers have played a leading role in advertizing the vir-

tues of horsemeat and the heavy sales enjoyed by markets which carry it. In fact, of course, horsemeat is perfectly edible and is a standard part of the diet in many countries. (The papers did not mention, however, that the appearance of horsemeat on the market in massive quantities happened to coincide with a major outbreak in Michigan of a deadly virus disease known as "equine encephalitis," which could be fatal if large quantities of horsemeat affected by the virus are consumed. There have been no reports on exactly which horses have been slaughtered for human consumption.) Workers and housewives, however, are clearly aware that the change to horsemeat from beef is a major symbol of the serious decline in their whole standard of living.

Come September 12, of course, the beef shortage will in fact be "solved." On that date, under Phase 4 regulations, the ceiling on beef prices will be lifted and beef will soon be available once again in bountiful supply. The price is expected to jump 15 percent at once, and then move up from there. (How soon will the government have to put a ceiling on horsemeat?)

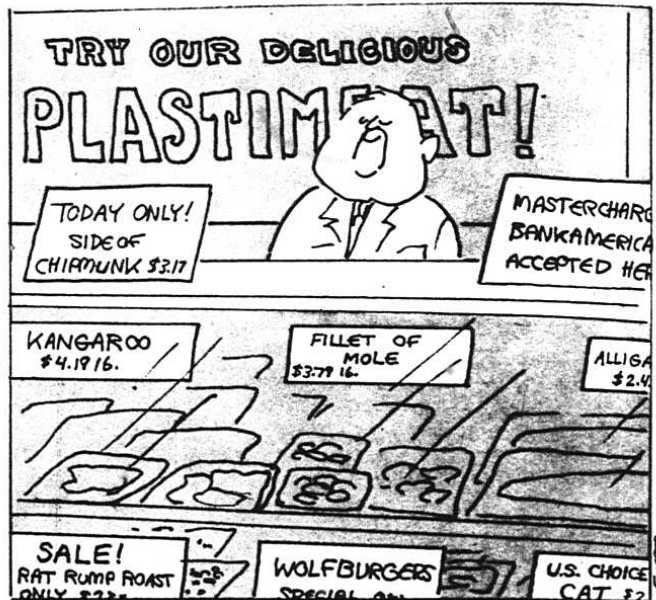
The shortage results from cattle being held back on feed lots in order to await the higher prices and profits that can be made once controls are lifted. Like the economy as a whole, the vast bulk of the beef marketing industry is controlled by corporations which own a tiny handful of giant feed lots. Many of these corporations actually control the entire cattle production process from the feedlot to the supermarket, and rake in huge profits from high prices and government subsidies every step of the way.

A similar process is at work in the gasoline industry, where over 150,000 gas stations have threat-

ened to close down in protest over the ceiling on gasoline prices. In response to this, many of the stations are being allowed by court order to raise their prices without any restrictions. Once again, the profits flow back to the largest conglomerate corporations which control the industry. In every case, the policies of the wage and price con-

(perhaps more slowly) continue to rise. The squeeze on the working class has only begun to hit home.

The only measures which could solve this crisis would be to scrap the government's fake "controls" which protect profits and institute a program of real controls -- wage increases without price increases --



controls work to jack up profits; wherever they threaten profits in a major industry the price controls are either lifted outright or else allowed to lapse.

Phase 4 marks only the beginning of a new inflationary round. It also coincides with the beginning of a probable new economic downturn, under which the economy will enter a recession even as prices

enforced by the trade union movement.

As a first step toward this goal, a movement must be built today with the immediate goal of breaking the government's wage "guidelines." This is not only an urgent economic necessity -- it is a political demand which would bring the full power of organized labor to bear against the whole pro-business program of "Nixonomics."

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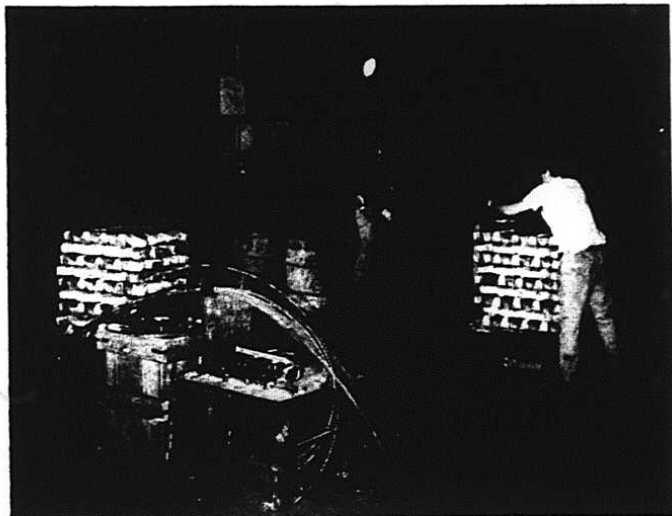
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Civil War Near As Chile Regime Crumbles

Marilyn Danton



Chilean copper miners; workers must act if disaster is to be avoided

The revolutionary crisis in Chile is coming to a head. The second bosses strike, the current governmental crisis, the growing political power of the military and the out-break of fascist direct action underscores the near collapse of Allende's Popular Unity Coalition. The long-brewing crisis is rapidly moving toward a tragic defeat for the Chilean working class.

On July 26 a repeat of October's political strike by the bosses began. The national Conference of Truck Owners and the bus and taxi associations kicked it off. On August 20 they were joined by doctors and small shop keepers. Supported by all of the right wing forces in Chile, this strike is paralyzing the country.

Losses now amount to \$100 million, production is expected to decline by 10%, agriculture near 50%. It presently appears Chile will have to import almost all of its food next year. All of this takes place against and, of course, contributes to the backdrop of general economic chaos.

Peaceful Road to Fascism

Allende's strategy of the "Peaceful Road to Socialism" was bound to fail, and these capitalist strikes that continue and grow are a natural outcome of it. Nationalizing some industries and banks, while leaving the others in the hands of the bourgeoisie means the bosses can use and will continue to use them as a power base for both destroying the Allende government and demoralizing the working class.

The truck owners' strike and the October Bosses strike are only the spectacular events. Sabotage, black market operations and influence are all part of the capitalist strategy to create economic chaos and discredit the Popular Unity Coalition.

There is no piece meal road to

socialism. Some industries can't be taken over leaving the rest controlled by the capitalists. A revolution is an all or nothing prospect where the working class must seize control of both production and the state or go down to defeat.

Allende has not led the working class, but used it and this should surprise no one. To put workers in power would have meant to destroy the control he and the Socialist and Communist Party presently have over the working class. Allende and these two so-called workers' parties never represented the interests of the working class and never had any intention of leading the workers to revolution.

Their actions today are making this clear to everyone especially the Chilean workers.

Allende Turns Right

In the face of the right-wing attack the government has refused to call for the counter-offensive that has any possibility of success—masses of workers armed and organized to defend the government that is supposed to be theirs. Allende will never do that because once armed and on the move the working class could go beyond defense of a government that has never been theirs and attempt to make it theirs.

Instead the response of the Popular Unity government has been a sharp turn to the right. With continued challenges to his government and the current bosses strike, Allende has turned more and more to the army and police to preserve law and order and to keep him in power. Last week he brought the heads of the armed services and police into the government once again, and indicated that he was looking for a compromise with the main capitalist party - the Christian Democrats.

Right-wing opponents of the government are calling for more military power. Ex-President Eduardo Frei leader of the Christian Democrats declared that the military, already the

cabinet, must be accorded "the necessary powers" to give guarantees of civil peace to the public.

But the military is growing restless with its role of the savior of Allende's peaceful road to Socialism. When air force general Cesar Ruiz was unsuccessful in his initial efforts to end the truckers' strike, he was removed from the government. The two other military members of the cabinet then offered their resignations after wide-spread dissatisfaction in the air force over Ruiz's ouster.

In response, Allende expressed renewed confidence in General Prats as Defense Minister, and Admiral Montero as Treasury Minister, and asked them to stay. That they agreed can only be a sign that they have been given increased power to restore economic and political order.

Army Not "Neutral"

The armed forces are not neutral, contrary to what they and Allende would like the masses in Chile to believe. The officers in the leadership - especially General Prats - have an ingrained hatred for the workers' movement. Recently they scoured the working class districts and factories looking for arms. They often however ignore the much larger caches of arms kept by the middle class. Even within the army, rank and file members who have been somewhat friendly toward the left have been arrested by the senior officers.

These are the forces that Allende and the ruling Communist and Socialist Parties defend, while bitterly criticizing the workers who have prepared to defend themselves against right-wing attacks. When workers occupy factories in reaction to right-wing plots, they are denounced by the government in its efforts to placate the generals. The more the right goes on the offensive the more the government cringes before the generals and moves to the right.

On August 21, the right wing took the offensive into the streets in Santiago. Several hundred members of the far-right Nationalist Party marched in military formation giving fascist salutes and cries to the door of the Communist Party headquarters.

They fought with members of the Party and other supporters of the government for five hours. In addition, the fascist Fatherland and Liberty Party is waiting in the wings for the right moment to begin its planned program of physical and psychological terror.

Meanwhile in parliament, representatives of the Nationalist Party tried to organize support for a resolution saying that Allende was unfit to govern. The Chilean constitution provides that if a President is declared unfit, he can be ousted and new elections held. They were unable to get the necessary support from other opposition groups.

On every front - in the economy, in the streets, and in parliament, - the right offensive is gaining momentum, while the Popular Unity government sidles up to the military. Unwilling to mobilize their only base of support - the working class to counter this growing attack - the government is standing naked before the masses.

The one feeble step taken by the ruling parties was a call by the Communist Party leadership of the Chilean Labor Federation (CUT) for its 1.4 million members to defend the government from the current "wave of sedition." The CUT leadership held an emergency meeting to draft a plan of action against what it termed "the increased maneuvers aimed at overthrowing" the Allende government.

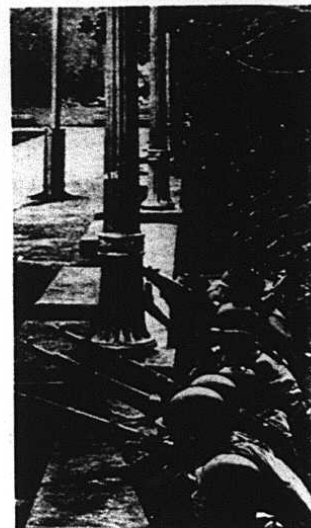
But there is only one way to defeat the current right offensive - the workers movement must seize all of industry and the state in its own name and begin the process of setting up a government really representing its interests. *Anything short of a workers revolution will mean defeat for the masses of Chilean people and a victory for the right, whether it be the fascists or the military ruling in the interests of the capitalist class.*

It is clear that instinctively sections of the workers movement understand this. Time and again, in the face of capitalist strikes and plots against the government, workers have seized factories in the name of the government, kept production moving and organized distribution of goods to the people.

In June in response to an attempted military coup the workers seized factories and played a key role in defeating the coup. But the government vacillated and moved right, encouraging the capitalists to take the offensive again. It is precisely Allende's vacillation and rightward movement that causes his failure to organize his working class base into a more powerful force. Allende's weakness brought about the current truckers strike and right attack on the government.

With these latest moves by the right, the workers of ITT seized that corporation and vowed to keep it operating. In the past, however, the ruling Communist and Socialist Parties have demanded that these factories be returned to their former bosses - and in view of the recent actions and reliance on

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The Army is waiting in the wings

FARM WORKERS, TEAMSTERS & THE COURTS

James Morrison



The Teamster leadership, the growers and the large supermarket chains are all trying to convince the public that what is going on in the California fields is a complex jurisdictional dispute between two trade unions.

Almost all of the so-called "friends" of the farmworkers in the Democratic Party are now silent on the lettuce boycott because they "don't mix in labor jurisdiction disputes."

These include such "friends" as Ted Kennedy, George McGovern, Fred Harris, Hubert Humphrey, Alan Cranston, Jessie Unruh, Thomas Eagleton, and the list goes on . . .

Real jurisdictional labor disputes are often quite complicated. But the struggle in the California fields is really simple. So simple that even the

Reagan-dominated California Supreme Court could find no way around the obvious.

In 1970 a local judge outlawed all United Farm Worker strike activity in the Salinas lettuce area on the grounds that the strike was in violation of California's Jurisdictional Strike Act.

After more than two years the California State Supreme Court finally overturned the 1970 injunction. The Supreme Court opinion (Englund vs. Chavez 12/29/72), which describes what actually happened, is reprinted in part elsewhere on this page.

It would be a mistake to conclude from this that the courts are on the side of the Farmworkers. The two years the courts allowed the total injunction to stand against the UFW gave the Teamsters plenty of time to

build a solid position in the Salinas Valley.

The Supreme Court could not avoid what was totally obvious and it had to rule against completely stopping the UFW strike. But at the same time it has allowed to stand "partial injunctions" which limit the number of pickets to two every 100 yards and limit the use of sound equipment.

This is of major importance to the UFW. The growers/Teamsters recruit workers who do not even know they are scabbing on the UFW strike and they are often kept in guarded housing compounds. These workers must be reached at the fields with massive picketing and bull-horns.

In other words, the court system has to admit the justice of the Farmworkers' struggle and that the UFW is the organization that the farmworkers want. But at the same time the courts issue injunctions designed to aid the growers/Teamsters and effectively cut down the UFW's ability to reach the scab workers and carry on the struggle.

[The following excerpt is taken from the Supreme Court opinion Englund vs. Chavez, Ca. Supreme Court, 12/29/72.]

"According to the uncontradicted affidavit of Cal Watkins, the personnel manager of InterHarvest, Inc. (a grower member of the Association) who attended the July 23 (1970) meetings, the Association members . . . discussed the question of Teamster representation of their field workers.

"The members decided to appoint a committee which was to approach the Teamsters to 'feel out' that union on the prospects of negotiating an agreement recognizing the Teamsters

as the exclusive bargaining agent of the Growers' field workers.

"There is no suggestion in the record that the Growers, before taking such a step, attempted to ascertain whether their respective field workers desired to be represented by the Teamsters, or, indeed, that the question of their field workers' preference was even raised as a relevant consideration.

"The Association Committee which had been established to approach the Teamsters worked quickly. On the following day, July 24, 1970, at another general membership meeting of the Vegetable Association, the Committee reported that the Teamsters had been contacted and were 'interested and receptive'; indeed, the Committee informed the membership that any grower who wished could sign an immediate recognition agreement designating the Teamsters as the exclusive bargaining agent for all of his field workers.

"Each of the Salinas Valley Growers involved in this litigation signed such an agreement that same day, on a form made available by the Teamsters. Once again, there is no indication that any thought was given to the possible wishes of the field workers whose interests were purportedly to be represented by the Teamsters. The next day negotiations for formal contracts began between the Teamsters and the Growers.

"Over the next week, the Teamsters and Growers proceeded to negotiate detailed contracts covering such specific subjects as wages, hours and other working conditions; although the field workers were the individuals who would primarily be affected by such provisions, these workers were never consulted during the negotiations and were never given an opportunity to examine the terms of the contracts or even to indicate whether they desired to be represented by the Teamsters.

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The recent grand opening of a Safeway store in Seattle was marked by the arrest of ten members of the Seattle UFW Boycott Committee for chanting "Boycott Safeway" while picketing the store. This same Safeway store was also the scene of a larger demonstration of 300 people later that week (August 2).

The demonstration was called to protest Safeway's union-busting policies toward the UFW as well as its disregard for residents evicted from their homes during construction of the new store.

On the day of the arrests, the initial picket line had 50 people and started quietly. As more people arrived spirit began to build and chanting began.

The Seattle police were called by Safeway and demanded that the pickets stop chanting. The pickets refused, saying that they had the right to chant on the grounds of free speech.

They also felt that picketing was more effective with chanting. Police arrested nine people, and a tenth an hour later for allegedly "disobeying an officer." In spite of the arrests, the picket line continued as more people arrived to strengthen the line. Spirit continued to be high.

Picketing of the store in the following week turned away hundreds of customers. Chanting and singing went on continually, with police looking on, but not wanting to interfere because there were over 250 people picketing.

On the afternoon of August 2, a rally was held after a five-hour picket line had nearly shut the store down several times. The rally was supported by the Black Panther Party, El Centro de la Raza (a Chicano social service organization established by the militant occupation of a local school), a former farmworker who discussed conditions under non-UFW contracts, and a Teamster rank-and-filer who expressed her support for the UFW and called on other workers to support the UFW and demand that their "leaders" do the same.

She concluded by pointing out that to prevent future union-busting by union bureaucrats, the unions themselves must be made militant and democratic by the rank and file. ■

Boycott Hits Seattle Safeway

Labor Bureaucracy: A Social Disease

Brian
Mackenzie

In February, 1972, when I, along with 38,000 other New York telephone workers, went back to work after seven months of striking, we knew we had been sold out by our leaders. After all that time on the picket line, the top leaders of our union (Communications Workers of America) forced us back to work for practically the same lousy agreement we had rejected seven months earlier.

In fact, for the whole seven months, the top leaders of our union had opposed all attempts to win the strike. In the end, with no way to influence "our" leaders, no way to make them fight for us, the majority voted to return to work.

Why did "our" leaders sell us out from start to finish? Were they personally cowards? Were they dumb? Or was it, as many telephone workers felt, that they were on the take from the company?

If those were the reasons, then why is it that this year all the leaders of unions with much greater power than the Communications Workers have sold out even before the question of a strike came up?

The top leaders of the electrical workers, the rubber workers, the Teamsters, the auto workers, and this year's champion sell-out -- I.W. Abel of the steel workers' union -- all stated they didn't expect much trouble this year and weren't asking for much anyway.

A full year before the steel workers contract is up, Abel shoves through a no-strike agreement. Can it be that all the leaders of all the unions are on the take? Or are they all cowards and fools, and if so, how did they get to the top without someone noticing?

I don't deny that the leaders of most of the big unions may be all of these things and more. But if it were a matter of their individual personalities, it would be hard to explain how so many creeps got to the top of the labor movement.

In fact, it is not their personalities or individual problems that make them what they are -- if anything it is the other way around. When Walter Reuther started out in the 1930's he was not a coward, a fool, or a crook. But by the early 1950's he was selling out on working conditions just like every other big union leader.

Look at someone like Arnold Miller of the Miners Union: a real worker, a genuine militant with plenty of guts and honesty. Yet, only two months in office and even he was telling his union's members to obey the old contract signed by the totally corrupt Tony Boyle, and telling the miners not to strike locally.

Miller didn't get paid off, and neither did Reuther. *They didn't have to.*

The fact is, the top officials of today's unions look at things from a different social vantage point than the workers. Marxists call the high level union officials the labor bureaucracy.

For us, bureaucracy is not just a bad name or an insult. It means a social group that is isolated from the control of those it is supposed to serve.

Government officials, for example, are supposed to be our "servants." The fact is, we have no control over them at all.

In theory, the labor leaders are employed by the union members to lead the

fight for better wages, working conditions and so on. In other words, they are supposed to administer, for the workers, the day to day functions of the union -- and to do so as the workers want them to.

But it doesn't happen that way. The leaders give all kinds of reasons why they can never seem to do what the workers want, but most of these are just a cover-up -- even if these officials believe themselves.

The source of the problem is that we, the workers, have no control over these leaders. In part, this is a question of union democracy. Many unions are not democratic at all; others only so in form.

Democracy is essential if any union is to serve the will of its members. But formal democracy -- that is, democratic political forms and structures (elections, conventions, direct voting, etc.) -- is not enough.

If one group has more social or economic power than another, or more access to information, then democracy will not be real, and the workers will again lose control. This is, in fact, just what has happened in many unions in this country.

The top union officials receive salaries way above the levels of working class living standards. With this kind of income, and with the "importance" the top union officials feel as they hob-nob with top level management, they soon take on the ideas and values of their counterparts in management and government.

Labor bureaucrats now dress, talk and look like the bureaucrats from management and government. What is more important, they go to the same parties, join the same clubs, stay in the same hotels, and even buy fabulous resorts in the same part of the Caribbean.

All of these places are characterized by the complete absence of ordinary working people. Not only do these full time labor officials not experience -- or remember -- what it's like in the work place or on the job; they don't even re-

member how working people really live.

To find out, they hire college trained sociologists, and so on. In brief, the labor officialdom is today a distinct social group -- as different from the workers on the job as the owner of the neighborhood candy store is different from the president of General Motors.

Given this social position, what appears to be cowardice, corruption, or stupidity, is nothing but old-fashioned self-interest. What the labor official is "afraid" of is not strike violence -- which he or she will not be anywhere near -- or anything of that sort.

They are afraid that their new friends, their new social circle, will disapprove. They are afraid of losing what they think is their influence with other "important" people.

Above all, they fear losing their position -- their cushy social position -- by rocking the boat. That is the age-old curse of every type of bureaucrat. The rub is that we, the workers, pay the labor bureaucrat.

The workers pay the labor bureaucrat who sells us out. The income, the power, the "influence," that makes the labor "leader" a bureaucrat beyond our direct control, comes from us.

That is why the big corporations and the employers generally don't need to bribe the top union officials. Our union dues provide those officials with a high enough personal income to forget what it means to be part of the working class, and with enough economic power to build a machine that keeps the union out of the control of the workers.

Their "importance" in society comes from the fact that they represent masses of workers. It is really the workers who have the power, but the bureaucrats use that power in their own interests.

This fact indicates both the problem and the solution. We give them the power that allows them to isolate themselves from us and to sell us out again and again. Without the workers, the un-

ion members, these labor bureaucrats are nothing.

This shows up when these bureaucrats are forced, in the face of militant massive struggle by the ranks, to pretend to fight the employers. Some of the time they even actually wage a fight, as much as they hate it.

So, there are times when we can pressure them. In the long run, the effort we pour into pressuring them can also get rid of them, and return the unions to the workers.

Rebuild the Unions!

The labor bureaucrats run the unions only because the rank and file members are not organized to get rid of them and to reorganize the unions to fight for the real needs of the workers.

Of course, it is not just a question of kicking out this person or that. It means, for a start, cutting the salaries of union officials to the level of workers with comparable seniority and skill in the industry.

It means winning the right to recall, without a lot of red tape, leaders who don't fight for the program the members want. It means re-establishing democratic shop floor organization (including a steward for every foreman) and giving it real power to fight, negotiate, and -- when necessary -- strike.

If that seems like too big a job, then look around. Movements begin with today's fights. A wildcat, a contract rejection, a union election: these are the places and times where a movement can be born.

Each militant union member should look to today's struggles for the opportunities to build tomorrow's organizations.

The bureaucracy rose to power by distorting and corrupting the desires of workers in struggle. Today's militants can rebuild the labor movement by expressing honestly and fully the desires of the rank and file, and organizing to defeat the sell-out bureaucracy we pay for.

Lenny Woodcock: Everyone's Friend

Felix Wyatt

The trouble with our union leaders today is that they want to get along with everybody. They want to get along with the corporations so they don't have to call strikes all the time; they want to get along with the government so they won't pass any more anti-labor laws; and they want to get along with workers so we don't vote them out of office.

Woodcock and the other bureaucrats want to make everybody happy. So they please the government by not fighting against wage controls. So they act nice to the company by letting them

speed up the line and by not fighting for voluntary overtime, full COL and full 30-and-out. But what about us?

Well, you have to understand, they say, that the government and the corporations are a lot bigger and stronger than the workers. It takes a lot more to make them happy. We have to be satisfied, says Woodcock, with whatever crumbs are left over after they take what they want.

After all, says Woodcock, we don't want to be greedy -- we have to be responsible. Why, look at everything the government has done for us! They sent us on free vacations to Vietnam, and some people liked it so much they stayed. They send the police to keep us company on the picket line. They give us Watergate to watch on TV every day. They raise the price of food so we won't waste our money drinking beer and shooting dice. In return for all this, Woodcock is glad to do them a favor by not busting the wage guidelines.

As for the corporations, well we have to have a little sympathy for them. It's true that they are making more cars with fewer workers than ever before, and selling them for the biggest

profits in history; but they haven't yet got all the money in the world and this makes them sad. Why should we add to their troubles, says Woodcock. We won't ask for COL catch-up to replace the money we lost to inflation. We won't take a hard line on voluntary overtime. We won't strike to get what the workers need. We'll be REASONABLE.

There's just one problem. We want the union to get us what we need, not the government, not the company. It's true that they seem more powerful than us now, although if the whole working class was organized, we'd be a lot stronger than them, strong enough to brush them out of the way and run society for ourselves.

Meanwhile, we are going to have a hard fight against the company and the government to get even a part of what we need. They don't need any help from our union. We don't need to be sold out again. We don't need union leaders who make deals with the people who rob and exploit us. If they aren't willing to fight for us, they had better get out of the way, because we are sure going to fight for ourselves.

THE AUTO REVOLT:



Workers' Power photo by AA

Spokeswoman for Mack strikers reading statement to press through plant gate

[Continued from page 1]
as Ray called. At the front gate, a small crowd had already gathered. We learned from our brothers and sisters on the other side of the fence what sparked the strike.

A worker in the welding department, Bill Gilbreth, had been fired on Friday, August 10. On Tuesday, he went back into the plant to see about getting reinstated.

Gilbreth sat down on the conveyor and told his foreman that if he wasn't allowed to do his job, no one else would do it either.

Two guards showed up and tried to remove him. A scuffle broke out, and one of the guards was hit with a metal pipe, requiring 16 stitches.

Gilbreth himself is a radical, a member of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and an organizer inside the plant of PL's self-proclaimed front group, Workers' Action Movement (WAM).

[Editor's note: A discussion of the role of PL and WAM in the Mack sit-in appears in the special four-page WORKERS' POWER supplement on the struggle in auto, pages 9-12 of this issue.]

Mass Discontent

Accusations have been made that the strike at Mack was caused by a handful of trouble-makers. The real story of the Mack strike is different. It took off because the vast majority of the 4,500 workers in the plant were ready to fight over the rotten conditions.

The immediate issue that made people move was the firing of Gilbreth and half a dozen others who had been active in leading struggles in their departments. But behind this was the health and safety issue, and workers' frustration with the union that would not fight over their problems.

When the strike broke, management cleared as many people as possible out of the plant by manufacturing a "bomb scare." It was clear that they were afraid that other departments

would join the strikers. Two to three hundred refused orders to leave, and stayed inside all morning. The sit-in was on.

I went over the fence Tuesday night with ten or so others who were not in the plant when the action broke out. We walked through the silent empty plant to the far end, where the strikers had set up headquarters.

The Mack plant is always going. It works 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. It was eerie to see it so silent. We passed many guards and foremen on the walk, but they kept hands off and were respectfully silent.

The number of strikers in the plant had already begun to dwindle. Many people had already been in the plant for twelve hours, but a significant

number were from other shifts who came in to support the strike.

A meeting was going on. Most of the discussion centered around the police. People expected the police to come in, and were confused as to why they hadn't already.

People seemed to be waiting out their time. Most understood that they would have to give up without a fight the moment the police entered. This was not a similar situation to what happened in the Jefferson Avenue sit-down, where 1,000 workers had massed around the power plant to defend the two militants who turned off the power.

It was already clear that with only passive support from thousands of Mack workers, the sit-in would only be measured by the number of hours before the cops moved in. We elected spokesmen, and only these people were allowed to speak to the press.

But meanwhile on the other side of the fence, PL members who did not work at Mack spoke freely to the press about how the strike was "led by communists" (themselves) and planned by outsiders two nights before.

WAM seemed peeved at the decision not to fight with the cops, and made a motion that barricades be erected. The motion passed, but of course no one carried it out since it so clearly contradicted the first decision.

Fraser's "Negotiations"

Negotiations between Doug Fraser, UAW Vice-President, and Henry Gnant, Local 212 president, and the company went on Tuesday evening. Fraser had already made press statements saying he did not support the strike, and hoped the company would crush us.

Though Fraser assured us he would try to meet our demands, he won nothing in his negotiations, and went home.

Some of those inside, already feel-

ing the pressure of isolation, were wary of criticizing Fraser for his strike-breaking statements. They did not want to "get into name-calling" and claimed we had to "work with the union."

Clearly, these individuals were preparing for their defeat, and had already decided they would have to throw themselves to the mercy of the UAW porkchoppers to get their jobs back later.

People tried to sleep for a couple hours that night. Stretches were gathered from the stairwells and suspended between tables. Some of the supporters outside brought blankets and pillows. It was hard to sleep.

Early the next morning there was a sudden decision. It was decided that it was urgent for everyone to go out to the gate and have Gilbreth make a press statement.

Workers were critical of Gilbreth - not for his being a communist, but for announcing this to the press, acting independently of his fellow workers in the struggle and implicating themselves through it.

They were also angry at WAM's announcement that this had all been planned in advanced by WAM members who didn't work in the plant. They felt, correctly, that WAM was trying to make a name for itself at their expense.

When people decided to go down to the gate that morning they knew that it meant the plant was no longer occupied. But there didn't seem to be much point in such a small group waiting for the cops in the lunchroom, either. Rather, it was important to re-establish contact with outside support.

When the group appeared at the gate, a press statement was made. We turned to go back into the plant, and got back in after a skirmish broke out when we were attacked by security guards.

Detroit's Finest

Meanwhile, "Detroit's finest" started pouring in through the gates. There were 60 or 70 cops, all equipped with riot gear, clubs, pistols, helmets, and foaming at the mouth.

After this point, one blunder after another was committed. WAM insisted we could still hold the plant, and tried to encourage people to stay inside. Most could not see the sense in this and without leaving company property, drifted out to the area of the plant gate.

14 stayed inside and sat on a stair well. "Nothing's changed," Gilbreth said. "We still don't know if the cops are coming in or not. We can still hold the plant." This division among the sit-in forces weakened the unity of the workers.

Meanwhile, we could hear a whole troop of police pounding across the floor above us, their walkie-talkies crackling.

Seconds later, a dozen cops came down the stairs. Police chief Nichols, a notorious racist (as well as a candidate for mayor), bounced down first.

Suddenly, all the decisions about leaving peacefully, linking arms and

Dodge Fight for Rights

Responding to rank and file action at Mack Avenue and other Chrysler plants, and to the angry demands of Detroit's capitalist press, the UAW leadership has launched a "house cleaning" operation. The mobilization of 1,000 UAW officials to break the Mack strike was only the first act.

On Monday morning, August 20, officials of Dodge Local 3 assaulted members of *Spark* who were leafletting at Chrysler's Hamtramck Assembly Plant (Dodge Main).

After the attack, *Spark* members appealed to Local 3 rank and filers who turned out several dozen strong to protect *Spark* leafletters for the afternoon shift. The Local 3 goons did not dare try it again.

Dodge militants understand that they have to protect the right of every-

one to distribute literature at the plant.

Leafletting is one of the few ways that either political groups or in-plant rank and file caucuses can make their views known.

The UAW officially prides itself on its "democracy" and its tolerance for free discussion. The newly declared war on militants has already exposed this "democratic" facade as a fraud.

Inside the UAW, as within the entire labor movement, bureaucratic suppression and goon squad tactics are among the most important weapons of entrenched leadership against the ranks.

The defense of leafletting at Dodge is a small victory in what will have to be a prolonged struggle to maintain some measure of democracy within the UAW.

STORY OF A SITDOWN

walking out with dignity and solidarity, were abandoned. Nichols asked Gilbreth if he wanted to leave or get arrested. Gilbreth and 6 others were handcuffed.

Meanwhile, those outside were served with an injunction. They read it ceremoniously and left when the guards opened the gate. The occupation was over at 10:30 Wednesday morning.

Mack management immediately announced over the radio that the 2nd and 3rd shifts should report to work. They soon had to retract that statement - it was not so easy to return to business-as-usual.

About 200 workers went over to the union hall. The atmosphere was explosive and highly militant. The union officials who showed up were shouted down, ridiculed, drowned out with cries of "Strike! Strike!"

A worker took the mike and put forward a motion to continue picketing while the union leadership negotiated over the strike demands. He then asked for a show of hands. Only the UAW bureaucrats opposed the motion.

UAW Strikebreakers

The Mack sit-down strike ended Thursday with a spectacle that may become the biggest scandal in the history of the UAW. The picketing was busted Thursday morning by 1,000 UAW goons, the loyal officeholders from every local in town, with an army of International reps -- who poured down to the plant with clubs and guns, roughing up the demonstrators.

The contrast of the largely white goon squads was not lost on Mack's black workforce. It was mostly those in soft and privileged union positions who were there to bust the strike.

There are 68 people fired over this strike at last count. Some were not involved in the sit-in at all. The local leadership is trying to make each and every one of them crawl to get their jobs back.

Many of those who have been fired are afraid to alienate the bureaucracy on whom they are depending to get their jobs back, by leafleting or even holding meetings. Meanwhile, the capitalist press is screaming for more blood.

On the other hand, militants are re-grouping to halt demoralization and to continue the fight. A number of the fired workers have begun to meet, to plan informational leaflets and to make contacts with workers at other plants.

Leadership and Organization

The spirit of struggle is unbroken. The problem facing us is to build a better leadership and stronger organization to defend ourselves and prepare for coming battles.

Though workers are afraid to be too vocal, they say to each other that they wish the occupation had lasted longer so that it could have ended in victory.

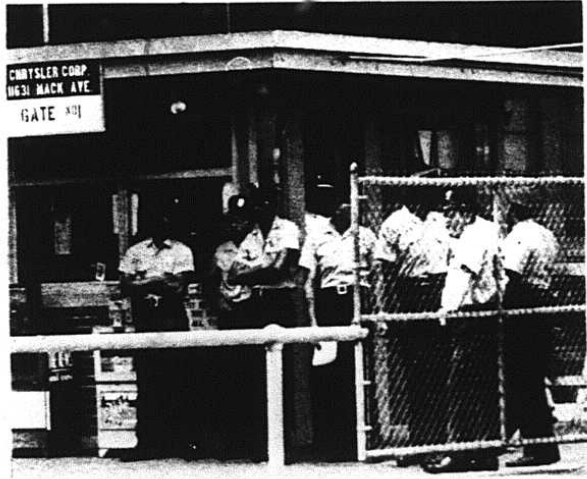
People from plants all over the city are scandalized to hear that their elected stewards and officers -- whose salaries they are paying -- were down at Mack breaking up someone else's strike.

The fight ahead is laid out for us. ■

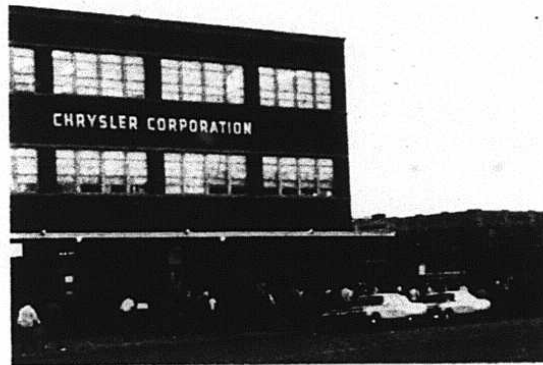


Mack Eyewitness

Photographs by Kit Lyons



Plant guards assisted strike-breaking operation of Detroit police and UAW



Part of a force of 1,000 UAW goons heading toward Local 212 headquarters (right) after breaking the Mack wildcat

Bay Area WAM Bars Socialists, Bans Debate

On Wednesday, August 22, the San Francisco chapter of Workers Action Movement (WAM) held a special forum on "The Chrysler Revolt and What It Means for All of Us." This forum was advertised in a leaflet which was distributed in bus terminals and other public places in the city.

Four members of the International Socialists, one of whom was a UAW member and another who had worked with WAM on the distribution of leaflets calling for 30 for 40 (30 hours work for 40 hours pay -- part of WAM's 3-point program), entered the meeting planning to participate in the discussion on the recent strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant.

As soon as it became known to the organizers of the event that IS members

were present, they were told to leave the meeting: "This meeting is open to WAM members and invited guests only." They were also told that we could not sell *Workers' Power* on the public sidewalk outside the hall.

One WAM member who was passing out leaflets said, "We don't want to hear the bosses' side!" Another man threatened, "Creeps. You better leave before it's too late."

We continued to sell the paper.

Several persons entering the meeting, including rank and file members of WAM, were astounded over the ad hoc decision to bar IS from the meeting. They attempted to raise this issue in the meeting to try to reverse the decision to keep us out. A vote was taken with very little discussion, and the decision was upheld.

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Price "Controls" Balance Sheet: Wages down; prices, profits up

Figures recently released have again demonstrated what *Workers' Power* has said since the imposition of wage and price controls in 1971: that the real purpose of controls is to raise profits and cut the employers' wage costs.

Wages, measured in "real" terms, have been declining. The *real wage* measurement is helpful because it removes the effects of inflation from our calculations and enables us to see whether a worker can actually buy more or less with a larger paycheck.

For instance, if a worker's pay is \$100 and inflation goes up 8 percent, but wages rise only 5.5 percent, the worker cannot buy as much as before even though he is taking home more money.

The drop in *real wages* for the average worker from February to June 1973 was from \$96.08 to \$95.51. Figures are not yet available to show the effects of the spectacular price increases since Phase 4 went into effect.

One of the reasons for the drop in real wages has been that wage increases have been cut. In 1971, the average first-year wage increase in labor contracts was 11.6 percent. In the first six months of this year, that was down to 5.8 percent.

Over the life of the contract, wage increases averaged 8.1 percent in 1971 as against 5.3 percent in the first six months of 1973.

To complete the picture, look at profit statistics. Total profits for US industry in the second quarter of 1973 were up 31.6 percent from their already high levels in the second quarter of 1972. The 31.6 percent figure is itself a sizeable increase over the 27.8 percent profit increase in the first quarter of this year.

Life at the top: Why bureaucrats don't mind price increases

The top officers of your international union are probably still eating well despite the staggering costs of feeding the family. Statistics have recently become available listing the salaries paid labor leaders in 1972.

The Teamsters hold down the top two positions, paying President Frank Fitzsimmons a total of \$131,481 and Secretary-Treasurer Murray Miller \$114,228. Hunter Wharton of the Operating Engineers is also in six figures, at \$103,033.

Ten union leaders were paid over \$75,000, while a total of 67 received over \$35,000.

This robbery of the union treasuries stands in stark contrast to earlier days when no leader was allowed to get a higher salary than that of the best-paid worker he or she represented. Only one union, the United Electrical Workers, still has this policy.

There's another angle to the salary

game, particularly for bureaucrats not quite so much in the public eye as presidents of international unions - moonlighting. However, for the typical labor bureaucrat, moonlighting is much different than for the typical worker.

A worker will generally work fantastically harder on two jobs and take home only a relatively small additional amount of money. Labor bureaucrats with second or third (or as many as six!) jobs usually do very little additional work, but enjoy the improved financial advantages.

One of the most outrageous examples of this arrangement is that of Bernard Rubin, a Florida bureaucrat in the Laborers International Union.

Rubin gets \$21,600 as business manager of Local 478 in Miami, \$51,167 as president of Local 666 in Miami Beach, another \$51,167 as president of the Southeast Florida district council, and \$5,000 as a representative of the International.

He also gets about \$1,000 a week in expense money. Supplementing the family income is his wife, Gerre, who gets about \$30,000 as executive secretary of Local 666 and secretary of the district council. About \$200,000 all together.



Rubin's case is a bit extreme. More typical is that of Roy Williams, 13th vice president of the Teamsters. He gets \$40,345 from the International, \$39,000 from Kansas City Local 41, and \$11,925 from Joint Council 56.

Or, take Jackie Presser from Cleveland, who gets \$185,000 in five paychecks from three unions - considerably better than his dad William, who gets only \$65,000 in three checks.

Abel prepares sell-out for aluminum workers

Fresh from his success in pushing a no-strike agreement past the steel workers, I.W. Abel has turned his attention to aluminum. He has negotiated an agreement with the nation's three leading aluminum producers which, while stopping short of binding arbitration, points strongly in that direction, either for next year

when the aluminum contracts expire, or for farther in the future.

Abel's United Steel Workers (USW) represents 30,000 aluminum workers. A second union, the Aluminum Workers International Union (AWIU), which represents another 25,000 workers, participated in the agreement with Alcoa, Kaiser, and Reynolds aluminum companies.

The pact moves up the beginning date for contract negotiations to December 1, three months earlier than usual. If the unions and the companies have not reached agreement by February 1, the top officers of the companies and the unions will take over the bargaining and "... shall make every effort to resolve the remaining disputed issues, or to agree on a procedure for doing so which is acceptable to the parties."

In addition to this formal agreement, the negotiators noted that the "atmosphere of trust" from past negotiations made the chances of reaching a contract agreement well before the May 31 expiration date highly likely. There has not been a nationwide aluminum strike since 1949.

Union bureaucrats are justifying the aluminum agreement in the same

terms that they used for the steel no-strike pact. In anticipation of a strike, they say, aluminum customers stockpile, thus causing production cut-backs and layoffs if there is no strike.

That this has happened in the past is true, but it is not true that the only remedy is to give up strikes. Refusing overtime or slowing down prior to the contract expiration would do a lot to prevent stockpiling.

And while stockpiling has been a cause of layoffs in the past, a much greater problem has been the boom-bust nature of the capitalist economy.

In the steel industry, for example, analysts are predicting shortages due to lack of capacity - making stockpiling virtually impossible - in the period just prior to the contract expiration. And when a recession hits, unemployment will be heavy, no-strike agreement or not.

Abel and his cronies would be a bit more useful if they would turn their attention to *that* problem.

Rank and File Notes

The sinister nature of contract clauses forbidding strikes during the life of a contract was illustrated by a recent federal court decision. Two Teamster locals had been involved in wildcat strikes. The locals and the International were sued for damages by the employer, Eazor Express.

In ruling against the Teamsters, the judge suggested that the International should have taken the following steps: remove the credentials of stewards and committeemen involved in the strike; black-list strikers so they couldn't be employed elsewhere during the strike; impose daily fines on the strikers; and take secret-ballot "votes." These, said the judge, were the "reasonable means" the union was required to take to end the wild-

Over 5,000 miners in Ohio and West Virginia have staged a walkout in support of a several-week-old strike at North American's Quarto No. 4 mine in Clarington, Ohio. The miners at Number 4 are demanding the firing of a foreman responsible for the death of a miner in a roof fall. At least eleven mines have been affected by the sympathy strike.

Members of the Textile Workers Union of America have won a modest victory against the Oneita Knitting Mills in South Carolina. Their first contract grants union recognition and wage increases of about 20¢ an hour (about 10%) in each year of the three-year contract, and could lead to important break-throughs in the strongly anti-union textile industry in the South.

Another textile manufacturer, J. P. Stevens Co., is being sued for \$71 million in damages by the TWUA. The company had bugged the motel room of TWUA organizers in Wallace, South Carolina, last year. J. P. Stevens' violations of the law in fighting off union organizing is particularly notorious. In the past several years, the company has been forced to rehire 287 employees fired for union activities and pay them over 1.3 million in back wages.

Airline mechanics represented by the Machinists union are currently bargaining with several major airlines for new contracts. The machinists, who smashed President Johnson's wage guidelines with a five-week strike in 1966, have already won pay raises as high as 8.9 percent from smaller airlines.

Chrysler Corporation has been busy installing cameras around its plants and company parking lots in Detroit. At one plant, when workers on a loading dock told their camera what they thought of, Chrysler handed down penalties - for insulting the camera!

WORKERS' POWER

WORKERS' POWER SPECIAL: AUTO REVOLT '73

5¢

UAW Bureaucrats Wage War on Ranks

Chrysler Beaten: How & Why An Interview with Sit-down Leaders

[The following exclusive interview was given to Workers' Power by Larry Carter and Isaac Shorter, the two production workers who started the one-day sit-down strike at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant in Detroit. When Carter and Shorter locked themselves inside the factory's power plant "case" and turned off the power, a thousand workers surrounded the cage to protect them and support their demands.

The demands of the sit-down were the firing of a particularly vicious racist superintendent and for a written

guarantee of no discipline against the workers involved in the sit-down. After thirteen hours, Chrysler management surrendered unconditionally, granting all the demands in writing.

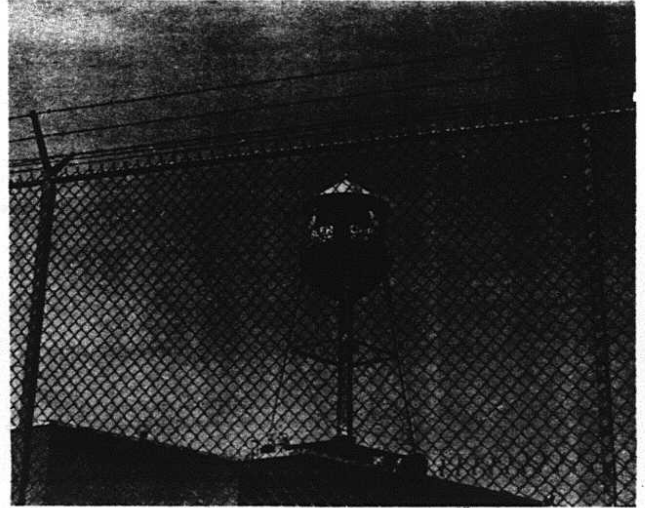
This victory marked the beginning of the wave of "unofficial" strike actions which have rocked Chrysler plants throughout the city.]

Workers' Power: A lot of people saw what you did as two brave individuals doing a really groovy thing -- they didn't see it beyond the individual question. The first question that I

[Continued on next page]



Sit-down leaders Shorter (left) and Carter are carried from the Jefferson plant



Mack Avenue— a factory or a Chrysler Concentration Camp?

On Tuesday morning, August 14, Chrysler workers -- most of whom were black -- sat down on a wildcat strike. On Thursday morning 1,000 white supporters of Chrysler Corporation broke that strike. The strikebreakers flocked around the company gates, urged workers to come in to work and provided roving goon squads to beat up or chase away anyone who dared raise their picket sign or their voice in support of the strike. It was a scene reminiscent of the early days of the UAW when auto workers were forced to fight with company goons and the police to organize the union.

The scab company supporters were not on Chrysler's payroll this time, however, though it is Chrysler they were serving. They are on the payroll of the UAW: local officials from all the plants in the Detroit area were mobilized for the strike-breaking. Auto workers were forced to pay for their own scab operation.

This disgraceful action of solidarity with the bosses was the response of the UAW leadership to the third of a series of wildcat strikes against Chrysler plants in Detroit. These strikes -- centering around unsafe and intolerable working conditions and racist harassment -- were ripping apart the normally staid auto contract negotiations that are proceeding in Detroit.

The strikes showed what everyone who works in the plants and opens their eyes knows: the factories are a volcano threatening to erupt at any moment.

The recent eruptions have not lessened the tension which is there because the UAW leadership has refused

to protect the workers against the auto companies' inhuman drive for production. The drive has meant constant harassment on the shop floor; demanding more and more and more. And it has meant the old practice of dividing the workers by racist harassment.

The only way to counter Chrysler's drive is to begin a fight for control over working conditions and for an end to all racist oppression. That involves a fight to take away management control; it means aggressively carrying out the class struggle.

But that is just what the UAW bureaucrats are incapable of doing. Their method is to collaborate with the bosses -- to allow the auto companies to continue gulping down huge profits and farting out minor concessions that will keep the work force plugging away.

Concessions grow smaller and smaller and conditions grow more and more intolerable. But the bureaucrats keep going like normal. President Woodcock has made it clear that he wants no auto strike this year.

No auto strike when inflation is galloping at its most rapid rate in twenty years. No auto strike when unequalled speedup is being introduced. (In the Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant in Detroit when the workers from one department returned from changeover they found their ranks reduced by 1/6 with the cars slated to come down the line at the same speed as before.) No auto strike when black workers, a large majority in many strategic plants, face constant racist harassment and discrimination. No auto strike when workers,

[Continued on special page 4]



Interview

(Continued from previous page)

want to ask is how you saw the action at Jefferson in relation to that, and how the press tried to portray it.

Larry Carter: I say it was an individual thing until we pushed the button. And then we pushed the button and it became the workers' thing.

Isaac Shorter: In a whole lot of interviews that we've been having, we've been stressing that it was the workers. You know, if it wasn't for the workers then we wouldn't have been able to stay in the plant that long, plus we wouldn't have gotten our demands.

The workers supported us, I'd say 95 percent, and the type of support that we got was that the workers stayed around the cage. You know, workers even went to sleep around the cage? Ten minutes after we were in the cage workers were bringing us chains, locks, and even wanted to escort us to the bathroom!

Workers stayed there with twenty-five years (seniority), some of them probably retiring in the next couple of months. They were there until we got out.

WP: What kind of preparation did you do prior to sitting down in the cage? What had you done to lay the basis for that?

IS: We had got petitions (for Woolsey's removal), and gone around and explained to the workers - not just the petitions, but the conditions in the plant. Before the petition, we had been going around talking to the workers about Woolsey, things that Woolsey was doing in the plant, about Chrysler itself, about how much profits they had made in the first six months.

WP: Before you actually went in and sat down, what did you think was going to happen? Was it pretty much the way you thought it was going to happen?

LC: Before we seized power in the plant, we had passed the petition around in Department 9130. There are 300 workers there, and out of these 214 workers signed the petition. And each time we passed a petition, some workers refused to sign a petition because they knew a petition wasn't going to get rid of Woolsey - but if we'd do anything else, they would support us.

WP: So you felt you had a commitment from the workers before you took action?

LC: Yeah, right.

IS: When we were passing around the petition, the workers said they were with us 100 percent.

WP: Why did you choose Woolsey as the target? Why did you sort of focus in on him?

LC: Well, the things that Woolsey had done since he came to Department 9110 - removing the workers' seats, laying workers off for being two minutes late, cussing workers out, talking about workers' mommas.

IS: Right. We saw it as more than just being Woolsey, because it was management and Chrysler that put Woolsey in the Department, put Woolsey in there more or less for their purposes of pushing the workers, harassing the workers, trying to get all the production they can at the end of the '73 model. And we felt that he was just doing his job; that is, what management wanted him to do.

When Woolsey was removing the stools from the workers, I found out

about it while I was on sick leave. When I was reinstated I started talking to the workers.

The workers felt that they could do something, but they didn't have the lines to do it on, you know, the program, and I saw that and that's where we moved. And Woolsey was in the Department at the same time, and we just put it on the level of heightening the consciousness of the workers on Woolsey.

WP: Would you think that different things that have been happening in the country in the last months, like the Watergate crisis and inflation, had any effect on the climate and made this sort of action possible?

IS: Definitely. Because in June we know that food prices went up 24 percent. Did the workers' salaries go up 24 percent? No. And it was more or less pressure on the workers and pressure on the workers now, and the workers see this and they want some kind of change.

We even asked workers about Watergate, and that Nixon was part of it, he

knew about it, he was the ring-leader of it. We didn't just stop at Woolsey in terms of educating the workers. Even some of the workers didn't just stop at that. They even come out about how eggs were up, you know, and meat is up. They can't buy beef. The workers were well aware of it.

WP: Where do you think it all goes from here? What's next?

IS: Well, we have to get the workers united; not just at Jefferson but in the city and in the country.

WP: Do you have any plans?

IS: Well, right now we're moving in terms of trying to get a city-wide organization, not just workers in the plants, but people in the community too. More or less a united front.

WP: Do you think there's anything specific that should be done now on the question of the coming contract?

IS: That issue can be taken up, and that issue is Chrysler being the strike target. The reason they picked Chrysler is because in the last three or four weeks there have been wildcats and takeovers, and they were going to try

to break the spirit of the workers by letting them stay out for a while, and the workers saying they don't have any money.

WP: What do you think are the most important issues that the workers should try to demand in this contract?

IS: The main thing I think is voluntary overtime. That's a struggle, you know, because we know the UAW ain't gonna be fighting for no voluntary overtime. They'll fight for 30 and out, but they ain't gonna fight for voluntary overtime. When you talk about fighting for voluntary overtime, you're talking about fighting against their profits.

WP: Do you think there is any possibility of the workers demanding that there be no contract ratified until the fired workers are rehired?

IS: Well, I'm for that 100 percent in terms of trying to get the workers educated on it now. No contract should be ratified until all the workers get rehired, not just the workers at the Mack plant, but all the workers fired in the last two or three years at all the plants in the city. ■

"Red Scare" Used by UAW Reps at Mack

The UAW pork-choppers "justified" their scabbing and thug operation for Chrysler at Mack Avenue Stamping by referring to what they claimed was a tiny minority of "extremists" who were "exploiting" circumstances for their own benefit. In other words, they are raising the good, old-fashioned, time-tested weapon of the bosses known as the Red Scare.

There is nothing new about such charges. They are always raised to discredit those who are fighting against their own oppression. A letter-writer stated correctly in the Saturday, August 18 issue of the *Detroit Free Press*:

"There were the elders of the accepted labor union, wringing their hands and railing against the young radicals . . . just as in 1937. There were the contemptuous dismissals of the tough young men as 'just a tiny minority' and 'a splinter group' . . . just as the tough young men were labelled at Flint.

"What happened, apparently, was that UAW turned fat and top-heavy with well-paid porkchoppers, just as the old AFL did."

Nothing could be truer. Many workers at Mack joined the sit-down; several hundred participated at various points. Others rooted for them at the gates. A small minority was not keeping the workers from going to work against their will. The sit-downs at Mack and Jefferson and the wildcat at Detroit Forge took place because of murder, mayhem and frustration in the plants. Workers went on strike because the union leadership provides them with no protection and because not to fight back when conditions are intolerable is to be a slave.

And conditions are intolerable. The following are simply selected

examples of the regularly occurring "accidents" that took place at the Mack plant in the last few months.

A diesetter was killed, his head cut in half, when he was fixing a die. The bolster plate broke because of too much pressure from the slugs (scrap) cut in the die. If the foreman had made sure that his flogger had cleaned out the dies, it wouldn't have happened. Diesetters had argued for such maintenance for months before the "accident."

A woman lost two fingers due to a defective press on which there were no buttons, no guards and no warning markings of any kind.

A machine repairman got both legs crushed by a load of steel which fell on him. The foreman hadn't bothered to place the steel properly - although he knew perfectly well what could happen with a load of unbalanced steel, and even though workers had pointed out that the load was unbalanced.

Another worker had his hand cut off when a press "repeated" on it. This time, they couldn't even get the press off his hand! The machine had to repeat again in order to release the mangled remains of the brother's hand!

These are the reasons why the wave of strikes took place in the past month at Chrysler, and why there will be many more in the future. The UAW leadership's attempt to scapegoat radicals and avoid the real causes only shows their own bankruptcy. They are incapable of leading the kind of fight that must be waged to correct these conditions.

They are bankrupt and they are liars. They know that it was radicals and revolutionaries, socialists and communists who led the battles that formed this union. The UAW would not exist without the radicals!

Like Walter Reuther, who was in the Socialist Party.

Like Emil Mazey, who was first in the Proletarian Party and then in the Socialist Party.

Like Leonard Woodcock, who was in the Socialist Party.

Like the organizers of the Flint sit-down strike who were in the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

Like countless other leaders whose names have been forgotten, who were socialists and communists.

They fought for the workers until they started scrambling for porkchop positions. Then they drove the other socialists out of the union, using the same red-baiting tactics they are trying to use now.

There is a reason why socialists have

played such an important role. It is no accident. Socialism is the most conscious and consistent expression of working class needs and interests. Socialists are best able to fight for working class interests because they are unwilling to subordinate them to any class, party, government or institution. It took socialists to build the UAW. It will take socialists to rebuild it.

WAM Uses Struggle as Publicity Stunt

"Communists, cynically exploiting the unwary for their own ends" - this is the way America's rulers would like working people to think of socialists, especially revolutionary socialists active as militants in the labor movement. Unfortunately, the conduct of the so-called "revolutionary" Progressive Labor Party during the sit-in at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant gave the capitalists and their press plenty of ammunition to sustain that image.

The situation at the Mack plant has been volatile for some time. There has been a growing anger and resistance over the plant's atrocious working conditions, especially health and safety problems. This sentiment could have been galvanized by a militant rank and file leadership. Instead, Progressive Labor's activities may have set the struggle back for some time. Here is what happened.

The Workers' Action Movement is a group which openly operated as a PL "front." About a week before the Mack sit-in a WAM leader named Bill Gilbreth had been fired for falsifying his application. For Chrysler, this charge was, of course, simply a pretext to get rid of Gilbreth as a militant.

On Tuesday morning Gilbreth came into the plant with the first shift. He went to his department and sat down on the line. Management responded by sending plant protection guards to throw him out. At this point, the other workers in the department came to his defense. Unfortunately, the workers in

We Need To Win: How To Do It

Chrysler's the target. The Chrysler workers at Jefferson Assembly, Detroit Forge and Mack Stamping have forced the UAW top brass to name Chrysler the target and plan for a strike. A month ago Woodcock said that a strike wouldn't be necessary. Now he realizes that Chrysler workers won't stand for the sell-out contract that would have been the best the UAW could have gotten without a strike.

The sit-down action at Jefferson

Gilbreth's department, who put their jobs and futures on the line by defending him and then sitting in, had not been told that WAM was already claiming it had planned this incident out days in advance.

As the sit-in developed it became clear that PL was using the action as a publicity stunt. WAMers inside the plant discouraged other workers from talking to the press. Meanwhile, student WAM members were rapping away, bragging to the press about how "Communist" WAM had instigated the whole action. While this gave WAM a lot of press, it made it easy for Chrysler and the UAW bureaucrats to blame "outsiders" and "radicals" as the cause of all the trouble.

For WAM this action was a one-shot deal. With their one important leader already fired, their idea was to use the publicity from the sit-in to get a name for WAM around the country - especially on college campuses where PL can put itself forward as big-shot "organizers." In fact, PL at Mack organized nothing but an adventurist maneuver which has left many of the plant's best militants badly demoralized.

This demoralization can be overcome, however, if the militants at Mack and in the UAW learn the valuable lessons that can be drawn from this experience. The workers were correct to come to Gilbreth's defense, just as they should defend anyone victimized by the company's oppressive practices.

What is needed, however, is a democratic rank and file organization with a responsible, militant leadership - not a handful of self-proclaimed "leaders" who operate in a manipulative, uncontrolled manner. Such an organization can take on the company and the union's sellout bureaucrats. Such an organization, at Mack and elsewhere, will also have to take on and defeat the politics of PL in the labor movement.

The reason for PL's undemocratic, cynical and self-centered operation is its Stalinist politics. Rank and file militants, along with revolutionary socialists in the unions, must fight for workers' control of production, of the union - and eventually of the whole society. PL, on the other hand, in spite of socialist rhetoric, stands for a system of bureaucratic rule over the working class. That is why PL, and WAM, show such contempt for democracy in the rank and file struggle today. These are the politics which must be isolated and defeated if our movement is to survive.

Assembly to fire a racist foreman and the wildcats at Detroit Forge and Mack Stamping over safety conditions have put the UAW top brass on notice - a decent contract that deals with the problems workers face in the plants or a contract rejection vote. The power of the rank and file has forced the UAW officials to get off their asses and at least make noises like they're going to fight.

The UAW was once a fighting outfit. Our union was built with mass sit-down strike plant seizures. Chevy workers in Flint occupied and held their plant for six weeks, successfully defending themselves not only from the company, but from the police and national guard as well.

That was a time when the UAW was a workers' organization. It didn't have the big treasury, the fancy real estate and the well paid, comfortable, company-minded leadership it has today. Now we see the disgusting spectacle of our union mobilizing 1,000 goons to help Chrysler keep its Mack Avenue Stamping plant open.

With a leadership like this, the 1973 negotiations will be a big defeat for auto workers unless there is a fight.

Inflation is eating up our wages. The productivity drive expresses itself in the shops as speedup, worse conditions, less freedom of movement, tighter discipline, higher accident rates - and on and on. More cars are being made with less workers and the next economic downturn will mean mass lay-offs. And it's all going to keep on getting worse unless we do something to stop it!

We Have the Power to Win

Auto workers have a lot of power. We have the strength to win a real victory in the 1973 contract negotiations - a victory for ourselves and for all working people. But every real victory for working people is a defeat for the greedy capitalists.

Their only concern is to guarantee the biggest profits they can get. Every attempt on our part to better our conditions cuts into their profits. Better wages, better conditions, slowing down the work pace, health and safety procedures, fringes, better protection against unemployment, a shorter work week - they all cost. To defeat the capitalists we have to be ready for a fight.

What really frightens the capitalists is anything that gives working people self confidence and a sense of our own dignity and power. This is why they try to force us to eat anything arbitrary, pig-headed foreman wants to shove down our throats - to break our spirit and keep us in place. This is what lies behind company-inspired racism and sexism; they want to keep the workers divided, fighting each other instead of the company.

Strike All Three!

To win a victory we need a strike of all the Big Three auto plants at one time. The old days when the different

auto companies competed with each other and tried to steal each other's markets during a strike are long gone. Instead, they cooperate with each other, making the "one at a time" strike strategy as outdated as the Model T Ford.

If we strike all three, it will be a political strike. We will have to be prepared to take on the government as well as the corporations. We can win such a strike - but only if we mobilize our own membership to get our side of the story out to the general public. We will have to show people that a victory for auto workers is a victory for all working people. When we win gains, it makes it easier for other workers to do likewise. Only the capitalists are harmed.

If we make it clear that we are prepared for the political fight, if we shut down the Big Three, if we let it be known that we are prepared to stand up to the government if necessary; then we will make real progress toward the kind of contract we need - and without a very long strike.

The Rank and File Must Lead the Fight

We must demand this kind of strike from our leaders. But that won't be enough. The ranks must be prepared to start such a strike by ourselves. If we wait to get the kind of leadership we need from the present top brass, we will wait forever. The Big Three will only be struck if the membership takes the lead with unofficial walkouts throughout the industry when the contract expires.

Starting the strike on September 14 is necessary because the longer we wait, the more time there is to stockpile 1974's. And building a stockpile is just scabbing on ourselves.

If Chrysler workers can shut down Chrysler by themselves, they should call on other UAW members to follow them. If the UAW leadership sees that the ranks are ready to move without them, they can be forced to start leading the fight themselves in order to maintain their positions at the head of the union.

But the rank and file needs its own organization whether or not the present leadership can be forced to move. We hope that the fight over the 1973 contract will help lead to such organization.

It is needed to organize the struggle and carry it forward with or against the union bureaucracy. It is needed to systematically expose the present bureaucracy to the entire membership, paving the way toward replacing today's sell-out officialdom with a new leadership that is prepared, with real conviction and dedication, to organize the fight that must be waged against the companies.

Demands for a Decent Contract

The International Socialists believe that a rank and file movement in the UAW can turn back the corporations' attack and win many important gains which auto workers need. The 1973 contract fight could help to start such a movement. The demands we believe the auto companies should be forced to grant include:

We should demand that the contract state as a principle that every employee has a right to a safe and healthy work environment. To enforce this, we need:

- Union health and safety committees with the right to shut down the plant, with no loss in pay, for safety violations. Regular heat passes during the summer and automatic plant shutdown at 90 degrees.

- The right to refuse any unsafe job. Fire any foremen who violate safety regulations.

- Safety rules to be set by union committees in every plant and department, based on local conditions.

- End racist and sexist discrimination in the plant.

- Fire racist and sexist foremen.

- Preferential hiring into the skilled trades for blacks and women. All hiring into the skilled trades to come from production.

- End the 90-day probationary period.

- Control of working conditions must be in the hands of the workers.

- A steward for every foreman.

- Workers' control of line speed

- the right of the stewards to stop

the line at company expense for unauthorized speedup.

- Unrestricted right to strike over local issues.

- Rehire all workers disciplined for fighting for decent working conditions.

- Auto production is going to hit some new records this year - record numbers of cars; record overtime; record speedup; record injuries; and, of course, record profits. Yet in the middle of this big economic boom, we've got about 8 percent unemployment in Michigan and 4.8 percent nationally - and these official figures always underplay the actual unemployment. Think that's bad? There's a recession coming next year and it's going to get a lot worse!

- Break the wage guidelines - an immediate 15 percent increase to make up for losses suffered in the past.

- 100 percent cost-of-living protection

- Full SUB benefits for the duration of layoff, regardless of seniority.

- Ban compulsory overtime - the first step toward a ban on overtime with no loss in weekly pay.

- Wage increases with no price increases

- Freeze profits - open the company books to inspect profit figures.

- Real progress toward a shorter work week, not tied to any honey-coated "absentee control" procedure - the first step toward a 30 hour week for 40 hour's pay.

What We Stand For

American society is in decay. In the factories workers are treated like slaves. Every day the auto companies think of new ways to speed us up. They care nothing about our health and safety. Working conditions deteriorate further year after year and we are disciplined for even the most minor alleged violation of shop rules.

For Blacks conditions are even worse. Blacks get the dirtiest, hottest and hardest jobs. Blacks are the first target for victimization and harassment. And you know if you're Black that this is probably the best job you'll ever get.

We live in continual fear in our communities. Ripoffs are a daily occurrence. We see crimes of violence all around us, the disgusting spectacle of one human being maiming or killing another. The only answer the capitalist state provides is "bigger and better" police units, like Detroit's professional killer squad, STRESS, which makes a specialty of murdering unarmed Blacks.

Social services, such as hospitals, public transportation and schools suffer cutback after cutback. Welfare recipients, who have never received enough to live on, are now told they must somehow live on even less, while prices are skyrocketing. Working-class children, and especially non-white children, are sent off to the worst schools. We are asked to pay more and more taxes for the privilege of sending our children to these degrading, racist institutions.

Women, like Blacks, face constant discrimination and super-exploitation in society. They are locked into low-paying, boring jobs. Most women can't make nearly

enough money to have a decent living standard, especially if they have children to support.

This is the reality of the life of plenty promised by capitalism. It is a life of plenty only for a privileged few who own and control the factories, mines and offices. The rest of us pay dearly for their control of what we have produced. The blood-sucking profiteering of American capitalism is literally killing us.

We, the International Socialists, want to end all this. We believe that it is possible to create a society which benefits the masses of people rather than the privileged few. In such a society the working class would be the ruling class. Society would be based on production for human need, not profit. All decisions — political, economic and social — would be made by the masses based on the needs of the masses.

Today there are no such countries. In countries like Russia and

China that call themselves socialist, decisions are still made to promote the power and privilege of a few. The working class does not rule. Instead, the Communist Party controls the state, and the state owns all productive facilities and makes all decisions. Workers in these countries do not even enjoy the few democratic rights that we do here, such as the right to organize a trade union independent of the state.

The working class can prepare itself to rule society only through building its own organizations, controlled completely by workers themselves, and by carrying on a constant struggle against the forces of capitalism — the state, the corporations and the trade union bureaucracy. No elite, no self-proclaimed ruling party, can accomplish these tasks for the working class.

Today we are witnessing the beginning of a working class movement. It is still a small, weak

movement, but it will gain strength as ever greater numbers of workers go into struggle against the decay and crisis we see growing up around us. The International Socialists is already a part of that movement. In the UAW our members are taking their place at the side of other militants in building fighting organizations of the rank and file that can and will take on the auto companies, the state and the UAW international bureaucracy to win the demands that auto workers so desperately need.

As we begin this fight, the employers and the government will fight back. We must go further. Generations of workers have built everything we see around us, yet all the wealth and power remain in the hands of a few. We work all our lives and still we die in debt. The working class has built a whole world over which it has no control. We want to take it all back. Join us. ■



"Auto Revolt '73" is a special pamphlet supplement to *Workers' Power*, the biweekly newspaper of the International Socialists. Bundles of ten copies or more are available at 1¢ a copy.

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War

(Continued from special page 1)

are being driven by forced overtime to work fifty and sixty hours a week, knowing that soon a recession will come and they will be without a job.

No auto strike means no solution to these problems and auto workers know it. It was the last straw. So, they took things into their own hands.

The first action came at the Jefferson plant where two black auto workers chained themselves into the power station and, joined by 1,000 fellow workers, demanded the firing of a racist foreman and no penalties for themselves. Chrysler capitulated. Since everybody loves a winner, UAW vice-president in charge of the Chrysler division, Doug Fraser, winked at the act and gave it an "A" for ingenuity.

He quickly regretted it as workers at Chrysler's Detroit Forge plant got the idea and went on wildcat strike

over rotten safety conditions. The day following the end of the Forge strike the Mack plant went out.

The UAW leaders now had to act. Their cozy relationship with management was being threatened. If workers were simply allowed to take things into their own hands a wave of strikes would sweep across the auto industry threatening management control of the plants and bureaucratic control of the union.

So they took a hard line. Rooted on by the kept press, they red-baited, outside-agitator-baited and painted the workers as anti-union. Tragically, all of this was made extremely easy for them by the rotten leadership of the Progressive Labor Party (see article in *Workers' Power* No. 81).

Fraser sided with Chrysler against the auto workers and advised them not to give in. "We don't place a premium on lawlessness," he said. "Lawlessness" means lack of obedience to capitalist laws: for instance, refusing to obey a law that puts property rights above human life and limb. Doug Fraser doesn't like that. Regretting his earlier tacit approval of the Jefferson workers' victory, he said it had been a mistake for Chrysler to give in then.

To back up his words he brought down his thousand-strong thug squad. In a grotesque display the union leadership was joined by the police. Thirty-five years ago the two sides had fought

each other in armed battle. Now, the police inspector told UAW officials: "I'm glad we're on the same side." He meant, of course, Chrysler's side.

The UAW goons remained not just for one shift, but for two whole days to intimidate workers and to prevent leaflets from being passed out. Fraser and other UAW bureaucrats have announced that any other such actions taken by auto workers will be dealt with similarly. The UAW leadership and GM issued a joint announcement warning GM workers not to try to follow the example of Chrysler workers. Their intention is to make the union into a professional scab operation.

The "democratic" UAW has now announced that it will beat up oppositionists. No doubt when the opposition gets stronger it will resort to guns as other thug union leaderships do.

The Mack strike was a defeat. But it and the other two Chrysler strikes have brought the long quiet of American workers to an end. Glimpses — as yet only glimpses — of the past heroic struggles of American workers and of those to come were seen during these strikes. The defeat will probably temporarily end similar actions. But there is no ending the struggle that they have begun until the capitalist oppression that created them is ended.

Some problems for the bureaucrats are already surfacing. There is a great

deal of anger among many union members in the various plants. They dislike their union dues going to break a strike. And, even those who disapproved of the action at Mack understand what the union leadership is saying to them: "Don't move or we will crush you too!"

Furthermore, Fraser and his gang lined up a group of strikebreakers that was more than 90 percent white to break a strike at a plant that is 70 percent black. The racist meaning of that action is clear. It cannot help but draw the black community into solid support of the workers.

The struggle will go on and it is imperative that we learn the lessons for the next round.

The UAW leaders were afraid of us. That is why they flexed so much muscle. This time they out-organized us, but we can beat them. It requires organizing ourselves. Thousands of workers joining in solidarity with us could blow their scab operation away. We can and must build such a movement.

We must fight to tear the union away from the vultures who now control it. The union cannot be ignored as some militants think. It will not ignore us. Nor can we afford to let them present us as anti-union. We are not anti-union. The union is us. But it can never be made into a fighting instrument and will be used against us until we take it away. ■

Black-White Unity in New Orleans Longshore

Black and white longshoremen in New Orleans recently united in a week-long wildcat strike, challenging the power of both employers and their own union leadership. For a week the strike was 100% effective, immobilizing the huge port. Morale was high and black and white solidarity was at a peak.

The issue involved was the royalty fund paid by the steamship companies to the International Longshoremen's Association to compensate for jobs lost to containerization. This fund, established in the 1968 contracts, contains undisclosed millions of dollars, but the membership had not seen a penny of it.

Members of ILA Local 1419 (black) and Local 1418 (white) united around the demand that an accounting be made of the royalty funds and

that the funds be paid to the workers.

The only opposition from the workers' ranks came from their leadership: Clarence Henry, president of Local 1419 since 1954, Al Chittenden, head of Local 1418 since 1951, and Thomas Gleason, International president who flew in from New York in a futile attempt to stop the strike.

At one street meeting, rank and filers refused to send a "committee" to meet with Gleason. "No more of this behind-the-closed-doors-bullshit!" they shouted. "Divide and conquer, that's what he wants to do!"

It was not only the union leadership that wished to divide and conquer. The employers made their move by bringing an "unfair labor practice" charge against five black strike leaders, a clear attempt to split off the white longshoremen, as well as an opportunity to bring the government into the dispute on the side of the bosses.

To an extent, the employers' tactic worked. Within several days many dockers, black and white, were returning to work, and most whites had dropped out as leaders and activists in the strike.

A few days later, the rest of the strikers went back to work with a "partial victory," but also with a determination to continue the struggle. The "compromise" allocated \$892,000 from the royalty fund to the longshoremen for 1972, with the promise that they will receive 100% of all royalty funds in the future.

The bulk of the fund, however, is still unaccounted for. Calculations by strike leaders based on estimates of the gross tonnage passing through the port indicate that there must have been millions of dollars paid into the fund. Only Chittenden and Henry and the steamship companies know for sure how much and where it went.

Underlying the protest over the royalty funds are, of course, many

other issues: the corruption and lack of democracy from top to bottom in the ILA, the union's racism which has kept black and white workers even in separate locals, speedup and cuts in the size of work crews, and the problem of automation and containerization.

Rank and filers will have to face all these issues squarely. They are taking the first steps already. Members of Local 1419 have moved to recall and replace their president, Clarence Henry, who would otherwise "serve" until 1975. Voting on constitutional amendments to permit this will occur in late August.

Local 1418 members are mobilizing for their regularly scheduled elections which will be held in December.

Rank and filers also plan a fight to merge the two racially-separate locals. ■

[Adapted from an article in the Louisiana Worker by Dave Wells]



Panthers Laud Racist Watergate Hero

Bob White

In the Black Panther newspaper of August 4, we read: "North Carolina Senator Sam J. Ervin has emerged as this country's most outspoken, determined and principled defender of the US Constitution; President Nixon as its most dangerous threat. If constitutional democracy is to exist in America, every citizen of this land has a duty to actively and resolutely support Senator Ervin in his historic confrontation."

Featured on the cover of the same Panther paper is a large photograph of Ervin, glowering beneath the smaller picture of Huey Newton, with the bold motto: *Sam Ervin, Defender of the Constitution.*

The Panther who sold me the issue maintained that the article was completely serious even after a long conversation with me.

Maybe he was putting me on.

In either case, the Watergate article in the Black Panther newspaper must be regarded as a brilliant piece of political irony.

One of the ingredients of this irony is the infatuation of American liberals with "Uncle Sam" Ervin. Slaughtered at the polls in November and impotent themselves, the liberals have been quite willing to forget Ervin's unsavory past.

Ervin's racist history sharpens the cutting edge of the irony. Sam Ervin, the simple country lawyer, has been a US senator for many years and a member in good standing of the bloc of Southern racists that prevented the passing of civil rights legislation for decades.

His reputation as an authority on constitutional law rests largely on his brilliant arguments in favor of the constitutional right to deny decent housing, jobs, and the vote to black people.

Ervin was a co-author of the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act (full title Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy-Ervin).

He wrote the model Washington, D.C. "no knock" law that allows the police to knock your door down without warning. Ervin guaranteed this to be "constitutional."

This law was designed to give a veneer of legality to actions such as the police murder of Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton (a cover-up Ervin never investigated).

What about the constitutional democracy that is the "foundation upon which this country was built" (to quote another gem from the Panther article)?

This constitutional foundation openly recognized slavery in America. It was only after 80 years of constitutional democracy that a bloody revolutionary civil war ended black slavery.

But this paper freedom meant little since the constitutional officers -- executive, legislative, and judicial -- terrorized black people and denied them their constitutionally "guaranteed" rights.

Ervin's important role in the oppression of black people and the sham of constitutional democracy make up the grotesque irony we recognize in the Panther article which echoes the liberals' glorification of Ervin.

These empty liberal phrases appear in a newspaper full of reports of the struggles of oppressed people against the racist institutions of the American "constitutional democracy" the article pretends to laud.

Other highlights of the article are the

reference to the "depths of the tragedy of Watergate for this country" since it might deter young people from entering government service and the final rhetorical question: "In America's representative form of government, shouldn't all power reside in the Congress?"

This parliamentary distortion of the Panthers' revolutionary slogan "Power to the People" was a brilliant way to end the article!

The most crushing irony, however -- if the recent Panther campaign slogan "Elect Two Democrats" is any indication -- is that this article was meant to be taken seriously. ■



New Mystics: The Great Guru Rip-Off

Leslye Russell



Who is Guru Maharaj Ji?

"Splat" went the pie into the face of the Maharaj-Ji, 15 year-old superstar of the mysticism revival. "This," he sighed, "was probably nothing like the nails through Jesus Christ." The Maharaj had just received an official welcome from the Detroit Common Council for bringing his message of "peace and love" to the youth of Detroit. Two weeks later, the young radical who threw the pie was in serious condition in Detroit's General Hospital, recovering from brain surgery after being viciously beaten in his apartment by two of the guru's followers.

From the Ganges to American suburbs, 59 varieties of "eastern" religious cults, "western" Jesus freaks and "psychology" movements are sprouting like mushrooms in a manure pile.

The million-dollar religious and psychology fads are hot items for the press. The Maharaj-Ji made the cover of *Ramparts* and he probably would have made *Time* or *Newsweek*, but he's been upstaged by Watergate.

Notably absent from the press is the New Left. "Mystic chic" is the new style of the campuses and the streets. Who

would have thought it was such a short step from the streets to the ashram?

The defection of New Left stars Rennie Davis, Jerry Rubin, Sally Kempton and hundreds of lesser lights seemed almost to flow from their political activity. One day Rennie Davis was flying to Paris to meet with Madame Binh, the next day he's in India, receiving knowledge from the Maharaj-Ji.

The New Left considered itself nothing but "revolutionary." But it was consistently unwilling to take up "the first task of revolutionaries," to look reality in the face. Quick to attack the old left for dogmatism and irrelevance, it rarely looked for the real bases of power in the world and denounced the American working class as "part of the establishment."

The students who formed the New Left were mostly from elite campuses and upper middle class homes. Their outrage at the "establishment" seemed to come from a sense that they had been cheated; that it was all a fraud. They were the children of American prosperity and power and saw the "American dream" for what it was.

They wanted to change it all and make a revolution. Some of them even thought they were the revolution. After a while, it became clear that there had been no revolution -- they hadn't smashed racism,

smashed imperialism, won the "war on poverty" or even made education relevant.

Many learned the wrong lesson and decided that politics doesn't work. So, if you can't change the world, change yourself.

It turns out that you can change yourself so much you don't need to change the world. Even under capitalism the Maharaj can teach you to "hear the music, taste the nectar, see the light and know the word." What do we need socialism for?

There is an interesting story about a police chief in Seoul, Korea. He had achieved satori (the Zen mystical awakening) and was able to torture a prisoner without a single tremor of emotion. There are movies of a group of Japanese officers who during the Japanese invasion of Nanking proved they had achieved "muga," a highly desirable state in Zen, by throwing babies into the air and catching them on bayonets.

Distrust of reason and belief in the rightness of instinct and that the mystical experience is the ultimate goal, are the ideas which bind mystical cults together. Sometimes, as in the case of Zen in Japan, mysticism is the actual tool of militarism and oppression. The same glorification of "instinct" is part of the ideology of fascism -- East or West.

Sometimes, as in the case of the Maharaj-Ji, it is just a huge rip-off. When critics have pointed out that the Maharaj drives around in a white Rolls Royce and that his family lives in splendor while all around them are the starving masses of India, the answer is "So what?"

He is the Perfect Master, and who are we to question? If we were really aware, we'd know that there is a higher meaning to all of it.

Alan Watts, Zen's Norman Vincent Peale, has a fancier version of the answer. "Willingness to be insecure is the ultimate

security. Willingness to suffer is the essence of divine joy. Willingness to be a slave is to be truly free."

Religions become the natural allies of those who live in luxury at the expense of others because they teach that the answer to suffering is for the individual to accept it instead of fight against the conditions which cause it.

Most religious movements don't start that way. Often they begin as the expression of the pain and the hope of oppressed people. Zen Buddhism and Christianity had a progressive content when they began.

Buddhist doctrines of transmigration and retribution had been directed against the landowners and in favor of the common people. Jesus taught that it was harder for a rich man to get to heaven than for a camel to get through the eye of a needle. You'd think with ideas like that religions would have a hard time recruiting rich people.

The primitive communism of early Christianity hung on for a couple of centuries. Eventually, though, the clergy grew in power inside the church. The church became the wealthiest and largest landowner in Europe.

The pope and nobles had more in common with each other than with the people. They didn't worry so much about the eye of a needle any more. Their earthly treasure was as near to heaven as they wanted to get.

Again and again, priests, preachers, swamis and gurus tell us that the mystical trip is the way out of misery. Some people do get comfort and warmth from religion. But when the fads are over, when the priests have built yet another cathedral, when the gurus are tucked away comfortably in their monasteries and the Maharaj-Ji has stashed his loot in Swiss banks, the job of making this earth a better place to live will still be before us. ■

Hexagram 42 GAIN





The Black Revolution in Music:

A Tribute To Charlie Parker

Roger Protz

August 29 will mark the fifty-third anniversary of the birth of Charles "Yardbird" Parker, the greatest American musician of his time and the most important creator of Black music to emerge since the origins of jazz early in this century.

Parker, who died nearly 20 years ago, would have been only a few years older than 50 this year. The accompanying article, which we are printing here as a memorial, first appeared in *Socialist Worker*, the paper of the British International Socialists.

Charlie Parker's music, which inspired an entire generation of jazz musicians of all instruments, is one of the bedrock sources for contemporary black music. His re-interpretation of basic elements of black music, especially the blues, in a modern context helped to make possible both modern jazz (as represented by John Coltrane and other musicians) and many aspects of popular "soul" music as well.

Of the records featuring the music of Charlie Parker, a new series of releases by the ESP label promises to be among the best. So far, two of a projected series of fourteen albums have been issued.

These records consist of previously unissued broadcast performances by Parker from the late 1940's and early 1950's. Volume 2, featuring Miles Davis and Kenny Dorham, trumpet; Tadd Dameron and Al Haig, piano; curly Russell and Tommy Potter, bass; and Max Roach and Joe Harris, drums, is a particular highlight.

For those interested in becoming familiar with this giant, or for committed Parker fans, the ESP series of Charlie Parker recordings is both welcome and long overdue -- especially given the limited (until the last few years) availability of Bird's recordings.

Charlie Parker, black jazz musician, is one of the great tragic geniuses of our time. He wrested his people's music from the clutches of white commercialism, transforming it into a vibrant expression of black anger and determination.

But the pressures and frustrations of being a black revolutionary musician in a racist society brought a terrible turbulence to his personal life that was to kill him when his views, musical and political, were still those of a small minority.

Kansas City Oasis

Charlie Parker was born of poor working-class parents in Kansas City in 1920. Kansas City was a peculiar oasis, both economically and musically. It managed to avoid the worst excesses of the Depression and sustained a string of clubs devoted to jazz.

And it was a distinctive jazz, almost unknown to the outside world until the great Count Basie band burst its boundaries. Its contributions to jazz were as rich an inventive as the earlier centers of New Orleans and Chicago.

And it kept *real* jazz alive when it seemed threatened with extinction by the commercial world's attempts to pretty it, parody it and gut it. Kansas City, in short, saved jazz from Paul Whiteman and Benny Goodman.

From an early age Charlie was determined to be a musician. To the 13-year old clutching his first saxophone, second-hand, battered, some of the keys held together with rubber bands, jazz music offered an exciting route out of the ghetto of poverty.

He was impatient, cutting music classes, preferring to sit backstage at all-night jam sessions, studying at first-hand the style of giants like Lester Young.

His first public appearance was a disaster. He had no knowledge of music theory and his inability to translate the surging rhythms in his head through his saxophone caused him to be hooted and jeered from the stage.

He set out to teach himself music. Music had 12 keys: right, he would learn them all. He did not know that most jazz musicians got by successfully by just playing in four basic keys. He learned all the scales, committing to memory a vast storehouse of harmonic ideas that was to help revolutionize jazz within a few years.

Charlie got his union card and jobs with a few unimportant bands in Kan-

sas City. Although he was still fumbling his way towards a coherent style, other jazz musicians who heard him were struck by his undoubted talent and daring search for new harmonies.

But Yardbird, as he was come to be known, learned other things besides harmony. Drugs were part of the jazz scene, and it was inevitable that the raw and impressionable teenager should ape his elders, perhaps hoping that marijuana, then heroin and cocaine would stoke the fires of his talent.

Musical Revolution

It was in 1941, after a stay with the Jay McShann band, whose recording had brought Bird to the attention of a wider audience, that he arrived in New York, soon to begin the musical revolution known as Bebop.

Home of the revolution was a shabby club called Minton's Playhouse. To it came a small dedicated group of black musicians -- Kenny Clarke, Charlie Christian, Thelonius Monk, Dizzy Gillespie -- bristling with new ideas. Allied to their musical innovations was a determination to use jazz as an expression of their contempt for racist society.

With Bebop, jazz rediscovered its roots. Once again it was a black music, but instead of speaking of the humiliation of the southern slaves, it spoke of the frustration and bitterness of the northern ghetto.

It was a hard, restless music, casting aside all the restrictions placed upon early jazz. Bird, with his enormous fund of harmonic ideas, quickly became the leader of the Bebop revolution, which got its name from the way the new school of musicians would stress the second and last beats in the bar in sharp distinction to the old school's *One-two-three-four*.

Sound of Liberation

The new jazz caused uproar. For the younger generation, especially young blacks, it was *their* music, a voice crying out against the oppression and brutality of American society.

But to older America, to white America, to conservative jazz critics, Bebop was a nightmare. It dared to be different. It challenged the status quo.

Abuse rolled out from the respect-

ed jazz journals like *Downbeat*. A tough, abrasive man like Dizzy Gillespie could shrug aside the ignorant rubbish with a cynical gag. It had a more profound effect on Bird. Bebop, he once said, was "searching for the pretty notes," yet his efforts were reviled. He was told that his music was ugly, shapeless, anarchic, tuneless.

The assault on Bird's musical integrity fused with his growing awareness of the reality of American society. He, and his people, knew long before Watergate that America was profoundly undemocratic and brutal, with the white man's boot firmly on the black man's neck.

The tragedy of Charlie Parker was that his burning desire for change, musically, economically and politically, was ahead of its time. There was no mass movement to use his enormous talents and energies.

So he turned in on himself, seeking comfort in drugs and drink, wrecking his health. While other Bebop stars like Gillespie went on to fame and wealth, Bird drifted into obscurity, often turning up for gigs looking like a tramp, his last dollars spent on heroin. But to those prepared to listen, he would talk.

Pianist Hampton Hawes said of him: "Bird was like a god. . . He talked to us about things I wasn't to read until later years in books by Malcolm X and Cleaver. I heard all that in his music. . ."

"Bird felt deeply about the black-white split. He was the first jazz musician I met who understood what was happening to his people. He couldn't come up with an answer. So he stayed high. His only outlet was his music."

On other occasions, all the great glory is still there. Dried out and healthy after a long stay in a sanatorium, Bird would once again play music that nobody else could match.

But Bird couldn't shake off his dependence on drugs and alcohol. Gradually his sickness returned and with it the calamitous public scenes, quarrelling with musical partners, storming from the stage, throwing his saxophone from a hotel window. He knew he was ill and on New Year's Day 1955, he told a friend he had not expected to see the year in. He quoted a stanza from "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam":

*Come, fill the cup, and in the fire of Spring,
Your Winter garment of Repentance fling;
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter -- and the Bird is on the Wing.*

He died three months later. The doctor put his age down as late fifties or early sixties. He was 35.

Bird Lives

As soon as news of his death leaked out, the slogan "Bird Lives" began to appear, chalked on the walls of black areas of New York. His music and his message lived on, buried for a while by the tepid reformism that came after the first wave of the Bebop revolution.

But Bird was to fly again, through the music of John Coltrane and the "New Wave" musicians of the 1960's, allied this time to a conscious movement fighting against a corrupt and tottering racist society, a society that had snubbed and derided Bird and inwardly consumed him, but not his cause.

One sympathetic critic said on his death:

"If Bird hadn't been black, he wouldn't have suffered the way he did. But if he hadn't been black, he wouldn't have played the way he did."

BRITAIN: I.S. SCORES BIG GAINS

Three hundred and fifteen people joined the International Socialists of Great Britain during the month of July, making a total of 1,260 new members since the national ISGB conference in March.

The August meeting of the IS national committee heard that although most industrial workers in Britain take their vacations in July, the

membership of the IS continued its steady rise.

More than half the new members are manual workers. Five new industrial branches were formed in July -- in North London buses, among hospital workers in Oxford, Leeds, and Merseyside and engineering workers in Manchester.

In the last three months, the IS

has established 30 factory branches. Tony Cliff, of the national executive committee, delivered the report on the unexpected growth and development of these branches. The building of a socialist working class party, he said, depended on strong organization of party branches at the point of production, in the factory or other work places.

If the factory branches are to prosper, Cliff said, they must attempt to win the leadership of the union organization in the factory. Bulletins written inside the factory by workers have proved crucial rallying points for this purpose.

The factory branches must meet regularly and appoint secretaries responsible for convening meetings. They must also look outside to the area around them, and link up with tenants' organizations, housewives' action groups, and so on. The IS branch at Chrysler (Coventry) has already carried out such "outside" activities, with good success.

Trade union councils are a crucial

area for organization and propaganda among other workers in the area, and in many areas these trade councils will have to be revived and strengthened by socialist agitation.

The IS Committee Against Racism reported a considerable growth in black membership of the IS in several cities. The meeting decided to call a conference of black IS members and sympathizers on September 30. IS branches will ensure that their black members attend this conference, which will discuss all aspects of work in the black community.

In Britain, much of the struggle against racism focuses around the defense of rights of immigration for black and colored peoples, which are under severe attack.

At the same time, the fight against special oppression of black and colored workers in British industry itself -- including assignment of black workers to the worst jobs and other aspects of racism which are also familiar in the United States -- is another of the major issues around which revolutionaries must organize. ■

CAMBODIA

[Continued from page 1]

of the Phnom Penh government completely have openly suggested that American liberals (in the person of Senator Mike Mansfield) take steps to interfere in Cambodian politics by removing Lon Nol and bringing back Prince Sihanouk.

Still more important, the US government itself is exercising powerful pressure on the two main Communist powers, Russia and China, to force the Vietnamese and Cambodian Communist forces to accept a compromise deal that would leave the Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes intact.

Such a deal would (if carried out) allow the Thieu regime to regain control of "disputed areas" in South Vietnam and slaughter the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government there.

Evidently banking on this pressure, the right-wing magazine, *US News and World Report*, reports that North Vietnam has already instructed PRG forces in the South not to engage in military action during the coming months.

According to this report, North Vietnam will be forced to devote its resources to restoring the regions and industries destroyed by US terror bombing, in the absence of adequate support from her Russian and Chinese "allies."

So long as the forces of US imperialism retain their foothold in Southeast Asia and the political control of South Vietnam, however, there will be no real economic re-construction and no end of the armed conflict.

"Peace" With Horror

Behind all these maneuvers is the fact that the war in Vietnam and Southeast Asia is far from over or even from "winding down." So long as the existing regimes, cardboard facades for the rule of US imperialism in Southeast Asia, continue to exist, the political issues of the war remain unresolved.

With the power of the US in Vietnam stalemated -- by the Communist national liberation forces, then by the accumulated effects of political scandal and the threat of economic chaos in the US -- the concluding stage of the war is only now being prepared.

Whether this final phase will open up quickly, or whether it will be delayed

by six months or even longer, is a secondary question.

The US "withdrew" from Southeast Asia, under Nixon, just as it entered under Kennedy -- its hands dripping from every pore with blood, lies, hypocrisy and deceit. The last few weeks of the war over Cambodia reproduced and brought back to light every murderous feature of American policy in Southeast Asia under Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon alike.

On two occasions, while US planes were carrying out saturation bombing raids -- not for any specific military purpose so much as to cause the greatest possible destruction in Communist-held territory -- "accidents" occurred in which villages were wiped out, with hundreds of civilian casualties.

The US, already accustomed to handling such events efficiently after dozens of similar incidents in Vietnam, responded with expressions of regret and promises of payments amounting to \$400 for each of the victims.

President Nixon also played out his role to its fitting conclusion. Denouncing the Congressional resolutions which finally closed his options by prohibiting the transfer of general funds to the bombing of Southeast Asia, he loudly denounced this action in a final pitch to his pro-war supporters.

In fact, part of Nixon's "counteroffensive" against the Watergate scandal which has paralyzed his administration is to denounce Congressional action on Cambodia and to rally his supporters by pledging new military action against North Vietnam at any time in the future.

In the same few weeks, it was also revealed that secret bombing of Cambodia on a massive scale took place during 1969 and afterward. These bombings, which were not publically authorized and were clearly illegal, were not only approved but defended by Nixon on grounds of "Presidential privilege."

Nixon's defense of these atrocities is also directly linked to his defense of his role in the Watergate episode and related activities: that the President has powers which cannot be controlled, restricted or even defined by any political or Constitutional power.

Indeed the methods used by Nixon's "Plumbers" in the Watergate and Ells-

berg break-ins represent only the application to domestic politics of the methods and morals used in US foreign policy.

Finally, the Congress itself ended its role in the Vietnam war in appropriate style. For years, the Congress, which gave Lyndon Johnson a blank check after the cooked-up Tonkin Gulf incident in 1964, refused to take any action which would end the war.

Pro-imperialist to the core, the Congressional liberals became "anti-war" only when the costs of the war threatened to upset the stability and "harmony" of US economics and politics.

Both in 1968 and 1972, the liberals took the anti-war movement "off the streets" and thereby deliberately destroyed the only possibility of effective mass action against the war.

The leadership of the anti-war movement itself welcomed the liberals on the grounds of "non-exclusionism" and in the name of a "single-issue movement" -- thus turning the movement, at every crucial turn, into an appendage of the imperialist liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Finally, at the end of July, the Congress gave Nixon an extra two weeks to carry out a militarily hopeless terror bombing campaign in Cambodia by accepting Nixon's veto of an appropriations bill which had been amended to call for immediate cessation of all bombing.

It was during this period that the final wave of saturation bombing took place and that the "accidental" destruction of civilian villages took place.

Even with all this, however, the final balance sheet of US intervention in Southeast Asia is a failure. The defeat of the pro-US dictatorships of Cambodia and Southeast Asia remains imminent.

The United States, despite its use of overwhelming military power, has been totally defeated and discredited in its Southeast Asia policy. Even now, few commentators expect these regimes to survive another full-scale military offensive which could occur at any time in the next year.

If the US government has emerged from this war with little to show, however, the American people have even less. The blood of 40,000 Americans killed in the Vietnam slaughter, as well as the tens of thousands crippled and maimed, has been wasted.

The GI's who returned from Vietnam in one piece returned to find an economy too unstable to provide them jobs or any prospects for finding any.

While pro-war career officer POW's returned to the US with fanfare and celebration, the enlisted POW's faced the threat of persecution and court-martial if they dared to express anti-war views. In one case, an ex-POW threatened with court-martial for "collaboration" was driven to suicide.

The American working class has paid a bitter price for the failure of the labor movement to oppose the war and to organize mass labor action for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Such action would have brought the war to an end years earlier, saving the lives of tens of thousands of Americans and hundreds of thousands of millions of Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians. The lessons of this war must not be allowed to be forgotten.

America's imperial foreign policy -- whether in Vietnam, Chile, the Middle East, or elsewhere -- is not in the interests of American working people. It brings only the threat of new wars and slaughters, an unbearable tax burden for arms production which workers pay for, and increasing repression and attacks on democratic rights at home.

Part of the job of the labor movement in this country -- a movement that must be rebuilt by rank and file action -- is to dismantle the arms establishment and the imperialist foreign policy it serves.

Today, militants in the unions are fighting to defend the unions and their members against a corporate and government attack on the workers of this country. Rank and file opposition groups are forming in the unions to fight back against this attack and the official union leaders who cooperate with it.

This rank and file movement also has the power to bring to an end the system that allows the US government to trample on other nations.

Rank and file caucuses today should begin to raise demands for the immediate withdrawal of American troops, weapons and military bases from all foreign countries.

We should also fight for the end of "foreign aid" which is used to strengthen reactionary pro-US regimes, and for the dismantling of the arms economy and multi-billion dollar arms budgets.

The wealth poured into arms production should be used instead to provide the goods, services and jobs which American workers need.

Until such a program is carried out, American workers will face the prospect of new wars, fought at our expense and with our lives. ■

international report



German, Polish Stalinists aid Franco's dictatorship in Spain

[The following article appeared in the Tribune, the paper of the Communist Party of Australia, denouncing the tribute paid by the Stalinist regime of East Germany to the fascist Franco dictatorship in Spain.

The main support for Franco, who has ruled Spain for 35 years, comes from the United States. Indeed, fascist Spain is not only a great attraction for American tourists -- along with such other dictatorships as Greece, South Vietnam, Brazil, and Indonesia, Franco Spain is one of the pillars of the "Free World."

The diplomatic recognition of Franco by East Germany now means that he has the backing of Communist as well as capitalist imperialism. Either of these imperialist systems, which claim to represent "democracy" and "freedom" against each other, readily support totalitarianism whenever it suits their purposes.

Quite naturally, this East German action shocked the Spanish Communist Party, which is outlawed and suppressed by Franco.

In protesting the vicious "rewriting of history" by the East German Communists to cover Franco's crimes, the Spanish CP representative failed to point out the equally vicious historical falsifications committed by his own party.

Franco came to power in 1939 only after the Spanish CP, under Stalin's orders, joined with a "democratic" bourgeois regime to crush a revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement. Thousands of revolutionary fighters against Franco were slaughtered by the treachery of the CP.

The action of the East German Communist Party only shows that the character of Stalinist politics have not changed. As always, these are the politics of opportunism, cynicism and treachery -- aimed at advancing the power of a Stalinist bureaucracy, against the needs of socialism and the working class.]

Neues Deutschland (Jan. 13, 1973), central organ of the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party of East Germany includes a portrait of the notorious Spanish fascist dictator Franco, published on the occasion of the news that the German Democratic Republic and Franco Spain had just established diplomatic relations.

The caption merely summarizes Franco's rise as an army officer to the Spanish general staff, then says: "In March, 1939 he was promoted officially to Chief of State. After this it was decreed that General Franco should hold this position for life."

[Franco in fact came to power by crushing the Spanish working class, along with the Communist Party and its bourgeois allies.]

Participants in the Sydney Conference of the Communist Party of Australia were shocked when this was revealed to them in the speech of visit-

ing Spanish Communist Party representative Manuel Azcarate.

Outlining the difficult but successful current underground struggles of the Spanish workers and students, led by the SCP, towards overthrow of the fascist Franco regime, he noted that today west European social-democracy and even the Spanish Catholic Church were opposing the Franco regime.

"At such a time, the attitude of some socialist countries is seen by our party as scandalous," he said. "We have officially protested against GDR recognition of Franco; also the action of the Polish government [in inviting a Spanish 'parliamentary' delegation to Poland. These acts are being used by the fascist regime to strengthen its prestige."

Azcarate said that Neues Deutschland presentation was "incredible... they merely say he became chief of state, in the very year, 1939, that Franco's thugs assassinated thousands of our comrades."

"Our protests defend not only the Spanish people but also the honor of the international communist movement. Peaceful coexistence means avoiding nuclear war, not defense of the status quo."

CPA National Secretary Laurie Aarons, supporting Cde Azcarate's remarks, said of the Neues Deutschland material: "There can be no possible justification of this re-writing of history in such a way as to ignore the iniquitous crimes of the Franco regime."

The conference decided that the Sydney District Committee should send an appropriate protest to the GDR and Polish parties and at the same time to ask their diplomatic representatives in Sydney for an explanation.

Argentina: Peron maneuvers to hide allegiance to bourgeoisie

Three weeks ago, Juan Peron announced yet another development in his bid for power in Argentina. Instead of choosing Ricardo Balbin, leader of the Radical Civic Union (the major bourgeois party) as his vice presidential candidate, he surprised everyone by announcing at the Justicialist Party Convention in late July that his wife, Isabel, would be his running mate.

No one was more surprised than Balbin, who had solidarized himself and his party with his earlier sworn political enemy.

Instead of running with Peron, Balbin will now in all probability be running against him in the September 23 elections in Argentina. And he will be running from a very weak position, having been discredited from the start by his earlier willingness to share the presidential ticket with Peron.

What does this change mean? The most probable explanation lies in two areas: most importantly, the growing political divisions within the Peronist movement, and Peron's understanding that too

close and open a pact with the capitalist class would further sharpen those divisions and give strength to the growing left opposition within the Peronist and workers' movement, played a role in Peron's latest move.

Secondly, however, Peron's ill health and the desire to have someone he can trust as vice-president in case of total incapacity or death was probably also a factor.

Interestingly enough, Peron's latest maneuver has not served to pacify or fool the dissidents in the Peronist movement. This is true primarily because Isabel Peron is closely linked with the conservative Peronist trade unionists and politicians.

Nevertheless, this development is just one more maneuver on Peron's part in an attempt to regain total political power while containing the growing workers' movement in Argentina. The test will come when he is in office and begins to put into practice his anti-working class plans.

At that point, no maneuver or backroom deal will have the possibility of hiding his true class allegiance.

Italy: Center-left coalition leads new employers offensive

At the beginning of August, Italy's new center-left coalition government announced a partial 90-day price freeze on some food and industrial prices and on rents.

The price freeze clearly has one role to play: to soften up public opinion and especially the trade union leaders for an all-out attack on the working class.

The future most likely will bring a wage freeze, rises in taxes, and cuts in public expenditures, and maybe even adoption of the police law drawn up by the previous right-wing government, giving the police the power to arrest people

for 48 hours solely on "suspicion."

That the employers' offensive in Italy is being planned by a so-called center-left government should surprise no one. The Socialists -- the weak left wing of the coalition -- are committed to reviving the economy and curbing inflation which can only be done by raising productivity.

Italy is racked by inflation and stagnation. The cost of living rose 20 percent from June 1972 to June 1973, while the lire depreciated up to 35 percent against the Japanese yen and some European currencies. In addition, Italians face a growing social crisis: housing, transportation, and health services continue to deteriorate.

How well the new Rumor government will be able to carry out its program and succeed where the right-wing Andreotti government failed depends largely on how far the trade union leaders are prepared to go in collaborating with the coalition.

At a recent national congress, the Communist CGIL (Italian labor federation) proposed a "global" agreement with the government -- an agreement to maintain peace and productivity in the factories in exchange for a program of social reform.

The failure of the trade union bureaucracy to lead the fight last fall over the national labor agreements caused deep discontent among the rank and file militants in the unions.

Any collaboration with the Rumor government and its anti-working class program will deepen the rift. The trade union leadership must be forced to reject the government by organized rank and file pressure.

The influence of the revolutionary left in Italy will be decisive in this crucial task. Unless such a break is successful, the new coalition government and the Italian ruling class will have their way, and the workers and their families will pay the cost of shoring up Italy's faltering economy. ■



As in the U. S., Italian employers' offensive means speedup, automation, layoffs



Simplified Picture

The article by Marie Pielka, "Farm Workers Struggle at the Crossroads" in the last issue of *Workers' Power* (80) gives a simplified picture of the farm workers' fight in a few places.

The article says "The boycott itself has not been successful." Actually, the UFW has once again turned the boycott into a potent economic weapon which must be credited with winning the grape strike three years ago.

During the recent Coachella strike, the combined boycott and strike caused big losses to the growers. The effect of this has been to make the Delano growers hesitant to sign with the Teamsters. For two weeks they didn't do so, but on August 10, they signed a contract.

Pielka's article tends to minimize the impact of AFL-CIO support to the UFW: "So far the UFW's desperate efforts have drawn only occasional support from the AFL-CIO."

Fitzsimmons' response on August 10, when the Delano contract was signed, indicates otherwise. He denounced the signing and said, "Unfortunately, the action of one representa-

tive has disrupted further efforts at mediation and conciliation. This action in no manner represents deviation from our agreements with the AFL-CIO or a change of purpose in the meetings on the West Coast with representatives of the UFWU."

In other words, considerable AFL-CIO pressure on the Teamsters got Fitzsimmons and William Grami, head of the raiding operation, to denounce the signing of contracts done by their own agent. The reasons Fitzsimmons seems to be backing off on the UFWU are several.

He has tied his fortunes to the Nixon Administration and now, with Watergate, is getting a black eye for it. The recent exposure of his ties to the Mafia and turning over pension and welfare to it have left Fitzsimmons open to possible prosecution.

Hoffa's challenge makes him generally vulnerable, and the new Attorney General Elliott Richardson is more likely to prosecute crime and less subject to White House political needs. All these worries make the raid on the farm workers very difficult to handle, because the United Farm Workers are much more dedicated to the cause of the farmworkers than Fitzsimmons is to worming himself in. Hence the change in his position.

Finally, Pielka says, "The UFW



leaders' refusal to go beyond the policies of the AFL-CIO makes it much more difficult to fight the Teamster bureaucrats' attack." The UFW does give support to Teamster oppositionists trying to change their union's policies, something the AFL-CIO doesn't encourage.

Furthermore, the UFW is constantly picketing supermarkets, often contacting the retail clerks and meatcutters' unions which represent the workers there. Whether or not the officials of these unions cooperate, the UFW boycott teams picket the store, often causing loss of work to the members of these unions.

The repercussions of these actions have been felt in the AFL-CIO to be sure, and several members of the Executive Council have complained about the UFW's unorthodox methods.

We as socialists support the right of farm workers to picket stores in support of their strike even if it causes layoffs of store workers. Meany is for the continuation of Taft-Hartley to farm workers precisely because it outlaws boycotts.

The UFW has just reaffirmed that they are not for Taft-Hartley coverage, but rather for National Labor Relations Act coverage. Through their continual use of militant tactics including mass picketing, mass arrests, sit-ins and other actions the UFW has shown that they are not constrained by the policies of the AFL-CIO.

The fact that they won't say a word of criticism of Meany doesn't mean that we can't -- indeed, it is our obligation to the farm workers to do so.

Kevin Bradley

UFW

[Continued from page 4]

"Nonetheless, by the end of July each of the Salinas Valley Growers (involved in this case) had executed 5-year exclusive 'union shop' agreements with the Teamsters, covering wages, hours and working conditions of the field workers.



"During the first few weeks of August 1970, when the field workers finally were advised of the collective bargaining agreements that had been negotiated on their behalf, most of the workers refused either to join the Teamsters Union or to sign or ratify the Grower-Teamster agreements. Although there is some dispute as to the precise number or percentage of field workers favoring either the Teamsters or UFW, it appears clear that by mid-August at least a substantial number, and probably a majority, of the applicable field workers desired to be represented by UFW rather than by the Teamsters. Thereafter, UFW repeatedly demanded that the Salinas Valley Growers recognize it as the freely designated representative of

the field workers; when these demands were rebuffed, the field workers, on August 24, 1970, commenced a recognition strike against the Growers on behalf of UFW.

"... from a practical point of view an employer's grant of exclusive bargaining status to a non-representative union must be considered the ultimate form of favoritism, completely substituting the employer's choice of unions for his employee's desires.

"In sum, we conclude that an employer who grants exclusive bargaining status to a union which he knows does not have the support of his employees may not thereafter call upon the state to enjoin concerted activities by a competing union."

Chile

[Continued from page 3]

the military there is no reason to think that this incident will be treated any differently. Even the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) which has been critical of the government from the left, now vacillates between revolutionary rhetoric and support for the government.

But these actions by the government are beginning to bear fruit now. Many of the Allende supporters are beginning to see that there can be no further progress without destroying the power of the army and police. This will mean breaking with Allende and his "Peaceful Road to Socialism". If this happened it will be a significant step forward for the workers movement.

Today sections of the workers movement are demanding that 89 key industries now in the hands of the capitalists be nationalized. In addition, the workers must demand that the Allende government oust the military from the cabinet, and replace it with representatives from the workers'

movement. The workers and peasants must be armed to take on a fascist right armed to the teeth.

Without these minimal steps, the government is doomed to defeat, if not by a direct fascist takeover, then by a gradual assumption of power by the military. Either will mean a defeat for the Chilean workers. That defeat will only begin with the ousting of Allende and the Communist-Socialist Popular Unity Coalition. It will be most assuredly followed by a devastating and repressive attack on the working class threatening the destruction of all workers' organizations and left parties. The defeat is one which will be a tragic set back for the Chilean workers for years to come.





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Workers' Power

WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM: the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy and the state by the working class. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist," and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis: war, racial strife, pollution, urban decay, and the deterioration of our standard of living and working conditions. This crisis is built into capitalism, an outlived system of private profit, exploitation, and oppression. The capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority that controls the economy and politics alike, perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other—white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal

nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank and file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

The struggle must become political. Because of its economic power, the ruling class also has a monopoly on political power. It controls the government and the political parties that administer the state. More and more, the problems we face, such as inflation and unemployment, are the result of political decisions made by that class. The struggle of the working people will be deadlocked until the ranks of labor build a workers' party and carry the struggle into the political arena.

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party at the head of a unified

working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers.

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the US in Vietnam, the USSR in Czechoslovakia), they perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. Socialism—the direct rule of the working class itself—exists nowhere in the world today.

We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic ruling class. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is **WORKERS' POWER.**

Farm Workers' Fight Will Go On

Marie Pielka

Recently initiated talks between Cesar Chavez and representatives of the Western Conference of Teamsters broke off abruptly August 10th over the signing of Teamster contracts in Delano.

Chavez stormed out of the meeting when he learned of the contracts with 25 grape growers, declaring, "We have been stabbed in the back."

Ten days later, Teamster head Fitzsimmons abruptly "disavowed" the contracts signed by the grape growers with the Teamsters in the Delano area after August 9. The action may represent a step toward a "compromise" settlement, which might force the farm workers' union to accept severe restrictions on their organizing rights as the price of survival.

Fitzsimmons' action, though widely publicized, did not remove the Teamsters from the grape struggle. Only the Delano grape contracts were affected, as Fitzsimmons feared that these signings would disrupt the negotiations (which are important, if only for publicity purposes) between the UFW and the Teamsters. The bulk of the grape contracts, however, are not affected.

The talks apparently were the result of meeting in Washington between George Meany of the AFL-CIO and Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters.

Teamster negotiators seemed embarrassed by the signings, which they called "unauthorized." They immediately transferred James Smith, their Delano organizer, to another job.

Smith seemed equally surprised. "Approval has never been needed before," he said.

Chavez said that he was willing to resume the talks whenever Meany gives "assurance that the Teamsters won't play games with us."

Meany has been trying to speed things along by offering to "enforce" the Farmworkers' end of the contract. No one so far has been willing to hold the Teamsters or the growers to their agreements.

The history of the Teamsters' involvement in agriculture is a continuous series of broken agreements with the United Farm Workers. At least once before, the Teamsters promised not to raid the farm workers in the fields, in exchange for Teamster control of packaging and shipping. There is no evidence that the new "truce" will be any more stable than the earlier ones.

In the fields the situation has remained extremely tense. Two Farmworker pickets were wounded by gunshots August 10th while picketing a struck ranch in Tulare County.

Another group of union pickets were fired upon August 15th, also in Tulare County, during a confrontation with scabs.

In Bakersfield the same day a union member died of skull fractures, suffered in a row at a bar in Kern County. Union spokesmen say a sheriff's deputy struck the man twice with his flashlight.

On Thursday, August 16, a new atrocity was committed when long-time farmworker Juan de la Cruz, 60, was shot and killed while picketing at a Giumarra ranch near Arvin. Sheriff's deputies arrested two non-union farmworkers in the shooting, but the circumstances surrounding the killing remained cloudy.

The response of UFW leader Chavez was to suspend picketing, stating that all picketing would stop until the Justice Department would guarantee the safety of the pickets. Striking farm workers were sent from the fields into the cities to work on the lettuce boycott and to engage in a three-day fast.

1,000 UFW pickets demonstrated outside the Tulare County jail on the 10th, protesting the shooting and the beatings of union pickets by sheriff's deputies. "We charge that the arming of strikebreakers and growers is with the consent and knowledge of the sheriff," Cesar Chavez said. He called for a Congressional investigation.

"I want to know why the sheriff

won't go into the fields and take the arms away," Chavez said. "We would like to know if these men (the sheriff's department) are on the county payroll or the payroll of the growers."

Elsewhere in the Central Valley the conflict has occasionally erupted into open clashes and acts of sabotage. On August 7th UFW pickets fought police in the Giumarra vineyards of Kern County. Union spokesmen said police beat pickets with their clubs after chasing them down in the vineyards.

Frequent arrests of Farmworkers continue to take place, but not on the same scale as in previous weeks. The mass arrests of thousands of Farmworkers for violation of anti-picketing injunctions has stopped for the time being.

Strikers at the Gallo vineyards foiled an attempted eviction of Farmworker families from company housing August 8th. Seventy-five sympathetic unionists sat in to prevent police from carrying out the eviction.

As a result the company dropped its attempt to evict all 71 striking families by court injunction.

Meanwhile the State Senate, alarmed by the disruption of profits, has tried to get back in the fray by reviving a defeated and anti-UFW farm labor bill. The bill, sponsored by a grower's brother, is opposed by the UFW and the California Federation of Labor because it would outlaw secondary

boycotts, and put the growers in control of all union representation elections in the fields.

At this point, the possibility of a deal mediated by the AFL-CIO has become stronger. Quite possibly, the farm workers might have no choice but to accept a deal that would give the Teamsters the lettuce fields - a deal that would be forced on the UFW by the lack of serious support from the AFL-CIO. While the UFW would not bear responsibility for such a settlement, the future of union organizing in agriculture would be placed in great jeopardy.

The organizing of hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers, scattered throughout every section of the country, is a historical mission which the organized labor movement has dismally failed to carry out. These workers are among the most viciously super-exploited section of the work force in America. Even as food prices and farm profits soar, these workers remain forgotten, sharing none of the benefits that their labor produces.

Any settlement which sacrifices or restricts the UFW in its struggle to organize in the fields will represent another failure by the trade union leadership in this country to meet its most basic responsibilities. ■

[Further coverage of the Farm Workers' struggle can be found on p. 4 and p. 18 of this issue.]



El Malcriado