

# WORKERS' POWER

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## AFRICA, 1975

*Liberation and Revolution*



AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY ..... pages 8 & 9

# UFW at Turning Point

by James Morrison

SAN FRANCISCO—A new "compromise" bill to give California farm workers the right to union elections is now being supported by the United Farm Workers union. The UFW had originally opposed the bill submitted by Governor Brown.

In a series of meetings with the various forces in agriculture, Brown has twice amended his original bill. First he changed two of the features the UFW considered objectionable. Then he back-tracked part way on both of these changes.

### SUPPORT

Now, virtually every organized grouping with an interest in California agriculture is supporting the bill: the UFW, the Teamsters, the Farm Bureau and a number of major growers, and most likely the state AFL-CIO will agree as well.

With this support, it is most likely that Brown will call a special session of the legislature and that the bill will pass. But this does not mean at all that the struggle in the fields will be over.

The Brown bill means that there will now be new elections at all

ranches covered by Teamster sweetheart contracts. But in the final version of the bill, the UFW was forced to accept a very unfavorable condition—that the Teamster sweetheart contracts would continue in force until new elections are held.

This gives the Teamsters an enormous advantage. It will make it much easier for them to organize meetings, pressure workers with threats or bribes, and maintain their friendly relations with the growers.

### INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Another key question involved in the controversy is the principle of industrial unionism. This means simply that all workers on a ranch belong to the same union, rather than to different, competing unions for different job classifications. Industrial unionism strengthens the workers, since they can then present a united front to the employers.

When the bill was first amended, it provided for industrial unionism. Because of that feature, however, the state AFL-CIO and the building trades unions announced their

opposition.

The Machinists wanted to represent the tractor drivers. The Operating Engineers wanted the earth turners. The building trades wanted to carve up some pieces for themselves.

For their own narrow interests, a few union leaders were willing to sabotage the years of struggle and sacrifice by the dedicated men and women of the United Farm Workers union.

To gain a few more members and their monthly dues payments, these union bureaucrats were willing to undercut the bargaining power of all farm workers, including those they wanted to represent.

### AMBIGUOUS

Because of AFL-CIO and building trades objections, the final version of the bill is ambiguous. It states that the building trades' traditional jurisdictions will not be affected by the bill. There will be a continuing struggle, however, over how many workers are involved in these categories.

The Brown bill also has a number of other anti-labor provisions. It still prohibits a real secondary

boycott (for example, clerks refusing to handle scab produce). It also practically eliminates the consumer secondary boycott that has been one of the UFW's prime weapons.

The bill prohibits recognition strikes. It fails to make organized scabbing illegal. And it does nothing to stop anti-labor injunctions from the notorious pro-grower valley courts. These provisions of the Brown bill will be extremely important when the center of the struggle returns to organizing in the fields.

Although in some places the UFW is calling the bill a great victory, it is actually supporting the bill as the best it can get given the nature and power of its opposition. That the UFW has gotten this much is testimony to the power of its willingness to engage in long committed struggle.

### BACK TO THE FIELDS

With the likely passage of the Brown bill, the focus of the struggle will have to change from the boycott movement back to the fields of California. The right to elections does not automatically

guarantee that the UFW will win.

Despite several years of Teamster contracts, the UFW still has the support of most farm workers. This was shown on Monday, May 19, the day before the final compromise of the Brown bill was announced.

The UFW mobilized 6,000 farm workers for a demonstration in Sacramento. The Teamsters had promised 10,000 farm workers at a counter-demonstration. Growers aided the Teamsters by announcing one or two-day paid holidays so their workers could make the trip.

But the Teamster rally did not come off. It was cancelled at the last minute, most likely because they knew they couldn't put together a decent-sized crowd.

But the Teamsters and the growers have rich and powerful machines already in the fields. The UFW must rebuild a movement of support in the trade unions and the Mexican/Chicano communities capable of mobilizing their support.

Only with this kind of movement will the legislative "rights" of farm workers be meaningful. And faced with this kind of movement, anti-labor legislation becomes a dead letter. □



# THE RATS WHO LEFT THE SINKING SHIP...

Tran Nhu Chuong and his family are among the first of an eventual 120,000 refugees to arrive in the US.

Before fleeing Vietnam, Chuong worked for an American firm as the supervisor of port operations at Danang Harbor.

Chuong drove a \$10,000 car, owned two homes, employed several servants, belonged to exclusive clubs and received a salary placing him within the highest social circles in Vietnam.

In other words, Chuong was a boss. He was a member of the Vietnamese upper class, who were bought and run by the interests of American imperialism. Those interests kept the majority of the Vietnamese living in poverty, military dictatorship and constant war while few Vietnamese, like Chuong, lived in splendor.

The Vietnamese have finally won out against their oppressors—American and Vietnamese. Now the US government is bringing its Vietnamese accomplices here.

## GOOD LIFE

Chuong has fled to America because he wants to continue living the good life—the same way he did in Vietnam—off the backs of working people.

When asked his plans Chuong replied, "I think once I get going I can be successful in management."

When asked if he ever expects to have the comforts here he once had in Saigon, Chuong smiled, saying

## "IT WAS SUCH A WONDERFUL WAR"

Vietnamese are not the only war profiteers arriving in the U.S.

Many American military men and others looking for the easy life settled in Vietnam. They too are now fleeing.

Bill Ferraro, a retired army officer is one of them. Ferraro had been in Saigon since 1969, running an export business.

"A few of us had dinner the other night," he recalls. "Lobster, crab, snails, all you could drink."

"It cost \$130 US dollars for 16 people. Now where am I going to find that kind of living back in the States?"

His friend Dennis Simpson, a retired Navy officer adds, "I have

"I think things here will be better."

Chuong is not an exception. Contrary to the image of poor destitute refugees painted by Ford



Tran Nhu Chuong seeking job at agency for executives.

an apartment with three bedrooms, a patio and a maid—it cost me 30 US dollars a month.

"Food? I shop at the market. Costs only about 100 US dollars a month—and I have filet mignon every night."

Ferraro and Simpson are pissed. They don't want to come home.

"Think of all the money the US is spending on evacuation," Ferraro complained. "All that money spent on food and housing for Vietnamese dependants—they should spend the money on military aid."

He wants war so he can live high. Wasn't that war supposed to "save the Vietnamese?"

in his appeals for aid, most of the Vietnamese arriving in the US are from the middle and upper classes.

Early arrivals at Fort Chafee, Arkansas, were described by Vietnamese interpreters as wealthy people who complain about living in army barracks and being forced to mix with Americans who would be below them socially in Vietnam.

## HAUGHTY

Said one interpreter, "They were very haughty then and they have not lost that haughtiness since they arrived here."

According to Senator Muskie (D-Maine) they are the "middle class—the artisans, the scholars, the technicians, and the minor officials."

They are also the high ranking military officers, the secret police, the war profiteers, dope dealers, smugglers and all those wealthy enough to bribe their way into the US.

Ford and Congress have voted \$405 million to aid the settling of the Vietnamese. Those voting support argue that we are a nation of immigrants and that the Vietnamese are simply the latest wave.

They argue the US should open its doors to prevent a bloodbath.

These same politicians who argue for open doors for the Vietnamese, hound, harass, and deport Mexicans living here without documents.

The only crime of the Mexicans is that they are ordinary working people, they have not had the opportunity to act as agents of US imperialism, run dope, smuggle, torture or war profiteer. So, they are deported.

The doors the US rulers wish to open widely for the Vietnamese servants of American imperialism were closed tightly to Chilean workers and radicals fleeing a dictatorship so brutal the horror of its repression continues to shock the world.

## NOT INTERESTED

The American ruling class is not interested in open borders. Their position on Vietnamese immigra-



## THAT'S GOLD IN THEM THAR CAMPS

At the same time one section of the capitalist class is demanding our sympathies for the plight of Vietnamese refugees, another section has already found a source of profit in the camps.

Arriving at Fort Smith, Arkansas, along with welfare workers, immigration officials and the Red Cross, was a small task force of Swiss-American bullion dealers.

The dealers' purpose was, as they stated, "not wholly altruistic." They had come to "relieve the Vietnamese of what are believed to be considerable amounts of gold bars, gold coins, and gold dust." The bullion task force was from

Deak, Perer and Co.—a large combine with offices in Zurich, New York, Washington, Macao and a dozen other major banking centers.

Orto Ruesch, the Swiss-bank company vice president said the company had sent teams to all U.S. refugee camps.

"We have been told by the State Department that many of the people coming here have brought out lots of gold and foreign exchange. We are here to buy it from them—and make some money for the company as well," he said.

Business as usual...one set of rich parasites taking advantage of another.

# ...FIND RACISTS ON THE DOCK

tion, no matter what images they conjure up about oppressed people coming to the land of the free, is a continuation of the politics of the war in Vietnam.

The US government fought in Vietnam for 20 years—not for freedom for the Vietnamese, or justice or democracy. They were there to protect the interests of one class of people—the capitalist class.

Now they are opening otherwise tightly closed borders to Vietnamese members of that class and their supporters.

Yet the most open hostility to the refugees has come from other supporters of the Capitalist class—California Governor Brown and various California Congressmen.

## VOTED SUPPORT

Many of these liberals voted financial support to the policies that have created the refugees. They voted support for the military budget and the war. Now they are turning on the very same people they bankrolled for years. And they are doing it in fear of losing their support from racists.

They are not opposed to the refugees for being war criminals

and collaborators. Their opposition is based on fears of increased numbers of Asians on the West Coast. A hot issue among racists there.

Socialists are for open borders—for the working class and the oppressed. But many of the Vietnamese who will be arriving will be war criminals of the highest rank, drug runners and war profiteers. They should be barred from entry, not because of their race, but because of who they are and what they have done.

They have been oppressors and exploiters of their own people and they should be tried by them.

## Workers' Power 121

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# HARVESTER FIGHT WON'T STOP NOW

by Ted Farrow

CHICAGO—A hard-fought campaign concluded on May 7 when elections were held for executive board members and shop committee chairman in UAW Local 6, the International Harvester plant local in Melrose Park.

The Administration regime ran as the "Positive Action Leadership," or PAL. They were opposed by the Rank and File Coalition. The Coalition pointed to International Harvester's speedup campaign as the main issue in the election and demanded serious action by the leadership to organize non-cooperation throughout the plant.

PAL started out the campaign talking tough. Shop committee chairman Bob Stack gave a speech to the stewards' council calling for "guerrilla tactics" to fight the speed up.

The Administration quickly dropped this tactic, however, as they had no intention of carrying it out. They spent the rest of the campaign baiting the opposition as "a catch-all coalition of untrained, inexperienced militant radicals."

## STEP FORWARD

The PAL slate swept the election, winning all positions except for two in which there will be run-offs with independent candidates. Dick Egan, heading the PAL slate, ran first in the race for President, receiving better than 1/2 of the votes and qualifying for a run-off election.

Egan, who is a former President of Local 6, is an open racist bigot. While local president a few years ago, he put out a leaflet that referred to blacks as "burr-heads" and "fugitives from a watermelon patch."

The Rank and File Coalition won no offices. But the election was still a success for the Coalition, which was organized only three months ago.

The Coalition's previous activity was a successful campaign to defeat the three-year term of office for stewards and committeemen. In its short existence, it has accomplished more than most caucuses in their entire lifetime.

It is now clearly recognized as the organized opposition in the plant.

## STRENGTH

Most important, the Coalition pulled a solid bloc of between 400 and 500 votes for all positions. Some candidates received more support than others, but this bloc

held solid.

This vote represents considerable support inside the plant for a new brand of unionism which believes that the union is there to fight the company, not to collaborate with it against the workers.

The Rank and File Coalition did especially well considering the odds it was up against. Local 6 has a high percentage of its members within a year or two of retirement. They voted overwhelmingly for the Administration slate.

## CHANGES COMING

Within two or three years the plant will be a very different place than it is now. The plant as a whole will be younger and more militant.

The Rank and File Coalition, which has been pushing for mili-



Inside Harvester

tant unionism, can only benefit from this change if the Coalition keeps on organizing.

The election for shop committeemen will be held June 11. The next job of the Coalition is to consolidate the support it received in the last election into some stewardships and shop committeemen.

This will be the beginning of implementing the Coalition's program of rebuilding the union in the plant. Victory is possible in these elections because the support the Coalition received came mainly from the welding and assembly zones.

In these zones, plans are being laid to elect Coalition members into some of these positions. □

# Campaign Ran On Issues; Ranks Gain Support

by Sara Blake

DETROIT—May 14 was election day at UAW Local 212. It followed a heated campaign in which a strike of over a year and a half ago provided many issues.

Local 212 is an amalgamated local on Detroit's east side. It includes the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant, which on August 14, 1973, was shut down by a sit-down strike.

The two slates in this election, the Green Slate and the United National Caucus, had played very different roles in that strike. This election was the first for local officers, executive board members, and shop committeemen since the strike.

## GOON SQUAD

The strike was brutally ended by a 1,000-member goon squad organized by the Green Slate leadership, along with United Auto Workers' international officers Doug Fraser and Emil Mazey.

Many United National Caucus members, some with over 20 years seniority, lost their jobs. 33 of the strikers never got their jobs back.

The strike had erupted after a long deterioration of working conditions which resulted in at least one death and several serious injuries to workers.

At the time of the sit-down, things were very tense at Mack. For months the UNC had been carrying out a campaign on the issues of safety and health. UNC members did not participate in the events that triggered the sit-down. Many in fact considered it a provocative adventure.

Still, most of the active UNC members at Mack came to the defense of the workers involved.

A UNC campaign leaflet stated, "It was the failure of the Green Slate leadership to deal effectively with the problems of the membership—especially with the problems of hazardous plant conditions and arbitrary discharges—that created the situation in the plant in the first place."

The Green Slate answered these charges by calling the UNC "communist."

## MEMBERSHIP ACTION!

In the campaign the United National Caucus addressed other issues facing Mack Avenue workers. Their campaign leaflets urged that the membership be organized for action to get the unemployed



Mack strike supporters outside gates before UAW goon squad broke strike in August, 1973.

back to work, to end speed-up and harassment on the shop floor. The union, they said, should serve the membership, not Chrysler!

The UNC did not win this round at Local 212, but it doesn't appear that they will give up. In a heavy turnout, most of their candidates did well, winning from 1,000 to 1,500 votes, or 20-30% of the total.

A good deal of the UNC support is among the younger workers who are still laid off.

Ben Atkins, UNC candidate for Executive Board said about the election, "The Caucus has to be re-shaped and built stronger. We have to get our ideas out so well

that the membership in the plants can understand our program and won't be so easily swayed by the Green Slate's red-baiting."

Sara Buckley, UNC candidate for Trustee, said, "The Goon Squad not only scared the hell out of the membership in Local 212, but also broke up the UNC for a while. We're in the process of organizing the caucus again."

"I'm very happy with the result, because it shows we have a lot to build on. When more of us get back to work, we will be able to organize so that next time the Green Slate will really get a run for their money!" □

# United Coalition Builds For Future

DETROIT—The United Coalition of UAW Local 51 ran last in recent local elections. The Coalition drew an average 10% of the vote. The two administration slates, the Blue Slate and Green Slate, swept the elections. Both drew their support from retirees and older workers. Between them they won every post, and took all runoff positions. Despite this, the United Coalition made some gains.

Because of the Coalition, this was the first Local 51 election in many years where anyone ran on issues important to rank and file auto workers. The Blue and Green Slates ran on personalities, free drinks, ink pens and other gimmicks.

## LAYOFFS HURT

The Coalition slate suffered most by the recent layoffs. Over 4000 members of Local 51 are laid off.

Many had supported the Coalition in the past.

The Coalition tried to have the Local Unemployed Committee send mailings and call a meeting for the unemployed. But the Blue and Green slate blocked this move, just as they have stopped the Local from doing anything to aid the unemployed.

For the United Coalition the elections are not the end—but just another step. The Coalition will remain together to build a rank and file alternative to the present leadership. □

Dennis Richard

# Jersey Teachers Call For Labor Party

The New Jersey Federation of Teachers (NJFT) is urging the labor movement to form an independent Labor Party. A motion to that effect was passed at the annual Convention, held May 17 and 18.

The resolution states, "both the Democratic and Republican parties have repeatedly ignored and acted against teachers and other working people."

Further pointing out that "both parties have failed to develop a program to pull the country and state out of the current depression and provide for the maintenance and development of public education," the resolution called for the establishment of an independent labor party.

It also said that the New Jersey Federation of Teachers should communicate with other labor organizations to secure that end.

Out of thirty delegates present, only about three voted or spoke against the motion. □

# UMW Continues Western Organizing

Consolidation Coal and Pitts-burgh and Midway are two of the companies which were holding out against efforts by the United Mine Workers to organize in the West. They have now capitulated and signed contracts with the union.

Amaz and North American, however, have continued to hold out. They have done this in the face of sympathy strikes by their workers in the East. NACCO also prompted unfair labor practices charges from the union after it abruptly broke off all negotiations just as it appeared that a settlement was in sight.

At the same time, Federal Labor Mediator William Usery has begun meetings with UMW President Arnold Miller and NACCO President Otis Bennett. However, no firm agreement has been announced. □



United Mine Worker members and families at early morning picket line in Wyoming.

## MAY DAY IN PORTUGAL

# Workers build revolutionary councils...

The workers' council movement in Portugal is still just barely forming. But its revolutionary influence is already being felt. On May 1, the organizing committee for the councils called a demonstration at the place where the national assembly meets. The demonstration, 3000 strong, heard revolutionary speeches by a worker and a young soldier.

"We must take this place away from the bourgeois parliament and put revolutionary councils there instead. Now more than ever we must build the unity of workers, soldiers and sailors," the young soldier declared.

The palace was surrounded by armed soldiers—but they made no effort to stop the demonstration. When the meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale, many of the soldiers on guard joined in.

### UNITY

If the councils spread, they will be the vehicle for real unity between rank and file workers and soldiers.

This unity will be very different from the fraud of "the unity of the Armed Forces and the people," which is being pushed by the military government and the Communist Party.

Their idea of "unity" is keeping the working class tightly controlled while a wing of the Army extends its control over the economy and the state.



Portuguese workers and soldiers are forming revolutionary councils.

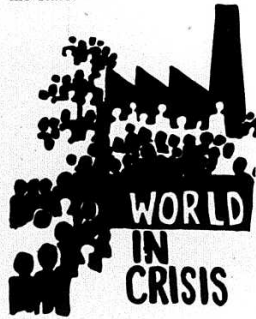
The call for expansion of the workers' councils came from a congress of militants from over 150 factories and a number of military units. One of the revolutionary organizations in Portugal, PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat) is actively backing the fight to build revolutionary councils throughout industry.

### SHIPYARDS

Councils are now being organized in two crucial centers, the Lisnave shipyards and the glass industry center of Marinha Grande.

The shipyard workers have been a very strong base of support for the Communist Party. The CP has given the movement for workers' councils no support. Many rank and file CP members, however, are being drawn into the movement.

The growing movement of councils in factories and barracks means real unity—the unity that can bring the socialist revolution which the government desperately fears. □



## ...left parties clash

The revolutionary demonstration at the National Assembly building in Portugal was not the only event of May 1. May Day demonstrations were marked by bitter clashes between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

A huge rally being addressed by Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves and Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal was invaded by thousands of Socialist Party supporters, led by SP leader Mario Soares.

They marched into the stadium chanting "Socialism yes, dictatorship no"—a slogan aimed directly against the Communist Party and its influence on the state machine and the media.

This show of force was the start of a political offensive by the

Socialist-Party, which rolled up the largest number of votes in the April 25 national election.

### NEW CRISIS

The SP gained the support of about half the workers, plus a large section of the middle class vote. It now claims it is entitled to the decisive voice in running the government.

The Socialist Party slogan and the May 1 rally is attractive to workers who fear Communist Party rule.

Many do not want a society like Russia that the CP would impose. Others believe that the SP leaders stand for socialism.

But the leadership of the Socialist Party is deeply pro-NATO. They also support the capitalist state.

Strengthening their position would be a big step toward counter-revolution. It would mean rapid attacks on every democratic gain won by workers in the factories and rank and file soldiers in the barracks.

Revolutionary socialists in Portugal are campaigning to build the revolutionary councils. They want to unite the militants of all left parties—including rank and file worker members of both the CP and SP—to build strength against counter-revolution.

The revolutionary councils represent the independent power of workers in struggle. They are the answer to both the pro-capitalist goals of the SP and the Stalinist program of the CP. For the workers of Portugal they are the only way out of the new political crisis. □

## ITALY

# Strike Wave Protests Terror

Gianni Zibecchi, a 26-year old Italian socialist worker, was crushed by a police van April 17 in Milan. The van roared through a crowd of demonstrators.

The protest was called in response to the murder of Claudio Varalli, an 18-year-old student, the day before. Varalli was gunned down by a fascist gang which killed him after a housing demonstration in Milan.

### MURDERS INCREASE

Two other militants were murdered by fascists. The death toll of socialists in Italy was four in one week.

Antonio Micciche, 25, was shot and killed by a fascist at the site of a housing occupation he was leading in Turin.

Rodolfo Boschi was killed April 18, possibly by a plainclothes policeman, after an anti-fascist rally in Florence. He was 27.

Response to the series of murders was immediate. 70,000 demonstrators marched in Rome during a one-hour general strike called by the three main Italian unions. All trains stopped for half an hour.

Students took to the streets throughout the country. Workers held factory demonstrations. Representatives of left-wing groups in

the army sent statements of support.

In Milan and Turin the offices of MSI, the fascist party, were burned. Newspaper reporters described some of the events, especially in Florence, as being close to civil war.

### WORKERS FIGHT BACK

Fascist violence has played an increasing role in Italian political life since the militant strike wave in the "hot autumn" of 1969. Fascist gangs aim to intimidate workers' organizations and physically destroy militant leaders. They have bombed passenger trains and left-wing rallies.

Italian workers have a long tradition of militant response to fascist terror. In 1948 there was an attempt on the life of Communist Party leader Togliatti. Workers throughout Italy took to the streets and set up barricades, armed with guns they had hidden after the anti-fascist Resistance struggle.

This rebellion ended only when the Communist Party refused to support the workers' initiative. It was afraid of rank and file workers' activity.

In 1960, when MSI tried to hold its convention in Genoa, demonstrations and fighting took place



Italian socialist, Gianni Zibecchi was killed by police.

throughout the country. This struggle led to the fall of the Italian government, which was in power with the support of the MSI.

The confrontation between workers and the fascist right is heating up again as Italy's crisis worsens. The trade union leaders and the Communist Party have issued statements blaming not only the fascists, but also the revolutionary left, for what they call "provocative actions."

But Italian workers are learning better. They know that victory over fascist goons lies in mass, militant, direct action—not in the timid tactics and balancing acts of the union leaders who want to hang onto the status quo. □

Peter Vento

## Socialist Ban?

A vicious campaign is beginning in Italy to outlaw Avanguardia Operaia, the revolutionary socialist organization that was in the forefront in the recent anti-fascist movement.

The campaign against AO is a crude effort to crush an important section of Italy's growing militant working class movement.

In the last few months there have been charges in the fascist press that the revolutionary group has plans for violent

armed action. Avanguardia Operaia has accused the police of planting the evidence.

The right wing press and the judge in Milan investigating these charges are demanding AO be banned.

Meanwhile, the power of the police to engage in anti-worker violence is being expanded. New laws have been passed widening their powers to arrest and detain people without trial. □

# UNION HEAD ATTACKS APRIL 26 COALITION

The April 26 Rank and File Coalition has now been attacked by another top labor union leader.

George Hardy, the President of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has circulated a letter (reprinted here) charging the Coalition with "splitting" the labor movement. He has also instructed all local SEIU leaders to file a list of Coalition sponsors "for future reference."

Hardy is not the first labor leader to attack the Coalition. And this is not the first time that militant workers will have their names filed away "for future reference." Nevertheless, the whole incident should be exposed, for it is a typical example of the tactics of labor's "established leadership."

## WORKERS' VOICE

The April 26 Rank and File Coalition went to Washington so that rank and file workers would have a voice in an important labor event, the "Rally for Jobs" sponsored by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (IUD).

The Coalition organized hundreds of workers to attend... steel workers, teachers, teamsters, auto workers. Many travelled hundreds of miles from midwestern cities, usually at their own expense.

After marching from the Capitol to Washington's RFK Stadium, the Coalition met what rank and file militants meet everywhere. At the gates, big officials in fine suits tried to keep them out. The Coalition had to fight its way in.

Once inside the stadium, members of the Coalition were expected to join the tens of thousands of other workers there and quietly sit while a long list of labor leaders droned on. It was planned as a giant local union meeting, with one added attraction... Hubert Humphrey.

Well, no one, including the Rank and File Coalition, came to Washington, D.C. for another union meeting. And even George Meany, the reactionary old President of the AFL-CIO, understood what happened to Humphrey.

"The fact that they didn't listen to Hubert Humphrey," said Meany, "I'm not so disturbed by that. Because sometimes I get tired of Hubert myself."

## WHO IS SPLITTING WHAT?

At first a few individuals, waving signs, ran onto the field. They were followed by hundreds, and then thousands of workers. They demanded action. They would not tolerate more words.


This was not "splitting" the labor movement. The labor movement is already split. There are the labor leaders, the top officials like Frank Fitzsimmons and I.W. Abel, who sit in Washington, D.C.'s palatial offices, drive Cadillacs, and golf at country clubs.

And, there are the millions of rank and file workers, hounded by harassment and speed-up, driven by inflation, and constantly threatened by unemployment.

The Rank and File Coalition, and the thousands of other workers who poured onto the field in Washington, can be proud of their action. They turned the AFL-CIO talkathon into a militant demonstration for jobs.

George Hardy is now searching for a way to threaten and punish these workers. His first effort has been this blacklist, a tactic today's labor leaders learned from the employers. It is a tactic the labor movement once fought to abolish. And it is just one more reason why the rank and file must be organized.

The April 26 Rank and File Coalition vowed that the Washington Rally would be just the beginning. And, Hardy's views to the contrary, the labor leadership is



**MEMORANDUM**  
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO, CLC  
900 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20004

Date: April 29, 1975

To: All Affiliated Local Unions  
From: George Hardy  
Subject:


On Saturday, April 26, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO sponsored a massive demonstration in Washington, D.C., demanding federal action to create more jobs. The demonstration was successful in that it brought an estimated 60,000 people to Washington, D.C. and resulted in several parades and picketing demonstrations as well as a huge demonstration at Washington's Kennedy Stadium. Several SEIU locals (from the District of Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Kentucky and other neighboring states), as well as SEIU officials and staff, participated.

Unfortunately, the otherwise orderly and effective rally was interrupted by representatives of certain groups from outside the labor movement which were attempting to disrupt the rally and cause chaos and dissension.

I am attaching a piece of literature called "The Fight Has Just Begun" which was distributed by one of these groups. You will note that its main function is to attempt to split the labor movement and to criticize the established leadership of the labor movement.

I also call your attention to the list of organizations and individuals on the leaflet. Some of these are from bona fide local unions and others are from rump and splinter groups. I suggest that it may be worthwhile to retain this listing of organizations and individuals for future reference.

**THE FIGHT  
HAS JUST BEGUN**



**APRIL 26  
RANK AND FILE  
COALITION**

George Hardy's letter (left), and the Coalition's leaflet. Below, the Rank and File Coalition in Washington, April 26.



well aware of the truth of this and the meaning of the demonstration on the field.

In a letter to members of Congress, I.W. Abel and Jacob Clayman, the top IUD officials, wrote:

"You also read that we could not complete the program we had arranged for the rally. We could not finish our prepared agenda because a number of rally participants in their anger and frustration

gave noisy vent to their bitterness and hopelessness.

"There may be some who would read into this the conclusion that this was no more than an unruly mob bent on trouble-making and mischief. Such reasoning would be utterly erroneous and would be a total misreading of the rally message...

"We read into the events of the rally on Saturday a warning to all of us... a warning that unemployed

and underemployed workers will not quietly or supinely accept high unemployment as a new way of life."

This is certainly the truth. April 26 contained another warning, however. The rank and file will not tolerate a labor leadership that "supinely" watches millions of workers thrown out of their jobs, and then responds with Hubert Humphrey. George Hardy included. □

## Is George Hardy A "Splitter"?

George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union, says he's worried about "splitters" hurting the trade union movement.

His union, the SEIU, is an organization of about half a million members. It organizes hospital workers, school district janitors, and other public employees.

In many cases the SEIU has had jurisdictional disputes with

unions such as AFSCME and the Teamsters.

Competing unions in such circumstances often carry on vicious battles for the dues of the workers they are trying to organize. The SEIU has been no exception.

George Hardy has often acted as though the SEIU's real enemies were AFSCME and the Teamsters, not the employers.

In the summer of 1973, for

example, the SEIU held an organizing conference in Los Angeles. Hardy told the SEIU members present that in organizing situations where AFSCME was on the ballot but not SEIU, the SEIU members should do what they could to interfere with AFSCME's efforts. "No union at all is better than a non-SEIU union," he said.

Solidarity Forever? Not quite. Hardy's fight against the "splitters" should begin at home. □

## NAACP BOSTON MARCH FIZZLES

**BOSTON—Last December 14, 18,000 people demonstrated forcefully in cold, wet weather against racism and mob violence in Boston.**

On May 17, there was another march and rally in Boston. This one was called by the NAACP to de-segregate the schools and "defend the Constitution."

The demonstration was spirited in parts, and buoyed by balmy

spring weather. But the turnout was far fewer than the organizers' predictions of 50-100,000 people.

The small size of the demonstration was not its only weakness. No demands were raised beyond "support the law." In fact, the speeches at the rally focussed heavily on law and order.

The march organizers apparently

thought that since it is the white racists in Boston who are breaking the law by rioting against busing, appeals to law and order are the way to desegregate the schools.

But NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, in his speech at the rally, accidentally exposed why this approach is bankrupt.

Noting that May 17 was the 21st anniversary of the Brown Supreme

## Anthracite Miners

# 52% Plus COL

by Anne Larson

On April 28, following a four week strike, hard coal miners in eastern Pennsylvania voted overwhelmingly to ratify a new, three year contract.

The approved pact calls for a \$2.10 an hour wage increase over the life on the agreement—a 52% increase—and a cost of living adjustment. Operator contributions to the union's pension fund were raised from 80¢ to \$1.40 a ton.

Most rank and file miners are pleased with the large wage increase. It will be a big boost to inflation ridden budgets. Many, however, are angered by the pact's failure to deal with the key problem in the anthracite region—the plight of hard coal's 15,000 forgotten pensioners.

It was expected that winning a substantial wage gain in this contract would present little difficulty. In the past year, the anthracite industry has enjoyed a small boom, as coal prices have soared. Over 90% of the hard coal industry is now strip mining, and profits per manhour are high.

"We deserve to catch up, and they can afford it," was how one miner put it.

## PENSIONS

The pension fund, however, presented a more serious problem.

For years, anthracite has been a declining industry. In the opening decades of the century, 200,000 miners were active in the hard coal fields. Today, there are only 17,000 miners in the district—and fully 15,000 of them are retired!

The pension fund is funded by tonnage royalty. With so many retired miners it has been going slowly bankrupt. The fund has never been able to pay more than \$30 a month in benefits. In April, many pensioners did not receive any checks at all.

## DESPERATE PLIGHT

Many miners felt that this strike was a real opportunity to force the operators to begin to take seriously the desperate plight of the retired hard coal miners. "That's the only reason we're on strike here," one said during the strike. "Because we know that we're going to retire some day too."

But the union failed to take decisive action. UMW officials have stated that they hope to appeal to the Pension Benefits Guarantee Corporation, a government agency, to solve the problem. But this can at best be a partial solution.

The new anthracite pact is a step forward for the miners. It will provide a much needed catch up wage increase, an important victory.

Nevertheless, it was much easier for the companies to grant wage increases to 2000 active miners than to provide decent pensions for 15,000 retirees. And on pensions, the union chose not to fight. □

Mike Hirsch

# Sailors Beat Navy Court

by Kay Stacy

One Puerto Rican and nine black sailors from the USS Little Rock defeated the US Navy at their court martial in Naples, Italy. The sailors' solidarity and the increasing fight waged by minority sailors against racist harassment led to this victory.

The first charges of riot and assault aboard the Little Rock occurred during the 1973 Middle East war. The conflicts stemmed from four months of racial harassment of black and other minority sailors.

Several fights broke out after a white man hit a black man with a wrench. Yet no whites were charged.

## TRANSFER

In July the Navy attempted to transfer two of the sailors from

Naples to a brig in Spain. But all of the Little Rock Brothers demanded to be kept together.

When the commanding officer called in 30 marines to enforce the transfer order, the Brothers held their ground. Several black marines refused to attack them (and were later found guilty of refusing an order).

The Brothers were kept together, but all faced additional charges.

The Navy's case was blatantly racist. And many black sailors are responding militantly to increasing racial harassment and inequality. The result was the Navy was unwilling to chance more militancy among black sailors in response to an unfair conviction.

None of the Little Rock Brothers received a bad discharge. The four charges which were convictions all received brig time of less than 60 days.

# Colegio Supporters Rally

PORTLAND, Or.—The Colegio Cesar Chavez near here has lost one round of its fight against the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) but the battle isn't over yet. The Colegio is the only independent Chicano college in the nation.

Over 300 people from Eugene, Portland, and Seattle attended a rally April 25th in support of the Colegio's demand for HUD to forgive a million dollar debt.

The mortgage was inherited from Mt. Angel College which was folding when some Chicano staff members decided to run the school to serve the Chicano population. The Colegio was unable to make a scheduled payment and HUD started foreclosure proceedings, which continue.

## OCCUPATION

The Colegio supporters are occupying the buildings.

The State of Oregon has also begun steps to collect monies owed by the former Mt. Angel College.

The Colegio has carried the fight to HUD by sitting in at the HUD offices in Portland and Seattle. A meeting was then arranged between the top HUD officials and two of the Colegio's administrators.

Undersecretary of HUD James Mitchell enforced the sanctity of private property by ruling out any solution which would give the Colegio to its students and staff. A decision which would make up for past discrimination against Chicanos was denied because it was "without precedent."

HUD said it might lease the building to the Colegio if it is convinced the school is financially "responsible." This solution would leave the Colegio in the same position it was several months ago when the whole escapade started—with a millstone of debt around its neck.

David Hall

[Please send all donations in support of this struggle to Colegio Cesar Chavez, Mt. Angel, OR 97362; 503-845-2234.]

# labor notes

by Jim Woodward



Have trade union leaders learned anything from the April 26 Jobs rally in Washington when their empty promises brought nothing but boos from the crowd? Well, officials of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department claim they have: "We read into the events of the rally on Saturday a warning to all of us—in and out of government that unemployed and underemployed workers will not quietly or supinely accept high unemployment as a way of life. We must not expect workers will react as passively as they did in the Great Depression," they said.

But even if they've learned something, don't expect that they'll do anything. I.W. Abel, head of the Industrial Union Department, is still praising the steel industry's no-strike agreement, even as unemployment among steel workers climbs to 10%.

It's not just unemployment. Real wages—take home pay adjusted for inflation—fell to their lowest level in 11 years in March. And the crooks—your employers—are taking their extra bite too. In the nine months ended March 31, the government reports they illegally cheated 350,000 workers out of \$82 million by violating the minimum wage, overtime, and equal pay laws. And those are just the ones that got caught.

Recent wildcat strikes are big news in United Mine Workers District 6. The strikes succeeded in forcing several large coal companies to abide by safety clauses in the new contract. But the United Mine Workers Journal has been ordered by the union's executive board not to report on the strikes.

The newspapers are full of talk about an economic recovery that is supposed to start later this year. But what most papers don't say is that this so-called recovery won't help the unemployment picture that much. The Wall Street Journal reports to businessmen that most economists expect the unemployment rate to stay over 7% for at least 2 years. The government's budget projections assume that high an unemployment level until the middle of 1978.

The United Auto Workers union often boasts about its support for the United Farm Workers. But UAW members attending an unemployment counselling school at Region 1-B headquarters May 2 were served head lettuce and spotted an empty Andre wine bottle. Andre is a Gallo wine. And UFW head lettuce is almost impossible to buy in the Detroit area.

George Wallace has always claimed to stand for the little guy, while workers in Alabama have suffered lower wages and benefits than in most other states. Recently Wallace made a lot of noise about his proposal to raise the maximum state unemployment benefit from \$60 a week to \$90. But he didn't say so much about the other part of his proposal, which would have kept the minimum unemployment benefit where it is: at \$15 a week. 35,000 Alabama workers are currently trying to exist on \$15 a week.

The raise in the maximum benefit would have actually benefited big business by decreasing the amount of Supplemental Unemployment Benefits it would have to pay to steel workers, auto workers, and others covered by SUB provisions. Eventually the big-hearted legislature passed a compromise, raising the minimum weekly benefit to \$17.

Here's a noteworthy example of cooperation between striking workers and customers. In Seattle on May 8, employees of Goldie's Football and Billiard Parlor surprised management by going on strike for union recognition and better pay and working conditions. At 7:30 PM the workers announced they were going on strike and asked the customers to join them on the picket line. About 60 of the 65 customers agreed.

Some of the more exuberant customers jammed the pinball machines with Canadian quarters and dumped pitchers of beer on the floor before walking out. A spirited picket line outside included members of CLUW, the UFW boycott committee, and striking workers from SAFECO Insurance Co., as well as members of the Restaurant and Hotel Workers union. After two days, management agreed to all the strikers' demands.

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



## NY Civil Service

# Union Flounders On Wages

by G. Williamson

NEW YORK—Leaders of the Civil Service Employees Association (CSEA) have turned to lobbying New York State legislators to win more than the 2.5% wage

increase Governor Carey has offered. A "fact finding panel" has proposed 6%—still far short of inflation.

There is no longer even talk of a strike. Instead CSEA leaders are now talking about their political "muscle" in the State legislature. Members, however, are not happy with either the results of fact finding or the leadership's tactics.

In New York City, rank and file got together after chapter President Soloman Bendet adjourned a meeting rather than face hostile questions. Rank and file members exchanged names and phone numbers and began discussing how to organize.

This is important because it is the first time rank and file members have been able to get beyond their own agencies to reach others.

Meanwhile, a Suffolk Social Workers Chapter president has been suspended from the CSEA by state leaders. This occurred after he had invited an AFSCME organizer to speak before the chapter. Subsequently an AFSCME organizing committee was formed in Suffolk County.

Then, on May 9, the entire executive board of the chapter resigned and joined the organizing committee. This week some social

workers in Nassau County, also CSEA members, have also met to consider the possibility of affiliation with the AFSCME organizing committee.

The CSEA leaders have failed completely in the wage re-opener negotiations. This failure may prove the end to the CSEA as it has been. A federation of five unions is trying to recruit for a collective bargaining election. Part of the membership appears ready to break away. Finally some members are beginning to do rank and file organizing.



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# AFRICA, 1975 AND REVOLUTION

African liberation day, 1975, is May 24. It comes as the African liberation struggle crosses a watershed. After decades of bitter struggle, one entire phase of African liberation is nearing final victory. Colonialism and white racist rule are being smashed.

In Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, Portuguese rule ended after 15 years of war. After fantastic struggle and sacrifice, the transfer of power to the national independence forces will be completed within a few months.

## POWERFUL BLACK NATIONS

The collapse of Portugal's power in Africa affected more than the colonies. The remaining centers of white minority rule, Rhodesia and South Africa are thrown into tremendous crisis. The prospect of powerful black nations in Angola and Mozambique means an overwhelming shift in the balance of power in southern Africa.

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), white supremacy is on the rocks. Ian Smith's regime only survives because thousands of South African police help fight his war. Zimbabwe guerrillas have liberated much of the countryside.

White rule in Zimbabwe is so isolated that even its protectors in South Africa are ready to dump it.

## SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS

South Africa itself is the most powerful imperialist force in Africa. It props up Rhodesian rule: its economic power dominates half the continent.

But even South Africa cannot maintain the grip it has held for decades. All its aid failed to save its greatest ally, Portuguese colonialism.

And within South Africa is the largest, most powerful and potentially revolutionary working class in Africa—the black workers who produce its enormous wealth. They have the power to smash white racist rule, and capitalism along with it.

The basic question facing the African liberation struggles this African Liberation Day is: what lies ahead when the battle for independence is won?

The key to the power of Africa is unity. A united Africa would be a tremendous economic and political force. It is rich in industry and agriculture, mineral resources, and energy resources from hydroelec-

tric power to off-shore oil.

The idea of African unity is not new. It has been the goal of the liberation struggle throughout this century.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

But instead of unity, power and prosperity, Africa today faces division, weakness and poverty.

Sahel is south of the Sahara desert. Millions of peasants face a permanent threat of starvation.

In independent African states, the power of western neo-colonialism has penetrated everywhere. In Malagasy, French economic interests have helped promote one military coup after another. In Zambia, 60% of investment is British. The government has become an ally of Britain and South Africa to crush the revolutionary Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) liberation movement.

In Ethiopia, the military regime maintains the Emperor Haile Selassie's old claim to rule over Eritrea. Instead of unity, the war against Eritrean national independence is ripping Ethiopia to shreds.

For Africa to realize its potential, the problem of unity

must be solved. There must be a powerful social force throughout the continent to overcome divisions that perpetuate weakness and misery.

## FORGING UNITY

The independent states today are run by national ruling classes. They cannot achieve this aim. They are too interested in keeping their privileges over masses of people in their own countries.

Each separate national ruling class is tightly bound in its own web of local power bases, and economic interests controlled by western powers.

The black working classes of Africa, through socialist revolution,

can lead the fight for liberation. Africa's unity will be forged by its working class. Only its interests goes beyond the existing state boundaries.

African workers have already begun to show their power. In the former Portuguese colonies, they were the backbone of the fight against neo-colonial settlements after the Portuguese armies were defeated. In South Africa, they have waged huge strike waves to form their own unions and win wage increases of over 100%. Nigerian workers fought the military regime in a general strike earlier this year.

Workers' power and confidence are growing—and they are the key to the future of Africa. □

## Independent Nigeria - Starvation and Millionaires

[Martha Osamor is a revolutionary from Nigeria. She is a member of the National Committee of the International Socialists in Britain.]

by Martha Osamor

Every fourth day of my childhood I used to walk seven miles carrying a bag of palm kernel or gallons of palm oil on my head.

This was market day, when John Holts was open. They weighed and measured and paid for my products, which would be exported to Unilever to make Palmolive soap.

The weighing and measuring was a mockery. We never knew what it meant and they paid what they thought was right.

I remember very well the beautiful houses of the bosses and how I used to stand and admire their bouncy children playing. They never walked miles in the heat of the sun, or labored day and night for peanuts.

This was before Independence came to Nigeria. Things have not changed much since, except the color of some of the exploiters.

Holts is owned by Lonrho, whose turnover for the first nine months of last year was up from \$400 million to \$520 million.

Profits are \$63 million against \$35 million in the same period last year.

Lonrho has sugar projects in Dahomey and the Ivory Coast, a 45 per cent holding in Ashanti Goldfields, John Holt interests, an interest in Kaduna Textiles and in oil seed mills in Nigeria. That's just in West Africa.

The conditions of the families of the workers and peasants who supply these companies have become even worse with world inflation.

Most of the land, that was used

for growing family food products is being taken over by what the Government calls the Green Revolution in the major crops.

Large sums of money are given to a few, who are already well-off, to develop farm projects so the starving millions can be fed.

But what happens is that crates of yams and okra are flown to places like London and New York a few hours after harvest. There is more money for it there.

## A FEW MILLIONAIRES

Meanwhile starvation continues at home—and the Green Revolution creates a few millionaires.

Capitalism spreads from the North to the South Pole. It is more international than we think. It brings evils such as unemployment, insecurity, poverty, thought control, the growth of ultra-right reaction, racism and the danger of a war that could wipe us all out.

Only socialism can destroy these evils. It must be international or it is no good—for the landlords of slums in Lagos, Accra, New York, Washington, Delhi and London are all out for the same aims—RENT AND PROFIT.

The system that exploits textile workers in Kaduna does the same the world over in different languages and money.

## COLOR OF THE CAPITALIST

The only difference is that in some countries the color of the capitalist is different.

There are those who don't see anything wrong in capitalism but would be happy if only their exploiter could be their color or their caste.

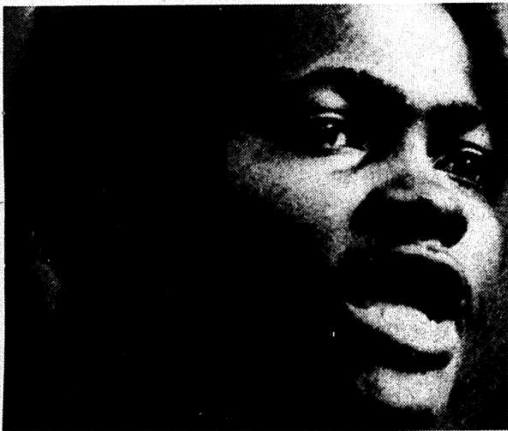
They—and those who dislike capitalism in any form, color or shape—must join the struggle.

Only with united action can it be done. The struggle is far deeper than racial. It is a struggle for democracy. □

Arrest.  
Crime  
unknown.

South African  
Police State,  
Cape Town  
November 74

Photo by  
Phil McCowen



Martha Osamor

## Time Running

Time is rapidly running out for white racist rule in southern Africa. A few years are all that remains for the white settler regime in Rhodesia.

In Pretoria and Johannesburg, the rulers of South Africa know their vicious racist rule cannot last much longer.

## CRUSH LIBERATION

The South African government today is trying to re-draw the political map in the southern half of the continent. It is also promoting a

new concept of relations with independent black states. The word it uses is "detente".

South Africa's concept of detente is very simple. It means friendly relations with the most right-wing independent black states, and helping them to crush the militant liberation forces.

Last October, Prime Minister John Vorster announced he was ready to withdraw 14,000 South African police who are aiding Rhodesian troops against black liberation forces.

Vorster's declaration badly



# YEAR OF LIBERATION

## Portuguese And Africans Defeat Imperialism

Portugal's colonial empire in Africa was one of the first to arise at the dawn of capitalism in the fifteenth century.

Now, with the capitalist system in crisis and decay, the final collapse of that empire has created the greatest revolutionary upheaval to hit any capitalist country in decades.

The wars of national liberation in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and the revolution to smash the monopolies in Portugal, are two arms of the same struggle. Neither could succeed without the other.

Fascist rule in Portugal, and colonial rule in Africa, both represented the exact same system: the power of a tiny handful of giant

Portuguese families, conglomerates and banks.

The wars in Africa played a major role in leading to the coup of April 25, 1974 which brought down Portugal's fascist government.

### SPINOLA

However, Portugal's ruling class had no intention of giving up their economic power in the colonies. They turned to a general named Antonio de Spinoia, the same man who as military governor of Guinea had set up the murder of independence leaders Amilcar Cabral in 1973.

Spinoia's proposal was neo-colonialism: to grant autonomy to the colonies, but to keep them



under the heel of Portugal's companies.

But the Portuguese workers derailed his plan. They paid their debt to their African brothers and sisters, whose struggles had liberated them from fascism at home.

In the summer of 1974, Portuguese workers waged a huge struggle against all remnants of the old regime. Their struggles toppled Spinoia's so-called First Provisional Government.

A few months later, massive

working class action against a right-wing coup attempt brought down Spinoia for good. With him went Portugal's rulers' last hope for hanging onto power in Africa.

### NOT OVER

The masses of African workers and peasants in the colonies, and the working class of Portugal, have freed each other from fascism and Portuguese neo-colonialism. But the struggle is not over.

Portugal is on the brink of revolution. In Angola, a right-wing takeover and civil war could break out. The fate of the Portuguese workers and the masses of people in the former colonies are still tied together.

The Portuguese workers and African liberation struggles have shown the potential for revolutionary alliance in a period of capitalist crisis. Their common struggle is transforming the whole face of both Africa and Europe.

## ANGOLA: CIVIL WAR LOOMS

Angola has won its war for independence from Portugal. But there may be a brutal civil war before the first national government is created.

For the second time this year, forces from the two major liberation armies, MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) are fighting it out with heavy mortars, rocket launchers and bazookas.

MPLA is the left wing of the independence movement and has its main strength among the poor, in the slums that surround the capital city Luanda.

MPLA sympathizers have also led major strikes: the dockers in 1973, and the railroad workers, bank workers and dockers last year.

### 1000 DEAD

Over 1000 people are reported killed in the latest round of fighting.

In earlier fighting this year, street battles lasted two days before an uneasy truce was patched together by the Portuguese army. In that fighting, groups of MPLA supporters were rounded up by FNLA units, herded away into the countryside and shot.

The stakes are high in the struggle for Angola. Angola has a huge trade surplus based on exports of oil, diamonds, coffee and iron ore. In the last few years its economy has grown rapidly, and Luanda, the capital, was considered one of the fastest growing cities in the world.

But this growth thinly covers up

the misery of the masses of people. Out of a black population of 5.1 million, 1.1 million are wage earners who earn one dollar a day for unskilled labor.

The other four million depend on subsistence agriculture. The average income of agricultural laborers is under \$80 per year.

### FREEDOM FIGHTERS

These five million are the people who have fought so bitterly for freedom since 1961, when MPLA launched the armed struggle in Angola. They are the people whom the US government is once again trying to force into a new kind of slavery.

What the US government wants in Angola is very clear. The US is heavily backing FNLA, through the government of neighboring Zaire. It is out to split and crush MPLA, and bring to power a government led by FNLA and backed by the white settlers.

The whites, who are a powerful, heavily armed population of five hundred thousand are flocking to the support of a third organization called Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The US government wants to see FNLA and UNITA united into a powerful right-wing party that would ensure the investments of corporations like Gulf Oil.

The right-wing FNLA also enjoys political support from China, which fears that MPLA may be sympathetic to its rival Russia.

The civil war is thus opening Angola to penetration by imperialist powers, both West and East.



## Out For Racist South African Rule

frightened his friends in Rhodesia who believed he was getting ready to end white rule in Rhodesia.

But Vorster's aims are somewhat different. His concern is to make sure that the black liberation movement in Zimbabwe is tied to Kaunda and to South Africa, so that if black leaders ever do take power they will be friendly to South African money and power.

Vorster's peace conditions were that President Kenneth Kaunda of neighboring Zambia stop the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) guerrillas from using bases in his country.

Kaunda leaped to the offer, hailing Vorster's words as "A voice of wisdom Africa has been awaiting for a long time."

He also set about to convince other African heads of state that Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia was ready to grant majority (black) rule.

### ZANU

To "prepare" for this happy ending, one thing was necessary—to crush the militant leadership of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National

Union), the revolutionary wing of the Zimbabwe resistance struggle.

Last winter, South Africa helped set up negotiations in Zambia among the liberation forces and the Rhodesian regime. The South African regime pressured Ian Smith of Rhodesia to release Ndabaningwe Sithole, president of ZANU, from detention in order to attend.

Rhodesia made a simple, clear offer: the black forces should disarm themselves and surrender in exchange for further negotiations. When ZANU rejected this,

the talks collapsed.

### BACK IN PRISON

Sithole has now been thrown back in prison in Rhodesia. He will secretly be tried on trumped-up charges of plotting to kill other black leaders.

Under the guidance of South Africa, the US and Britain, Kaunda's government in Zambia has begun a brutal drive to crush ZANU. Its chairman, Herbert Chitepo, was murdered. 1400 ZANU supporters in Zambia have

been arrested, their offices smashed and their assets seized.

South Africa controls the economy of Zambia through the Anglo-American Corporation. Its slogan of "detente" means it intends to run Rhodesia or Zimbabwe the same way, whatever the color of the politicians in power.

The final destruction of South Africa's power will be a revolution by its victims from within—the black working class. The revolution in South Africa will spell the final victory for liberation in Zimbabwe and all southern Africa.

# WE THINK



# WHAT

# Mayaguez - Imperialist Show

The facts are beginning to come out about what really happened in last week's "rescue" of the ship Mayaguez off the coast of Cambodia. By the time the full truth is known, the raid on Cambodia will become another scandal for the United States government.

Why did the Cambodian armed forces seize the Mayaguez in the first place?

We will never get any reliable answer to the question of whether the Mayaguez was an innocent ship as claimed, or whether in fact it was engaged in electronic spying operations.

Most important, however, there was certainly no way for the Cambodians to know this. They have just succeeded in overthrowing a government that was backed to the hilt by US arms, equipment and cash. They have every reason to think—and so do we—that the US would be engaged in off-shore spying under cover of civilian ships.

The Cambodian seizure of the Mayaguez was an act of self-defense by a small nation which has just rid itself of imperialist control. The massive retaliation by the US had nothing to do with saving American lives. The US government knew that the crew was free 3½ hours before Ford ordered the main bombing raids. It was a calculated, brutal gesture to demonstrate that American military power is still on call to pulverize any small country that gets in its way.

Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger are strutting around Washington bragging about how they "drew the line" when American honor was threatened. The whole Congress, including the famous liberal "doves" who want to take credit for stopping the war in Vietnam, are cheering them on.

Secretary of Defense Schlesinger already made the connection between the Mayaguez bombing and the rest of US foreign policy. He stated that similar action could be used if oil-producing states declare another oil embargo on the US.

That is the whole point. The bombing of Cambodia proves that US imperialism has not been changed or reformed by its defeat in Vietnam. In ending one war, it is already preparing for the next.

Washington is paying a price for this new crime. Its relations with Thailand are going down the drain because of anger against the use of US bases in Thailand as a Marine staging area for the assault.

American workers are being told we should take pride in the re-capture of the Mayaguez, because Gerald Ford has shown we can't be pushed around. But what he has really shown is that the crimes of this imperialist system will never end, even for a day, until it is uprooted and destroyed. That is the job we have to carry out right here at home. □



A U.S. Navy helicopter lies disabled on Tang after the island was attacked by Marines.

## AMNESTY NOW

As socialists rejoice in the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodian liberation struggles, we should not forget one group which contributed to that victory, but which has not yet won its own victory.

These are the thousands of Americans still living in exile because they refused to fight in Indochina. A group of exiled war resisters have published an Open Letter to the American People, and they state: "As exiled war resisters, the war is not over for us until we win universal and unconditional amnesty..." Ford's punitive "clemency" program was rejected by 84% of those eligible, even though it was extended twice.

The American anti-war movement helped to isolate

the imperialists in their war effort. It hastened the overdue victory of the liberation forces. Those who refused to fight were an important part of that effort.

The letter reasserts what many now know: that the war was fought not in the interests of the people of South Vietnam, nor in the interests of the American people, but in the interests of the American ruling class.

The Toronto American Exiles Association is demanding a no-strings amnesty for all draft resisters, deserters, civilians with anti-war records, and all the more than 600,000 vets with less than honorable discharges.

Support the demand of the exiles. Don't let them be the scapegoats for imperialism's defeat. Universal and Unconditional Amnesty now! □

## Talking About Socialism...

by Bernard O'Higgins

I got a comment from a reader on the column about what work would be like under socialism. "It all sounds very well and good. But who would pick up the garbage in a socialist society?"

We've all heard this question before. If we didn't have a system where economic necessity forces people to do work they hate in order to eat, who would end up doing the dirty, unpleasant jobs that have to be done to keep society functioning?

Under capitalism, hard, dirty, boring, dangerous, destructive—and low-paying—jobs are exactly what most working people spend their whole lives doing.

Whether we're talking about the pit in an auto assembly plant or the open hearth in the steel mill, the textile sweatshops or the backbreaking labor picking cotton or grapes—there's no doubt about who performs the most miserable jobs in this society. Us.

Does work always have to be like this? What will be different about the way socialist work is organized?

### REVOLUTION

The beginning of the answer is revolution. This society will be turned upside down by the same

people who do the back-breaking dirty work that capitalist profits are built on. When workers take power, and seize control of industry to run it themselves, the nature of work will begin to change.

The first thing that socialist revolution will change in the nature of work is who gives the orders. The workers who do the hard, dirty jobs won't be taking orders from managers with soft jobs and easy chairs.

That's not the only change, but it's a big one.

The second thing that will start to change is the kind of division of labor that cripples people in this society, that prevents most of us from every developing most of our real individual talents.

The capitalist division between mental and manual labor gives us the choice of either being minds that do no physical work or hands that aren't supposed to think. Either one is much less than a full human being.

Marx felt that not only was this kind of division of labor bad for the individual, but that modern industry had made it socially unnecessary. Even more, it's a barrier to the full development of the productive forces of society.

Modern capitalist industry, unlike industry in earlier forms of society, is revolutionary. It's always in a process of violent change as one technical process replaces another, jobs created

and jobs eliminated as technology and social needs change and develop.

Yet the capitalist division of labor produces individuals who know only one narrow, specialized job or another. As a result, every time there's a major advance in technology thousands of people are thrown out of work, often for good.

As Marx once commented, every major technological advance affects the working class as a major social disaster.

### MODERN INDUSTRY

Modern industry needs individuals who are able to do a whole range of different jobs, mental as well as manual.

Capitalism won't create more than a tiny, special handful of such individuals, though. Under capitalism it seems more "rational" to train workers to do just one kind of job and throw us out of work when that job becomes unnecessary.

For one thing, the threat of unemployment is an important tool in the capitalist arsenal of ways to try to keep us in line. If we each had three or four developed skills we wouldn't be as vulnerable.

That's the way it is under capitalism. But a socialist society couldn't afford to waste human resources in this way. Nor would there be any social or economic

reasons for doing so. In a socialist society, advances in technology would serve working people instead of throwing us out of work and ruining our lives. As a matter of course we'd all learn a number of skills—and we could keep learning new ones in the process of work itself.

In a socialist society, we won't spend our entire lives doing one kind of work, or one simple job, over and over again. We will be able to be both factory and office workers. We will serve on workers' councils or other social bodies.

Rotating jobs will be normal. We will be workers, then students and then workers again. And we will also be teachers as we share our skills and knowledge with younger workers, or fellow workers who are broadening their own abilities.

That brings us to the answer of the so-called problem of "who would pick up the garbage."

A socialist society would concentrate on producing a lot less garbage, and finding easy and efficient ways to dispose of it. In the meantime, responsibility for picking it up would be organized and shared collectively—just like everything else.

The only thing we wouldn't have is people who are specially trained and paid to teach us that socialism is impossible, because no one would ever do the dirty work. □

... And Dirty Work

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# Letters

to

# Workers' Power

## 'He didn't fit the image'

On the other side of the Network coupon [W.P. #118] there's a short article on a rally at the University of Texas (UT). Made me feel good to see that the people in Austin are back at it.

But the line "The civil rights movement of the '60's had only a meek effect on integration" made me want to share an important memory.

In '63-'67 I was working as a night attendant at Austin State Hospital and going to UT during the day. Most of the other night attendants were also going to school and one of them, a fellow named George Vizard, was also active in the civil rights movement.

We had many long discussions those nights at work about democracy and civil rights and war, and it was George that talked me into going with him to my first picket line—at a furniture store with a white-only hiring policy.

In '65 he got me to pass out some

leaflets against the war in Vietnam. I never got to be very active but he sowed a seed or two.

He didn't fit into what came to be the image of a good radical, being southern-white-male-short-haired—what a lot of people would call a redneck—trying to get an education. But he tried like hell to get people to stick up for human decency.

They finally found his body one day stuffed in a 7-11 store cooler with six .45 slugs in his back. No arrests were ever made even though the Klan had been threatening to kill him for some time.

Anyway, the movement in the '60's in Austin might have been "meek," but George died for it, and he ought to be remembered—along with how many more, black and white, who never made the northern press.

S.K.  
Denver, Colorado



## Foreman Tries To Operate

I just wanted to write and tell you about something that happened to me at work.

It seems that the United Parcel Service now has supervisors who think that they are also MD's. I got hurt last week while loading a trailer when a piece of wood punctured my leg. I then asked to be taken to the hospital, but was told that UP employees do not get taken to the hospital just to have "splinters" removed.

Then I was told that a supervisor would be down with tweezers to

remove any wood that was left in the wound. I, of course, refused to be treated by the supervisor and was finally taken to the hospital.

The removal of my "splinter" finally required an incision, 2 shots, and 3 stitches.

Carol Rozzo  
Pittsburgh, PA.

## RAILROAD

Enclosed please find a copy of our newsletter the Underground Railroad. This is the fifth month of publication and we have spread the gospel of workers' control of unions and industry throughout the railroad workers in Chicago.

We are a small group of workers on the various railroads in Chicago and this paper is funded by donations from the rank and file railroad workers.

We would like to expand nationwide in distribution and get in touch with workers who want to develop rank and file publications. We will be glad to send copies to anyone who could make a contribution.

We request any help you might be able to give us. A mention in the paper would be very much appreciated.

Our address is: Underground Railroad, P.O. Box 4591, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

Michael W. Gillmor  
Chicago, Illinois

John Birnel  
Tacoma, WA.

# HOW VICTORIES ARE WON

Revolutionaries have known for a long time that reforms are usually concessions made by our rulers when they become scared by militant action. All of us know that the corporations, and the politicians they own in the Democratic and Republican Parties, have done nothing for the 10 million unemployed.

The thousands of workers who swarmed onto the field of the AFL-CIO rally did more than drown out Hubert Humphrey and



Al Shanker. They put fear into them—fear of a working class getting out of line and fighting for itself.

If they make reforms and give some concessions for the unem-

ployed, it was because of the unity, militant, and radical workers there. They fought for us all.

J.G.  
Detroit

## Los Angeles Demonstration

# Open Political Discussion Denied

Your report on the L.A. demonstration against Dayan [W.P. #119 April 24—May 7] correctly pointed out that the behavior of the Stalinist-Maoist Revolutionary Union "could have easily given the large numbers of police in the area a pretext for attacking the demon-

strators as a whole." In fact, the gangster-like behavior of the R.U. presented a far more serious problem than just that.

They attempted to prevent the anti-Stalinist revolutionary left and others from demonstrating in the

streets against Dayan. Various revolutionary groups, including the IS and the Red Tide, were forced to set up their own picket line in order to resist this attempt.

However, we still suffered a political defeat. The Third World Solidarity Committee demanded that no organizations raise any additional slogans to those of their own and forbade signs identifying various participating organizations.

We could not accept these non-negotiable conditions and were therefore unable to join the main body of the march.

We must convince anti-imperialist groups like the TWSC of the need for united action on the basis of agreed-on principles while still respecting and allowing for the open expression of political disagreement.

Ricardo Levy  
Los Angeles

# Muscle and Blood

Sarah Schafer's review of Muscle and Blood reminded me of the Chrysler stamping plant where I worked. Health and safety was given such a low priority that almost weekly someone suffered from a serious, maiming accident.

he did not find a single violation of the Occupational Health and Safety Act.

Two weeks later a woman lost 2 fingers in a press because the company had not bothered to set up the guard that went on that press.

The next day management saw its first wildcat in years and years.

E.K.  
Detroit

I remember seeing a government inspector tour the plant with the steward. The steward told me that

# AUTHORITIES THREATEN DAVID RICE DEFENSE

Ed Poindexter and I, David Rice, have been in prison since April of 1971, following our conviction on first-degree murder charge in connection with the August '70 bombing death of Patrolman Larry Minard of the Omaha Police Dept. Prior to our conviction, we spent eight months in the Douglas County Jail.

Since that time, we, members of our families, friends, and supports have worked hard trying to organize efforts toward our release. In the last several months, a functional defense committee has been formed in our behalf, additional legal help obtained, a large volume of literature printed and distributed, and additional funds raised.

In June of 1974, my conviction was overturned by Federal District Judge Warren Urbom. Following this decision, my attorneys filed a motion for bond, which was denied. Though I was ordered released or retried within 90 days, the State has been able to stretch hell out of that 90 days by appealing Urbom's decision to the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals (which affirmed the reversal) and then to the US Supreme Court, where the case is at present.

The Rice-Poindexter Defense Committee, in conjunction with the University of Nebraska at Omaha's International Women's Year Committee, had arranged for Angela Davis to speak in Omaha and to attend a fund-raising event on Ed's and my behalf. She was scheduled to speak at the Omaha Civic Auditorium Music Hall and to attend a cocktail party, sponsored by the defense committee.

Notice of the Davis appearance



David Rice

ment teamed up against the Defense Committee with treats of raiding the affair. The cocktail party was diluted to a soft drink party.

Edward Wiley, business agent for the Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators, threatened to not turn on the lights in the Music Hall of the Civic Auditorium for "the avowed communist."

On the very day that Angela was to speak, a group of white Catholics and other "Concerned (white) 'Christians'" marched about with picket signs in an attempt to pressure Archbishop Sheehan to bar the use of Holy Family Church to "an avowed communist to raise funds for the two cop-killers."

But despite the uproar, Angela Davis did speak at the Civic Auditorium with lights, and to an audience of over 1,200 people. The fund-raising party did take place at Holy Family, thanks to the courageous refusal, by Sheehan, to bar the use of the church for the fund-raiser. Approximately 250 persons attended and nearly \$1,500 raised.

Ed and I both wish to thank the Defense Committee, Angela, friends, and supporters for the work done on our behalf, especially during this past week. We'd also like to thank the white racists, whose hell-raising drew so much attention and was probably a major factor in bringing about the large attendance at the Davis press conference, her speech at the auditorium, the fund-raising party, and Ed's hearing before Judge Urbom.

David Rice  
Omaha, NE

# Building The Teamsters

by Harry Selden

In May of 1934 20,000 striking Minneapolis truck drivers and sympathizers chased 1,500 fast running police and special deputies through the city's market place in what was appropriately called the Battle of Deputies Run. When the police stopped running, they found two special deputies dead and the working class of Minneapolis united behind the drive of the city's truck drivers and warehousemen to gain union recognition.

It would take a few more battles to fully show the employers what workers power meant. Out of these struggles Drivers Local 574 would emerge as a powerful force in Minneapolis and an example that would help make the Teamsters a strong industrial union throughout the country.

## EXPLANATIONS

The employers of Minneapolis had a simple explanation for the disasters they saw occurring: it was the "reds" on direct orders from Moscow that were trying to make a revolution in Minneapolis. The truck drivers and helpers had a different answer to why class war was raging—they wanted a union and were ready to fight for it.

The leadership of the strike were not under orders from Moscow. They were revolutionary socialists, members of a small group called the Communist League of America, the American Trotskyists.

They led the truck drivers strike because they recognized that it was in the day to day struggles of workers that the revolutionary movement would be built. At that point, the key step was building industrial unions. And it was possible to organize the sentiment for a union into a fighting reality.

The struggle that would turn into class war in May and July began quietly in January of 1934. General Drivers Local 574 was a half-dead local of the Teamsters with about 150 members that allegedly represented the thousands of truck drivers and helpers in the city. Most of the trucking firms didn't bother to recognize the union. For the truckers this meant working twelve hours a day for less and less money when there was work.

## READY TO FIGHT

The Communist League recognized that workers were ready to fight against the bosses if they had a leadership that could do something more than collect dues.

Vincent, Ray and Miles Dunne and Karl Skoglund were members of the League who were workers and respected unionists in the trucking industry in Minneapolis. With other militants they organized a strike in the coal yards in February which won some degree of recognition from the bosses.

For the workers of Minneapolis this was enough to prove that this leadership was serious. They began joining the union by the hundreds. By April there were 3,000 members and by May, 6,000.



Teamster pickets fighting with police during the May 1934 Minneapolis strike.

The class lines were drawn. Most Minneapolis truck drivers were not revolutionaries but they had had enough of the city's employers. Unemployment was 30%, their wages were being cut and job security was nonexistent. The Communist League was telling them that Local 574 could be made into an organization that would fight effectively for their interests. The League had a commitment only to the working class, not to the bosses' profits or to preserving the system.

The League wanted to organize all workers into the union and work with the militants to give it leadership. Some workers, like Farrell Dobbs who was to become an important leader of the strike, joined the League. Others like Bill Brown, the international organizer of the Teamsters, worked closely with them.

The city employers were not as late getting organized as the truckers. Realizing quite clearly where their interests were, they had been organized since the first world war in the Citizen's Alliance, an anti-union employers group. They had successfully defeated every attempt at organization by the city's workers for the last fifteen years.

They too viewed the central question as union organizing—they were opposed to it in any form. The employers realized that the economic upturn at the beginning of 1934 was giving the workers confidence. What they failed to see was the determination of the union leadership.

The situation was further complicated by the Farmer-Labor Party of Minneapolis and its most prominent member, Governor Floyd B. Olson. Olson found militant talk a lot easier than action, but at the beginning truckers still had confidence in him. The Communist League realized that Olson was a lot more interested in preserving the capitalist state and his own political career than helping Local 574. They said so even though it was an unpopular opinion.

## FARMER-LABOR PARTY

As the strikes of the summer unfolded, workers began to realize that the Farmer-Labor party supported the system that was trying to smash their union. Olson declared martial law in July.

The bayonets of the governor's troops, moving the employers' trucks through the city, were a lot more convincing than the League's arguments alone.

The next three articles in this series will describe and analyze how workers in Minneapolis built Local 574 into a powerful union. Today, as conditions for workers keep worsening, the way that workers fought back in 1934 is of more than historical interest for they overcame martial law, the troops, and the bayonets. They won.

Their story is a valuable guide to action. The next two issues will examine the strikes that were waged in May and July 1934 to gain recognition of Local 574.

# Rally Boosts Teamster Sanitation Strike

by Anne Larson

CHELTENHAM, Pa.—1000 people marched and rallied here May 17 in support of the three-month strike by the township's sanitation workers. The demonstration of support was called and led by Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The march was attended by members of Teamsters Locals 500, 675 and 115, a large contingent

from AFT, and by rank and file postal, auto, iron and other workers.

John Morris, President of the striking Teamster local, told the crowd assembled at the rally site: "We pick up your slop, shovel their snow, do their dirty work. All we're asking for is an honest day's wage for an honest day's work. And if they can afford to pay these scabs \$33 an hour, why they can afford to pay us something we can live off without being a miracle

worker."

The garbagemen have been on strike since February 24 for 95c hourly wage increase and an improved benefits package.

## RACISM AN ISSUE

The SCLC became involved in the strike because of the racist character of the union-busting efforts.

The garbage men in this wealthy suburb of Philadelphia are 95% black. The scabs being used by the township to bust the strike are white.

Most jobs in other service departments in this township are held by whites. The sanitation

strikers are demanding seniority applicable across departments as well as in the sanitation department internally.

Then, if there are layoffs in sanitation, workers will be eligible for jobs held by lower-seniority workers in other departments.

## "LOVE ME, I'M A LIBERAL"

Township officials have denied allegations that racism is an issue in the strike. "I don't believe this is a racial situation," said township commissioner Allen Reuben.

"Besides," Reuben complained, "This hurts me, because I am a liberal Democrat. I was once arrested in Pittsburgh for sitting

down in a Stouffer's restaurant when we were trying to integrate it."

In other words, this official wants the black sanitation workers to love him because he's a liberal—even though he's leading the campaign to drive down their pay, smash their union and keep blacks at the bottom of the work force.

Ralph Abernathy told the workers at the rally that he would return to Philadelphia if necessary to win the strike. "We will build a Resurrection City if we have to, on the lawns of the \$100,000 homes," he said.

The enthusiastic marchers called back their answer—if this was necessary, they would be there.

## DOCTOR ABERNATHY AND MAYOR RIZZO

Although leaders of the May 17 march in Cheltenham were pleased with turnout, many participants felt that the march could have been even bigger.

Several days before, Ralph Abernathy appeared before a meeting of union officials in Philadelphia and endorsed Philadelphia's racist cop mayor Frank Rizzo. The mayor is running for re-nomination in the city's Democratic primary next week.

The AFL-CIO council in Philadelphia supports Rizzo. Abernathy

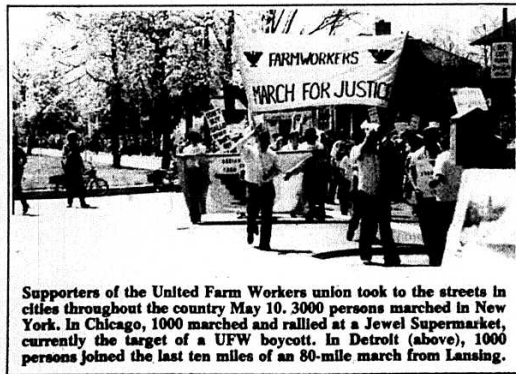
apparently felt that by making his endorsement, he could gain labor support for the march.

However, many rank and file workers are bitterly opposed to Rizzo's anti-labor and racist policies. Already, a number of local unions including UAW Local 1851 and the American Postal Workers Union, have voted to repudiate the endorsements of their leadership. Abernathy's Rizzo endorsement actually cut down rank and file participation. One marcher said, "I support the striking workers. But I

wish the issue of Mayor Rizzo hadn't come up. I don't support Rizzo, and I know it has prevented people from coming today."

Marchers hissed and booed a truck decked out with Rizzo banners that drove along the march route.

Abernathy was evidently embarrassed by the angry response to his endorsement of the racist cop mayor. After the march he tried to deny that he had endorsed Rizzo at all.



Supporters of the United Farm Workers union took to the streets in cities throughout the country May 10. 3000 persons marched in New York. In Chicago, 1000 marched and rallied at a Jewel Supermarket, currently the target of a UFW boycott. In Detroit (above), 1000 persons joined the last ten miles of an 80-mile march from Lansing.

# Class Struggle in Eastern Europe

[Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe, by Chris Harman. Pluto Press, 1974, 296 pages. \$3.95. Available from Sun Distribution International, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.]

by Kevin Bradley

On June 15, 1953 sixty building workers in East Berlin stopped work to protest new government-imposed work norms that required 10% more output for 30% lower wages.

They began a march downtown. By the time they got there, the march was a demonstration of 10,000 chanting, "We want to be free men, not slaves."

The next day 60,000 East Berlin workers were out on a general strike, along with over 200,000 throughout the rest of East Germany. The first revolutionary struggle against the bureaucratic regimes of Eastern Europe had begun.

Chris Harman of the British International Socialists shows how these bureaucratic regimes were set up in these societies. He also explains how the working classes of Eastern Europe began to revolt against the new social system which was exploiting them.

## BUREAUCRACY

At the end of World War II the armies of Stalin's Russia occupied the Eastern European countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania and Bulgaria. Peasant armies led by Communists took power in Yugoslavia and Albania.

By 1948, these societies had been transformed. The new regimes ruled in the same way as did Stalin's in Russia.

All the productive facilities of the countries were nationalized. The governments called themselves Socialist and Communist. However, the workers and peasants in these societies controlled nothing. They were ruled, exploited and brutally suppressed by the bureaucracy that ran and controlled the Communist Parties.

As Harman shows, using Czechoslovakia as the most important example, the working class did not take power through a revolution. Instead the Communist Parties, backed by Stalin's armies, used their positions in coalition governments to penetrate the police and the rest of the state apparatus.

From these powerful positions, the Communist Parties first eliminated revolutionary socialists who stood for the workers taking power themselves. Then, using "salami tactics" (chopping off one slice at a time) reform-minded socialists and liberals were removed.

By this process, the Communist Parties rapidly took over complete power in these countries. In turn Russia dominated them politically, economically and militarily in a new form of imperialism.

Harman's book proves, beyond doubt, that the societies of Eastern Europe have nothing to do with

socialism or democracy. The other great merit of this book is in showing how this system gave rise to crises and revolutionary struggles almost as soon as it came into existence.

## REVOLUTION

The most powerful section of this book is the whole chapter devoted to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

The Hungarian Revolution created workers' councils made up of delegates who were freely elected by workers in every factory. Representatives of the separate factory councils eventually came together to form the Budapest Central Workers Council.

These councils formed a direct challenge to the whole bureaucratic regime. Harman quotes extensively from their statements and demands. He analyzes why they stood for a total alternative to the

bureaucratic system, as opposed to the liberal Stalinists who only wanted to reform it.

The Workers' Council in the Hungarian Revolution spelled out demands for the right of workers to strike, to organize, to speak freely and to control the factories.

The Workers' Council was the same kind of revolutionary body the workers' councils were in Russia in 1917—and which the revolutionary workers in Portugal are creating today.

Whether in Hungary 1956 or Portugal today, the victory of the workers' councils would mean smashing the state apparatus and

creating workers' power.

## RULING CLASS

Harman's excellent book views the Communist Party bureaucracy in the Eastern European countries as a ruling class. It must be overthrown by workers' revolution to win the battle for socialism. In all this he is completely correct.

Harman calls these societies state capitalist. He believes their economies are essentially capitalist, but a different form than the capitalism of countries like the United States where wealth is privately owned.



"Strike! The Struggle Continues"



# 'Our Norman' New Faces In The Comics

by Karen Kaye

Meet Norman. He's from the pages of Socialist Worker, new newspaper of the British International Socialists. He's a factory worker, but his real job is demonstrating how ridiculous capitalism is. The samples on this page show better than words how effective he is at it!

What are Norman's adventures? He meets bad working conditions, unemployment, high prices, reluctant union leaders... the real villains in life that seldom make their way into the comics. But Norman is no hero, battling them like a socialist superman. He and his friends are regular people, each with their own personality, trying to cope with all this, and getting their eyes opened about capitalism in the process.

They're drawn by Evans, the most creative socialist cartoonist around. You can get the book for \$1.15 from Sun Distribution International, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.

Don't delay! Add Norman to your circle of friends and you'll never regret it.

# IS National Committee Meets

The National Committee of the International Socialists met in Detroit May 10-12. The agenda of the meeting was devoted largely to discussion of resolutions to be presented to the sixth IS National Convention this summer.

IS National Secretary Glenn Wolfe introduced the first major discussion at the NC. It focused on making the IS a workers' organization which will be able to lead workers' struggles in a period of deepening crisis. We are not going to see the economic stability of the 1950s and '60s return to the United States or to world capitalism. Instead, there will be an alternating series of booms with soaring rates of inflation, followed by busts which will be increasingly worse than the current depression.

In order to meet this crisis, revolutionary socialists must be able to give leadership to the daily struggles on the shop floor and in the unions, as workers fight to protect their jobs and their lives.

## CONSCIOUSNESS

Through these struggles, understanding of the nature of this system will begin to grow. Today, in this country, consciousness is changing more rapidly than at any time in the last twenty years.

An increasing number of workers, black and white, are open to the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

To provide the kind of leadership that is needed now, a revolutionary organization is required with hundreds, then thousands, of worker members who are leaders in their shops, their union struggles, the fight for jobs, and in the struggles of the black community and other oppressed peoples.

That kind of organization will be the nucleus of the revolutionary party that will lead the fight for workers' power and socialism. In the next few years the International Socialists face the challenge of becoming that nucleus.

In the next few months, the work of IS members in building the rank and file movement will be deepened and strengthened. We will be preparing for a major campaign to bring new worker members into our organization.

A major emphasis in this drive will be placed on recruiting black workers, who will play a leading role in the American Revolution and in the IS. The document setting forth this perspective was adopted unanimously by the NC to

be submitted to the IS Convention.

## CONCLUSIONS

Introducing the next discussion, on democratic centralism, IS National Chairman Joel Geier stressed the importance of the conclusions that must be drawn by the organization from the previous political discussion.

For the first time in decades, we are entering a long-term crisis of capitalism in which working class revolution is a possibility. That means that in the United States and every other country, revolutionary parties can and must be built.

"The revolutionary party is built around two axes: consciousness and power," Geier stressed. The party's first role is to raise the consciousness of workers through their own struggles.

Its second task is to organize the working class for the seizure of

power, to smash the old system and establish workers' democracy and socialism.

To accomplish these tasks, the revolutionary party must be a democratic organization whose policies are controlled by its rank and file. It must also be tightly organized, centralized and disciplined in order to carry out its decisions in a unified way.

## LEAD STRUGGLE

The revolutionary party must have an organized, active rank and file who lead the struggles of their fellow workers. It must also have a self-confident, experienced leadership which has won the political confidence of the members because of its political initiative and its ability to discipline itself.

A series of vitally important measures were outlined that would strengthen the operation of democratic centralism in the IS. This resolution was also recommended to the Convention by a large majority of the NC.

The resolutions will now be open for discussion, amendment and opposing resolutions in all IS branches in preparation for the election of delegates to the Convention.

The NC also discussed the strategy of the IS for building a working women's liberation movement, focussing on the industries and unions where workers have the greatest economic power.

There were also encouraging reports on the growth in size and influence of IS. Our size has grown 20% since the previous NC meeting three months ago.

In the same period sales of Workers' Power have increased by 25%—the first step toward achieving our goal of weekly publication by this coming fall. □

## African Liberation Meeting

An enthusiastic audience attended the Detroit IS forum in solidarity with African Liberation Day.

Fred Hobby of Workers for Collective Progress in Louisville, Kentucky, spoke on the conditions for a successful black liberation struggle in the United States.

"For 300 years, the struggle against oppression has been the central fact of our existence," he stated.

Hobby discussed the experiences of Workers for Collective Progress as an example of how a successful struggle can be waged. Black workers have taken the lead in fighting against the oppression and exploitation they face on the shop floor. As a result, they have begun to win white workers, many of whom have racist backgrounds and histories, to look to them for leadership in their own struggles as well.

This experience helps to show that unity and mutual respect among white and black workers is possible through the power of black workers to organize at the point of production.

Glenn Wolfe outlined the struggle for liberation and revolution in Africa today. The struggles for national independence from colonialism and white racist rule are nearing final victory. But the battle for revolution is just beginning.

A very lively discussion followed. Many questions from the floor emphasized the need to make the struggles of workers in Africa and America a common fight for socialism. □

## SEND US YOUR TAX REBATE

Every taxpayer has a unique opportunity to help Workers' Power. Some of them won't. I.W. Abel has no interest in building a paper that fights for rank and file workers. Neither does Lynn Townsend of Chrysler Corporation. Or Gerald Ford or Nelson Rockefeller, for that matter.

So it's up to you. It's up to readers of Workers' Power to help build the paper. We think Workers' Power is a great newspaper and an important tool in building the rank and file movement. But it could be better. It will be a better and more useful paper when it's published weekly. But for that to happen this fall, as planned, means spending a lot of money for new equipment and more staff.

You can help make a weekly Workers' Power a reality by contributing your income tax rebate to the paper. If you don't, no one else will.

Make checks payable to "I.S. Publishing Co." and mail to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward, Room 225, Highland Park, MI 48203. □



# What We Stand For

The International Socialists are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member of our organization to achieve them. We stand for:

## WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION

Working class revolution will destroy capitalism. Reform schemes cannot patch it up. The wealth produced by workers will be collectively controlled by workers to provide a decent life and freedom for all. Today that wealth is stolen from working people by the capitalist class. Socialism can be won only through workers' revolution. The capitalist state must be destroyed. So must its institutions: the legislature, army, police, and courts. A socialist society will be ruled democratically by mass organizations of all working people.

## MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Today the trade unions are the only mass working class organizations. We work for rank and file control of the unions to make them fighting instruments of workers against the employers. We fight for workers' action against the economic and social crisis of capitalism. Defend working conditions. No controls on wages. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. The right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.

## BLACK LIBERATION

We stand for black liberation. Full equality for black people and all national minorities. Defend the black community and other oppressed peoples against all forms of racism, police terror and discrimination. We call for independent organization by black and other specially oppressed people to struggle for their liberation and to build the unity among all workers that will lead to socialism. Independence for Puerto Rico.

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion on demand. Abolish oppression of gay people, and all sexual oppression.

## YOUTH

Equality for young people. The right to good jobs for all youth. Stop police intimidation of young people. For schools controlled by students, teachers and community. For a revolutionary socialist youth movement.

## AGAINST IMPERIALISM

We oppose US imperialism, its nuclear weapons and its alliances such as NATO. International support to movements for national liberation. We oppose Russian imperialism and its war bloc, the Warsaw Pact, which includes Eastern Europe. We are independent of all imperialist war blocs and oppressed peoples everywhere against imperialism, East and West.

## FOR WORLD SOCIALISM

The IS movement was made up of the International Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of America. The IS movement is a political force fighting workers in separate factories, unions and industries, helping to organize and lead them to take state power and control society as a class. All the workers of the world are needed toward building such a revolutionary party out of the struggles working people are waging today.

Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win.

Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win.

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If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to:

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# The Many Horrors of Wonder Bread

by Charles Leinenweber

I remember the first time I saw Wonder Bread. It was early in the 1950's, in Riverside, New Jersey, where I lived as a kid. A man brought it in a truck.

Wonder Bread was not yet promoted through the supermarkets—there were too few. It was advertised on television for its outstanding nutritional value, and sold door-to-door, for the customer's convenience.

Such convenience! Imagine a company with a whole fleet of trucks at their command, and they come all the way from Camden, where they've been baking all night to bring you fresh Wonder Bread. Fresh, that's what they said. Almost warm.

The Wonder Bread man appeared one morning with a large metal tray, which he held by means of a strap secured behind his neck. The tray was stacked with loaves of wrapped bread, doughnuts, pies and buns.

"Would you like some fresh bread?" he asked my mother. "Or doughnuts this morning?" Who could resist such a treat. "Yeah, get some doughnuts," I said. The Wonder Bread truck was a black Chevy van, that came twice a week.

## LIKED IT

I liked Wonder Bread. I don't remember what bread tasted like before it, except for black pumper-

nickle that my father used to bring home. But I did like Wonder Bread.

I cut circles out of it and squashed them flat-like Holy Communion. Must be what they mean by unleavened bread, I thought.

I also tore it up and put it in a glass and poured milk and sugar over it and ate it with a spoon.

And I made peanut butter and jelly sandwiches out of it, which was a delicate operation if the peanut butter had been in the icebox, because Wonder Bread disintegrated under hard peanut butter, and could not be repaired.

Meanwhile the Polish Bakery closed, and so did one of the Italian bakeries. Once the Polish and Italian bakeries shut down, the Wonder Bread man quit coming.

## SUPERMARKET

Why should there be a Wonder Bread man when you can get Wonder Bread in your convenient supermarket? Who needs a Polish bakery when you can get all the varieties of Wonder Bread you want?

There is Family Wonder Bread, Sandwich Wonder Bread, Regular Wonder Bread, also Wonder Bread hamburger and hot dog buns. If you don't want them buy the house brand, also manufactured by Wonder Bread.

Fresh? Baked the night before? Not any more, but it's packaged

fresh, and besides, it has special ingredients to keep it bakery-fresh, which is similar to "farm-fresh" and "dairy-fresh," about which you may also have heard.

Nourishing? Well, there were some problems about building strong bodies twelve ways. Someone said, "Name one."

## ENTER ITT

After Wonder Bread knocked off Polish and Italian bakeries all across the country, it became big

enough to catch the eye of the conglomerate monster, International Telephone & Telegraph, which absorbed it in 1968.

Under ITT's direction Wonder Bread (Continental Baking) was soon hit with a rash of anti-trust suits, concerning the bullying of supermarket chains and competitors.

By then the only competitors were corporate bakeries, but Wonder Bread knocked them over too, occasionally with the help of timely misfortunes.

A January, 1969 memo from Wonder Bread's chairman to ITT head Harold Geneen—published during a House Judiciary Committee anti-trust investigation—says that in Salt Lake City the company's major competitor, Fisher Baking, "suffered a serious fire in its plant...and has decided to terminate operations."

Wonder Bread then bought up their routes: "This will increase our sales by \$22,000 per week." That adds up to a cool million a year.

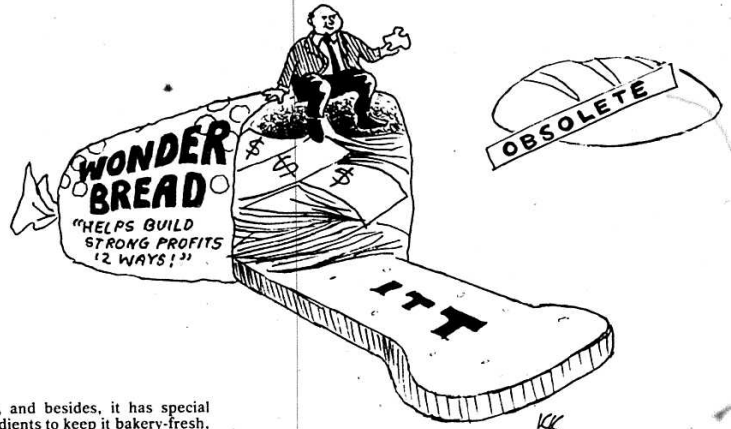
By many such drops in the bucket, Wonder Bread's yearly sales (including Twiggies and the like) reached \$1 billion. That is how the multitudes are fed.

As Wonder Bread got rid of the bakeries, it also got rid of the bakers. Here is how Harry Brave-man describes it, in his fine new book, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.

"A quarter-century ago, Siegfried Giedion described the transformation of the crusty, wholesome loaf of bread into a 'product' with the 'resiliency of a rubber sponge.' But the production process for the manufacture of this bread is a triumph of the factory arts.

"Continuous mixing, reduction of brew fermentation time, dough which is metered, extruded, divided, and panned to the accuracy of a gram in the pound, conveyerized baking and automatic depanning, cooling, slicing, wrapping and labelling have effectively rid the bakery of the troublesome and unprofitable arts of the baker, and have replaced the baker himself with engineers on the one hand, and factory operatives on the other.

"The speed with which the operation is conducted is a marvel of efficiency, and, apart from its effects on the worker, if only it were not necessary for the people to consume the 'product' the whole thing could be considered a resounding success."



In Montreal on May 13, striking UAW members, joined by construction workers, occupied the plant of Pratt & Whitney, a division of the U.S.-based United Aircraft Corporation. UAW members there had been on strike against Pratt & Whitney for more than one year. The workers took ten hostages and demanded an immediate settlement of the strike. When riot police announced they were going to storm the plant, the occupants surrendered. But, according to Jose Ledoux, a radio reporter from station CKVL, who was in the plant, "The police massacred them." Broadcasting live while the assault took place, he said, "They are being rounded up like cattle into a corner and at the moment I am speaking to you, the police are beating them with their batons on the head, arms and legs."

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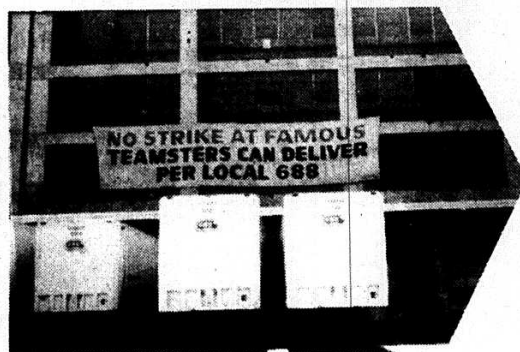
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## 'Picket Line- Please Cross!'



Workers' Power has all too often had to print stories about how labor leaders have sold out strikes, refused to fight, or in other ways sabotaged a struggle. But this story takes the cake. Who would ever imagine a labor union beginning an organizing drive, setting up a picket line, and then putting up a banner telling their own members to cross the picket line.

In St. Louis, the officials of Teamsters Local 688 are doing just that. The union is supposedly organizing the Famous-Barr warehouse. Every workday a picket line goes up. They say it's only an informational picket line, so they also put up this banner to be sure no one takes their organizing drive more seriously than they're supposed to.

# Fight Looms In Postal Contract

# Workers' Power

## Speed-up An Issue

by Jack Trautman

Rank and file postal workers have begun to organize. The statement on this page is from the Postal Action Dispatch, the monthly newsletter of a group of Philadelphia postal workers.

They have formed their group as events are moving towards a showdown in the post office. Negotiations have recently begun for new contracts with the Postal Service. The present contract expires on July 20, and another nationwide postal strike is a real possibility.

The problems facing postal workers are not so different from those confronting workers in other industries. Tremendous speed-up and deteriorating working conditions are the major problems, along with a declining standard of living as postal workers' wages fall further and further behind inflation.

And, like other workers, postal employees have a timid union leadership which is not prepared to put up a fight.

### KOKOMO PLAN

As in private industry, the government is planning to institute a vicious rationalization plan, designed to speed up the work and eliminate thousands of employees. This plan is called the Kokomo Plan, because it was first introduced on a trial basis in Kokomo, Indiana. There it has been consistently resisted by the workers.

It involves time-motion studies and computer measurements of location, type, size and number of mailboxes, volume of mail, walking distances, street lengths and widths, and number of stair steps, doors and gates on each route. It is an attempt to organize mail routes like an auto assembly line.

If the government is successful with this plan, carriers estimate it will eliminate 15-20,000 jobs. They will then turn the method to postal clerks, then to other government employees, and finally they will bring it to private employers to speed up workers across the country.

And the union is doing little about it but talk. They threatened to strike in March and then backed off.

The union leadership normally excuses its do-nothing attitude by pointing to the contract. "We can't do anything," they say. "That's what the contract says." Well, now it's contract time.

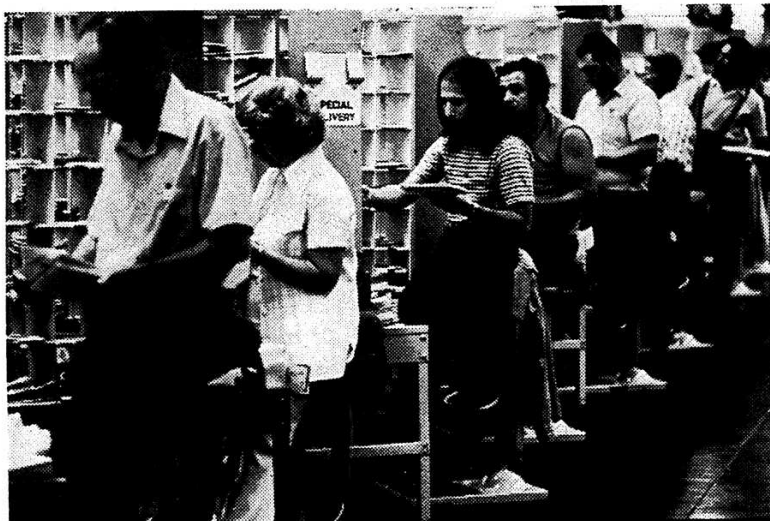
### BARGAINING ROUND

That makes postal employees the first major unions to bargain in the new round of contract talks. Contracts for most workers in the major unions follow one after another over the next two years. It could be a very explosive period.

The government is looking at postal workers nervously because they expect the postal contract could set bargaining patterns, particularly for state, federal and local employees across the country.

In fact William Usery, the federal mediator, claimed that since "postal employees are in every hamlet across the country, eventually the postal service will be the major pattern setter for the nation."

In other words, every worker and every union has a direct interest in the success of the 650,000 postal workers in their new contract.



POSTAL ACTION is a group of rank and file members and shop stewards in the Philadelphia Local of the American Postal Workers Union. We believe that the problems facing postal workers are not being dealt with by the current union leadership. We are burdened with increased workloads, harassment on the work floor, inhuman hours and leave policies—all this at a pay scale that lags far behind inflation.

This situation cannot improve until we have a union that is controlled by the rank and file and more responsive to the needs of the entire membership. We need an active democratic union prepared to fight for our wages and working conditions.

The government has an interest too. In their defeat. As the Postal Action Dispatch said: "Gerry Ford is already waving a big stick toward our contract coming up this July.

"We hope the contract will be solved," he said, "but the mails will be delivered."

"Nobody—not the National Guard, Santa's elves, or anybody

else will deliver the mail if we don't get a decent contract," the newsletter said.

Strikes by government employees are illegal. But as a result of

pressure from the ranks, and with the memory of a nationwide wildcat several years ago in mind, the union leaderships have been talking tough. "No contract, no work," they say. Ford is reminding them that he is ready to try to break a strike.

Paul Roose, a member of Postal Action, told Workers' Power: "If you don't have the right to strike, the right not to work, you're a slave. When they abolished slavery they didn't say, 'except for public employees.' We need the right to strike and if we have to fight the government to get it, we'll do that."

But the union leaders are trying to push certain things under the rug. They have delayed discussion of the Kokomo plan until after the contract negotiations. And they are negotiating in secret so that the rank and file does not know what they might pull out of their sleeves.

It's true that some of the official demands, if won, could undercut the Kokomo plan. One such demand is "the elimination of management's rights to determine method and means of operation." But without organized pressure from the ranks it's likely this will be one of the first demands to be dropped.

What is needed is a national rank and file opposition that can wage a fight for a decent contract. Such an opposition might help put some backbone into the leaders' spines.

Postal workers in other cities who are interested in forming rank and file groups should write to Postal Action at 7179 Radbourne Road, Upper Darby, PA 19082.

Workers' Power will have regular coverage of the contract fight and will bring news to postal workers of what is happening in other cities. Postal workers are urged to write Workers' Power with news and reports from their workplaces. □

## CLUW NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

# Union Women to Meet

After a lull in activities, the third meeting of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) of the Coalition of Labor Union Women will be held in Houston, Texas on May 31 and June 1.

This NCC will be important in giving the membership an idea about future directions for CLUW.

A smaller turnout than in the past is expected because of the distance involved for most members in travelling to Houston.

Since the January meeting of the NCC, the leaders of CLUW, Olga Madar in particular, have been active in either sabotaging or censoring activities by more militant chapters.

The leadership of CLUW also has not done anything to actively implement the CLUW program on the economic crisis. For example, national leadership of CLUW endorsed the April 26 Jobs Now rally, but did nothing to mobilize local chapters and rank and file members.

### DISSATISFACTION

This June NCC takes place, therefore, with a lot of dissatisfaction among rank and filers in local chapters.

Scheduled for discussion are

issues such as superseniority and the question of the CLUW constitution and by-laws. However, the major issues will be active rank and file participation in CLUW, democracy and CLUW's ability to act in

its own name.

Finally, the key question still remains whether or not CLUW will militantly fight to organize the unorganized, for the rights of the laid off and unemployed and

unionized working women.

This NCC will provide an opportunity for the rank and file of CLUW to make their voice heard on these subjects. □

Celia Emerson



CLUW members demonstrated against layoffs. Increasingly, CLUW leadership is discouraging action. Rank and file working women are dissatisfied.