

WORKERS' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS Aug. 21—Sept. 3, 1975 #127 15c

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DEFEND PORTUGAL'S REVOLUTION

VICTORY FOR JOAN LITTLE!

RALEIGH, N.C.—On Friday, August 15, Joan Little was found innocent and cleared of all charges resulting from the fatal stabbing of Beaufort County, N.C. jailer, Clarence T. Allgood.

The foreman of the jury, which met for less than two hours, told the press, "A woman has the right to defend herself."

Little's acquittal also came after her case had become internationally known. Hundreds of demonstrations were held. An enormous defense fund was raised on her behalf. She became a symbol of resistance to this country's racist and sexist prisons and justice system.

Outside the courtroom, Little told reporters that the trial "was as close to a fair trial as I could have gotten," but added that the "prosecution was more interested in sending black women to the gas chamber than the truth."

"But," she added, "The pigs were proven wrong."

Little also said that she hadn't "seen any justice except for the people in that jury box. If it had been up to the people who run the system, the Judge Hobgoods and all, there would have been no justice."

She concluded that she "had never been pessimistic about the power of the people. I knew that if the people stood together, we would win."



Joan Little: "I knew we would win."

Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger are saying that the "clouds of suspicion" hanging over the Central Intelligence Agency make it impossible for the CIA to operate in Portugal.

They are lying. The CIA is up to its ears in Portugal. Its plans include backing the "moderate" military officers who want to crush Portugal's revolutionary workers movement and keep the country safe for profitable western investment.

They include giving financial support to the Catholic Church, the far right and the fascists.

They include setting up "death squads" of armed right-wing gorillas. The CIA agents currently operating in Portugal are experienced. They performed similar operations in Brazil and Uruguay.

Proof of CIA activities in Portugal was provided by ex-CIA agent, Phillip Agee. Agee published the names and addresses of nine CIA agents operating in Portugal. He detailed their plans for restoring a right-wing dictatorship.

But this is just the tip of the iceberg.

Every capitalist newspaper, every TV station in this country

reports "the Communist takeover of Portugal."

Under the cover of opposing "Communist subversion," the US and Western European governments are pouring aid into the Socialist Party and military "moderates."

They are blockading Portugal's economy, to strangle it. They are going for the throats of the Portuguese workers who have taken control of factories and want to run their country for themselves.

The campaign of lies in the American press is deliberate. It is orchestrated by the State Department. Its aims are exactly the same as those of the CIA.

The capitalists who run this country don't intend to stop this campaign until the economy of Portugal is ruined, a civil war begins and a brutal right-wing regime—or fascism—is restored. Under fine-sounding democratic phrases, they are plotting the murder of our brothers and sisters—the Portuguese workers whose struggles have finally made real democracy in Portugal possible. □

[For eyewitness accounts of Portugal's revolution, see page 7.]

YOU CAN HELP

Every Workers' Power reader can have an impact on the events in Portugal. The money you give will make a difference. We urge all readers to send contributions of any size to: Workers' Power Portuguese Solidarity Fund, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. The money will be forwarded to the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades (PRP-BR) for printing and other supplies needed in their efforts to organize workers' councils and a revolutionary party.

Youth Demand Jobs

OAKLAND—The Red Tide, youth section of the International Socialists, held demonstrations on August 7th in both Oakland and Los Angeles, California. In each city more than 75 young people attended, including large contingents of blacks and Chicanos. The demonstrations demanded jobs for youth at decent union wages.



United Farm Workers Convention

VICTORY IN SIGHT

Massive Organizing Drive In Progress

by a team of Workers' Power reporters

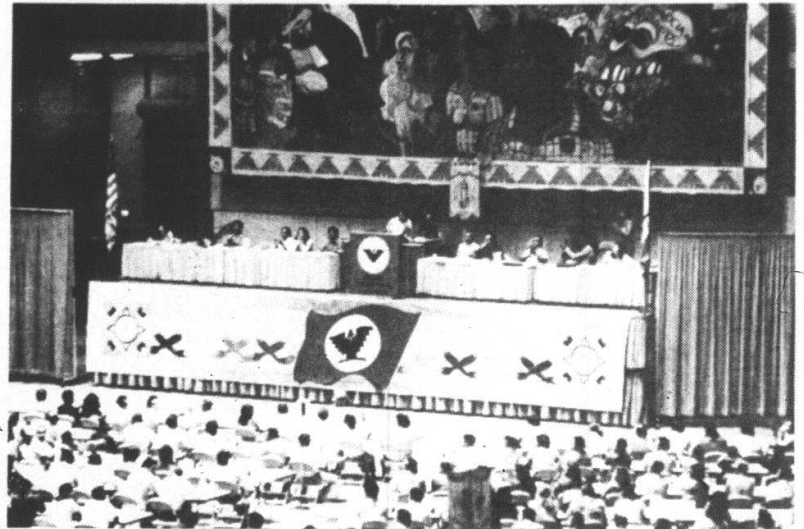
FRESNO, CA—In the midst of its biggest organizing campaign in years, 534 delegates met at the United Farm Workers second Constitutional Convention August 15-17. They represented 60,000 farmworkers. And they are confident that the union will sweep the upcoming California representation elections.

As the UFW organizing drive steps up, the growers are resorting to firings and terror tactics to stop the union. Delegate after delegate

took the mike to say that UFW organizers had been fired at their ranches. In Texas one ranch supervisor even opened fire on unionists, wounding 11.

But despite the grower terror tactics the UFW continues to gain. Delegates reported tremendous support for the union on the ranches. They promised that when elections begin next month under the new collective bargaining bill the UFW would be victorious.

The real action will be in the fields in the next few months as the UFW gears up for the elections. The convention was therefore



Delegates at the United Farm Workers Convention.

unity-oriented—not open to "divisive" issues. It was a solidarity rally for building a spirit of struggle and confidence with singing, clapping, theater, and rally speeches.

UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

Several important issues were discussed around the convention and on the convention floor. One of the greatest obstacles to the unity

of the farmworkers' movement has been the union's hostility to immigrant workers. During this Convention, that policy was questioned from the floor.

One delegate pointed out that workers without papers are also victims of capitalism. He compared the situation to two dogs fighting over a bone. To cheers from fellow delegates and spectators, he said that two hungry people should fight together, against not only the ranchers, but the system as well. Chavez's comment was "The only solution is to organize them. They are our brothers."

This indicated a policy shift within the union leadership, but it is too soon to say exactly what it will mean in practice. The Executive Board has introduced a resolution asking for amnesty for all workers without documents currently residing in this country and promises that the union will organize them. It does not, however, offer any concrete support and defense for these workers. Workers without documents can be successfully organized only if the union offers defense and support against La Migra (immigration service).

Nevertheless, this was a partial victory for the members, friends and supporters of the UFW who

opposed the union's policy in the past.

UNION PROCEDURE

A number of resolutions and petitions circulating among the delegates indicated a move toward a more democratic union. One called for the election of business agents, but it was withdrawn when Chavez announced his opposition.

Another resolution, which would have restricted union staff positions to people who had worked in the fields for at least a year, failed to get the necessary 10% of delegate signatures needed for consideration.

LABOR SUPPORT

A few sections of the labor movement gave strong support to the UFW struggle. The UAW is loaning 20 to 30 organizers to the UFW for the election campaign and is donating \$10,000 per week to the organizing drive.

The Retail Clerks Union in Canada has refused to handle scab grapes forcing their removal from Safeway after years of boycotting failed.

These plus the support from several local unions made clear by contrast how the AFL-CIO is doing nothing of what it could and should be doing for the farmworker. The AFL-CIO is providing no major organizing help, and is not even supporting the UFW consumer boycotts.

According to the new law, elections will begin as of August 28. They will continue into the fall, hitting the peak harvest periods, and then begin again next year.

There will be few campaigns more important for the United Farm Workers than this one. If successful, the farmworkers can finally fulfill their goal of driving the Teamsters from the fields and then begin the real job of organizing and representing the millions of poor farmworkers, so long deprived of the right to their own union.



Remember Chuckie?

In the past two weeks, Charles "Chuckie" O'Brien has become one of the best known Teamsters in the United States.

In addition to being Jimmy Hoffa's adopted son, he is also the highly paid errand boy for top Mafia chieftains and Teamster Vice Presidents.

He helped set up his "father's" fatal meeting with Detroit gangster Tony Giacalone. He also delivered the 40-pound king salmon Seattle IBT Vice President Arnie Weinmeister had sent to Detroit IBT Vice President Robert Holmes, Sr.

That was the fish that bled all over Joey (Tony's son) Giaca-

lone's car, leading to speculation that Chuckie might be able to help find Jimmy's abductors.

United Farm Worker supporters will remember Chuckie as the man who was paid \$45,000 a year to travel coast to coast promoting grapes and advertising the IBT's campaign to destroy the United Farm Workers Union.

O'Brien debated boycott representatives in city after city and was well known for his poor knowledge of the geography of California, his inability to pronounce Spanish surnames, and his undying love and devotion for the nation's farmworkers. □

POSTAL NOTES

Fight Speedup and Harassment

Vote No!

Twelve members of the Seattle APWU went into the contract meeting wearing T-shirts saying what they thought about the contract—"NO!"—in bright orange letters. Many others who didn't wear special T-shirts wore "Vote No" stickers on their shirts. This action may have affected the local president. He started out mildly approving the contract, but quickly changed under pressure to claim, "I'm with you 100%." The members present overwhelmingly voted to reject the contract. □

LOS ANGELES—Ballots on the postal contract are not due in until August 23, but post office supervision here has already begun a new productivity campaign. And they are backing it with harassment and firings.

In the month since the contract was signed in Washington, D.C. by representatives of the U.S. Postal Service and the heads of the postal unions, the management at the Worldway Terminal in Los Angeles has fired 20 workers, including both mailhandlers and clerks.

The firings included one for allegedly falsifying an original employment application. That application is ten years old.

At the same time, supervisors at Worldway are circulating a rumor that there will be 150 more people fired by October. One supervisor told a machine clerk that he'd better keep production high, "if he didn't want to be one of the 150." He advised the workers to "show

management you're a good crew." Southern California Postal Workers Action Committee, a rank and file postal workers organization, has responded by defending the fired workers and condemning the

"Hell No - Kokomo!"

BOSTON—On August 14, 250 members of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 34, demonstrated here against accepting the new postal contract.

Gathering at 3:00 PM in Post Office Square, they marched in front of the General Post office and the Government Services Building, chanting "Hell No, Kokomo!" and "34, NO."

The demonstration was organized by the leaders of Branch 34 from postal stations around the city. Demonstrators carried signs with slogans such as "Carriers Walk Today Against Running

contract. The contract, it says in a recent leaflet, "kept the no lay-off clause, but where is our no speed-up clause, our no harassment clause, and our no firing clause?" □

Tomorrow" and "We Are Men, Not Robots."

At a meeting Monday August 11, Branch 34 voted 198-2 for rejection of the contract and for the "Vote No!" demonstration.

One demonstrator said, "If it's [the contract] rejected, a strike may be necessary and we're ready for it. Management thinks it can run everything without consideration of our feelings."

The demonstration was spirited and militant. It was the first public display of anti-contract feeling among postal workers in Boston. □

Karl Werner

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Copyright © 1975 by the I.S. Publishing Company, Editor: Gay Semel, Business Manager: David Katz, Managing Editor: Kay Stacy.

Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies, or change of address to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Workers' Power, which are expressed in editorials.

Workers' Power is a member of the Alternate Press Service and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and microfilmed by University Microfilms, International Standard Serials Number 1155N1 0019-005X.

BLACK RESISTANCE

RISES

RESPONSE TO RACIST TERROR

by Kay Stacy

Across the country active resistance is growing in black communities. Resistance to white racist organizing, depression conditions and police repression.

In Elyria, Ohio, an industrial city near Cleveland, a white policeman murdered a black youth. This led to several days of looting, sniping and rock-throwing by both black and white youths.

In Riverside, California, tension was high in the Chicano community after a week of particularly brutal police repression. Two gun battles erupted, leaving six people, including two cops, wounded. A police helicopter and light plane were damaged by gunfire and forced to land.

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 300 people in a black section of the city hurled rocks and bottles at police. Two officers were wounded.

National attention focuses on Boston. There black youths have waged a running battle with police and white passers-by for a week.

Not nearly so prominent in the papers and on television, however, is the year of white racist violence in Boston that has been aimed at minorities. This violence has forced a response from black people.

In East Boston, Puerto Rican families were driven out of their housing project apartments last June by white youths throwing firebombs. A few nights later whites tried to burn the neighborhood's few blacks out of another housing project.

In Hyde Park black families have had their homes vandalized by gangs of white youths.

Over the summer it has been common for whites in South Boston to stone automobiles driven by blacks near the beach area.

FEW ALLIES

Black people have had few allies in their fight not to be confined to Boston's black ghettos. Certainly the liberal city government hasn't helped. They could have taken a firm stand for black people's right to participate in society equal to white people.

Instead, over the past year,

public housing officials have moved many minority families out of projects in white neighborhoods. Rather than fighting to increase integration, the city actively participated in confining blacks in segregated neighborhoods.

Certainly the cops have been no help to black people. Their sympathies, and often their energy as well, lie with the racists.

Two young black women were stoned by white youths near a subway station. One of them reports:

"We didn't know what to do so we ran to the station. A policeman was there. We told him we'd been attacked. He refused to go down where the attack took place, refused to even acknowledge that there had been an attack."

This summer of violence against black people—assaults on children and the aged alike—came to a head

two weeks ago.

Six black men from out of town were beaten up and driven from a "white" beach, Carson Beach near South Boston. A crowd wielding baseball bats roamed the streets afterwards.

The following Sunday, leaflets circulated through the white working class neighborhood. The leaflets claimed that blacks were coming to take over the beach.

Belligerent crowds, armed with bats, clubs and hockey sticks assembled. No blacks appeared. The leaflet—written by whites—was clearly intended to keep the neighborhood inflamed.

The following weekend the NAACP finally mobilized to assert black people's right to swim where they wished, and to test the city's willingness to protect blacks when busing begins again this fall. They got their answer.

500 anti-racist demonstrators arrived at Carson Beach to face 1000 whites and 800 police. For three hours the white mob threw rocks and bottles over the heads of police onto the black demonstrators. The blacks retaliated.

Finally the police lines forced the black demonstrators off the beach. This series of incidents—continual

white gangs victimizing black people, with no effective response organized by the black community's leadership—led directly to the current violence.

"Carson Beach, Carson Beach," black youths shouted at cop cars as they hurled rocks and stones. The next day, the opening of school was delayed five days to Sept. 8.



Anti-busing is the issue racists are using to organize around.

Ku Klux Klan Rears Head In Louisville

by Tom Jackson

LOUISVILLE—On the night of August 16, a few robed Klansmen gathered around a seventeen foot burning cross in a small field a few miles south of Louisville.

Phillip Chopper, Grand Dragon of Kentucky, announced to the crowd that the Klan will "stop forced busing" and will meet "violence with violence."

On September 4 when school begins, there will be county-wide busing to integrate the schools.

Several hundred curious people, most of them opponents of busing, turned out to watch. As the cross was being lighted, Chopper shouted "white victory!" Some of his closest followers yelled, "Wish we had a nigger to put on there."

This rally comes on the heels of another cross burning. A week ago, a black couple from Louisville woke up in the middle of the night to find the terror sign of the KKK ablaze in their front yard.

At a press conference on August 15, Brother Ben Simmons of the Black Panther Party had obtained the charred cross to show newsmen. He also showed a letter which he received after he had helped organize a demonstration against the Klan on July 17. The letter, signed by the Nazi Party, threatened his life.

But Simmons, along with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the International Socialists,

and church and community groups, organized another demonstration against the Klan's most recent rally.

Seventy-five people marched a block away from where the Grand Dragon and his cohorts ranted and raved. After two hours a short rally was held.

Among the speakers was a leader of United Action, a rank and file caucus in the telephone workers union, CWA, CWA Local 10310 had endorsed the anti-Klan demonstration at their union meeting after UA made the motion. There were other trade unionists there as well, from IBT, AFT, NALC and others.

KKK'S TRUE COLORS

Speakers pointed out that the KKK, so "respectable" at their last rally, were showing their true colors. It was obvious to everyone that the KKK is now vying for leadership of the anti-busing movement in Louisville. And they are determined to provoke violence.

They've called a downtown march for the opening day of school, and invited all other anti-busing groups to join them. They plan other marches, and public cross burnings, "whether they get parade permits or not."

Another anti-busing group, Concerned Parents, has called for a county-wide boycott of the schools,

and a boycott of stores and banks of people who don't publicly oppose busing.

At a rally held August 4, Rev. Avis Hill from Charleston, W. Va. tried to fire up the crowd of 600. Hill led a campaign in Charleston against what he calls "filthy books" in schools.

Dressed with a moon-skin cap,

powderhorn and old mussels-loader, he shouted, "You've got to stand up and be counted. We did it in West Virginia, we did it in Boston and we'll do it here in Louisville."

The response of city officials to the Klan has been weak. While saying they are committed to "peaceful implementation of the law," they did not ban the

cross-burning as they had the legal right to do.

While telling the black community they'll handle things, officials are allowing groups like the Klan to organize public racist spectacles like cross-burnings.

The response of the black community and other anti-racist forces must be swift. When reactionaries organize, we must too.

RACIST ORGANIZING CAN BE STOPPED

After a year of attacks by racist mobs, the police, and the right-wing organizations such as the Klan, the frustration and anger of blacks is reaching the explosive level.

This is the meaning of the resistance in Elyria, Winston-Salem and Riverside last week. They were not the reaction to isolated incidents.

On the contrary, the attack on the black community is national in scope. Detroit, Milwaukee, Taft, Jackson. These are only additional examples.

These attacks are now increasingly frequent. They are also increasingly well organized. They represent a racist offensive, a terror drive that is still gathering steam.

It must be stopped now. Whenever the reactionaries and the racists gather, there must be anti-racist forces there to oppose them. They cannot be allowed to stand in front of one more bus, to close a single beach, or to burn one more cross.

In particular, the trade union movement has a responsibility to take a stand on this issue. And it has the power to stop this offensive once and for all.

In Chicago recently, the home of a black family was fire-bombed in an attempt to drive an auto worker and

his family from a previously all-white neighborhood.

Workers at his plant, International Harvester in Melrose Park, UAW Local 6, responded by organizing a defense guard which watched the house around the clock and prevented further attacks.

In the demonstrations that have greeted the Klan in Louisville and Paducah, Kentucky, rank and file workers have been prominent. Telephone workers in Louisville got their local, CWA 10310, to officially endorse one demonstration.

This is far from sufficient, however. These tactics must be followed in every city, regardless of whether the issue is busing, police brutality, or the Ku Klux Klan.

At the same time, those blacks, especially the angry black youth who have taken to the streets in the defense of their communities, must be unconditionally defended.

If the racists are resisted, they can be stopped. If left to their own devices, however, they will gain confidence and aggressiveness. They will become more bold.

The tide must be turned. And now is the time. No more Bostons! No more Carson Beaches! And no more Klan!

Bell Workers Protest Racist Poster



Two hundred New York telephone workers demonstrate during lunchtime.

by Michael Stewart

NEW YORK—At lunchtime on August 5, more than two hundred telephone workers demonstrated at NY Telephone's headquarters. This was the largest rally yet to protest the company's use of a racist sales campaign poster. The poster showed a supposedly typical New York City street scene. The only black on the poster was a kid stealing a white woman's pocketbook.

The rally was organized by black telephone workers and supported by rank and file groups in Communication Workers Local 1101, including United Action. As the UA leaflet said: "We believe all telephone workers should support the rally. Our unity against the company is our greatest strength. The company has always tried to divide us by race. Today we can show them it won't work."

The rally would have been even larger if it hadn't been for the company harassment. Leading

activists were placed on late lunch schedules that day so they couldn't attend. Others were denied personal time off to attend.

The effect of this harassment was weakened at the Second Avenue building. There the stewards body endorsed the demonstration. They organized everyone to go as a group to prevent retaliation against individuals.

INK SMUDGE

So far the company's response has been, if possible, more insulting than the original poster. They have continually refused to make any apology, pretending it is all a mistake or a misunderstanding.

After the rally, NY Tel sent out a black flunky to tell the TV stations that the poster was supposed to show a white boy holding on to his mother's pocketbook. He only looked black because of an ink smudge. While the poster remains the

most public issue, everyone involved realizes the real question is becoming the entirety of NY Telephone's racist practices. Other issues which will have to be taken up include the lack of upgrades for blacks, the continual racist harassment blacks face on the job, and the effect of directory assistance charges on black operators' jobs.

It is also clear that any fight around these issues will have to be led by the rank and file. The executive board of the union has continually refused to give support to any struggle against racism. The president of Local 1101 even publicly announced that he wasn't aware there was any problem.

A meeting of 30-40 telephone workers August 13 decided to continue the fight by holding another demonstration against the use of the poster. It will be at New York Telephone's headquarters, 6th Avenue and 42nd Street, from 3:30 to 7:00 pm on August 27. □

WORKERS' POWER INTERVIEW

"It was important to us to make livable the community the bulk of blacks were going to live in." - Harlel Jones

Harlel X. Jones is a black political prisoner. He was framed by the State of Ohio and sent to jail for life in March 1972.

Jones was framed because he led the Afro Set, a militant black nationalist organization in Cleveland, Ohio. The police violence against the Afro Set and Jones' jailing were typical of the repression which hit the black movement in the late '60's and early '70's.

Workers' Power interviewed Jones in prison in Lucasville, Ohio.

"Most of the blacks like myself had little hope towards integration here in this country. So what was important to us was to make that community in which the bulk of the blacks were going to live the rest of

their lives livable.

"We got involved in community problems like crime in the area. We set up foot patrols where blacks would be on the streets at all different times of the night.

"We felt that it was bad for a black woman to get off the bus at 2 am after doing child care work out in the suburbs. She stepped off the bus with two, three dollars in her pocket and someone would attack her and beat her up and snatch her purse."

TROUBLE

"We have always had trouble with the police in our community. If

they would shoot down a person or anything like that, it would be the Afro Set that would show up at City Hall or the police station picketing. They didn't like this.

"One time they claimed that the Afro Set was a firebomb school and we were teaching youngsters how to make Molotov cocktails. Supposedly these people would go out into the community and start riots.

"They wanted to turn the white community against the black community. They created rebellions against police authority and started telling white people all over the country that black people were having race riots.

"Blacks began to fight back against police and the police

labor notes

by Jim Woodward



IT LOOKS like the Teamsters union is backing away from a previously-announced plan for early negotiations on next year's Master Freight Agreement (MFA). The MFA is the national contract covering 400,000 teamsters. Previously, the union and the employers had agreed to a government proposal to begin contract negotiations in October, well in advance of the March 31 expiration.

Now Teamster President Fitzsimmons has proposed delaying negotiations until late December or January. It may be a sign that Fitz is losing confidence in his ability to impose a contract of his liking on the membership.

One of the problems next year's Master Freight Agreement must deal with is the bankruptcy and merger of many trucking companies. Drivers who've worked for the same company for 15 or 20 years often end up losing their jobs, seniority, and sometimes their pensions.

The latest group of drivers to get the shaft were employees of Signal Trucking on the west coast. Signal held the delivery contract for Sears. When Signal fired all its drivers on July 15, drivers from Local 70 picketed the Sears Distribution Center in San Leandro, California. But Teamster business agents told them to take down the picket line, as it constituted an illegal secondary boycott.

The Ohio Works of the US Steel Corp. in Youngstown is threatening to shut down. The company claims it is not making any money there. Several years ago, US Steel threatened the same thing at the same plant. That time US Steel won a number of concessions from the United Steel Workers' local there in return for staying open.

The new contract covering Canadian steel workers is nothing spectacular. But it contains a wage increase double that won by steel workers in the United States. Workers at the Steel Company of Canada and Algoma Steel Corp. will get raises of \$1.30 an hour over three years, plus cost of living. American steel workers got 60c, plus a similar cost of living clause. Canadian steel workers are now higher paid than American steel workers. The Canadian minimum pay is \$5.45 an hour, against \$5.19 here.

The auto industry may be in a depression, but one thing that hasn't changed is working conditions. At least not if the absenteeism rate is any indication. Usually absenteeism drops sharply when there are mass layoffs. Absenteeism is down slightly from the boom year of 1973—but not very much. Chrysler Corp's absenteeism rate was 6.16% this April, down from 7.09% in April 1974. Ford's rate was 5.7% in 1973 vs. 5.2% now. And GM had an average 4.8% off the job early this year, compared to 5.4% in 1973 and 1974. At some plants, like Chrysler's Dodge Main in Detroit, the rate can go as high as 11.4%.

More conflict between the United Mine Workers and the United Steel Workers may be in the works. Both unions are trying to organize a coal mine near Bentleyville, Pennsylvania. An election is scheduled for August 22 to determine which union will represent the 54 employees.

More straight talk from the bosses: "Rail Peace Apparently a Management Victory," was the headline in Industry Week, a management magazine, July 28. The magazine said, "While the largest of all the rail unions [Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks] is calling the strikeless settlement of the six-month dispute a victory, it appears that management was successful in imposing the industry pattern on BRAC." Looks like everyone agrees it was a sellout (or "defeat") except the union leadership.

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

department is predominantly white. I don't think there were no riots that happened in the mid-60's that actually can be traced back to blacks pouring out of their communities into some white community, like Mau-Maus killing people. It was all police incidents.

"But the authority in this country would always throw it back on the white/black thing. Anybody who went back and did a little studying would see that they were all rebellions against the police.

CLASS, RACE

"We got a class problem in this country and we got a race problem. In the early 1960's when we were working in the shops, we could tell our co-workers, 'Hey, man, we're catching hell. Look at our boss.

Let's go on strike for 50c more an hour.' This was fine and good. We could walk those picket lines together for that 50c more an hour.

"But after that, I would turn to the same guy and say, 'Hey, man, I need a little rights in this country. You come on with me and we can get 'em.' Well more likely than not he would have told me to go to hell.

"You got racism and I believe that racism is deliberately a part of the established scheme.

"The establishment of this country is white because of racism. So people shouldn't turn around and call us racists because we're trying to get ourselves together and be what we are."

The address of the Jones defense committee is: Harlel Jones Defense Committee, Room 501, 2108 Payne Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, 44104. □

MEAT CUTTERS DENOUNCE UNION SELLOUTS

THE Association of United Workers of the Meat Industry, a rank and file group in Meatcutters' Locals 274 and 563, demonstrated in Los Angeles on July 17, to denounce their local leadership as corrupt. They asked other meatcutters to join them in a fight for democratic unions.

The Association has formed this spring in the wake of a long series of illegal and discriminatory maneuvers by union leaders Jim Saharis, Robert Stevens, Alvin Rubin, and Don Holleman.

A spokesperson for the Association charged these "leaders" with consistently working in collaboration with the meat companies, against the interests of the workers they are paid to represent.

Last year, Saharis and Stevens allowed the management of Urban Patman Meat Company to cut wages of their members by more than 50% (from \$4.80 to \$2.33 an hour) while at the same time cutting benefits.

In another case, the Association has charged Stevens with actually testifying against Jose Lozano, a steward at Blackstone Meat, in an arbitration case.

Nancy Bergman

Night Pickup Angers Garbage Workers

CLEVELAND—Garbage men here are angry. The city pleaded poverty and stuck them with a lousy contract that increased their pay only 10c an hour. But now insult has been added to injury.

The city's financial situation has meant that it does not have the money to buy new trucks or repair the old ones. As a result, the city has put on two shifts to get double use out of the trucks they have. This means that in some areas garbage gets picked up at night.

The problem has arisen in Cleveland's west side wards, which are almost exclusively white. The garbage men working in these areas after dark have been subjected to racial abuse, rock throwing incidents, and one shooting incident.

The men, members of Laborers Union Local 100, met to vent their anger and let it be known that they will not tolerate this kind of treatment.

As Paul Wells, president of Local 100 said, "The residents of these wards will have to learn to treat garbage men with respect or else they will not get their garbage picked up. It is that simple." No strike date has been set, but the men are ready to take that step if the situation continues.

Indians Protest Terror



Native Americans marched 140 miles to demand an end to terror at Pine Ridge and Rosebud.

PORTLAND—On August 11, 125 Native Americans arrived with a list of demands at the regional Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) office. They had marched 140 miles in the last six days to show their solidarity with the brothers and sisters on Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota.

The marchers camped out in a city park near the BIA office in a commercial district of town. As the week passed the representatives had no authority to act on the demands. Meanwhile local business and city government decided these people were camping illegally and insisted the group had to go.

Friday morning, when the group was to move camp, they surprised their police escort by dashing into the personnel office of the Bonneville Power Administration, holding it for 25 minutes. They didn't allow themselves to be put off in the corner, but insisted the government take their demands seriously.

DEMANDS

The demands, submitted by the Survival of American Indians Association, pointed to the complete lack of "justice and equality" for Native Americans in the US. They included that all US military personnel, the FBI and state law enforcement agencies be immediately withdrawn from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations; that all indictments against Native Americans be squashed and all manhunts stopped; that the people of Pine Ridge and Rosebud have the right to hold free elections and to assemble freely. Presently in South Dakota, Native American people are prevented from meeting in groups of more than four.

Native American people in South Dakota are currently the victims of an undeclared state of martial law enforced by local, state, and federal police agencies. This police terror doesn't stop at the state line however. The oppression of Native Americans occurs everywhere in America, not just in South Dakota.

NO ILLUSIONS

The marchers and supporters came to Portland without illusions: They know that the BIA won't keep the promises it might make tomorrow, because it still hasn't kept the promises it has made over the last 200 years. But, they have been successful in broadening the struggle of the Native American peoples by drawing in people of all races.

This march has demonstrated the need for all working people to unite against a common enemy and exploiters: before any real victories can be won. As they said to the office workers in the building they occupied; "We are not your enemies and you are not ours. We are all workers who are being taken by the same people. Our enemies are the White House, the large corporations, BIA and the FBI."

Please send all donations to: Survival of American Indians Association, PO Box 719, Tacoma, Washington, 98401, 206-456-1375.

Joe Fine

STRIKE HITS PITTSBURGH STEEL BARON

A rat ran out next to the plant about 50 yards from the picket line at the access gate. "There goes Bruce Burkholder!" yelled a striker. Another nodded to where the rat had disappeared and explained "That's what we're striking about."

Burkholder is plant manager of the Neville Island plant of the Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel Co (PDM) in Pittsburgh where 400 members of United Steel Workers Local 2789 went on strike August 1. The union is demanding a cost-of-living clause, fully paid health insurance, and improved pensions and wages.

INEQUALITY

Many of the workers see the strike as a battle between themselves and the Jackson family which owns PDM. PDM has always fought to maintain wages, fringes, and working conditions worse than other factories on the Island and United Steel Workers organized plants in the area.

An example of this inequality is Frank Churilla's story. After 11 years at PDM he makes \$5.01 as a highly skilled welder. When the strike began he went to Bethlehem Steel nearby where he was hired on as a less skilled job starting at \$5.96/hour with better benefits.

As cheap as PDM is, they still think they own "their" workers. Overtime is compulsory, and the

company is a stinker about absenteeism. Two years ago they fired a worker who missed work when his wife tried to commit suicide commenting "We hired you, not your wife." In a burst of generosity after a grievance was written they changed the discharge to a 3 day suspension.

NOT ENOUGH

But that's not enough for PDM! From striker R.D. Kennelly comes the information that PDM Personnel Manager Ray Orle called up Bethlehem Steel when the strike began and told them not to hire any of "his" workers while they were on strike!

TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZE

Fighting Against Brown Lung

Textile workers in North and South Carolina are fighting "brown lung," a breathing disease caused by inhaling cotton dust.

Since April, over a dozen Brown Lung Association chapters have been organized by disabled and retired mill workers. The group has demanded compensation for the disease, stricter dust standards, and better enforcement of existing regulations.

Brown lung causes shortness of breath, coughing, and in its later

The sentiment at a strike meeting attended by nearly everyone Aug. 3 was to stick together until a decisive victory was won that could start turning things around.

The strikers are well organized, with a strike HQ trailer and an outhouse at the picket line. The first issue of a weekly strike newsletter has come out, and a communications network established. If W.R. Jackson thinks he can sit back comfortably in his home in wealthy Sewickley, PA and starve PDM workers and their families into submission, he's got another thought coming.

Joe Fine

stages can lead to death. For over 30 years workers in Britain have received automatic compensation for the disease after ten years in the mills. But in the American South, not a single textile worker has ever received permanent disability payments for brown lung.

The new Brown Lung Association may bring much more to cotton workers than health benefits.

The textile industry has been largely non-union since the failure

of the CIO in the 1930's to organize the strategic Southern cotton mills. Today, only a tenth of the workers in the industry are in the union, the Textile Workers of America.

The fight over brown lung compensation is the first time cotton workers have organized in over forty years. The new Associations may signal the beginning of a new surge of unionization in the huge southern textile industry.

Anne Larson

NIGERIA: MILLIONAIRE GENERALS PLAY MUSICAL CHAIRS...

by Martha Osamor and Laurie Flynn

THE military regime in Nigeria has been reshuffled. Brigadier Mutala Mohammed took over from General Gowon. It seems Mohammed had the full agreement of the departing general.

According to a top business magazine, "The fall of General Gowon is one more sign that Africa is 'unprepared for the politics of nationhood.'"

Of course this racist "explanation" had nothing to do with it. The fall of Gowon was caused by rocketing inflation in an economy run by the multi-national oil industry.

MILITARY MILLIONAIRES

Gowon is not retiring to a poverty stricken old age. His investment advisers have been sifting away his funds in various European capitals for several years.

Gowon is one of eighteen military men who have become millionaires in the nine years since the military seized power in 1966. They are Nigeria's agents for international capitalism. They control import and export licenses, and their consent is needed for all industrial development. Naturally, they charge the appropriate price.

In Nigeria as elsewhere, fabulous wealth for the few is achieved by terrible poverty for the many. Businessmen import Rolls-Royces and pay up to \$40,000 in import duty for their playthings. The people starve.

CRUMBS

The "Green Revolution" in agriculture leaves the poor peasants worse off than before. They cannot afford to buy the food produced, which increasingly goes for export. The world economic crisis makes things even worse.

Organized workers were expected to wait month after month for government reports to ensure higher wages. But after the report was published, many employers simply refused to pay up.

Workers slowed down and struck in March to gain their pay increases. The army was turned against them.

At the waterworks in Lagos (Nigeria's capital city), the army arrested 100 pickets and threw them into detention. But they didn't get all the strikers. Those who remained turned off the water in the city.

The biggest item in the national budget is repression. Military spending in the 1974 budget hit \$350 million—expenditure on

health and education combined didn't come to a third of that.

Spending on the police was the second biggest item, at \$70 million.

This massive spending on repression benefits no one—except for the multi-national corporations that either sell Nigeria military equipment or depend on these weapons to defend their profits.

FIERCE REPRESSION

It is certain that repression will continue to be fierce. A "labor disputes decree" outlaws strikes. All public meetings "likely to lead to a breach of the peace" are banned.

A public meeting is defined as a gathering of three or more people,

in either a public or private place. Violations of this law are punishable by a year in jail or \$200 fine. This is five months wages for an industrial worker.

Penalties for stealing have been stepped up to execution by firing squad.

There are some regional and tribal tensions in Nigeria, a result of the process of colonialization in the 19th century which set different sections against one another. These tensions provide some base for various military rulers.

But inside the working class, those differences are disappearing though the trade union movement.

Real development will never come as long as Nigeria, with the rest of the so-called underdeveloped world, is controlled by the likes of Unilever, Gulf, Philips and Mobil—the giant international US and British corporations. Their power will have to be broken, in Nigeria, in Europe and in America, by the power of the organized working class. □

...WHILE OIL MULTI-NATIONALS CALL THE TUNE

NINETY-TWO per cent of Nigeria's exports are in oil. But development of the oil industry has been of little or no benefit to the working masses. Oil is not a "labor-intensive industry," which means it hires relatively few workers.

Nigeria's balance of payments has improved with rising oil prices. But the whole economy is at the mercy of the oil multi-nationals, including the US-based giants Gulf, Mobil and Philips.

The impact on Nigerian society is truly terrible. While Nigeria exports crude oil, she is entirely dependent on the multi-nationals for refined oil.

The country has only one small refinery, at Alsa-Elene, which produces 60,000 barrels a day when it is working. But it stops whenever it suits the oil companies to sell Nigeria more refined oil.

So Nigeria, an oil-exporting

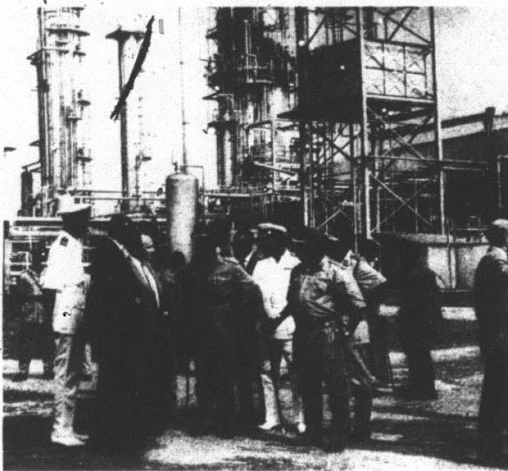
nation, also suffers from a fuel crisis. Right now, three-quarters of the trucks in East Central and Midwest states of Nigeria are off the road, thanks to fuel shortages in an oil-rich country.

WASTE

The most scandalous waste is organized by the oil giants. They have combined to prevent development of Nigerian natural gas. 2200 million cubic feet is flared off daily.

This equals one-third of the country's total energy production. Then Nigeria has to import gas.

While 18 army men have become millionaires, the real spoils of the mining, manufacturing and construction industries go into the bank vaults of the multi-nationals. They are the beneficiaries of military rule in Nigeria and they are probably behind the latest government changes. □



General Yakubu Gowon, in happier days, is shown here visiting Nigeria's single oil refinery at Elese Eleme. There are eighteen military millionaires in Nigeria—but the economy is run by the U.S. and British-based multi-national oil companies.

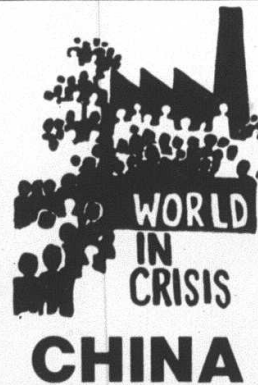
British Picket Freed

LEICESTER PRISON, BRITAIN—Ricky Tomlinson steps out of Leicester prison into freedom. Ricky, a construction worker, served a full two years in prison for so-called "illegal picketing" during a building strike.

The strike was becoming so effective it frightened the government. Workers were arrested under an 1875 Conspiracy Law.

The Labor Party government came to office while Ricky and another jailed worker, Des Warren, were in prison. It could have freed them in a day. Instead it let them continue to suffer. Des Warren is still there.

They received vicious harassment from prison officials. But they led struggles of fellow prisoners to improve prison work conditions and win dignity. Their courage should inspire militant workers and victims of repression everywhere. □



Strike actions by Hangchow workers, in the Chekiang province of China, seem to have continued. After 10,000 troops were sent into at least thirteen factories, air force men were deployed to reinforce them.

There are conflicting reports on political issues that may be tied in. One possibility is a new outbreak of factional struggle inside the Communist Party.

Another is revolts by students and soldiers against being sent to work in the poorest, most remote sections of the country.

At least one thing is certain. China's workers are resuming their struggle for higher wages. Wages have been forced down by the

Communist Party government for years.

The strikes appear to have a strong enough base and organization to continue against both the Communist Party and the Army. □

COUP

The President of Bangladesh, Mujibur Rahman, has been reported killed in a coup. It appears to be a right-wing takeover by a pro-US group of politicians.

Rahman was hailed by hundreds of millions as the hero of the Bangladesh war of independence from Pakistan in 1972. Since then, however, the country has plunged into mass starvation.

The economy, the government, and the ruling Awami League were choked with corruption.

Rahman pledged to lead Bangladesh toward socialism. Instead, while masses of people lived in misery, he established a regime in which middle class Awami League politicians, gangsters and speculators built huge fortunes.

As a result, the masses who cheered Rahman in 1972 did not defend him when he was overthrown. But it is doubtful that the new regime has any more solutions to the nation's problems.

So far, it has announced only that the name "People's Republic of Bangladesh" will be changed to "Islamic Republic of Bangladesh." □

Compiled from eyewitness reports by Laurie Flynn, James Anderson and Colin Sparks

PORTUGAL

Stop the Right Wing Rampage...

The newspapers and television tell us that what is occurring in Portugal is a heroic, spontaneous outburst of resistance by the masses of ordinary people in Portugal against the threat of Communism. Every day, they come up with quotes which pretend to show the riots are fighting for liberty and freedom.

This is the political line coming from the US government and the capitalist press. It is a deliberate lie.

The danger facing the masses of Portugal today is murderous attacks by the far right. Their target is the left and the working class movement in every shape and form.

In the town of Santo Tirso the offices of the FEC, a Maoist organization which hysterically attacks the Communist Party as "social fascists," were wrecked. In the Matoshinos suburb of Oporto, the members of a tenants' committee were attacked with knives.

In northern Portugal the demonstrations, or rather riots, are organized and led by the right wing of the Popular Democrats (PPD), the undercover fascists in the Center Democratic Party (CDS), and backed by the reactionary pro-fascist Catholic Church hierarchy.

Right wing mobs, led by these lovers of "law and order," have destroyed the offices of unions and

left-wing parties. They have gone on a murderous rampage against the cars, homes and persons of suspected Communists.

By Communists, they mean anyone and everyone who has in any way been involved in workers' struggles.

BACKWARD REGION

The explanation for the power of the right in the north is simple. It is a desperately poor region, probably the most backward single area of Western Europe.

The area is densely populated only along the coast. Elsewhere, there are only small villages where people try to scrape a living out of a

tiny patch of land.

These small farmers' and Oporto's petty traders provided the social base for fascism.

The illiteracy rate in the north is 60 per cent. This means that the church almost totally dominates life. Poor illiterate peasants and tenant farmers have to rely on the church to write their letters to their sons and daughters, who have been forced to emigrate by the misery of their lives.

The priests are everywhere an unchallenged authority. They are working overtime, working up their congregations with fearsome tales about "Lisbon," "The Armed Forces Movement," and best of all "The Communist Devils," all of

whom are supposedly going to take away their farms and kill them.

Last week the Archbishop of Braga, who has led some of the most violent recent demonstrations, had his trousers removed at Lisbon Airport by Customs officers searching for illegal currency.

They have good reason to believe the Catholic Church is being used to channel funds for reaction from the CIA. Such funding might help explain the large sums of money that were paid to some of those involved in the riots at Fomalicao, to act as "heavies" and "bodyguards" for the PPD.

The violence has been increased by the Portuguese colonists returning from Angola. Many came from the North, now they are returning to a life with bleak prospects. They are an easy recruiting ground for right-wing parties and fascists as they attempt to re-organize more openly.

OPEN SPLIT

The myth that Portugal's revolution is being led by a united Armed Forces Movement has exploded. The splits are out in the open.

One faction is headed by Melo Antunes and his group of nine "moderate" officers. They are demanding that the government "restore the confidence" of big business in Portugal.

The phrases of the "moderate" officers sound innocent enough. But they have a sinister meaning. Their program is to choke off the revolution and drive Portugal's revolutionary workers' movement into the ground.

Their demands mean that workers' control of the factories must end, and control be handed back to the bosses. In the Army, the undemocratic control of the officer class must be restored so the armed forces can be used against the working class.

The current strategy of the "moderates" is to isolate and strangle the government headed by Premier Vasco Goncalves, an ally of the Communist Party.

Their goal is a new regime which would be headed by politicians from the Socialist Party and the Popular Democratic Party. Then they hope for massive Western European capitalist investments and loans to keep them in power.

CHURCH AND FASCISTS

The Socialist Party has waged a massive campaign calling for the "defense of democracy." But when SP leaders talk about democracy, they don't mean democratic power in the hands of the working class.

They mean leaving power where it is—in the hands of the capitalist class—and protecting the capitalist state from revolutionary workers.

That means the Socialist Party has consciously opened the floodgates of counter-revolution. The SP's campaign opened the door for organizations much further to the right. Under its cover, the fascist rats have crawled out of their holes in the North.

But the whole of the north is not fascist and reactionary. Workers in the textile factories, and the few agricultural workers, have been prominent in the struggle to advance the revolution.

The danger is that workers in the North will feel isolated and discouraged, but the workers' movement has in no way lost out. It is possible to break through and win over the tradition-bound poor peasants.

But it cannot be done with words and offers of low interest loans. It will take deeds—action that offers them liberation from their misery and poverty.



Workers and soldiers united: the key to defending the Revolution.

...Defend the Revolution!

Violence by right-wing thugs and murderers in Portugal has captured the attention and wild enthusiasm of the whole international capitalist press. But they are only a small part of the story in Portugal.

They have failed to strike fear into the hearts of the Portuguese working class. In the strongholds of the revolution, workers are organizing, fighting to keep the gains they have won.

The revolutionary left is growing in strength. The question in Portugal is power—which class will rule. In the factories, in the workers' commissions, on the streets, everywhere workers are discussing the struggle for power.

That's part of what a 50-person delegation to Portugal from the British International Socialists discovered when they spoke to rank and file militants.

At a major factory controlled by workers' committees, a member of the committee explained: "The workers who elected us understand that we have to spend our time learning about the factory, reading about the processes involved and talking about the political situation."

"Because tomorrow, when the workers seize state power, this factory will be ours!" Portuguese workers know that

either the revolution goes forward, or it will be thrown back forcibly. That is the real picture of what's happening in Portugal—the picture that TV news deliberately hides from us.

MASSIVE TASKS

The tasks ahead are enormous. The sudden growth of the right wing is a danger that can be beaten back—if the workers' movement makes the correct response.

In the factories, workers have developed massively powerful and democratic rank and file organizations—the workers' committees. Soliders continue to insist that if it comes to civil war, they will fight with the workers.

The stories claiming that "90% of the army supports the document of the nine moderate officers" are fantastic lies. They are based on the signatures of right-wing officers, many of whom come from the conservative strongholds in the North.

The danger to the revolution comes from the fact that the movement in and around Lisbon has not won over the small farmers in the north. So the middle and upper classes are using the North as their base to attack the workers'

strength.

The left has to insist now that control in the armed forces rests with the rank and file, that every officer who hesitates in supporting the revolution is removed, and that rank and file delegates from military units meet rank and file delegates to plan joint arms training and joint guard patrols.

Second, the economic crisis means that hundreds of thousands of unemployed Portuguese, who see no future in the present situation, are real fodder for the right wing. The present government, nearly paralyzed, is doing practically nothing—even though it holds \$4 billion in gold and another \$1 billion in foreign currency reserves.

A real economic plan must be drawn up to end the expensive luxury consumption of the rich and to guarantee every worker, unemployed person and poor peasant a living wage.

Third, every worker must be involved in the revolutionary government of the Lisbon area. That means the election of workers' and soldiers' delegates to revolutionary councils, to set up a revolutionary government.

Only such a government will be seen by all workers—including

those who at present support the Socialist Party—as their government.

This is totally different from the maneuvers of the Communist Party, which has tried to control parts of the existing state machine and played directly into the hands of the right wing.

CONFIDENCE

A revolutionary workers' government could face the problem of the North with confidence. The peasants are weighed down with debts—it would cancel those debts.

They need to sell their wine. The government must find the funds to buy that wine by seizing the wealth of the upper classes.

They need cheap tractors. The government must turn the car factories—how many Portuguese workers can afford cars?—over to producing agricultural machinery.

While the officers in power quarrel, the right wing is operating freely, and waiting. That is why it is stronger now than a month ago.

A government of revolutionary workers' and soldiers' councils, prepared to act decisively to seize the time, could reverse the balance of forces immediately.

FROM MASS LAYOFFS TO MASSIVE

AUTO FIGHTS

by Calvin Williams

In Detroit, the assembly lines are rolling again. And, after the long winter of no work, the endless hours on the unemployment lines, tens of thousands of autoworkers are back on the job.

There is only one problem. For most, returning is already the same old nightmare. It's as if they had never been off.

There were promises, of course, that things would be better. Eugene A. Caffero, Chrysler's new President elect, promised improved relations. He said that "workers should not be treated like robots" and promised a new day for Chrysler employees.

Speed-up

The truth is somewhat different. When production workers returned to Chrysler's huge Lynch Road Assembly plant, they were greeted with a special "Orientation Session." They were asked to list their complaints. And they were told things "would get better."

Nearly everyone, to no one's surprise, said that the chief problem was overloaded jobs, too much work on the jobs.

The result. Chrysler has instituted the speed up with a vengeance. At Lynch Road, many jobs now have 50% more work.

All the giant auto producers through the past months have used the layoffs as an opportunity to time and retune the jobs. The result has been a well organized, highly efficient speed up.

Sometimes, the lines are simply run faster. Other times, additional

work is added to each job.

New psychological methods have been introduced.

New, young foremen have been hired. They are specially trained in fighting the union and breaking up shop floor organization. There are special meetings, like Chrysler's "Orientation Session," to convince workers to sacrifice.

The companies' want the workers to believe that if they cut waste, shorten their breaks, and voluntarily work harder, they can keep these monstrous corporations afloat, and thereby save their jobs. All the old crap.

The companies, in fact, will take advantage of every petty opportunity to save money.

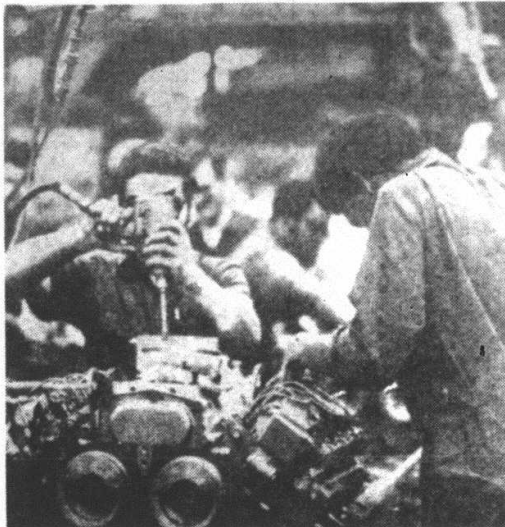
At the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Plant in Detroit, management closed down a main entrance to Plant 6 when the layoffs drastically reduced the workforce.

Now everyone's back, but the company refuses to reopen the door, merely because it would mean adding an additional guard. And, this despite the fact that it is clearly a fire hazard. Not to mention a great inconvenience for the workers.

Production

The reason for all this is simple enough. Two years ago the 1973 production reached 11 million cars. This year the industry will be lucky to produce 8 million. Yet the companies are determined to make just as much money.

More work from each worker equals an additional dividend for each shareholder. This is the truth behind the speed up.



Engine plant in Detroit: After 8 months layoff, 50% speed-up.

At the same time, the companies have attacked the union organization on the shop floor in an effort to reduce the ability of the workers to resist.

Old work groups have been broken up. Stewards are being restricted, so that the very principle of elected representatives has been undermined.

As of now, the companies are

increasingly confident. They are praying for a quick economic recovery, and they can already taste the profits.

According to Bennett E. Bidwell, a Ford vice president in sales, "the continuing improvement in new car sales is a clear indication that the slump has ended."

"Slump," of course, refers to the worst depression since the 'thir-

NETWORK Key To Rank and File Power

Organization and communication are two keys to building a rank and file movement in the UAW. The company and the union bureaucracy are both international machines. The rank and file needs more than local organization to challenge their power. The magazine NETWORK can play a key role in developing communication between auto workers in different locations.

The first issue of NETWORK appeared in February. Its editors explained:

"NETWORK is being published as a contribution towards pulling

ties. At the same time, Automotive News points to the fact that new car sales were at their highest in eleven months in July, and that there has been a sharp decline in inventories.

Skeptical

Most autoworkers, however, are highly skeptical, and many believe that there will be more layoffs before Christmas.

There is every reason to be skeptical. The economic situation is improving. But it will not necessarily improve steadily.

As a result of new car price increases and the prospects of even higher gasoline costs, new car sales may be far lower than the companies project.

And if this is the case, the automakers can certainly be counted on to cut back the workforce again. At least so that they can cheat UAW members out of their Christmas pay again.

The depression, the bankruptcy of the SUB fund, and the promise of new layoffs to come, have combined to dampen the traditional militancy of autoworkers.

It would be a great mistake, however, to think that this situation is permanent. The longer autoworkers are on the job, and the longer the companies persist on their present course, the more likely there will be an explosion.

There will be a return of struggle in the months to come. And the issues are predictable. Harassment, the speed up, overtime, and victimization.

Autoworkers have never silently taken all this before. They won't now. There already exist dozens of rank and file organizations in auto plants from coast to coast.

The point now is to strengthen them, to link them up, and to build them into a fighting machine.

UAW LOCAL 51

"They suspended two of us, and the whole plant walked out."

William 'Whip' Bean is one of the leaders of the United Coalition, an opposition group in UAW Local 51. Bean is an alternate steward at Chrysler's Mound Road Engine plant, a key plant in Chrysler's entire operation.



Whip Bean

"The people really weren't ready for the massive layoffs. They were in a position where they thought they had security. They found out they didn't have any."

"Now they're back. And after layoffs, most people think that the people become stronger. But they don't."

"They're worried. About their job and how long it will last. Maybe it's the Christmas money. Maybe Thanksgiving. Maybe it's school money to buy the kids clothes."

"So they're not stronger. They are weaker. And they accept a lot of

hundred thousand dollars a day for us being out. See, we make all the 318's for the Chrysler Corporation.

"Canada was affected. The whole of the United States. There was a certain advantage for us."

"To me the point of production is always important. No production, no profit."

"And you see, you cannot really bargain as long as the lines are running. That's a fact. As long as the lines are running, they're producing cars. And they're making money."

"You have to say, 'Hey, I think we have a better bargaining position."

United Coalition

"Our group, the United Coalition, is a left wing group in UAW Local 51. And it's the only group that has ever lasted: It came out of that strike."

"They have called the foreman down and said, 'You have to get it together on the United Coalition. How can they do this? How can they do that?'"

WE SPEED UP

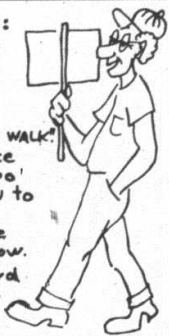
STARTS NOW!

THE OLE PHILOSOPHER SEZ:

Used to be a real bright guy in our local, crackerjack organizer. Always said: "Phil, YOU GOTTA CRAWL BEFORE YOU CAN WALK!"

Can't say he didn't practice what he preached. Taught two generations of youngsters how to crawl.

Paid off, too. Works in the UAW Education Department now. A deep fellow he wuz. Hard to remember his name, cause everybody called him Snake.



Cartoon from "Network" Magazine

together a militant, rank and file movement throughout the UAW. A movement to challenge the corrupt leadership and lead effective action in defense of the union membership. We decided to put out this magazine so that UAW militants from different local unions could begin a serious exchange of experiences and ideas."

Since February, three issues of NETWORK have been published, with the fourth issue scheduled for early September.

Advice

So far, NETWORK has carried plant reports from a large number of local unions scattered throughout the east and midwest. It's also had practical advice, such as how to write a leaflet or how to apply for food stamps.

Other articles have reported on developments within the union: the problem of subcontracting skilled work at Ford; the rip-off of short-week benefits; and continuing coverage of the United National Caucus.

NETWORK has also provided analysis of economic and political events.

Contracts with the Big Three expire about a year from now. The following spring will see a UAW

Constitutional Convention, at which there may be a major fight over the election of new International officers.

With runaway inflation leading to another slump in the economy, the rank and file must be ready to have an impact.

There is already widespread sentiment that changes in the UAW are in order. There already exist militants and fighters in every auto plant. The important thing now is to link them together. NETWORK can begin to do this, if it gets a wide distribution.

The NETWORK editorial board has begun a campaign to increase the circulation of the magazine. They have put out a leaflet which tells about NETWORK and offers a free sample copy of the magazine.

Movement

Anyone working in an auto plant who wants to make a contribution to the building of a rank and file auto workers' movement should write NETWORK for a stack of these leaflets and go out and distribute them.

To request leaflets or to subscribe to NETWORK (\$3.00 a year), write to NETWORK, P.O. Box 39137, Detroit, Michigan, 48239.

IT MAKES NO SENSE - ONLY PROFITS

The automobile plays an enormous role in our world. It provides employment for millions and transportation for hundreds of millions.

Yet, despite its importance, auto production is irrational and uncontrollable. It may be the single most irrational aspect of the capitalist economy.

For workers, the production of the automobile means long hours at the assembly line or tied to the presses. It means filthy, exhausting work, with little time left over to enjoy the product, even when there is pay enough to buy it.

In the past two years, autoworkers first worked nine and ten hours a day, six and seven

days a week to fill the lots with new cars.

Then, with capitalism incapable of controlling or planning this fantastic industry, the market collapsed. Hundreds of thousands of workers were thrown onto the streets. Now the cycle has begun again. Auto workers are called back, overtime is beginning already, and the cycle continues.

At the same time, the automobile is one of capitalism's most wasteful products. Cars are built to wear out in a few years' time. They consume huge quantities of scarce resources. They pollute the air. And they are death traps, causing more deaths and injuries than wars.

THREE YEARS TO TURN THE UNION AROUND

There is a time table for rank and file autoworkers. In the next three years, the major issues in the auto industry, the UAW, and the nation's economy must be resolved.

First, the economy. Autoworkers are returning to work now. But it would be a mistake to count on stable jobs and prosperity. This depression has just been a taste of things to come.

There will indeed be a recovery. But according to economists, this recovery will last at most three years. And during the recovery, inflation will return, stronger than ever. Then, in 1978, autoworkers can expect another depression.

Second, the union. Between today and spring of 1977 the major policy bodies of the UAW will meet. The national contract will expire. Next spring, 1976, the Bargaining Convention will be held, probably in Detroit. In September the Big Three contract (Ford, GM, and Chrysler) expires. And the following spring, 1977, the UAW Constitutional Convention will be held, including the election of officers and Woodcock's retirement.

Prepare

This time-table offers great opportunities for rank and file autoworkers. It also offers big responsibilities, for there is not much time.

Because of the new three year terms, it is too late to elect delegates to the Bargaining Convention. But rank and file organizations can prepare for the contract fight by attending this convention, to see that maximum pressure is put on the delegates.

More important, the rank and file can organize so that a good contract is not only proposed by the Convention, but is actually fought for and won.

RANK & FILER'S DO-IT-YOURSELF HANDBOOK

PUTTING OUT A LEAFLET

When you want to move a large group of people, leaflets can do an organizing job you can't always do by yourself. They get everyone thinking about the same thing at the same time.

Maybe you want to say something but don't know how to start. Here is a prescription for almost any leaflet. Just write down:

1. The problem.
2. The solution.
3. What you want people to do about it.

EXAMPLE

grabber— **WHY SHOULD WE DO ALL THE WORK?**

the problem— Here we are working 48-50 hours a week. Sure, we can use the bread. But with millions looking for work, it's not fair—to them or to us. One way or another, those who work end up supporting those who don't. Injustice is everybody's problem.

the solution— We have to share the money—people have to survive. So let's share the work too. **JOBS FOR ALL. LESS WORK FOR EACH. That's Justice.**

what to do— If the boss asks you to work overtime, tell him to take it to someone who needs it. But he don't always ask. So, come to the union meeting. A motion will be presented to ban all overtime while people are laid off. July 21, 12 noon. Sharp!

DON'T worry about being original or clever. The leaflets people like best are the ones that say what they are feeling, but haven't managed to say for themselves. DO lay it on the line. Nobody cares much about nice ideas. They want answers.

From "NETWORK" magazine.

The summer of 1976 will be an ideal time for a successful strike. The auto makers will be operating full speed ahead, and they will not want a strike.

Issues

The big issues are already clear. In the past year, autoworkers have watched their jobs vanish, hundreds of thousands put out of work, and the SUB fund go broke. The new contract must ensure this does not happen again.

There must be a provision barring layoffs, through the institution of the short work week, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. At the same time, the SUB fund must be backed by the Corporations' assets.

The other major issue will be money. Prices raced past autoworkers' wages. At the same time, the COLA (cost of living) has proved totally inadequate. Despite company and government demands that autoworkers sacrifice, the rank and file must see that the contract includes a big wage increase, plus full cost of living.

Organize

Right now the rank and file is weak. But there does exist a

network of rank and file organizations. These are often affiliated with the United National Caucus (UNC), the only national opposition in the UAW.

The rank and file will find all the issues already there. The network to fight must be built. At first, the major fights will involve local issues, in particular the speed-up, safety, harassment, and overtime.

Strike

Increasingly, however, it will also involve the fight in the International union, especially as the contract nears. There will have to be a strike, this time industry-wide.

The next step will be the Constitutional Convention. The rank and file may not be strong enough in 1977 to take over the UAW, but it can go a long way toward turning the huge union around.

A strong fight for convention delegates, especially this time when the president is retiring and the leadership is split, can greatly increase the ranks' strength.

Most important, it can begin returning the union to its original "Fight the Company," class struggle politics. And it had better, for if the rank and file fails and this time table is true, 1978 can be a repeat of November, 1974. Only worse. □

WORKERS' POWER HOLDS SCHOOL FOR MILITANTS

LOUISVILLE—On August 16, Workers' Power sponsored an all-day workshop on rank and file organizing. The purpose of the workshop was to share the experiences of militants from different unions and industries. In advance, Workers' Power had discussed with participants what kind of classes would be most helpful. Brothers and sisters who attended were from seven different unions, including USW, CWA, IBT and NALC. Several members of CLUW were also present.

Local members of United Action—a rank and file caucus in the Communications Workers of America—kicked off several sessions with short talks on "Why Organize", "How to Build a Rank and File Group", and "Grievances and Shopfloor Tactics."

The discussion was practical and focussed on the shopfloor experiences of the workers who were there. Grievance dumping, slowdowns,

petitions, health and safety rules, and the use of the NLRB and the EEOC were all discussed. There was a class on "Parliamentary Procedure—or How Not To Be Ruled Out of Order."

One session was devoted to race and sex discrimination and why rank and filers have to fight it. It was led by a female telephone installer and a truck teamster. Everybody seemed to agree that these are the two things that divide us most on the shop floor. They must be taken head on by all militants.

In this spirit, the workshop voted to stop for an hour and a half, and go join a demonstration against a Ku Klux Klan rally. (See page 3.)

WORKERS' POWER

After the demonstration and dinner, the workshop had grown to over 30 people. Gay Semel, editor of Workers' Power, then spoke on how Workers' Power can be used

by militants in Louisville to stay in touch with and learn from militants elsewhere in this country and abroad.

She explained how the paper can become a more effective weapon when workers send in their ideas, criticism, and articles about their struggles. "It's your paper," she said, "It presents things from your point of view."

Kim Moody, industrial secretary of the IS, concluded the workshop with a rousing talk about the rank and file movement. He gave examples of new and growing rank and file groups in all the major unions.

Moody explained that it was the IS that was linking these groups together. He made an appeal for militants to join the IS and help build a workers' party able to lead the final fight against capitalism and its crisis.

After a lively discussion several workers expressed interest in joining the IS. □



I.S., WEST SIDE COALITION PICNIC SUCCESSFUL

CHICAGO—Over 500 people showed up at a picnic Sunday, August 17 at Garfield Park. The unity picnic was co-sponsored by West Side Coalition and the Chicago branch of International Socialists.

The West Side Coalition is a community organization that formed to confront the many problems on Chicago's predominantly black West Side. Speakers from the Coalition spoke on the

need to solve problems together and to develop respect for one's neighbors and dignity for oneself.

IS speakers spoke about the importance of organizing at the workplace to fight for workers' control of the factories and unions.

The theme of unity meant that struggles in the community and in factories have to be linked. All speakers emphasized the need to fight back collectively.

Unity was not only the theme of the talks, but of the whole picnic. It was a beautiful day with both young and old, black and white relaxing and talking together.

A barbeque fed over 500 people. Other activities included dancing, volleyball, softball and football. Some of the younger members of the West Side even became enthusiastic Workers' Power sellers. □



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. Unconditional support to movements for national liberation. We oppose Russian imperialism and its war bloc, the Warsaw Pact, which controls Eastern Europe. For an independent movement of the working class and oppressed peoples everywhere against imperialism, East and West.

FOR WORLD SOCIALISM

The first successful socialist revolution was made by the Russian working class in 1917. But the revolution was isolated, and destroyed by a counterrevolution led by Stalin. Workers' councils, political parties and trade unions were all crushed. Today Russia, China and the rest of the "Communist" countries are not socialist, but societies in which workers are exploited by a bureaucratic ruling class. We support workers' struggles in Russia, China and Eastern Europe for democracy and freedom. For workers' revolution to overthrow Stalinism and replace it with socialism.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To win the fight for socialism the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The revolutionary party is a political force linking 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 activity of the IS is directed toward building such a revolutionary party out of the struggles working people are waging today.

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International Socialists



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:

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS
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 Highland Park, MI 48203

Name

Address

Trade Union

WHAT'S ON

Portland, Sunday August 24— "Building the Rank and File Movement." Speaker: A former editor of the "Valley Worker" and Portland union activist. YMCA, Killingsworth and N. Moore. 7 PM. A Workers' Power Forum.

Philadelphia, Friday August 29— "25 Years of People's China." Nigel Harris, leading Marxist authority on China and the Indian Subcontinent. Author of "India/China Underdevelopment and Revolution." YWCA, 2027 Chestnut St. 7:30 PM A Workers' Power Forum.

WHAT Court Kills Busing In Detroit

After five years in the courts, busing was defeated in Detroit last week. The ruling handed down prohibits busing except in extreme instances. While the court required the Board of Education to come up with a revised desegregation plan, there is no time limit the Board must meet.

Worse, the ruling places the final responsibility for ensuring desegregation with the Michigan State Board of Education. The State's active involvement in direct segregation practices was documented over and over in briefs filed for the suit. The judge disregarded all this material.

It is proof of the depth of racism in this society that a desegregation plan is needed in Detroit. A majority of the city is black. The school population is over 70% black. Detroit's mayor is black. The school board and the city administration are majority black. Yet 18% of the schools remain over 70% white.

The point is clear to racists. After a year of white violence in Boston since busing began last fall, racist organizing has grown. This ruling says to the Klan and Nazi Party, the Wallacites and Reaganites that all they have to do is make the issue too hot to handle. Violence

and racist resistance to illegal segregation will be tolerated.

It allows whites to develop enclaves within a black city protected by racist housing practices and sometimes violent intimidation of blacks who try to break those barriers.

The courts will not even challenge this segregation by insisting the schools be integrated.

There is one more lesson in this. Detroit's black mayor Coleman Young applauded this decision. The black majority on the school board also applauded the decision.

That is, these people, who Detroit blacks put in office, have turned out to be no more reliable in the fight for integrated, quality education, than the dozens of white mayors who have done just the same.

Nevertheless, the fight for quality education must continue. This time, however, it will have to be built on a stronger base. A few black politicians will not be sufficient. Instead, mass action is necessary—the kind of action that is so powerful that no politician no matter how smooth or how fast talking can once again push the just demands of black people into the closet.



8% Unemployment - They Call It 'Recovery'

by Mike Connor

Economic "recovery" is a hot topic these days. Almost every day there is news about how the economy has bottomed out and is on its way back up again.

The speed and size of any improvement in the economy will have an effect on everyone. The levels of employment, inflation and production are three key signs of what's happening in the economy.

In the last couple months there has been a drop in the government's published unemployment rate. Yet even the government admits that in part, this has been caused by statistical gimmicks. More important, though, is the tremendous number of people still unemployed.

Official figures say that in July total unemployment was about 14 million. This includes people who have given up looking and those working part-time only because they can't find full-time work.

To reduce this figure, unemployment rates have to fall a lot more than they have so far.

But most government economists expect the official rate to go up again in August before beginning to fall slowly. The rate will average around 8% for many months to come.

PRODUCTION

The real Gross National Product, the level of output in the economy, will not get back to where it was at

the end of 1973 until late 1976. Even then, unemployment will be high, because there will be more people in the labor force.

Also, the corporations will be squeezing more production out of each worker. Overtime will increase along with increases in production. Average weekly factory overtime is already 2½ hours and rising.

They will also speed up production. Output per man-hour, a measure of production speed was climbing at a 2% annual rate over the past few months. It will be going up faster.

All this means that unemployment will not get below 6% even in 1977. Some recovery!

One big reason that production

and employment will not be rising faster is that inflation has not been controlled. Prices have been going up more slowly this year than in 1974, at about a 5% rate.

But they are still going up fast for a depression. And there is evidence that inflation is heating up again. In June, consumer prices shot up at a 9.6% annual rate. In July, wholesale prices were up over 1% in that month alone.

Increasingly, we live in a world economy where all the capitalist countries go up and down together. A main factor in the last round of inflation was big increases in the price of basic raw materials. The slump in the US and Europe brought those prices down some. But as all these countries begin to recover at the same time, raw materials prices will be pulled up again.

The US economy is based on a relatively small number of huge corporations producing with a stock of obsolete plants and equipment.

The government wants to protect these sick giants from bankruptcy in the depression and guarantee their profits for a recovery. This requires massive pumping

of credit into the economy through the deficit and Federal Reserve credit operations. Easy credit means firms don't mind paying more, so prices go up.

Everything done to get production and jobs up also makes inflation worse. Since both government and business think high profits are essential, it is workers who have to pay the cost.

Without tough action by labor, the cost will be continuing high unemployment, with overtime and speedup for those still working, and worsening inflation for all.

In 1977, unemployment rates of 6-7% will go along with inflation rates of 20-25%. The corporations will struggle for profits in a high-pressure world economy with an obsolete and poorly planned stock of plant and equipment.

But shoring up profits by raising prices and speeding up production is limited by the need to find a market for what is produced. This limit already has some corporate executives worrying about the next bust in 1977.

They're predicting it will be bigger than the last one. They're right.

Talking about socialism... and racism

by Bernard O'Higgins

KARL MARX wrote of the American labor movement before the Civil War that "every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

That is even truer today than a century ago. Black liberation and workers' revolution are totally bound up with each other in this country. One is literally impossible without the other.

Why is this? The class of rich parasites who rule this society use all kinds of methods to preserve their power. One key tool is their ability to keep working people divided, to play off one group of oppressed people against another, to divide us along racial lines.

That's why racism is so deeply built into the structure of American capitalism. Without organized racism, it would be much harder to keep us divided and powerless.

As long as black slavery existed in the South, the labor unions of the North were constantly threatened by the competition of slave labor. It was only after the Civil War that the US labor movement really got off the ground, and a tremendous campaign to win the eight-hour day spread from coast to coast.

sufficient small farmers in the South.

Blacks first began to move North in large numbers during World War I to work in the booming war industries. From then until the building of the first industrial unions of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the 1930's, the employers constantly played off white and black workers against each other with great success. As a result, unions remained weak, wages low, hours long, and working conditions miserable.

UNIONS

Because of the power of racist ideas among white workers, most trade unions wouldn't allow blacks to join them. As a result, the employers could almost always be sure to find black workers willing to scab when these unions called strikes.

Then the fact that black workers were often used as scabs reinforced the racist attitudes that had kept them out of the union in the first place. It was a vicious circle, and the bosses couldn't lose.

This vicious circle was finally smashed during the organization of mass industrial unions in the 1930's. Black and white workers united and refused to let themselves be used against each other. As a result, all working people won a huge victory and the basic industries were unionized.

White workers didn't stop excluding black workers from their organizations because they had suddenly lost all their racist

attitudes. They didn't do it because they suddenly realized racism was wrong or bad. They did it because they finally realized that all workers had to unite if they were going to beat companies like General Motors and United States Steel.

White workers didn't come to this realization easily or automatically. They came to it after suffering a long series of defeats because of racial tension and disunity. They also united with black workers because the thousands of revolutionaries who helped organize the CIO kept pushing this idea and showing why it was absolutely necessary.

Black workers didn't suddenly forget the way white workers had treated them in the past. Nor did they suddenly start loving white people. But they too realized the need to unite. In the course of the unionization fight, many racial divisions were broken down for a time, and all workers won—auto, rubber, steel, mining and trucking were unionized.

During and after World War II millions more black people moved North until today only about half of the US black population is left in the South. Blacks are now central to all the basic production industries.

They are no longer a small but significant minority in the plants. In many they are the vast majority, and almost everywhere they are the boldest and most militant workers. As a result, black and white unity—or disunity—is even more crucial than in the past.

The next column in this series will talk about how that alliance can be re-built.

LYING STATISTICS

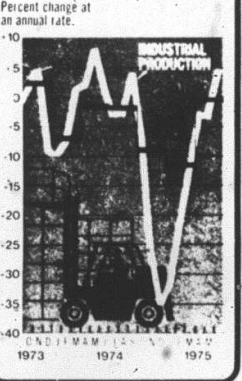
This graph printed in Time magazine seems to show that the recession is over. A curve called "Industrial Production" dips sharply down in late 1974, then comes back up in mid-1975. Another curve called "Real GNP" does the same. So clearly the recession must be over, right?

Wrong. If you look on the left-hand side of the graph, it is labeled "Percent change at an annual rate." This means that when the curve dipped below zero, the percent change of the economy was less than zero. In other words, the economy declined in late 1974.

Then in mid-1975, the economy no longer had a negative percent change. It was no longer declining, but simply showed no change. So all the graph really shows is that the economy has stopped dropping—but it hasn't started recovering!

Time magazine knows perfectly well that most people will not notice the distinction. If they wanted to get the truth across, they would not graph the percent change but the actual

PAST THE BOTTOM



Industrial production or the GNP.

This is only one small example of the hundreds of deliberately misleading statistics handed out each month, as capitalism distorts science in its own interests.

H. Leiner

DO WORKERS RUN CHINA?

HOW MAO'S PARTY CAME TO POWER

by NIGEL HARRIS
Second of a Series

This article is the second in a series that will discuss the question "China: Is It Socialist?" Since China is ruled by the Chinese Communist Party, we have to examine the policies of this party.

The Chinese Communist Party says it is the party of the workers, the leadership of the working class. Is it? There are two main ways of deciding.

First, is the party membership mainly drawn from workers? Second, does it defend and advance the interests of workers—does its program always give priority to workers' interests?



IN THE 1920's, a majority of the members of the Communist Party were certainly industrial workers. The Party's bases were in the great cities of the eastern seaboard, so strong were those bases that the Party could call a general strike and seize the city of Shanghai in 1927.

But the Party had been forced into an alliance with the party of Chinese businessmen and landlords, the Kuomintang. In Moscow, the Communist International and Joseph Stalin argued that Chinese workers were too few to make a workers' revolution. Instead, they must unite with all classes of Chinese people against foreign business and imperialism.

Yet the number of Chinese workers was as great as that in Russia in 1917, and their militancy was equally strong. Still, Stalin insisted on the alliance.

Now how can a worker "ally" with their employer? Only by refusing to strike, refusing to press for wage demands or improved conditions. To keep the "alliance," the Communist Party made very few radical demands on behalf of workers. It was often in the position of supporting action against foreign employers, but opposing it against Chinese bosses.

In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Kuomintang, decided he was powerful enough to dispense with Communist support. He fell upon the Party, massacred its members and began a terrible and continuing repression. The Party leadership that survived fled the cities. The members not murdered or jailed dropped out of the Party or became secret sympathizers. The Chinese employers had shown which side they supported.

GUERRILLA ARMIES

In Russia, after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, Lenin had turned the Bolsheviks back to patient low-level factory work in order to rebuild worker confidence. In China, Mao Tse-tung went in the opposite direction. He built a military base in remote and backward areas, far removed from where the workers lived. Without any help from the party, workers recovered and went back into action in 1931 and again in 1934 and 1935. In the last year, the number of workers in strikes was only two fifths less than the high peak of 1926. But the Party had no relationship to this militancy.

The Party had no working units in the industrial areas. Japan attacked Manchuria in 1932. In 1937 Japan began the invasion of China proper. Stalin, in Russia, was terrified the Japanese would attack the Soviet Union. He was worried at Japanese efforts to form an anti-Communist alliance with the Kuomintang. So he forced the Chinese Communist Party to ally once again with the Kuomintang. But the condition of the alliance was the same as before—the Communists must cease stirring up the workers and peasants, so that the employers and landlords of the Kuomintang would "ally." Even the Party's mildest demands were promptly dropped.

The Kuomintang was increasingly ruthless in its treatment of workers—they introduced the death penalty for strikes, and pushed down real wages by 50% up to 1943. Meanwhile, Kuomintang businessmen and corrupt government officials made fantastic fortunes out of the workers and the war. The Communists made not the slightest whisper of protest.

Mao summarized the Party's policies: "The former laws about workers' control and leadership in the various enterprises (in the Communist controlled areas) have been repealed. The workers have been advised not to put up demands which may be in excess of what can be granted by the enterprise in question. In the non-Soviet districts [i.e., the rest of China, N.H.]; it is our intention not to accentuate the anti-capitalist struggle though we are in favor of improving the standard of living of the workers. (but) neither workers nor capitalists can expect an improvement in their conditions." [Letter to Chang Nai-chi and others, Aug. 10, 1936].

The People's Liberation Army (the Communist Party's army) raced to power against the demoralized Kuomintang armies. Yet Communist Party policy remained much the same. Strikes broke out in 1945 and 1946. Workers seized Shanghai factories. This took place without benefit or indeed even the interest of the Communist leadership. Their only interest in workers was to urge skilled men and women to emigrate to the Communist controlled areas where increased production was needed. All that the Communist Party offered to workers was "adjusting the interests of labor and capital. On the one hand, it will protect the interests of the workers, institute an 8 to 10 hour working day according to circumstances, provide unemployment relief and social insurance and safeguard trade union rights; on the other hand, it will guarantee legitimate profits to properly managed State, private and co-operative enterprises."

This was not even as radical as what the European labor parties were promising in 1945.

Workers were less than one per cent of Party membership up to the seizure of power in 1949. Even in 1951, workers were only 6% of the membership. They reached a maximum of 14% in 1956 (less than the number of members classed as of "intellectual" origin).



It was the army that was to make the revolution, not the workers. The army did so with the least possible "disturbance" of production. As the People's Liberation Army advanced, the generals issued clear instructions before taking cities that workers and capitalists must carry on as usual. There was no repetition of the 1927 seizure of Shanghai.

COMMUNIST PARTY FIGHTS AGAINST EQUALITY

If workers were misguided enough to seize factories (as happened in Nanking), the army promptly returned them to their owners with apologies. To emphasize the point, Mao broadcast in January, 1949 from Nanking, saying that workers "must co-operate with the capitalists so that maximum production can be attained." The Party's policy was not, he said, for "unrestricted license" but rather "for control and co-operation with capital."

When the Party was securely in power, employment increased and working conditions were rapidly improved. But there was no more control by workers over their work. On the contrary, the Party has consistently stressed raising labor productivity speed-up. Workers were forbidden to tackle the bosses (whether State or private). Only the party was permitted to do that.

Trade unions were set up, but their purpose was not the defense of workers, but to ensure their obedience—"to educate workers to observe consciously the laws and decrees of the State, and labor discipline, to strive for the development of production, for the constant increase in labor productivity, for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plans of the State." [Constitution, All-China Trade Union Federation].

Workers did not take it lying down. In early and mid-1950's, there were severe labor troubles. The Party spent much time denouncing slow-downs, absenteeism, indiscipline and even strikes. Special hostility was reserved for wage demands which were called "economism," or for calls for independent trade unions, called "guildism."

Ten years later, during the Cultural Revolution, there were also waves of strikes—including a massive general strike in Shanghai. The Party behaved exactly the same, denouncing rank and file workers for "guild economism" and "anarchism." The Party leadership also consistently fought any efforts to raise the lower paid to the level of the better paid.

As Chou En-lai put it—"Equalitarianism is a type of petty bourgeois outlook which encourages backwardness and hinders progress. It has nothing in common with Marxism and a socialist system. It damps down the enthusiasm of workers and employees in acquiring technical skills and raising productivity; it harms the growth of our economic construction. We must therefore resolutely oppose equalitarianism." [Report on the work of the Government, 1954].

So, it seems, the Chinese Communists and Western capitalists agree!

CLASS STRUGGLE IN CHINA

But surely, you might wonder, it is now quite different? After all, the 1974 constitution concedes the right to strike, after a quarter of a century of Communist rule. But conceding the right means nothing. There have been strikes in China ever since the Communists came to power, so that "giving the right" is nothing. What is clear is that the Party will never encourage strikes. In the 1966-7 Shanghai strikes, the People's Liberation Army was moved in to take over the city.

Last month, Chinese provincial radio reported that 10,000 soldiers had been sent to the city of Hangchow to take over thirteen factories and increase production. The workers, it said, had been "unable to increase production under the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line and bourgeois factionalism and due to sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies." Leading militants were arrested and sent to "re-education camps."

We can only guess at the issues in the strikes, but recently Chairman Mao has argued that there is too much inequality and differentials in wages should be reduced. But this won't mean raising wages for lower paid workers. Instead, it means wage cuts for the higher paid, and possibly for all workers, to narrow the difference between workers and peasants. Meanwhile, production must be increased. The reaction has been violent in several places—in steel in Wuhan, Taiyuan and Paptow, on the railways and in the mines. Strikes, discontent and charges of "factionalism" have been rumbling on through 1974 and this year.

The Party under Mao has never made any attempt to be a workers' party. It has never defended workers' interests, let alone been in favor of workers' power. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is not something that includes China's working class. □

Puke Drills, Cake Courses And Manhood

by Phil Kimbrough
with Jo Kimbrough

THERE are many ways to prove one's "manhood" in America, but one of the most sure-fire methods is big time college football. The American male is conditioned from birth to be aggressive, successful, and an overall winner.

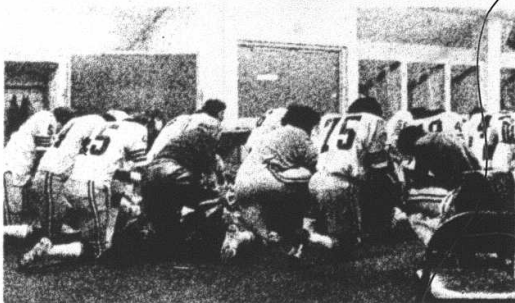
I played football for seven years, all the way from junior high school on up to college. I went to high school in a rural area of West Virginia where there is an incredible amount of value placed on football and other sports. I was a big, over-sized kid so naturally I got involved in sports and did well.

By the time I was a sophomore in high school, my coach had pulled me into his office one day and asked me if I had ever given any thought to playing college ball. Already a bit tired of football, I replied that if I went to college I was going to get an education, not play football.

But by my senior year he had convinced me that I was wrong, that getting a football scholarship was the greatest thing that could possibly happen to a young man. So first thing I know I'm off to make my mark in collegiate athletics.

You learn that only a few get to be winners and that you make it by competing with and defeating others.

You are never to show any weakness. Hide all emotion, ignore pain and think nothing of inflicting pain on others in order to advance



Vince Lombardi said: When we don't use our ability to the fullest, we're not only cheating ourselves and the Green Bay Packers, we're cheating the Lord yourself.

The deeper into football I got, the less these ideals rang true. Now, analyzing my experiences playing football from a socialist point of view, I believe that football in America is a near-perfect microcosm of the "ideal" capitalist system of values.

FOOTBALL—CAPITALISM

In one instance after another, football programs reflect the oppression and twisted values of capitalist business and industry.

Football players are analogous to workers, coaches to foremen, and club owners (or college officials) to bosses. Indeed, football players in college are actually employees, since the "scholarship" aspect of the program is a farce as far as

academic standards are concerned. Despite their public pronouncements that education comes first, coaches are notorious for grade fixing, encouragement of cheating, and urging players to take "cake" courses.

Thus football players are encouraged to be one-sided and superficial, not to use their minds for anything but learning football plays. It becomes a "manly" virtue to scorn serious intellectual activities.

Coaches know that players won't perform (i.e., beat each other silly) on their own. They must be externally motivated through humiliation, threats, and minor rewards; then they must internalize the values being imposed on them.

Every practice is a horrible, grueling ordeal intended to find out



who are "men" and who are not, and to turn weaklings into "men."

"Puke drills," extra workouts as punishment, working in overheated rooms, generally being pushed to the point of exhaustion: these are the means for breaking the will of football players and bringing them around to the coach's point of view.

Football is an excellent way for our capitalist masters to teach us dedication, to accept discipline, and never to question our overseers.

RACISM

Racism is rampant in football programs. The only black players recruited are of the superstar caliber and racial tension is induced when lesser white players see them getting special favors from the coaches.

Concessions to good players are minor from the bosses' point of view. But being allowed to skip a "study hall," or not being reprimanded when caught drinking or smoking seems like a huge reward to someone whose life is entirely regimented year-round by the football program.

The hypocrisy of organized religion is also evident in football programs. Religion is used to bolster the ideal of smashing one's opponent to further the interests of your boss.

Vince Lombardi told his players, "When we don't use our ability to the fullest, we're not only cheating ourselves and the Green Bay Packers, we're cheating the Lord. He gave us our ability to use to the fullest."

Many football games are preceded by the team kneeling in prayer, then jumping up with bloodthirsty cry of "Kill! Get 'em!"

When a player is injured or just cannot make the grade, he is subjected to the same kind of treatment a disabled worker encounters from his bosses. He will be encouraged, or even forced, to

play (with injuries, and if he can't do this he is ruthlessly eliminated from the program).

Often he will have trouble getting adequate medical treatment from the team doctor when he loses his value to the team. At the same time, he is made to feel that he is a failure for not being able to play.

A football player's worth as a person is measured solely by his ability to play. Cowards, shirkers, the untalented and the injured all fall into one category.

SOPS

Players who successfully internalize these values are rewarded, with sops, just as workers who collaborate with management are promoted. There are many former college football players now working as public relations officials with large companies or otherwise given minor management positions.

Proponents of organized sports say they value athletics because they have learned discipline and teamwork. Texas Coach Darrell Royal put it more honestly when he said, "A coach likes to have a lot of those old trained pigs that'll grin and jump right in the slop for him."

So it's no surprise that college football programs are so enthusiastically supported by rich alumni and businessmen, as well as school administrators and government officials: Richard Nixon was fond of comparing himself to a quarterback, and called one bombing attack on North Vietnam "Operation Linebacker."

Football, from the Midget League all the way up through pro ball is an excellent way to teach the population the capitalist values of obedience to authority, competition, sexism, racism, and loyalty to one's boss though not to one's teammates.

And it is not only the players who are affected. The capitalists want you, the spectator, to internalize these values. □



Vince Lombardi, now deceased



George Allen, Washington Redskins



Bud Grant, Minnesota Vikings




Don Shula, Miami Dolphins

"A coach likes to have a lot of those old trained pigs that'll grin and jump right in the slop for him."

—Texas Coach Darrell Royal



John Madden, Oakland Raiders

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Letters

to

Workers' Power

JIMMY HOFFA

"They Got Him"

Dear Workers' Power,

Last week I was selling the last issue of Workers' Power at a Chrysler plant in Detroit. Everyone was interested in the special background report on the disappearance of Jimmy Hoffa.

I thought you might like to know what some of reactions were.

Everyone believes Hoffa is dead, and they know who killed him: the Mafia gangsters and the bureaucrats who run the Teamsters Union. One worker said: "They ground him up into sausage." Said another: "They dumped him in the ocean."

I think they also realized that anyone who gets close to uncovering the truth is going to be bought off or terrified into keeping quiet.

Then a truck driver drove by and saw the headline. He stopped and told me: "We in the union

know what happened. They got him."

M.D.
Detroit

First Rate

Dear Workers' Power,

During the course of the year in which I have subscribed to Workers' Power, I have become a wholehearted supporter of the means by which the IS plans to build the revolutionary struggle.

I think that Workers' Power is a first-rate paper and that you have done an excellent job in combining theory and practice in order to foster the development of a conscious, revolutionary class struggle.

Please renew my subscription.

J.M.
DeKalb, Illinois

SELLOUT

Dear Workers' Power,

On August 14, the Seattle local of APWU (American Postal Workers Union) went on record opposing the proposed contract, said by APWU President Filbey to be "the best I ever negotiated."

Obviously his constituents do not feel the same way. It's hard to find a single person who isn't angry about the complete capitulation of the union to the US Postal Service. The new contract not only fails to gain any ground for postal workers, but actually is a worse contract than the old one.

Grievance procedure, sick leave policy, and overtime rules remain the same while the money provisions will drop us further behind inflation for the next three years.

Perhaps Filbey and the USPS have gone too far this time, though. Postal workers are fed up and seem on the way to rejecting the sweetheart contract out of hand.

Tony Harrah
Member, APWU
Seattle, Washington

STOP TERROR AT PINE RIDGE

Dear Workers' Power,

I would like to correct your coverage of the oppression of Native Americans on Pine Ridge reservation reported in issue #124. The amount of terror and violence waged by the BIA, the FBI and State Police was not accurate.

Homes have been burned, people have been maimed for life, people are missing, and many

more than 6 have been killed. In order to stay alive many brothers and sisters must hide while their families are threatened by police agents.

There is an armed struggle, there is war in South Dakota. It is every bit as real and as brutal as Vietnam.

Sid Mills
Tacoma, Washington

Two Rotten Apples

Dear Workers' Power,

Not so long ago Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo advised parents worried about gangs to "grab one of those baseball bats and lay right into the sides of their heads."

Naturally Tom Foglietta, the Republican candidate for mayor attacked Rizzo and accused him of "resorting to lynch mob tactics

and inciting to riot."

Later that week, while speaking at an anti-busing demonstration, Foglietta urged his racist supporters to "dump the buses in the Delaware River."

So who likes to choose between two rotten apples?

J.G.
Philadelphia

FOUR MORE YEARS OF ABEL?

To the editor:

If you are a member of the United Steelworkers of America (UWSA) you have probably already received campaign literature for the union election in 1977.

No, it is not called campaign literature. In fact, it is an official union pamphlet—paid for by all of us members.

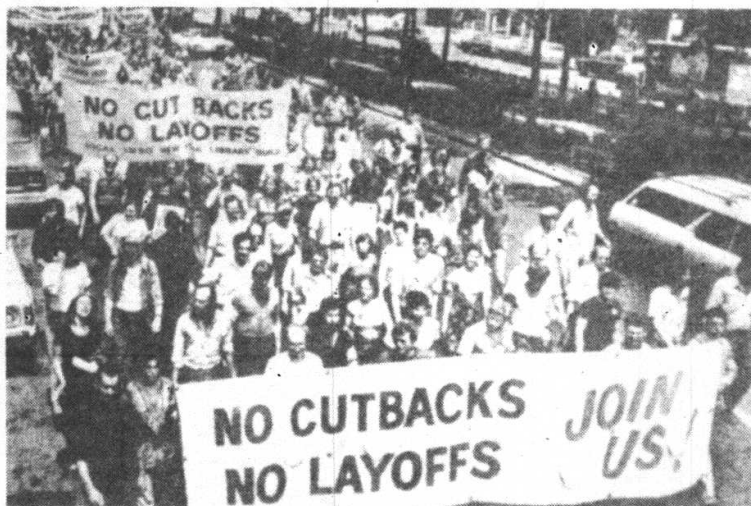
It is called "A 10-Year Record of Progress 1965—1975." It is supposed to tell us how much the union has accomplished in 10 years. But it is really trying to make us think how lucky we are to have I.W. Abel as President—and wouldn't we like him to be president 4 more years!

The union bureaucracy is drumming up a "grass-roots" campaign to draft Abel for another term. This pamphlet is another part of the campaign. Among the gems of the pamphlet is the section on p.45 titled "Experimental Negotiating Agreement Ends 'Boom and Bust'."

With unemployment reaching depression levels in some steel areas, the union officials are still trying to make us think that the ENA-NO Strike Deal is promoting full employment. (As Abe Lincoln said, You can't fool all of the people all of the time!)

The union officials are adding insult to injury. They are making us pay for advertising their sellout policies. In the months ahead, the rank and file is going to have to watch out for and defeat moves to extend Abel's term in office.

V.M.
Cleveland



One reader suggests that NYC workers can do little about the crisis without "the concrete support of the national labor movement."

A BIGGER MAC FOR NYC

Dear Workers' Power,

I have purchased your paper a few times at work and generally like what you have to say very much.

I didn't feel that way, however, about the issue you raised at the conclusion of your articles on the New York City crisis. Sure, New York is owned by the banks, even the TV tells us that. But what is the point of cancelling their bonds or of raising corporate taxes?

They have proven that they don't need workers in New York so long as they can get them in the suburbs or (for the manufacturers) in the South. If the workers in this city were really to show their power, all they would accomplish is a worse flight of jobs and business from New York.

If we could have a general strike in the whole metropolitan

area that could really close down the piers, airports, and Wall Street, then we might find the federal government a little more sympathetic.

Your articles seem to imply that New York's city employees, if only they were really together, could do something about the crisis. I think that without the very concrete support of the national labor movement this is wrong.

If there should be any separate demands for New York alone, it should be to get rid of the city government altogether and have a bigger MAC to run the city altogether. Then we would clearly know who the boss was and maybe save us some tax money as well.

B.H.
New York

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

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

But please be brief.

Write to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

Representative of the US Worker

Dear Workers' Power,

"Use of Workers' Power must be integral to all our work, not an afterthought." Indeed! Gay Semel, WP Editor, and that should be a continuous principle of Workers' Power.

For it's validity has been fully

expressed in the July 24—August 6, 1975 issue of Workers' Power in two articles: one by Bernard O'Higgins and the other by Harry Selden.

I have been receiving Workers' Power here at Florida State Prison (free) for over a year now,

and it is fast becoming the most intransigent representative of the US worker. It is politically extolled by all the men here who read it.

J.G.
Starke, Florida's neo-concentration camp

NYC's DAY OF DOOM

by Charles Leinenweber

Behind a thick sheet of funny money, deals, trade-offs and other wizardry, America's primitive welfare state is crumbling. New York City's Day of Doom is by various accounts set for August 22 or soon after. When it comes the banks will open their vaults to receive \$741 million that the city owes them, but does not have.

Meanwhile, the Ford administration in Washington refuses to guarantee one cent of the city's debt, while simultaneously vetoing an \$8 billion national education bill.

And meanwhile, Ford, this time through Congress offers \$30 billion for "weapons procurements and military research."

New York was taking shape as the leading edge of the drift toward the welfare state. The city had the most municipal hospitals, the most people on welfare; it also had the lowest wages and the most routinely impoverished working class in the North.

In the dismantlement of the welfare state during capitalism's overall crisis, New York City is the first to go.

Given the Democratic Party's need for government jobs and the corporations' need for capital, a collision between Beame and the Ford administration was inevitable. That he topple with the first push was also inevitable, since the economic foundation of New York City and all Democratic Party welfare is pure quicksand and corruption.

The first to go in the line of Democratic dominoes was New York governor Hugh Carey, who

lend no more to the city, and the city will then try to pursue its savage firings and cutbacks, while scraping near bankruptcy.

How Big MAC was ever intended to sell its bonds is a real puzzle. Its chairman is the head of New York Telephone, one of the largest operating subsidiaries of American Telephone and Telegraph. AT&T is the biggest corporate *strange* soaking up loan capital.

AT&T puts out more corporation

bankers themselves attempt to maintain a low profile.

But the Big MAC bankers are different from the rest in one important respect: they are Democrats.

Big MAC is the Democratic Party's attempt to build a bridge to the "investing public," meaning banks, insurance companies and extremely wealthy private capitalists—and to the Ford administration.



INVISIBLE

The crisis has brought the city's "invisible government" into full display. This is the bankers, who daily issue orders, press releases, warnings and in general prepare for the Day of Doom.

The orders, which New York must follow in order to raise "investor confidence," include firing some 28 thousand city workers.

There are also a wage freeze or even ten percent wage cut, raising subway fares, introducing tuition at the city university, and a host of less publicized economies, such as closing kindergartens and museums.

All this has caused Mayor Abraham Beame to grieve and agonize, even as he executes the orders faithfully.

It is not just that Beame ran for Mayor on an anti-crime platform that promised three thousand more cops, rather than three thousand less. It is that the Democratic Party depends on its ability to deliver the goods—jobs—for its social and political power.

In New York City, this means forging a political machine out of dispensing relatively high-paying and secure jobs to workers. These are often chosen from the various contending ethnic groups, who would otherwise be delivering packages for next to nothing.

Hospital and transport jobs go to Puerto Rican and black workers, teaching and social welfare are for Jews, sanitation jobs for Italians, police and fireman jobs for Irish.

begin his own austerity program immediately after taking office.

As the city's crisis loomed, Carey and the Democratic Party pieced together Big MAC, the Municipal Assistance Corporation, to raise the necessary cash to pay off the bonds.

Big MAC was to accomplish this by a series of \$1 million bond sales, to be paid off mainly by sales taxes on working people.

The first bond issue in mid-July bombed, however, and it is unlikely that Big MAC will be able to sell another. Investors are not "buying cities."

What seems likely at this writing is that Big MAC will pay off the city's bank loans directly with its unsellable bonds rather than its non-existent cash. The banks will

bonds than anyone else—it has some \$12 billion worth out now—while New York City, with \$7.4 billion worth, puts out more than any other city or state. This makes the two heads-on competitors in the bond market.

How Big MAC's chairman rises above this conflict of interest is a matter that only capitalists and their politicians are fit to explain.

Big MAC has been accused of being a mouthpiece for the banks. Certainly this is true. It is mainly a nest of investment and commercial bankers whose entire effort has been to bail out the banks rather than the city.

Moreover, it is Big MAC that has taken over the direct running of the city for the bankers—imposing the firings and cutbacks—while the

Thus the strewn garbage of New York City forms the testing ground for capitalism's next offensive against workers.

The capitalist class was never content with draining the labor of New York workers: they took their savings and spend them on arms. They took hundreds of millions of dollars in interest and commissions from city debt, borne by workers.

They ringed the city with decaying highways, shut-down trains, and turned the subways, paid for three times over, into cattle-cars.

Now they are taking jobs, wages, hospitals and schools. In the courage of New York City's workers, in their fight against the relentless, brutal and degrading policies of the city's and nation's rulers, is told all our futures.

David Miller

Rohatyn - The Big Mover Behind Big MAC

The prime mover of Big MAC is Felix Rohatyn, a wheeler-dealer from ITT and an investment bank, Democratic Party fund raiser, the man who engineered the ITT-Nixon fix, and the bail-out of Lockheed.

Rohatyn is a planner, and while his schemes are too advanced for most American capitalists to fathom presently, they do represent an important future possibility for capitalism, especially as the crisis gets worse.

Rohatyn believes that Wall Street and the corporations cannot find or generate the capital required to expand American industry and avoid de-

pression. The federal government, therefore, must intervene on a huge scale, buying stock, providing loans, and reorganizing whole industries such as transportation and energy.

As in Japan and some other capitalist countries, the government is to provide the bulk of long-term corporate financing, while management remains private.

"Public money and private management" is Rohatyn's slogan.

Short of this, Rohatyn is willing to settle for Federally-guaranteed loans to corporations. This is what he tried to do for New York City.

That is the glittering side of the Rohatyn Plan. But it also has a seamy side.

No matter how much capitalists talk about money earning more money, no matter how much they print, swap, sell, exchange and trade stocks, bonds, notes and currency, their expanding wealth—capital—comes from labor.

If William Simon, Gerald Ford, David and Nelson Rockefeller and all the rest of the capitalist hogs turned up their noses at one side of the Rohatyn Plan, they crowded up to the trough for the other: wage cuts and freezes, layoffs, firings, productivity drives, and no strikes.

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"No Faith In Frank Fitzsimmons"

TEAMSTERS PLAN NATIONAL CONTRACT FIGHT



Rank and file truckers announced the formation of Teamsters for a Decent Contract at a news conference in Chicago August 16. Making the announcement are, from left, Mel Packer (Pittsburgh), Dan-LaBotz (Chicago), Bob Grant (Chicago), Anne Mackie (Cleveland), and Lloyd Barrentine (Little Rock).

Exclusive Interview:

"WE'RE PROUD TEAMSTERS!"

CHUCK Davey and David Gaibis are members of the Teamsters Union from Pennsylvania. Both attended the meeting in Chicago which formed Teamsters for a Decent Contract. A Workers' Power reporter spoke with them about the meeting and about the situation within the union. Davey is a member of Local 249 in Pittsburgh, and Gaibis belongs to Local 261 in the Sharon-New Castle area.

Davey explained why he had come: "The reason I'm here in Chicago is because I'm tired of waiting for the union to respond to the needs of the rank and file. They keep saying, 'Wait 'til the next contract, wait 'til the next contract.'"

"These contracts come and go and we still have the same problems remaining. I think it's time that the rank and file unite, get together and work for reform. This is the time."

"I'm an advocate of working conditions, and I've seen our working conditions go down the drain. The companies use intimidation."

"They threaten to re-domicile road drivers unless they give up their working conditions. They try to impose seven-day operations, and if the union members refuse to go along with seven-day operations they threaten to move the entire operation out. They use all manner of intimidation in coercing their employees."

GRIEVANCES

"The companies have found out that by challenging the employees on any working condition, that an employee has two choices: either to accept the company's position or to file a grievance. And the company is a winner either way because if we file a grievance they know they have an 80% chance of winning through the inequitable grievance procedure we have."

"These grievance committees consistently rule that the claim of the union is denied without any

rationale, without any reasoning. We have people sitting on the grievance committees that are not representative of the grievant. They are picked from a Joint Council group and quite frequently they just have no grasp of the problem. They don't relate to the problem, and furthermore they don't really give a damn what the problems are. They most frequently go for the company's position."

We asked how the petition campaign would be received. "It's going to be very popular," replied Gaibis. "Our rank and file's very dissatisfied with our union representation."

Few thought that Jimmy Hoffa, even before his recent disappearance, would have been much of an alternative either. "Our people don't even consider Hoffa a teamster anymore," Gaibis said. "As far as we're concerned Hoffa's the one that instituted what we're living under right now. That's no good and we don't want it."

A BEGINNING

Both men were pleased with the results of the Chicago meeting. "I

think it's beautiful," said Gaibis. "This is a beginning," Davey continued. "I think that what the rank and file must recognize, and also the general public, is we're proud teamsters. We've been teamsters, most of us, for many years. I myself for nearly 25 years."

"We're proud teamsters and we want to make this Teamsters Union a better union. And by better I mean more responsive to the needs of the rank and file."

"There is no doubt in my mind that this is a nucleus. This is something that's just started and I expect it to have a long profitable life."

"The rank and file has a group collectively now. We used to relate to things on an individual basis and many of us, we felt frustrated. We felt we knew what was wrong as individuals, but we didn't have any support. We didn't have anyone that would back us up. We didn't have any collective effort."

"Now we have that. And I'm sure that the International, the Joint Councils, the Eastern Conference, they're all going to know that the rank and file is on the move." □

by Jim Woodward

CHICAGO—Forty members of the Teamsters Union met here August 16 to initiate a national movement for a decent contract in their union. The group included individual activists and members of teamster rank and file groups.

They decided to form an organization which will be called Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). It will focus its work on the Master Freight Agreement, which is a national contract covering 400,000 teamsters who work for the major freight companies.

The Master Freight Agreement (MFA) is one of the most important labor contracts in the country. Besides the workers it covers directly, the MFA is used as a pattern for other trucking contracts, such as those covering grocery drivers and workers for United Parcel Service. The campaign for a decent contract will involve workers covered by these so-called "tandem" agreements as well.

PARTICIPANTS

The Chicago meeting was called by Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union (CTDU), a rank and file group in the Chicago Truck Drivers Union. CTDU called together individual activists and representatives of other rank and file groups from cities throughout the East, Midwest, and South.

The meeting was attended by members of rank and file groups, including CTDU, the Alliance of Concerned Teamsters (Local 135, Indianapolis), Concerned Rank and File Teamsters (Local 249, Pittsburgh), and Teamsters for Democracy (Local 695, Madison, Wis.).

Individuals also attended from Local 667, Memphis, Local 878, Little Rock, Local 407, Cleveland, Local 261, New Castle, Pa., Local 804, New York (UPS), Local 707, New York (freight), and from Rochester, N.Y. and Newark, N.J. In addition, messages of support were received from rank and file groups in Los Angeles, Seattle, and Oakland, California.

The group expressed no faith in the leadership of their International union. As Mel Packer, a Pittsburgh

teamster, told a crowded press conference: "Its our feeling that we are going to be sold down the river with this contract, that [Teamster President] Frank Fitzsimmons is not going to deliver a good contract, and so we've got to begin building a rank and file campaign now to demand that there be a decent contract."

PETITION

Between now and March 31, when the MFA expires, Teamsters for a Decent Contract will attempt to gather 50,000—100,000 signatures on petitions setting forth the minimum demands for an acceptable contract. [see accompanying article]. Besides individual signatures, the group wants to get local union endorsements for the campaign.

TDC wants to spread the campaign into every city and involve large numbers of teamsters. The petition will be the main way of doing this. In addition, the group is considering holding a mass rally, and possibly a demonstration in Washington where the negotiations are to be held.

A steering committee consisting of one representative from each city was set up to coordinate the campaign, and will be sending out petitions shortly to any teamster who is willing to help circulate them.

TDC also will be working with and using the assistance of the Professional Drivers Council on Safety and Health (PROD). PROD is a Ralph Nader-type organization that lobbies and takes legal cases of Teamsters on matters of safety and health and union reform.

Members of Teamsters for a Decent Contract were optimistic that the campaign they had planned would get widespread support within the union. They felt that the issues for a successful campaign are present, that massive dissatisfaction with the union leadership was obvious, and that a group which could provide an outlet for this sentiment would meet with an enthusiastic response.

UNSPOKEN DEMANDS

As Dan LaBotz, a Chicago truck driver, told the press conference: "I think we're giving voice to the unspoken demands that rank and filers have that have not been raised by Fitzsimmons."

"The fellow here from the south can tell you about the road driver who has to work 70 to 80 hours a week in order to make a living and who doesn't get paid for 30 of those hours because of the contract he has; there are city and dock workers who have 15% unemployment in Pittsburgh and Cleveland."

"Those are the kind of conditions we are trying to reply to with a set of contract demands that we think we can get thousands of teamsters around the country to rally behind and demand that the Teamsters Union protect people's jobs, protect their working conditions, their safety, their health, and get them decent wages and get them treated with dignity and respect." □

TDC's Contract Demands

Teamsters for a Decent Contract has adopted four general sets of contract demands which will be the basis of their campaign.

First is the question of wages. Because of the cap of 22c over three years placed on the cost-of-living clause in the present contract, Teamsters will have lost about \$1 an hour to inflation by the time the contract expires. TDC is demanding a raise of \$1 an hour to make up for this loss, plus \$1 in new money and full cost of living protection.

The second set of demands has to do with jobs. Unemployment of truckers in many major cities is 15%. Many workers have been reduced to casual status, which means they work only when the company calls them in.

To deal with these problems, TDC proposes: companies must pay health and welfare for one year

for laid-off workers; double time for overtime, and overtime to be voluntary; road drivers to receive overtime pay; no layoffs due to mergers and changes of operations; and elimination of the "casual" status for drivers.

The union's grievance procedure is the third major area of dissatisfaction. TDC will fight for: innocent until proven guilty; return of the right to strike over grievances; and removal of grievances from control of the joint committees in favor of local arbitration with the union retaining the right to strike.

Finally, TDC demands that all local standards be brought up to the highest standards existing nationally, to prevent companies from running from one area to another.