

# WORKERS' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER  
OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

MAY 10 - 23, 1974  
NO. 97

15c

## Portugal Explodes



Gigantic May Day demonstrations in Portugal celebrated the toppling of the dictatorship which ruled the country for 45 years. Millions poured into the streets to join the marches. Large contingents marched under the banners of the Socialist and Communist parties, which were banned for decades.

The excitement in Portugal is enormous. With the lifting of the ban on workers' organizations, hundreds of thousands of workers will begin streaming into unions. Massive strikes can be expected to break out as workers fight to settle grievances which have grown for ten, twenty or thirty years.

Masses of people are turning to settle their scores with the fascist secret police of the old regime, who tortured political prisoners by pulling out their fingernails or murdered them outright.

The overthrow of the dictatorship has only begun to open up a process of social revolution in Portugal. As huge numbers of people responding to the promises of democracy and freedom go into motion, there is a real

possibility for the rapid growth of a genuinely revolutionary left wing movement.

Already, however, the junta led by General Antonio de Spínola which took power in the name of restoring democracy, and ending Portugal's colonial wars in Africa, has warned that it will use force to keep capitalist order and pledged that the wars will continue. The junta denies independence to the colonies, and promises to arrange a fake settlement which will keep them chained to Portugal.

If the workers of Portugal are to successfully lead their own social revolution, they must fight for unity with the national liberation struggle of black people fighting for independence in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

The upheaval in Portugal, beginning as a struggle for democratic rights which have been denied for nearly half a century, may well become the greatest revolutionary upsurge since Czechoslovakia in 1968.■

For further coverage of events in Portugal, turn to page 10.

## Company Tells Workers:

# YOUR MONEY OR YOUR LIFE!

If you had to choose, would you prefer to lose your job now or to gamble on losing your life twenty years from now?

Not a very attractive choice, is it. But that's the blackmail being held up before the 3,000 workers at Reserve Mining Company in Silver Bay, Minnesota.

Nothing could better illustrate the cruelty of those gentlemen, those well-dressed, well-bred, well-fed gentlemen who own the mines, the mills, and the factories of this country.

For seventeen years, Reserve Mining has been dumping thousands of tons of cancer-causing waste material into Lake Superior each day. Hundreds of thousands of people take their drinking water from the lake.

It has been known for at least six years that the taconite wastes the company dumps contain cancer-producing asbestos fibers.

Yet Reserve Mining has continued its dumping, endangering the lives of thousands, rather than spend the money needed to convert to on-land waste disposal.

Reserve is no corner candy store. It is owned by two of the giants of the steel industry: Armco Steel Corp. and Republic Steel Corp.

Behind the power of these steel giants is an unbelievable arrogance. Our profits before your lives! Such demands are the bread and butter of the capitalist profit system.

When a federal court judge recently ordered Reserve to stop dumping waste into the lake, the

company indicated it would do so only if the government would pay part of the cost of converting to on-land waste disposal.

At that, the judge ordered Reserve shut down, throwing 3200 out of work.

Reserve President Edward M. Furness pretended concern for his workers: "In the interests of the company's 3,000 employes, in the interests of the thousands of people in northeastern Minnesota who will feel the economic impact of this decision, and in the interests of the nation's urgent need for continuing steel production, we have instructed counsel to immediately explore and assess all legal options available to us."

Furness, in his eagerness to find some solution, overlooked the answer in his own pocket.

As the judge noted, Reserve

Mining, Republic Steel and Armco Steel could afford to pay the entire cost of an on-land waste disposal system "without substantially changing their economic situation."

Two days later, a more compliant court allowed Reserve to resume operations.

Now back to normal, Reserve Mining continues to earn a 90 percent return each year on its original investment. And while Reserve Mining rakes in \$60,000 a day profit, hundreds of thousands of people have no choice but to drink water that may give them cancer.

You can be sure that Edward Furness and the directors of Reserve, Armco and Republic are not among them.■

Jim Woodward



Crucial year for farmworkers pp. 8-9

# What We Think

## The Man Or The System?

The saga of Richard Milhouse Nixon and his albatross - Watergate - is finally drawing to a close. His attempt to fend off the kill by releasing 1,308 pages of edited tapes backfired.

Despite a covering statement and a national broadcast "explaining" the more damning exchanges, the transcripts have confirmed everyone's suspicions.

Nixon is guilty as hell. And if these selected transcripts, complete with thousands of "expletive deletions" and "unintelligibles" nail him - what will the rest show?

Richard Nixon is a vile and corrupt human being on every level - from support and aid to the fascists in Chile to not paying social security on his maid. There seems to be no crime too big or too small for this man. Impeachment and imprisonment are long overdue.

But the transcripts reveal a great deal more than Nixon's guilt and personal scumminess. They reveal what the press in their personal attacks attempt to cover up.

In millions of words and hundreds of conversations they give us a glimpse of how this government actually works. A different concept of justice to those at the top and everyone else. The use of federal agencies like the IRS and the Justice Department to further the aims of the wealthy and powerful. The acceptance and even dealing with organized crime. The widespread corruption.

It's not just the police who are on the take. Behind the feigned naivete and humbuggery of the press lies an attempt to blame the individual and not the system.

Nixon was the same man two years ago when they lavished him with praise. A mass murderer in Vietnam, racist and anti-working class at home - they painted him as the pride of the nation bringing peace and stability to the world.

Now he's been stupid enough to get caught behind a two-bit heist and they're going for the jugular. Get the man and leave the system intact.

The transcripts and the clamor around them also reveal the vacuum in American politics.

Who has offered an alternative? Democratic campaign headquarters were broken into before the 1972 election. The Democrats hardly raised it as a campaign issue. What were they afraid of? What did Nixon have on them?

Even more important is what Watergate might reveal about American capitalism. So they walked on eggshells, united with the Republicans in an attempt to cut the system's losses.

Even as the mess began to unravel, going beyond anyone's intentions and then out of control, making impeachment less damaging than Nixon staying in office, the Democrats did not rush forward with an alternative. They had none.

Organized labor, the Meanys and the Woodcocks, finally began to call for impeachment. Other than lobby in Washington corridors, what did they do about it?

The labor movement could have mobilized millions of people across the country demonstrating for impeachment. Where were they?

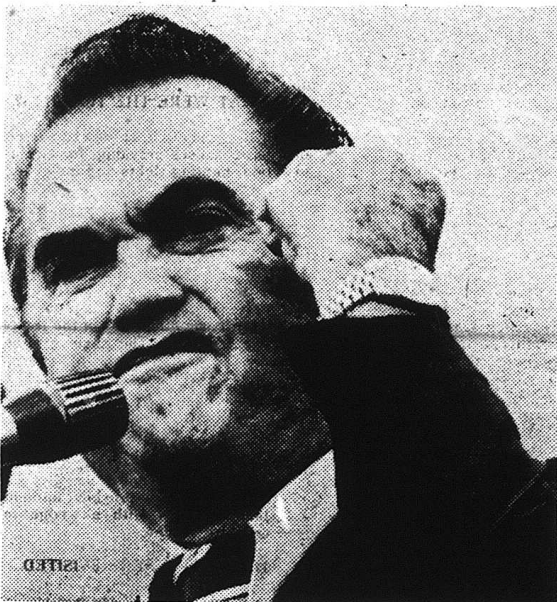
Working people have no stake in masking capitalism's seamy side. For us, dumping Nixon is a bigger question than clean government. It is also a question of politics.

The greatest attack on working class living standards in decades took place under the Nixon administration. Scandal-free Gerald Ford can not solve rampant inflation and rising unemployment.

We need a party that is a clear alternative to the Nixons and Fords. We need a party that will not pussy foot around, like the Democratic Party, protecting the system and the men at the top.

It is time to fight within the labor movement for building a labor party.

# Wallace's Brand of Racism Gains Support



This year, a long-time symbol of white racism - George Wallace - will be reelected Alabama Governor for a third term. Among his supporters are a growing number of black Alabamians.

This turn of events has liberal black Democrats upset, to say the least. They are not thrilled to see their voting base shift from one wing of the Democratic Party to the other.

In recent weeks a number of ex-civil rights leaders and black officials have been storming the countryside, raising the banner of past battles to turn the tide of growing Wallace support.

John Lewis, now head of voter education project in Atlanta, was beaten to the ground by cops in the famous Selma-Montgomery march nine years ago.

A few weeks ago at a rally in Selma, Lewis questioned whether black Alabamians would "destroy the dream that was won by blood."

Other black liberal Democrats spoke in similar veins: Julian Bond, Georgia State Representative; Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Leon Hall, education specialist for the Southern Regional Council.

Lewis and the others don't seem to realize life for black Alabamians is not exactly a dream come true. Nine years after Selma, the only lasting political gain for black people has been the vote - the ability to elect black office holders.

But black Alabamians haven't much to vote for - there is Wallace, and there is a Republican who has very little chance of winning.

That isn't much of a dream, not

much of a legacy for a massive, militant movement.

But still, Wallace is a thorough racist. While he may be downplaying his social attitudes, few people - particularly black people - believe he has really changed.

And Wallace doesn't need black people's votes to win this election. He is making another bid for national political power.

To be a contender for the Democratic ticket in 1976, Wallace must prove he can appeal to a wide voter base.

To help Wallace along a few black Alabamian officials have pitched in their support.

### THE PORK BARREL

One of them, Johnny Ford, mayor of Tuskegee, has promised to deliver the black vote in that city and surrounding Macon County into the Wallace fold.

A Nixon supporter, Ford's reasons are transparent - personal ambition and greed.

It is a notorious fact of political life in Alabama that Wallace wields tremendous clout because of his control over state and Federal funds.

Mayor Ford lavishly introduced Wallace to a meeting of black mayors not long ago. He followed this little service up with a request for a new ambulance for Tuskegee.

The only black probate judge in the state, William Branch, is also a Wallace supporter.

Branch is a little more out front about his reasons. "No one will beat him," Branch says.

### EVERYBODY LOVES A WINNER

But no one has been able to beat Wallace in Alabama for years. What makes the difference today?

The biggest reason is that Wallace is now a tried-and-true Democrat - even though a conservative one.

No more independent third party stuff, Wallace has in the last few years gone legit.

And a few black flunkies - including Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette, Mississippi and brother of slain civil rights leader Medger Evers - have dropped even the pretense of racial liberalism to jump on his bandwagon.

It is this desertion from the left-wing of the Democratic Party to the right-wing that has Lewis, Bond and the others upset.

It's tough trying to be a reform pressure in the Democratic Party, when their numbers keep dwindling.

Lewis has the same political strategy as Johnny Ford - political alliance with whoever is most likely to deliver the goods.

In Atlanta, where Lewis is from, that means the left-wing of the Democratic Party. In Alabama, it means Wallace. ■

Kay Stacy

## Workers' Power 97

Copyright © 1974 by the International Socialist Publishing Company. Editor: Kit Lyons. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons. Business Manager: David Katz.

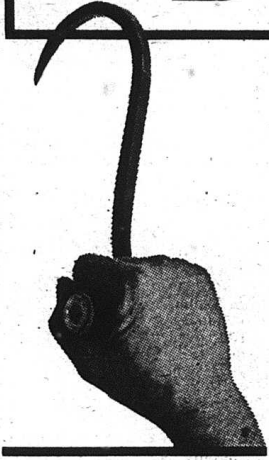
Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue,

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 Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and microfilmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Serials Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.



# Controls End; Dockers Demand Lost Pay



Wage controls expired at midnight on April 30 and the first reaction came fast. May 1, 12,000 west coast longshoremen went on strike to settle a long-standing score with the Pay Board.

It is appropriate the dockers were the first to demand pay increases. They were among the first victims of wage controls.

In 1972, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) won a 72¢ an hour wage increase. The government Pay Board chopped that back by 30¢.

When Phase 2 turned into the so-called voluntary controls, the dockers were quick to expose Phase 3 as no different from what had gone before.

Angry rank and file dock workers forced ILWU president Harry Bridges to the negotiating table. The employers agreed to raise pay to make up for that lost 30¢. But the Cost of Living Council was quick to say "no" to that too.

Now that formal wage controls are gone, the dockers still want their 30¢. They also need to make up for an inflation rate that has caused real wages under wage controls to drop to 1965 levels.

But the ILWU's May 1st strike was a funny one. You would almost think the union leadership was putting on a show.

The rank and file did not know a strike was coming and was not prepared for it. Many dockers showed up for work only to find out they were on strike.

No picket lines were organized. And after a day, the strike was called off as quickly as it had been started.

ILWU officials said they were sending their members back to work pending the outcome of negotiations with the employers.

To all appearances the one-day strike was a sham, to convince rank and file dockers their leadership is still fighting for that 30¢.

But the strike will have served an important purpose if it reminds us that with the end of wage controls, a general wage offensive is urgently needed to make up for the losses of the last three years. ■

David Katz

## Sioux Treaty Crucial To Indian Defense

The defense in the Wounded Knee occupation trials has made the Sioux Treaty of 1868 central to its case.

The US asked that all references to the treaty be banned from the trial.

The court ruled against that, but has yet to rule on the defense's request to enter the treaty as evidence.

Until the recent rise of the Indian movement, the government had the best of all worlds. Originally peace pacts, the treaties are commonly treated as real estate deals.

But behind Alcatraz, the occupation of numerous federal lands, the 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters and Wounded Knee in 1973, lies the wrath and militancy of the survivors of the once strong and numerous American Indian nations.

The treaty question has become one focus of the fight to force the government to concede the property rights and personal freedoms promised to nations of people it once nearly wiped off the face of the earth.

### RACE SLAUGHTER

In the early and middle 1800's, American capitalism expanded into the Great Plains.

The only problem was that the Plains were already populated - by American Indians of many and varied tribes.

The land, natural resources, and the right-of-way were prizes for whoever could hold on to them.

The Indians were out-numbered, and out-armed. They were slaughtered - tribe by tribe.

The "pacification of the West," as it was called then, was carried out with brutal, racist vengeance. US imperialists signed and broke treaties then, as they do now, because that is the only way for the US to gain land.

Native Americans were fighting for their survival, and while each bloody defeat lessened their numbers, it did not reduce their resolution.

The Indian wars spanned several decades. By the 1860's the Indian nations had been decimated. Some had been completely eliminated.

But the wars continued as wars of attrition, stopping only when vengeance became too expensive.

The Sioux Treaty of 1868 was one of a series of treaties signed in 1867 and 1868 with tribes of the Great Plains.

President Grant's Peace Policy was developed when it became cheaper to provide rations and some services to surviving Indians on government reservations than it was to continue funding the cavalry.

### WHAT WERE THE TREATIES?

All major treaties contained basic clauses providing for education, hunting rights and individual land tracts within reserved areas.

They all contained a provision outlawing further land cessions without approval of three-fourths of the adult males.

Today, 106 years later, the Sioux have never been paid for US land-snatching, nor have any of the other basic provisions of the treaty been fulfilled. The same can be said for nearly every other important Indian treaty the US has ever signed.

Because the treaties are down on paper and because a short visit to almost any reservation exposes the atrocious and degrading condition Native Americans are subject to, the treaties have provided militant Indian groups with a wedge to organize around.

### WOUNDED KNEE REVISITED

The Wounded Knee occupation took place because the US government had encouraged reservation conditions to deteriorate to the point that the Sioux were desperate.

The 1868 Sioux Treaty is an important piece of defense in the

trials. It irrefutably proves that in abdicating all its responsibilities to the Sioux people, the government loses all its rights to control the reservation, its natural resources, and its people.

But this piece of legal defense does not cut deep enough. The treaties were based upon economic greed and race annihilation.

The US government wiped out masses of people so that a few individuals and companies could reap massive profits in land, gold, and trapping rights.

Then the government tried to make it all better by striking paltry bargains with the few remaining survivors, but it will not keep its bargains today, for the same reasons it wouldn't a century ago - for profits and racism.

The mere existence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a condemnation of US government racism.

Native Americans today are not a powerful force - nor by themselves will they ever be. Their victory lies with the solidarity they can forge with other oppressed peoples.

Their battles to throw the government off their lands and to seize control of their lives requires the support of all people who must fight the same enemies - racism, and the rich and powerful.

Black people, Latinos, women and workers all must take up the banner of the Native Americans' struggle for justice. ■

Kay Stacy



## Sioux Falls Police Riot

A trial of Indian militants in Sioux Falls, South Dakota erupted into a police riot last week, leaving two dead, at least ten injured and six arrested.

The Minnehaha County Courthouse was left in shambles.

The stage was set for a confrontation between police and the defendants' supporters late last month when the judge in the proceedings jailed the defense's chief attorney and fired the remainder of the defense team.

The chief attorney, Ramon Roubideaux, is a member of the American Indian Movement

(AIM). When Judge Bottums refused to free Roubideaux, AIM responded by refusing to stand when the judge entered the courtroom.

Bottum then refused to enter the courtroom, ordering it cleared.

Over 25 policemen, in full riot gear, entered the courtroom and the violence erupted.

Chairs were thrown through windows, the police swung clubs, and fist fights began. Supporters outside the courthouse threw tire irons, rocks, chains and bottles through windows and doors.

Two persons were killed when

their car was struck by a police cruiser speeding to the fracas. At least ten people were treated for injuries.

AIM stated the Indians had made no combative moves, and that policemen had started the violence. It was "a police riot if there ever was one," a spokesman stated.

Five persons are on trial for their part in a demonstration in Custer, South Dakota last year. That demonstration preceded the Wounded Knee occupation, which has led to numerous trials of Indian militants in recent months. ■

Dotty Grant

# WORLD IN CRISIS



## Revolt Spreads In Ethiopia

[The revolt is spreading in Ethiopia.

While hundreds of thousands starve in the countryside, Ethiopia's landlords and the royal family live in a world of luxury and splendor. Their strangle-hold on the country's land and economy is what striking workers and peasants are fighting to break.

Workers' Power reporter Joe Fine spoke with an American black liberation activist who has travelled widely in Africa and studied revolutionary movements there. Here is what he told us about Ethiopia's Emperor and his regime.]

I was at the OAU (Organization of African Unity) conference in Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa. We went to Haile Selassie's palace, it's about the size of a big football stadium, looks like the Astrodome.

He's got cats outside on these big Arabian horses, with lion-maned helmets. I mean real lions.

He serves a seven to eight course dinner, each course is served by a different troupe of waiters, different uniforms, thick rugs on the floor, two different performances going on simultaneously in different parts of the palace, for the people sitting in the dining room.

Now right outside, as soon as you get past the gates and all these troops, I remember the face of one little girl, who had a little baby on her back.

She must have been about ten years old, she had a little baby on her back, she was in terrible shape, and she had to hide in the dark to come out when somebody passed to beg.

You're always having these international conferences in Ethiopia, because Haile Selassie got a big conference center. One of the reasons why the African statesmen, diplomats, and politicians, like to go to Addis Ababa is because they have more prostitutes than anywhere else in Africa.

The peasant in Ethiopia has to give up about 70 percent of whatever he grows to his landlord.

Now before they held the conference, they put about 5,000 high school students in jail for protesting about transportation costs, academic improvements in the schools and all that.

They had to have soldiers standing around the homes and the hotels of the managers and technicians. Soldiers stand outside their house, just to keep them from getting ripped off, and this is a full time job. They have a whole platoon outside of the big hotels, they change guards.

Now Haile Selassie says he's a Pan African. He was one of the first people to organize the Organization of African Unity, and he is representative of the majority of African presidents who spend their summers on the Riviera.■

## Crisis grows, raids hit left



The Italian revolutionary organization Avanguardia Operaia has circulated an appeal for solidarity actions in the face of vicious repression against workers' struggles in Italy.

In Rome, police raids cleared almost 2000 squatters from new apartments they were occupying in protest against high rents and the shortage of housing for workers.

In Palermo, 26 students were arrested after an anti-fascist demonstration. The arrests were incited by the local fascist paper.

In Caligliari homes were raided in the early morning hours after a one-day general strike. In Milan, 227 people were rounded up in half an hour in raids on individual homes.

Other signs of the sharpening political confrontation in Italy include a mobilization of all military barracks which occurred in January. The army is being held in reserve, to impose a more repressive, authoritarian government over the working class if needed.

The letter from Avanguardia Operaia reads in part:

"Dear Comrades,  
"Our organization, and the whole revolutionary left, is under very heavy attack at the moment in Italy.



## what's this?

This is not a creature from Star Trek. It's just a friendly policeman from Columbia in South America, showing off his "special uniform" which is to protect him from "bombs and mobs."

The Columbian government has just spent about \$2.5 million on these uniforms and other "anti-riot equipment." That's just about one dollar for every ten men, women and children in the country. Two-thirds of Co-

lumbia's working people earn less than \$12 a week.

This cop and his friends were out in force, as the "mobs" were voting in a new President by a vast majority in the recent elections.

But President Alfonso Michelson, the winner of the election who is supposed to be a left winger, has no plans to reduce the monstrous police force or get rid of the "special anti-riot units" in the Columbian army.■



Emperor Haile Selassie contemplates crisis.

"As you probably know, the political situation in our country is going from bad to worse, with the economic crisis, the weakness of the government, increased fascist activity and some strange goings-on in the army. In the face of all this the democratic forces in our country remain passive, in effect supporting the reactionary threat.

"Fascists are able to carry on terrorist as well as political activity undisturbed. They have been bombing, stabbing and shooting people all over the country.

"At the same time the magistrates and police, with the support of all the capitalist press and the complicity of the Communist Party, are mounting a national campaign

against our organization.

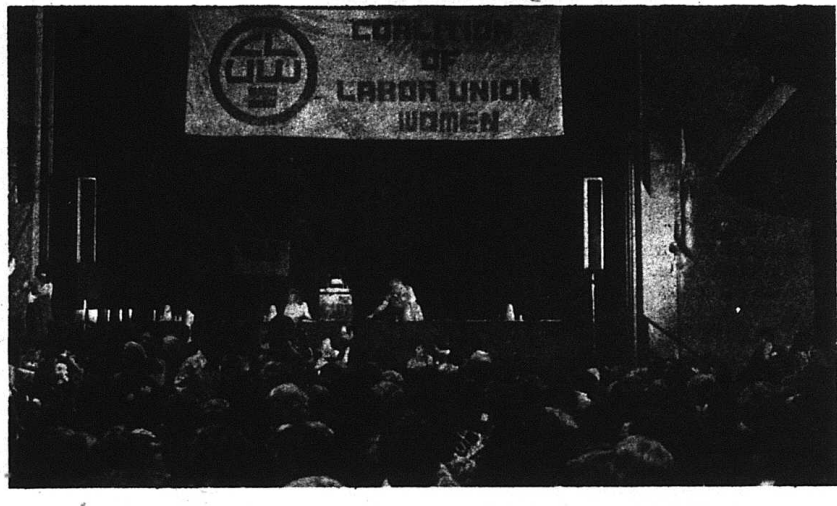
"Starting with a clumsy frameup of one of our leading comrades in Florence, they have searched offices and the homes of militants all over the country.

"Their repressive plan is to hit hard at the revolutionary forces, the only ones who are fighting consistently against reactionary plots and defending the oppressed and exploited against the present grave threat to their living standards.

"It is plain to see that the reactionary offensive in Italy is not an isolated case. Repression is becoming severe in many European countries, and it is important for revolutionaries to respond on an international level."■



# Women's Labor Coalition Off to Slow Start



Despite tremendous enthusiasm, the organization of local CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) chapters is off to a slow start.

The national leadership, mostly top union officials, eye the rank and file suspiciously. Combining bureaucratic incompetence with caution, they have sent convention mailing lists to few local convenors and given no direction on forming local chapters.

One and a half months after the founding convention in Chicago, few local meetings have been called.

The nature of those held has depended on the local situations.

## NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

In Northern California convenor Anne Lipow called a meeting in mid April. The invited did not include many rank and filers who had attended the Chicago convention.

The meeting's purpose was to plan a regional conference on June 1st to charter local groups. The conference agenda proposed by the convenor was a mini-replica of the Chicago convention - a lot of time for structure, no time for issues.

Militants protested and were able to pass a proposal for workshops on issues.

Also passed, against the wishes of Lipow, was a proposal to have open discussion on the founding convention, thus allowing the rank and file to discuss support for the Farm Workers - the major controversy in Chicago.

The question of who could participate was also extremely controversial. Militants proposed that although CLUW guidelines state membership is open only to trade unionists, the conference

should be open to all working women.

They argued that 88 percent of the female work force is unorganized, the result of decades of discrimination by the male trade union leadership.

**For CLUW to exclude these women from participation in building a national working women's organization is to continue that discrimination.**

One of the primary tasks facing any organization of women workers is organizing the unorganized. Millions of women in society's worst jobs desperately need unionization.

The small numbers of trade union women need increased numbers to force the trade unions to fight for the needs of working women.

This small, undemocratically-called meeting split down the middle, 15-15, on the question. The motion to allow participation of unorganized women in CLUW therefore failed.

At a later meeting of the planning committee all the proposals won by the militants were overturned. The excuse of the local leadership - "Many of those women aren't serious about building CLUW."

## NEW YORK

In New York City similar bureaucratic maneuvers have taken place. The New York Trade Union Women (a group formed prior to CLUW but participating at the CLUW convention) refused to give their mailing list of over 600 names to the NYC convenor - a rank and filer.

By sitting on the mailing list they guaranteed that no CLUW meeting could be called without their approval and control.

Meanwhile, they called a meeting, again of a chosen few, to discuss whether or not they should become NY CLUW.

They did not invite the hundreds of women who had participated in CLUW or the rank and filers that had come to the NY conference. Many of them heard about the meeting and came anyway.

The New York Trade Union Women did decide to become NY CLUW and planned the first CLUW meeting for May 22.

Eleanor Tilson, a union official, reported on the Chicago convention

describing the betrayal of the United Farm Workers as a marvelous compromise.

At the end of the meeting Joan McKiernan, a rank and filer, called for local support to the UFW. This motion passed, although it was discouraged by the chair.

## DETROIT & CHICAGO

In Detroit and Chicago, hometowns of CLUW co-chairwomen Olga Madar and Addie Wyatt respectively, nothing has happened. Rumor has it that both cities will have meetings in June.

Both women, top officials in their unions, are stalling any mobilization of the rank and file. State Convenors are hesitant to move without their approval and their presence has effectively frozen activity.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

Washington, D.C. seems to be one of the few exceptions to this exasperating picture.

A meeting was called shortly after Chicago by several militants elected to the CLUW National Steering Committee. Rank and file participation was excellent.

**The meeting got down to business and began planning a campaign around organizing the unorganized.**

## CLEVELAND

In Cleveland, too, things seem to be getting off the ground. A meeting of the Cleveland Council of Union Women was called by Ohio CLUW convenor Jean Tussey.

The group voted to affiliate with CLUW and began planning a summer educational conference, directed at rank and file women workers.

Sessions will include, among other things, labor history and the importance of unions.

The Cleveland group also plans a city wide campaign to unionize clerical workers.

The CLUW founding convention had many problems. The heavy handedness of the leadership was high on the list. This same heavy handedness is part of the local situation as well.

Nonetheless, rank and file women came in unexpected numbers and were able to get some important things passed.

Many left pissed off at the leadership but extremely excited about CLUW's potential.

It is essential that active CLUW chapters are organized shortly, before the excitement of Chicago evaporates.

If left to the bureaucrats, CLUW chapters will form only after enthusiasm has waned.

It will be up to rank and file militants to push - and push hard.

Washington D.C. CLUW points the way. ■

Gay Semel

## Building Local CLUW Chapters: What to Do

**The most important question facing CLUW is building it among rank and file women.**

- Radicals and militants should find out about all meetings, no matter how exclusive, and attend bringing lots of friends along.

- They should propose conferences, by early summer, to build local CLUWs. Publicity should be directed at rank and file working women.

Leaflets should be distributed outside workplaces and at unemployment offices. CLUW members should go to local union meetings to announce the conference.

Ads should be placed in the local union and rank and file press.

- Besides building CLUW these conferences should conclude with action proposals.

Two important activities local CLUW chapters should get involved in are:

- **Organize the unorganized:** CLUW should wage a campaign for the labor movement to put up the money to organize the millions of unorganized.

The campaign should include petitions to the Central Labor Councils, demonstrations around the issue, and support for organizing drives of women workers already in progress.

- **Support for the United Farm Workers Union:** help in the boycott activities, help in collecting money, help building support in unions. ■



# labor briefs

Gallo halted wine production for one full week recently. Although the company claimed re-modeling work as the reason, the interruption in production was almost certainly due to the **United Farm Workers' boycott of Gallo wines**. The boycott has been highly effective, resulting in enormous stockpiles.

The average wage gains in contracts negotiated during the first quarter of 1974 jumped upwards over the average increase in the previous quarter and for all of 1973. First-year wage increases averaged 6.2 percent, up from 5.4 percent in the final quarter of 1973. While still coming nowhere near the rate of inflation, these increases may signal the reversal of the steady pattern of smaller and smaller wage gains since the government's wage controls were introduced.

Democratic members of Congress are mounting a last-ditch effort to retain some sort of government wage controlling authority. The Senate Democratic Caucus endorsed legislation which would give Nixon continuing authority to control wages and prices. The Democrats, it will be recalled, were the initiators of the original wage control legislation in 1971.

By a vote of over 5-1, 16,000 rank and file members of the **Machinists union** rejected a contract with United Air Lines which had been endorsed by their leadership. The pact, calling for pay increases of about 15 percent over a 28-month period, was widely heralded as being a pattern-setter for the airline industry. With the exception of last fall's Ford contract rejection, which UAW leaders ignored, this is the first major rank and file rejection of a leadership-endorsed contract in years.

The **General Electric Company** has been found guilty of sex discrimination for refusing disability payments to pregnant employees. Federal Judge Robert Merhige rejected GE's claim that pregnancy should not be covered by disability since it is "voluntary." "This standard isn't applied to informal athletic injuries," he said, "most of which could also be avoided by appropriate preparation, forbearance and circumspect precaution." If upheld on appeal, the ruling could be a precedent for similar suits filed against other companies.

**Andy Hardy, president of UAW Local 3** at Detroit's huge Dodge Main plant, is being kicked upstairs. Hardy recently took himself out of the running for re-election as local president, leaving his slate at the last moment without a presidential candidate. Subsequently, Hardy was unable even to get himself elected as a delegate to this June's UAW Convention. Hardy will be succeeded as Local 3 president by Joe Davis. Davis has a more progressive image than Hardy, but differs in no other respect. Hardy will move on to a job on the UAW International staff, working, appropriately enough, with retirees.

Top Ford executives are reported upset that many workers at small-car assembly plants are refusing Saturday overtime, as is their right under the new UAW contract. The executives can't understand why assembly line workers who are putting in ten hour shifts, five days a week, don't want to work Saturdays as well. As a result, Ford claims to have lost the production of 9,000 small cars in the last three months.

Carrying signs reading, "**Carl Horn Jr. is the next Willie Farah**," striking Harlan County, Kentucky mine workers picketed the Wall Street stock exchange April 18. Horn is president of Duke Power Co., which has refused to bargain with striking miners at the company's Brookside mine.

Certain members of **Teamsters Local 695** in Madison, Wisconsin are now subject to arrest for trying to attend union meetings. Last fall, the Teamsters International leadership slapped a trusteeship on the local to prevent local elections scheduled for December. The trustees ousted the elected officials, cancelled the elections, and fired Jim Marketti, a leading organizer for the local. Subsequently, the trustees ruled that Marketti was no longer a member of the local, and had the police haul him away as he tried to attend the March membership meeting.

**Jerry Brown**, son of the former California governor and a candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination this year, recently attended a University of California meeting where he spoke in support of the **United Farm Workers' boycott of Gallo wines**. Following his speech, a student accused him of accepting a large campaign contribution from the Gallo family.

"It's true," Jerry admitted. "It would not be a viable campaign strategy to reject a contribution from someone just because you disagree with them."



## Wisconsin Teachers Strike

**MADISON, Wis.** — The longest teacher strike in Wisconsin's history is being bitterly fought in the small rural community of Hortonville. Teachers represented by the **Hortonville Education Association** (member of the Wisconsin Education Association) have been on strike since March 15.

At one point, the Hortonville strike threatened to lead to a one-day sympathy strike of all Wisconsin teachers. But the failure of big-city NEA and AFT locals to give their support has placed the Hortonville teachers in a difficult position and damaged the cause of teacher unity throughout the state. The Hortonville school board is one of the most reactionary in the state. It is engaged in an open attempt to break the union.

For fifteen months, teachers had been without a contract. Among other things, they were fighting a school board demand that they work split shifts of four hours on, two off, and four on.

Five weeks ago 85 striking teachers were fired by the board which advertised for replacements all over the state. The board subsequently hired unqualified scabs at the price of \$45 per day plus traveling expenses. Substitutes are normally paid only \$20 per day.

### STATE-WIDE STRIKE

The school board's decision to hold classes during spring break brought the strike statewide attention. Some other local school boards stopped negotiating pending the outcome of the Hortonville strike.

Two hundred teachers, firemen, members of AFSCME locals, teaching assistants and other unionists came daily to Hortonville to help picket. Over 70 people were arrested and the courts issued restraining orders limiting picketing.

It was at this point that plans began to develop for a one-day

state-wide sympathy strike. WEA called for its locals to support the strike, but the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers refused to support the strike call.

However, the stewards' council of Teaching Assistants Association Local 3220 AFT - the largest AFT local in Wisconsin - endorsed the

strike and encouraged its 650 members to support it. The TAA also sent a busload of its members to Hortonville to help picket.

Initially it appeared that the strike call might be successful. However, the big city locals of Milwaukee, Madison, Eau Clair and Green Bay failed to support the strike. Together with the intimidation and threats from the school boards and the media, the strike had to be called off.

An April 29 rally at the state capitol in Madison, however, showed that support for the Hortonville teachers is still very much alive. Called by the WEA, the rally drew 1200 public employees.

Meanwhile, the Hortonville school board continues its attempts to crush the union. It proposed to rehire the teachers while retaining the option of firing them within 15 days, subject to review by a third party. When the union accepted this proposal, the school board withdrew it!

The strike continues. But if the Hortonville teachers are defeated, it will not be their own fault. Their heroic efforts have become an inspiration to all teachers in the state.

The fault lies in large part with the leaders of the WFT who failed to support the strike. Teachers in Wisconsin, as elsewhere, must be united in one fighting union rather than in two competing ones.

Furthermore, teachers need to develop strong ties to the rest of the labor movement, since labor support is becoming increasingly essential to the success of teachers' struggles. And public employee unions must wage an aggressive fight for the unconditional right to strike.

Hortonville teachers will appreciate any support other unions and individuals can give. Letters of support and contributions can be sent to: Hortonville Education Association, Hortonville, Wis. ■

## Reagan Fights State Employees

**Governor Ronald Reagan, who said the San Francisco municipal employees strike could have been ended by bringing in the National Guard, has now stated that any state employees who participate in a strike will be fired and replaced by scabs.**

Reagan's remarks at a recent press conference were directed at the 85,000 California State Employees Association members who are threatening to strike in mid-May if demands for salary and benefit increases are not met.

The governor's proposed budget is offering a 10 percent wage and benefit boost for civil servants. The proposal includes the 4.2 percent wage raise approved last year and later denied by the Cost of Living Council, plus an increase for 1974-75 of 2.7 percent in wages and 3.1 percent in benefits.

CSEA is demanding 10.8 percent wage increase for 1974-75 to keep wages in line with rising inflation, plus an additional \$80 million in benefits. A spokesman for the union called

Reagan's offer of 2.7 percent wage hike "ridiculous."

Reagan's threat to fire striking civil servants is legal. Although there is no state statute prohibiting strikes by state employees, there is a law which says any worker absent for five consecutive days without leave will be considered no longer employed, and replaced. State courts have already said public employees strikes are illegal.

An official strike vote will be delayed until early May. CSEA has asked the dispute be arbitrated, but the governor has denied the request saying only the state legislature has the right to decide the issue.

CSEA is backing itself into a corner by asking for arbitration. The issue is much larger than just wage demands.

What is needed is a militant fight for the right of public employees to the protection of collective bargaining and the right to back up their demands with the only tool they have that can win - the strike. ■



# Women Strike for Justice

160 members of UAW Local 417 in Birmingham, Michigan are carrying a contract strike into its sixth week. The strikers are determined not to return without a decent offer.

Their employer, Elicon Industries, is one of the thousands of small shops that make parts for the Big Three, but pay up to \$4 less per hour in wages and benefits.

Like other small shops, this plant employs mainly women, although the men working there also experience the same inequities in wages.

Working conditions in such shops are terrible. The air is blue from silicons and dust. Oil and parts on the floor make walking hazardous, and when it rains walking becomes wading.

There is only one janitor for the day shift and none for afternoons. There are no first aid facilities on the site.

Women are purposely steered away from higher-paying jobs and are even refused admission to training programs for semi-skilled jobs.

Foremen are especially rough on women during their probationary period, and some are known to fire women who turn down their sexual advances.

The workers there are angry, and demand real changes before they will return to work. They turned down an offer of 25c as insufficient. "That won't even cover the gas increase," said one woman.

The company has shown its complete contempt for the striking workers by offering even less after several weeks on strike.

Foremen and office help are trying to carry on the work of the plant, but production is down, and workers fear that management is

moving out some of the machinery in rented trucks. One of these trucks hit a male striker after being ordered to drive through the lines.

Unfortunately, the local is providing no real leadership, urging strikers to keep things peaceful, to allow all cars and trucks to enter freely, and not to interfere with white collar employees.

Further, the local does not give any guidance at the weekly obligatory strike classes, nor provide child care for picketers.

Elicon is part of Microdot, a multi-million dollar corporation which runs many such small shops. Their size is often the excuse used for low wages, but actually such plants profit by hiring women and paying them almost half the Big Three pay scale.

The contention that women are working only to provide a second income is untrue. Many of the women interviewed by Workers' Power are heads of families, or are single women trying to support themselves and get through school. In many cases, they are doing the same jobs as workers for the Big Three and should receive the same pay scale.

But the UAW also uses the excuse that "they're just women" and fails to fight for parity for all auto workers.

If the strikers win their demands (the union is asking for 35c - the rank and file wants at least 50c), Elicon workers will still receive over \$2.00 less than other UAW members doing the same work.

Women in the UAW, in large and small shops, must begin protesting the discriminatory practices that have gone on for years and demand the UAW fight for equal pay for equal work for women. ■

Susan Ellis



# WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

# The High Cost Of Business Unionism

For the past couple of years, US labor leaders have fully cooperated with wage controls. This year, they "volunteered" to hold wages down themselves.

Still, prices go up and up. Whatever they may say for the record, their policy has been to let prices grow and wages stagnate.

These union leaders accept these "voluntary" wage restraints because they are fully committed to the capitalist profit system.

The corporations raise prices to protect or expand their profit margins. The monopoly position of the big industrial corporations gives them the power to get away with it, as the oil companies did.

The government's giant arms-budget pours billions of tax dollars into these corporations to feed profits and fuel the fires of inflation.

American labor leaders stand mute before these facts. They dare not tamper with anything that might hurt these corporate giants - which they call in polite language "the economy."

If the companies say they cannot give a big wage increase and still employ all their workers, the labor leaders silently nod.

If the bosses say they must hold back wage increases to a puny six percent and - as in the latest steel contract - and still lay off workers, the labor leaders fidget nervously but still nod.

## BUSINESS UNIONISM

Sometimes these labor leaders actually join with their capitalist masters to campaign for price increases. A particularly disgusting example of this occurred recently in Michigan.

Here, Bell Telephone was asking for a \$111 million rate increase. Martin Hughes, Vice President of the Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, went on television to urge an even bigger rate increase to cover any future wage gains made by telephone workers.

The Bell System makes a 12 percent profit every year. Its first quarter (Jan.-March) profit rate this year is 14 percent. These percentages represent several billion dollars a year.

Furthermore, it will be ordinary working people who will pay for this rate increase - from \$1.30 to \$1.85 a month more.

Yet, here is union official Martin Hughes begging on behalf of the multi-billion dollar mono-

poly boss he is supposed to be fighting!

The role played by today's labor officials is a game of "Simon says," in which the employers are always Simon.

If a union leaders makes a move without Simon's command, he is slapped on the wrist, not only by Simon but by his fellow union official as well.

"Simon says" is, of course, a children's game. So the adult labor officialdom calls their version of this game "business unionism" or "Labor Statesmanship."

By any name, it is becoming very costly to rank and file unionists.

## STRUGGLE

There is, however, a long-standing trade union policy that is in the interests of the workers. For that reason it is unpopular with capitalists and labor leaders alike.

This policy is for the union to demand and fight for a large wage increase with no increase in prices by the company.

This was actually the official bargaining position of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in 1946.

Wage increases without price increases were originally demanded by socialist militants in the auto workers' union. Unfortunately the leaders of the UAW, Reuther, Mazey, and Woodcock, gave in to pressure from more conservative union leaders and the demand was dropped.

It was, however, very popular with the workers because it offered a real way to deal with inflation without having to rely on the politicians of the Democratic or Republican parties.

Wage increases with no price increases could be won by the

unions, if they stuck together and supported each other when their contracts came up for negotiation.

If these profit-bloated giants of industry insist they are too poor to meet these demands, then the union can insist that they open their books to the union and the public.

Look at what happened with the oil companies. Even when they made their own, most likely phoney, figures known, it was clear they were defrauding the world. It is hard to find anyone who would defend their claims of poverty.

## TAKE THEM OVER!

What if a company should be able to prove that it can't pay a big increase, improve working conditions, and still stay in business?


In that case, we say that this is an admission that capitalism can only function successfully at the expense of the workers.

We propose that the company be taken away from its capitalist owners, and that it be operated by the workers while the government pays whatever is necessary to guarantee them the decent level of income the union demanded in the first place.

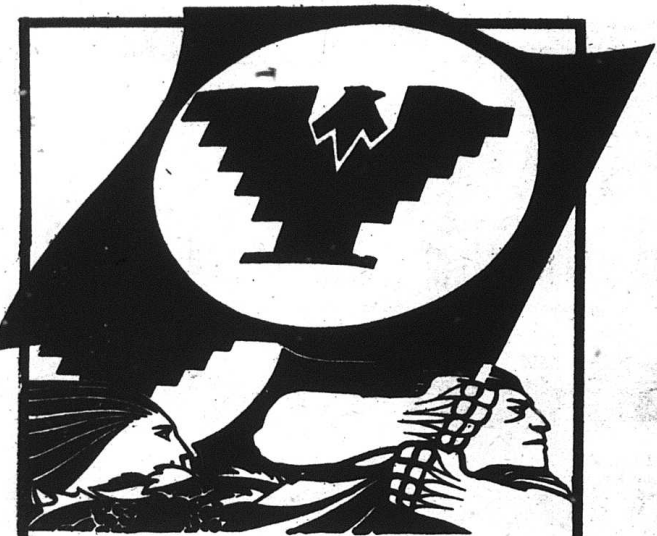
The employers, union leaders, and perhaps even the reader will say: "This is socialism!" Well, not quite.

Socialism involves putting the entire economy under the democratic control of the working class. What we are talking about above is only a small step in that direction.

It is, however, an anti-capitalist step - one that goes beyond what is acceptable to the capitalists, and moreover one which is entirely in the interests of the workers. ■

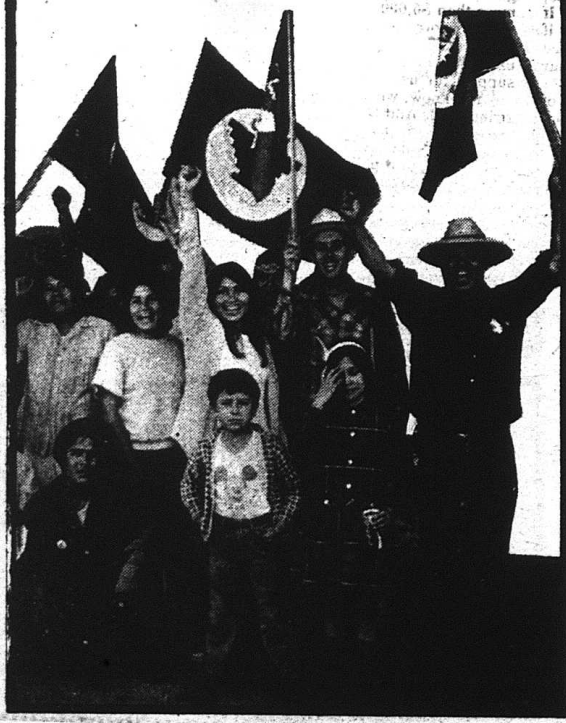


**Boycott  
Grapes,  
Lettuce, and  
Gallo Wine!**



# Farmworkers Need Labor's Support For Victory

## SUMMER '74: MASSIVE STRIKE ACTION THE KEY



One Saturday not long ago, a hundred supporters of the United Farm Workers set up a picket line and virtually closed down a Wrigley's supermarket in Detroit. As several top-level Wrigley executives looked on in panic, car after car turned away in response to the request, "Don't Shop Wrigley's."

It was a scene repeated time after time, all across the country. With a few pickets, a store's business could be seriously affected. A larger number of pickets could keep almost everyone out.

The nationwide boycott of non-union grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines was making progress. Slow progress in many places, but the union was exerting a significant amount of economic pressure on the grape and lettuce growers by forcing grocery and liquor stores to cancel orders for these scab products.

In such a situation, it seems almost inconceivable that a few leaders of AFL-CIO unions, who pose as the UFW's friends, would demand that the United Farm Workers give up the secondary boycott. But they did.

The Retail Clerks and Meat Cutters are well-established unions which could have easily afforded to subsidize any of their members who lost work due to the UFW's secondary boycott. But instead, they would prefer to see the United Farm Workers defeated rather than use the secondary boycott against stores where their members worked.

In one of the most shameful chapters of American labor history, the AFL-CIO demanded that the UFW give up its secondary boycott or, in effect, face virtual isolation from the rest of the labor movement.

### MEANY, TEAMSTERS, GROWERS

In so doing, George Meany and the AFL-CIO adopted methods used by the forces that are attempting to destroy the Farm Workers movement - the growers, the Teamster leaders, their goon squads, the police, and the courts.

In several cities, full-page newspaper ads signed by the Meat Cutters and Retail Clerks denounced UFW picketing as "anti-union."

While the AFL-CIO on paper now endorses the grape and lettuce product boycotts, none of these union-busting statements have been publically retracted.

Many UFW supporters are asking, what can be done? What can the Farm Workers do without the secondary boycott? Where do we go from here?

Two things are of central importance for the UFW at this stage. The first is redoubling efforts to carry out successful strikes in the California vineyards and lettuce fields, and strengthening the union as a force in the fields.

The second is preparing for the day when the union will have to resume the use of the secondary boycott.

The strength of any union, ultimately, is always based on the

organization of the workers in the industry, and their willingness and ability to strike against the employer.

Last summer, UFW President Cesar Chavez ended picketing in the face of police and goon squad violence and sent the best and most dedicated organizers around the country to staff boycott operations.

Even though Teamster-grower fraud has ripped off most of the UFW's contracts, and even though the weakening of the union by the emphasis on boycott work has caused problems, the union's mass base among farm workers in the valley remains solid.

## Two Strikers Te

Equiel and Teresa Juarez have been on strike since the Spring of 1973. Then the owner of the San Joachim ranch where they worked refused to renew his contract with the UFW.

When California strike activity was called off at the end of the summer, Equiel and Teresa came to New York City with their two children to work with the boycott.

### FARM LABORER RIGHTS

Equiel believes in the UFW because he has seen it work. When no one else bothered, the UFW fought for the rights of the poor and minority farm laborers.

Equiel, like many in the union, remembers what it was like when a farmworker's livelihood depended on the whim of the labor contractor. These "bandits," as Equiel calls them, contract with the growers to harvest a crop. They then try to make a profit by hiring workers at the lowest possible wage and exploiting them to the fullest.

In 1965, before the UFW, Equiel and Teresa worked for \$1.05 an hour up to 15 hours a day, often seven days of the week. On some days in the vineyards, Equiel would work for another five hours without pay, repacking boxes of grapes which the inspector had rejected for one reason or another.

During the work day there were

no breaks, and only a half hour off for lunch.

With temperatures up to 125°, water was only made available at four hour intervals. The contractor regarded adequate sanitation facilities as an unnecessary luxury.

The growers sprayed the fields with pesticides while the farmworkers were picking the crops. As a result, Equiel was only able to work in the lettuce fields for two months of the year, because after that time he would start to lose the skin from his hands and face.

### SPEED UP IN THE FIELDS

According to Equiel, if you complained about conditions you were fired. "They didn't care if the farmworkers worked one day and not the next. They would always tell workers if they couldn't work faster, they wouldn't be back the next day."

In addition, "illegals" were not only threatened with the loss of a job but with deportation as well.

In the Imperial Valley farmworkers were paid at the end of each day. If you were young, fast, and desperate you worked regularly. If you were old and not so fast, the "bandit" had no use for you.

For farmworkers, like Equiel and Teresa, who have children there was only one means of securing adequate child care.

If you had the money - \$3 a child



The UFW's support is amazingly high. This is the decisive summer in which that mass support must be mobilized to meet the growers head-on.

#### SUCCESS IN THE FIELDS

With the approach of another harvest season, as the struggle increases in intensity, the emphasis must clearly be on waging successful strikes in the fields, with the boycott as an important backup weapon.

At the same time, a young union facing the many obstacles before the UFW must be free to use every weapon at its command.

The UFW was forced to accept Meany's blackmail on the secondary boycott issue only because it could not afford the isolation of an open break with him.

#### BUILDING LABOR SUPPORT

There is little doubt that the product boycott of scab grapes, lettuce and Gallo wine will have a substantial financial impact. But this may not be enough by itself.

The growers have already shown they are willing to lose millions of dollars to crush the union. After signing profitable Teamster sweetheart contracts, they are no doubt willing to lose millions more.

Against this kind of opposition, even with AFL-CIO support, the product boycott does not have the same social weight or militancy - which is just as crucial as financial impact - of the secondary boycott. Nor does it hurt the giant supermarket chains which cheerfully carry scab goods.

If the product boycott is not successful, the UFW will eventually be forced to go back to the secondary boycott.

The union has made such tactical switches in the past, and certainly

will not stick exclusively to the product boycott if it doesn't work this time.

No one can justifiably criticize the UFW or its leadership simply for being weak and having to compromise with George Meany. However, the policies which led to that weakness should be changed.

Unless the UFW begins preparing now for the day when it must resume the secondary boycott, it will be in the same situation that forced it to accept Meany's blackmail this time.

This year, as Eliseo Medina's remarks in the adjoining interview indicate, the UFW seems prepared to defend its strikes and picket lines against grower-Teamster goons.

A fight must be made to ensure that AFL-CIO unions strengthen that defense by directly supporting mass UFW strike actions.

AFL-CIO union leaders who pledge their support to the farm workers - in words - must be made to put that support into action wherever it is needed, whether in the boycott or on the picket lines.

The united grower-Teamster-police front must be met with an even more massive united front of labor.

More than ever, however, it is critical that militants in all unions take the initiative in fighting for their unions to give maximum material and political support for the farm workers' struggle.

In any long-term consideration, the victory of the UFW can be strengthened only through the growth of rank and file forces in the unions whose solidarity with the UFW is genuine - unlike the disgraceful backstabbing policies of the AFL-CIO hierarchy.

Only aggressive action at this level can prevent Meany from selling out the UFW again. ■

# UFW's Medina: "We're Going To Win This Year"

[Eliseo Medina, the Director of the Ohio UFW Boycott spoke with WORKERS' POWER reporter Cal Williams. At 28 years, Medina is the youngest member of the UFW's National Executive Board.

Medina began life as a farmworker at age ten, when he came to this country to work in the fields. For the past eight years he has worked for the union, in Calexico, in Chicago, in Belle Glade, Florida, and now in Cleveland.

His comments on several crucial topics are presented here.]

#### ON THE STRIKE

"We're going to win this year. We've got to. If we don't win this year it means our struggle will be very, very long.

"At the Executive Board meeting at La Paz last month we decided to throw all our strength into the fight this spring. We decided that this would be the decisive year.

"And we decided that this year there would be the biggest strike ever, on the magnitude of last year's, probably bigger. And this year nothing will stop it.

"We're stronger. You don't throw 3,000 people in jail like they did last year and then expect that they will forget about it. We are more solid this year. More experienced.

"No, this time we are here to stay. Regardless of what happens, we will not call this strike off. If they bring in the goons again, if they use the courts and the police again, we will just intensify our strike effort.

"You know, this is the attitude of the growers in Coachella. They say, 'Wow, if they strike again, we'll kill a couple of farmworkers and that will end the strike.'

"But they're wrong. The Executive Board has made a very serious decision. We are going to struggle no matter what it takes. And we are going to stay until we get those contracts back."

#### ON TEAMSTER RAIDS

"The Teamsters are saying they will spend \$100,000 a month to organize farmworkers. But \$100,000 is peanuts. Anyway most of that money will be used to pay the big salaries of the organizers, plus the bills for booze and hotels.

"First of all, they're afraid to go into the fields. When they went to Bud Antle, the second biggest grower of lettuce in the country, for example, they tried to go into the fields and talk to the workers.

"But the workers physically threw them out. And Bud Antle has a Teamster contract!

"At Almaden, they tried to convince workers to choose the Teamsters. About thirty of them went into the fields. And they were thrown out again."

"You see, the people don't want anything to do with them. They have to travel in caravans, in groups of 20's and 30's.

"Can you imagine a union today being afraid to go into a factory or plant where they represent the workers? That's what is happening in the fields."

#### ON AFL-CIO SUPPORT

"I think the new agreement will make the boycott much more effective. As you know, we now have the full support of the labor movement, the miners, the UAW, the UE, the AFL-CIO. The only union not supporting us is the Teamsters.

"This is important. Last year, for example, the Central Labor Council in Youngstown organized the picketing and 80 to 100 people were out each week. But when the AFL-CIO endorsement didn't come, they stopped.

"In Cleveland, we plan to make the boycott stronger than ever before. We have to continue picketing the big stores, the ones which buy all the grapes and lettuce. We're beginning with a mass picket at Fisher-Fazio's on May 11. We're also planning caravans, demonstrations and many more mass pickets.

"You know, last year, the growers in Coachella alone lost more than \$6,000,000. This year it will be more, much more.

"The boycott is the necessary extension of the strike. It builds support for us.

"You know, we don't have a big strike fund. And they can bring in thousands of people illegally to break the strike. And the growers control the rural police and courts.

"But the boycott gives us added strength. Even if they can get the grapes picked, they still have to sell them."

"I know that some of our friends are very sceptical about the meaning of the AFL-CIO support. But, let me tell you, the growers and the Teamsters aren't sceptical.

"You see that Fitzsimmons has now written a letter to every International union threatening them with reprisals if they support the boycott of grapes and lettuce.

"Well, I think this is the best thing that could have happened. I think Fitzsimmons has crossed that very thin line.

"He had a working relationship with the other unions. Now he's trying to tell them what to do. He's trying to dictate to them. I think this will solidify support for the farmworkers."

#### ON UNION SOLIDARITY

"We want the rank and file of the Teamsters Union to know that our fight is not with them. They are not responsible for this conspiracy between the Teamsters and the growers."

"The guilty ones are the corrupt officials, the Fitzsimmons' and the Grami's. We're asking rank and file Teamsters to resist within their union, to stop this raid in which their dues are used to break another union.

"In fact, we are asking for help from all rank and file workers. We are asking them to form committees, to raise this issue in their membership meetings, to organize plant gate collections, and to picket.

"Without the active support of the rank and file, the endorsement of the AFL-CIO will not mean nearly as much.

"We're turning the corner now, though. We're through the worst. We've signed Almaden, Christian Brothers, Novitiate, and Steinburg already and the others will follow. We're going to win." ■

## Their Story

per day - you could hire someone to care for them while you worked in the fields.

Because many farmworkers had large families and/or little money, it was often necessary for them to take their children into the fields with them. As a result, many children are killed or maimed each year either by pesticide poisoning or by being crushed under the wheels of a carelessly driven tractor.

If the labor contractors didn't provide childcare it was only because they couldn't make enough profit at it - they provided nearly everything else at exorbitant prices.

As Equiel and Teresa followed the harvest, they rented their housing and bought their food from the contractor. If they were short of money because there wasn't any work or because an unexpected medical bill came up, they were forced to borrow from the contractor at outrageous interest rates.

One contractor even went so far as to establish his own income tax service where for \$35 he'd vouch for the farmworker's tax return.

#### WHY THE UFW?

For Equiel the UFW meant an end to the dependence and degradation of the labor contractor system. The UFW contract provided for pesticide protection (no

spraying from 25 days before the harvest), prohibited child labor, established a credit union, and provided for a union hiring hall and a seniority system.

Perhaps most significant, with the establishment of ranch committees, enforcement of the contract in the fields is guaranteed.

Equiel, who was elected to the ranch committee by the field workers at the Freedman Ranch in the San Joachim Valley, describes the duties of the committees:

"We made sure the contract was being enforced - that the water is clean, that the ice is in the water early in the morning, that the rest rooms are clean and that they move with the people, that the people only work eight hours, that the foremen don't push the people. . . . Many things we have to check so that the growers obey the rules of the contracts."

Equiel greets any suggestion that the Teamsters union has replaced the labor contractor system with disgust.

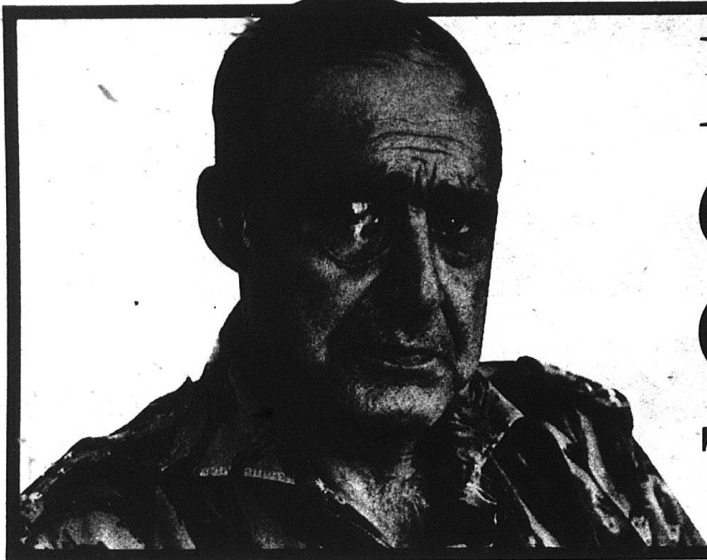
"How can it be any different when the contractor is made a Teamster organizer?"

"The only thing the people can do is ask the Teamster organizer for help. He isn't interested in helping the people, only in making more money." ■

Ed Wright



Eliseo Medina, director of Cleveland boycott, with Cesar Chavez



# Portugal: Generals' Coup Opens Door To Mass Revolt

Within days of taking power, Portugal's new military government led by Antonio de Spínola was forced to grant full democratic and political rights to the Portuguese people.

Censorship, and the ban on political parties and unions, were ended. The masses of people responded instantly and explosively.

The new government is jailing the hated fascist secret police maintained by the dictatorship, to prevent them from being torn to pieces by the people they tortured and murdered for years.

Hundreds of thousands of workers will be joining legal trade unions. Many of these will be returning to Portugal from France.

The Portuguese emigrants have been living there to escape both the desperately low standard of living and ravaging unemployment, and the brutal dictatorship that have dominated the country's life for the last 40 years.

The events of the last two weeks mark the beginning of a social revolution in Portugal, and a tremendous crisis for the forces of colonialism and white supremacy in southern Africa.

To understand how this revolution is likely to develop, it is important to examine why the dictatorship was overthrown and what the new regime stands for.

## BACKWARD

Portugal is one of the most poverty-stricken nations of Europe. Only Albania is poorer.

But more than this, the entire Portuguese economy and political structure have been tied to wars fought by the ruling class to maintain control of Portugal's remaining colonies in Africa - Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

These wars, which have now lasted over thirteen years, have absorbed 40 percent of the entire budget. During the last decade, the country has stagnated; its economy should have expanded rapidly along with its neighbors France and Spain.

Lack of growth has forced the Portuguese proletariat out of the country in the search for jobs and bread.

1.5 million Portuguese workers, out of a total population of 9.5 million, work as a cheap labor force in the European Common-Market, of which Portugal itself is a semi-

colony. 800,000 work in France alone.

Thousands of other workers and peasants fled to avoid the draft (a general amnesty has just been declared for draft evaders). Only this social and economic leap prevented social unrest from exploding in the past.

Wages sent back home by workers abroad gave a thin veneer of prosperity to parts of the society, and made up Portugal's balance of payments deficits.

The continued stagnation of the country, however, has made it more and more difficult to carry on the dirty wars in the African colonies. It has also contributed to mounting social turmoil at home.

Meanwhile, the effects of world inflation and recession have driven prices upward and begun to throw Portuguese workers in Europe out of their jobs.

## COLONIAL WARS

Much of the top officer corps charged with carrying out the wars against national liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have long realized that these wars offer no prospect of military victory.

In Guinea-Bissau, liberation forces control most of the country. They have declared independence.

In Angola the population of white settlers is most powerful and the black national liberation forces are split. Only here do the Portuguese retain any real strength.

Since these wars cannot be won, many top officers - represented by Spínola, the greatest of Portugal's war heroes and the military governor of Angola from 1968-1973 - decided to propose concessions to local self-government. This is no more than a desperate attempt to maintain ultimate economic and political control of the colonies.

There should be no illusions about Antonio de Spínola as a freedom fighter. He fought as a volunteer for Franco's fascist army in the Spanish Civil War and trained with Hitler's Wehrmacht in Nazi Germany.

Spínola realizes that using a local African ruling class to grant the appearance of autonomy or independence to the colonies is the only hope of avoiding total defeat.

Other former colonial powers, like Britain and France, have carried out similar "neo-colonial" solutions over the past 30 years. Former colonies, including many of today's independent African

states, are granted political independence but remain under the economic control of the heavily industrialized countries of Europe.

Unfortunately for Portugal, her economy is not strong enough to dominate an independent former colony as France, England or the United States can.

Before he was removed from office, Premier Marcello Caetano tried to shore up his position with a purge of top officers and a new wave of repression. The officer corps, realizing that victory in the colonial wars was impossible, that discontent and the long-term threat of revolution in Portugal was rising, and that the Caetano regime was extremely weak, organized a coup in order to dump Caetano. Their aim is to save as much of the colonial old order as they can.

## FALSE PROMISES

The masses of workers believe the new junta which has granted such wide democratic reforms to ensure its popularity against the old regime will carry through its promise to end the colonial wars. That, however, is not this government's goal.

Either as colonies or in some new neo-colonialist federation, control of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are crucial to the plans of Portugal's capitalist class.

In particular, the Portuguese capitalists look to Angola to solve their problems of economic development. Angola's growth rate exceeds 10 percent a year, with

enormous riches in minerals and oil.

Angola's oil (concentrated in the Cabinda enclave on the Atlantic Coast) is part of the liquid cement which binds Portugal to its allies in Africa - South Africa and Rhodesia.

In return for their aid in the war, the Portuguese have promised oil from Angola to protect these white regimes from being cut off by the Arab oil embargo.

The oil fields of Angola are predominantly owned by the American oil giant Gulf, which is not about to give them up.

The goal of the new Portuguese government is to stream-line the relationship between Portugal and the colonies, not to recognize their independence.

As a result, social ferment in Portugal will rapidly become more intense. Masses of workers, who want an end to the wars which are bleeding them dry, will be looking for an alternative.

## PORTUGAL'S LEFT

The Socialist and Communist parties, just returned from exile and underground, have already organized mass demonstrations. They will be rapidly organizing support, both in the unions and the middle class.

These parties are currently bargaining for an invitation to join a provisional government.

The CP and SP are in a Popular Front with the Christian Democrats, called the Democratic Movement. They will support the Spínola government.

If they distinguish themselves

from him by coming out against the colonial wars, it will be only to cover their entry into a government which will continue these wars.

When the wars don't end, masses of workers will turn against the Spínola government.

At that point the Socialist and Communist Parties will provide Spínola with a leftist image, and a defense of his capitalist regime.

Neither of these parties has the slightest scruples about forming a united government with fascist, colonialist general Spínola.

Despite the betrayals of these left wing parties, however, there are strong possibilities for the growth of a genuinely revolutionary movement.

The future of the Portuguese revolution, and the creation of an alternative to the CP and SP, depends on an alliance of the Portuguese proletariat with the masses fighting for freedom and independence in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The Portuguese workers must oppose the wars fought by their own rulers. They must be the champions of the right of the black African colonies to independence and separation from Portugal.

Portuguese workers must join with them in a joint struggle against the capitalist class which is responsible for Portuguese imperialism. Building this unity with the national liberation movements is key to the victory of both.

If there is social revolution in Portugal, the colonies will win independence.

But if the Portuguese proletariat remains tied to the cart of a more "democratic" Portuguese imperialism, then the workers will be crushed along with the national liberation movements.

Today, the revolutionary groups in Portugal are very small and their politics unknown. The first popular wave will probably flow into the Socialist Party.

But the pace of events and correct policies, could turn small revolutionary groups into forces capable of leading the working class.

A struggle for unity between Portuguese workers and the national liberation fighters must begin with a break with the Communist and Socialist Parties. A revolutionary party allied to both struggles, could determine the course of development of the Portuguese revolution. ■



MOZAMBIQUE GUERRILLAS

David Finkel



# Interview with auto militants



Lamont Chambliss, Mark Levitan, Clarence J. Dowdy.

## "Bring This Union Back To The People"

[Dodge Main and UAW Local 3 have been the scene of numerous examples of militant organizing efforts.

In the recent elections for delegate to the UAW 24th Constitutional Convention, members of Strike Back, a union caucus, and other local members formed the Voice of Chrysler Workers. The Voice of Chrysler Workers ran a full slate of 25 for the elections and won one delegate position.

Workers' Power reporter Bill Hastings interviewed three Voice of Chrysler Workers members—Clarence J. Dowdy, Lamont Chambliss and Mark Levitan.]

**Bill:** How did the Voice of Chrysler Workers get together?

**Clarence:** The Voice of Chrysler Workers was a thing that I myself suggested last fall. I said we needed to form a workers' caucus, and the only people willing to come to my aid were the people from Strike Back.

We got together a group of workers that stand united on certain issues. We failed to get support from our local representatives, and united to fight for these demands.

We want to form a workers' caucus where the workers would participate in it, where they would be the leadership of the caucus and where they could bring their problems to the floor.

The members elected from the caucus represent the workers. We know them.

The workers get a chance to know who they are electing, who they are putting into office, and what this man or woman's capability is.

**Lamont:** We are trying to do everything democratic. As things are now, not everything in the local is done in a democratic way.

**CD:** We need proletarian democracy.

**BH:** Where does your support come from?

**CD:** We get our strongest support directly from Assembly, from working people who labor on the line. We don't get too much support from the elected officials.

In fact, they are the ones who are fighting us. Our support is predominantly from blacks and young whites.

**BH:** How did you do in the election?

**CD:** The caucus did quite well, especially in the length of time we had. I'm looking forward to the Caucus membership growing.

We have some very good fighters in our organization. We'll continue to put out leaflets.

We'll let people know what is happening, what to do about particular problems, educate them to their rights and how to combat management. We'll make some headway and be the predominant caucus in that plant.

The election was only the beginning. We're going to fight just as hard as we fought this time, preparing ourselves for the next two years. We're not going to quit now.

**Mark:** That's something that we said all through the campaign. We met a lot of people and we built our slate and caucus through this campaign.

We said to ourselves, and to the plant, this was just the first thing we were going to do. I feel that for the first time we did anything, participated in anything, we did quite well.

**LC:** Another thing we're doing that none of the others are is educating the workers. We bring to the workers' attention a lot of things they don't have any knowledge about.

In the long run they will see exactly where we are coming from, and they'll come over to our side.

**BH:** Many of the pro-Administration caucuses that run usually have good programs—30 hours work for 40 hours pay, and other demands which sound good but are then dropped.

**CD:** The other slates had a lot of those demands—30 for 40, dental program—but it's nothing but to draw votes.

They put this stuff on their slates and never do anything about it. To write it down and not act on it isn't worth a damn thing.

**ML:** The last local meeting was an example. That meeting was the one time when we could present resolutions for the membership to send to the Convention.

They didn't even bother to post the membership meeting in the plant.

There was no quorum and there

will be no resolutions from Local 3.

**CD:** The membership of Dodge Local 3, the in-plant workers, look at their union dues as just another tax deduction.

They don't really look at it as dues paid towards their support. The representatives of the Administration are so weak, so corrupt, they do not really represent the workers.

**LC:** A steward was speaking about young people not being really qualified to be representatives.

I asked, what's the difference between an experienced person who's afraid of losing their job, and a young person who doesn't have experience?

This steward wasn't ready to come on with an answer. I've asked quite a few representatives the same question and I still got no answer. The representatives don't represent us.

There is one thing we really have to do, and that's get the workers

together. We have to bring this union back to the people.

**CD:** The difficult part is that the union is so corrupt. The people have to retake the union.

**ML:** The bureaucrats' support is based on the apathy in the plant. Their base is the weakness of the workers.

As soon as the workers start to move, they will fight a little, but they'll be thrown out. With things getting worse and worse, apathy will turn to anger.

**CD:** Only the proletariat, the working people, can change the union. The big shots like it the way it is because it's working in their favor.

**BH:** There are slates in other locals committed to opposing the Woodcock policies.

**CD:** I see a movement building. The struggle is growing. The Voice of Chrysler Workers is fighting right here at Dodge Main. Bit it's got to be a world-wide movement.

**LC:** We are going to have to get

together with other locals.

**CD:** This is one reason why I have not joined the United National Caucus. I have no intentions to join the UNC at this particular time. The UNC in the past has done too little to involve their members.

I don't particularly agree with some of their membership and some of their leadership. But the principles that it was founded upon were right.

If they were to reverse themselves to these principles and fight for these principles I think they would be a very good movement. They would link us up with the rest of the nation. I think that is going to happen.

I attended the last UNC meeting and all my amendments were accepted. They seem to be very much leaning towards our struggle. I don't think it would be very difficult to put the UNC on the proletarian road.

[continued on page 14]

## Chrysler Workers Voice: A Fighting Program

### FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE UNION

1. The right to see contract language before ratification. We must reestablish the right of the workers to reject the contract.

2. The right of any local to strike by simple majority vote of the membership.

3. A production workers' council.

4. A skilled trades council.

5. Retirees should have their own representatives. Only plant workers should vote for local and in-plant officers.

6. Referendum vote for all International Officers.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

The UAW must establish committees of the unemployed.

The UAW must work to build a movement for jobs for all. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. 25 and out.

### INFLATION

Reopen the contract to raise wages. Woodcock off the Nixon Advisory Council.

### FOREIGN POLICY

The UAW must sell its Israeli bonds.

### UAW SUPPORT

For the United Farm Workers. Oppose Teamster raids on the UFW.

### WOMEN

Endorse the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Support and engage in the fight to

organize the unorganized women workers in America, for equal job and promotional opportunities, for child care centers, for full insurance benefits, for maternity leaves.

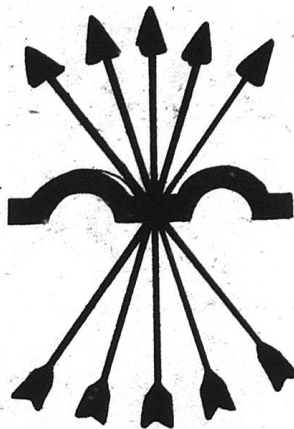
### AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

We stand for equal job opportunities and upgrading, opening the skilled trades. Racist practices should be strikeable issues. We must have the right to fire racist foremen and supervisors.

### FOR A LABOR PARTY

The UAW must take the lead in fighting for and building a new political party, of and for the working people.

# Spain's Popular Front Paved Franco's Path



Thirty-eight years ago in Spain, the biggest working-class uprising of modern times took place. Many people are still unaware of the achievements of this revolution. Partly this is because it was carried out in the teeth of a fierce civil war, partly because of censorship at the time, and partly because of the distorted versions of the war reported by dominant political forces.

The story of the Spanish Civil War tells us not only a great deal about fascism, but even more about what happens to the working class when it is prevented by its own leaders from waging an all-out fight for power.

By July 1936 Spain was deep in the sort of crises we are beginning to see again in the 1970's - unemployment, low wages, trade deficits in the face of foreign competition.

In the rest of Europe such conditions had already provided fertile ground for the growth of fascism among the victims of the crisis.

In Spain, the monarchy was swept away in 1931. The struggles of workers and peasants sharpened, with big strikes and seizures of land.

In October 1934, with unemployment at 1 1/2 million and prices rocketing up, the workers' organizations called a general strike throughout Spain. The risings were mainly crushed by the far right-wing government, but in the Asturias region the miners reorganized their province communally under workers' control.

When troops sent from Madrid went over to the workers, the government sent for troops from Spain's colony Morocco and the Foreign Legion. These were the forces led by Franco.

After ten days of terrible tortures and massacres of the Asturian people, 40,000 prisoners were sentenced to a total of 300,000 years in prison. From this time on, the benefits of fascism - the total crushing of workers' organizations - were clear to the employers.

## FASCISTS RISE

In the 1936 elections a coalition of liberal, conservative and left elements came together to form a "Popular Front." Most voters supported this coalition to keep out the right, and for a promised amnesty of 30,000 political prisoners.

Moreover, they didn't wait for an official amnesty but tore open the jails in February 1936. A new wave of strikes and land seizures swept over Spain that spring.

Even a mildly liberal government was too much for Franco and his

backers in this atmosphere. He assumed command of the Moroccan and Foreign Legion troops off July 17.

Most of the big industrialists, bankers and landowners fell in behind Franco, terrified at the threats to "their" property by workers and peasants.

Faced with the generals' revolt, the Popular Front government - which had known about the coming uprising for months - at first issued soothing messages that nothing had happened.

**Then, more frightened by armed workers than by a fascist takeover, the Popular Front refused to give out arms the trade unions were now asking for.**

Fortunately, the workers did not wait for anti-fascist orders from this supposedly "left" government but seized the arsenals, stormed the barracks where the fascists had not yet revolted, and began a revolution.

## WORKERS' CONTROL

Well over half of Spain, including the most heavily industrialized parts, came quickly and spontaneously under workers' control.

Considering the size of Spain, this was a bigger seizure of capitalists' and landlords' property than even Russia had seen in 1917.

On the land the huge estates were placed under collective control. Hundreds of churches were gutted by people who had seen enough of the cruel wealth of the Spanish church.

As in all revolutions, the position of women was transformed: they enjoyed less restrictive forms of marriage and divorce, and they fought and organized alongside the men.

In July the army and police, the hated civil guard, and most of the judiciary and customs officials went over to Franco, although the navy and air force stayed with the Republic. The old state machine lay in ashes.

**What existed behind the Republican front lines was a system of dual power. The remnants of the official government floated at the top. At the base were the armed workers, controlling the land and the factories, fighting Franco's fascists in their own militias.**

But the workers did not realize the need to do away with the old government system completely and replace it with the organizations of the revolution.

One example of the crumbling of the old order was in Barcelona, where the workers were the first to rise against Franco and won over the artillery soldiers through political appeals. They even convinced

the soldiers to fire on their own officers.

But the costs of leaving the Popular Front Republican regime in power were immense. The Republican government made no appeals to the working class behind Franco's lines, or to his conscripted Moroccan troops, even though the Moroccan nationalist leaders had offered their help to the Republic.

**Making those appeals would have meant spreading the workers' revolution, which the Popular Front regime feared even worse than fascism.**

## CIVIL WAR

In fact, after seven weeks of this situation of dual power, it was the Republican government itself which turned and smashed the workers to preserve capitalism in Spain.

After the government had done half of Franco's work for him, Franco did the rest - sweeping across a Spain which only months before had seen the biggest revolutionary upheaval of modern times.

To understand why this happened, it is important to understand the role played by the Spanish Communist Party.

**Before 1935, the Communist Party had followed a lunatic ultra-left policy of refusing to co-operate with other workers' organizations, according to the line dictated by Stalin that they all represented just different shades of fascism.**

In 1931 the C.P. joined with the Monarchists to chant "Down With the Republic" as the masses streamed into the streets to celebrate the fall of the monarchy. In 1934 the C.P.'s election boycott helped an extreme right wing government to power.

But all that changed when Stalin joined hands with imperialist France against Hitler (who had come to power because of these earlier policies).

French Communists were now told that their job was only to protect Stalin's Russia, and "If in this period you make your revolution in France you are traitors."

Similarly in Spain, the Communist Party now argued that here was simply a feudal country needing a capitalist revolution to establish parliamentary government.

**Unhappily for this theory, all the big industrialists - who according to the C.P. should be leading the democratic revolution - were all behind Franco.**

And quite often the so-called "progressive city capitalist" and the so-called "reactionary feudal landed proprietor" were one and

the same person, or closely tied by family relations or mortgages.

Even the Church by 1936 was no longer a feudal landowner, but rather had become the largest capitalist shareholder in Spain.

## POPULAR FRONT

The Communist Party, on orders from Moscow, became the main pillar of the Popular Front government - an alliance of working class and capitalist parties where the C.P. defended the power and privileges of the capitalists against the workers' revolt.

The Party's main slogan was "Fight Franco First, then make the Revolution."

**This sounded sensible enough, but in practice there is a far wider gulf between the interests of employers and workers than between fascism and the capitalists.**

In the Basque region, towns were betrayed to the fascists by the local rulers. At San Sebastian, the owners handed over their machinery intact to the fascists instead of destroying it, knowing before too long the fascists would give it back.

Meanwhile, many collectives organized democratic militias which fought Franco with more success than the regular Popular Front armies - because the people in them knew they were fighting for their own full social liberation, not just to re-establish capitalist democracy as opposed to fascism.

From January 1936 to January 1937, the Spanish Communist Party grew from 3000 to 200,000 members. However, this growth was not because the Party expressed the needs of the revolutionary workers.

Significantly, the new mass base of the C.P. was not in the working class but among the lower middle

class - small businessmen, shopkeepers and officials who looked to the C.P. to maintain order.

In the countryside, the C.P. protected the wealthier peasants against the collectivization measures of the revolutionary committees.

When Stalin finally sent arms to the Spanish Republic to help the war against fascist Franco, he also sent agents of his political police, who established their own reign of terror in the Republican ranks.

So from the beginning of the Communist Party's influence on the war, there was double civil war raging - between fascism and the armed workers and also, behind the Republican lines, between the Communist Party and the revolutionary left.

But the left was disorganized and had no leadership with a clear view of what was happening.

Major figures of the Marxist opposition to the C.P., like Andres Nin, were systematically murdered by agents of the Russian secret police. In comparison, the Republic dealt with fascist sympathizers with half-hearted inefficiency.

**The destruction of the workers' revolution was completed in May 1937, when a desperate mass uprising in Barcelona was crushed after the Communists seized the vital telephone exchange from the workers.**

This terribly demoralized workers at the front who had thought they were fighting for total change in Spain, and some defeats have been directly attributed to this.

But in areas like the Asturias, where the militias were not destroyed by the C.P., guerrilla resistance continued well after Franco's eventual victory.

## NEW CRISIS

Spain today has still not solved its economic problems and is still under Franco's dictatorship. The Communist Party still calls for a Popular Front.

**France's Spain is a pillar of the so-called "Free World" and enjoys total support by the US government, which props up its economy and supplies its army. At the same time, Franco's fascist regime has been recognized by supposedly "socialist" East Germany, and received coal from Poland to break miners' strikes.**

Since 1966, however, national demonstrations and strikes have shown the existence of independent, underground democratic national workers' organizations. With economic crisis again growing and neighboring Portugal already in upheaval, Spain may yet be the flame that sets all Europe alight.

[Abridged from an article by Jill Branston.]





# reviews

## movies

# Great Gatsby's Glamor

The Great Gatsby was intended to be a great movie in the way Hollywood used to mean great: a big story, fabulous settings and costumes, thousands of extras, and the hottest star around, Robert Redford.

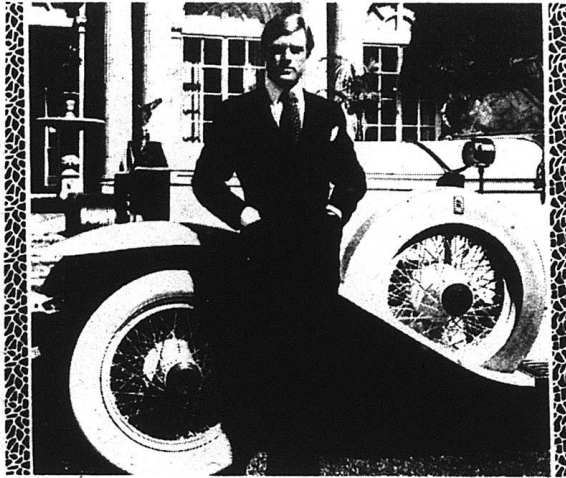
It is from F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel, which is supposed to give it "class." And Francis Ford Coppola - who made *The Godfather* - wrote the screenplay. How could it miss?

The problem is that *The Great Gatsby* can't quite decide what it is trying to do. Partly it takes seriously the romantic nonsense of its characters, pumps in enough nostalgia to choke a horse, and seems plain silly.

This is not helped by some unfortunate visual techniques. When the light shines on Mia Farrow's (Daisy) eyes, the reflected sparkle is so bright, it looks painted in. You can almost see the dollar signs that the film makers must have been imagining when they added this little touch.

They were trying to make a super-spectacular love story, all fluff and sentimentality whenever it was not spectacle and extravaganza.

But the intelligence of the script often overcomes its bad intentions. There is a hard, bitter understanding beneath the fake nostalgia.



The strength of the film, as of the book, lies in our changing views of Jay Gatsby on the one hand, and on the other of Daisy, his long-lost love.

Daisy and Tom, her immensely wealthy husband, are the social elite, the trend setters, the people who can do no wrong.

Gatsby is an associate of gamblers, probably a bootlegger and possibly a murderer. He invents his past and manufactures his present.

Daisy and Tom, and their set, live without intensity or important feelings of any sort. Gatsby, as wooden as they in most respects, nonetheless has one overwhelming

passion: to regain Daisy's love, the love he won when she was a girl and he a young lieutenant on his way to the first World War.

That obsession drives Gatsby's life: he has bought a mansion fit for a French duke's palace so that he can live across the bay from her.

He throws incredible parties of hundreds of guests, musicians, food, drink, servants, and everything else you can think of - hoping she will somehow wander in one day. He has become wealthy and powerful, so that he can be her social equal.

But for Daisy and Tom, nothing can ever be so important as Gatsby's child-like passion is to him. The film's narrator, Daisy's cousin Nick says, "They smash things up."

Nick (like the author Fitzgerald) knows that their wealth has taught them that life is a game that they control, that other people are toys to give momentary entertainment, then tossed aside or broken. They refuse to take responsibility for the results of their actions.

Gatsby, ironically, although he uses and orders people, can never approach the complete indifference to others that they have learned automatically.

He is both a vulgarized reflection of Tom and Daisy, trying to ape the upper class and therefore only

showing us their ugliness more clearly, and at the same time, their opposite.

He is the man of action who understands that actions have consequences, who never does anything thoughtlessly, without taking care for the results.

Gatsby may care about very few things, but about these he does indeed care. He is the Tom and Daisy of a generation or two earlier, of the rising wealthy classes in the United States before the First World War.

Fitzgerald was trying to say something about the America in which he lived - the shallowness and the terrible carelessness of the wealthy and of the society which took its values from them.

He created Gatsby as an authentic believer in the crazy, twisted American Dream of the 1920's, still innocent despite his corruption.

When the film loses sight of that, when it makes Gatsby only into a believer in his own past, it is mushy and boring.

When, instead, it shows Gatsby not so much concerned with recapturing his past as with showing that past and its hopes into the American future, then the film is entertaining and even - as it should be - quite moving. ■

Ken Morgan

## books

# Oil Crisis' Last Play

Now that the gasoline shortage is over, we all have to realize how lucky we've been. We've lived through a historic period.

We can tell our grandchildren that back in the winter of '74 we waited three hours in line at 6 am to buy only five gallons of gas.

But this winter was even more historic than that. It was the time of what may have been the biggest rip-off since John D. Rockefeller invented the monopoly.

As soon as the gasoline shortage was noticeable, the oil companies started raising prices "to encourage the search for more oil." Now that the Arab oil boycott has been ended (it was never very complete), suddenly gasoline is everywhere.

This is amazing, since the first oil tankers from the Middle East haven't arrived yet! But oil companies are once again raising prices, this time "to cover the increased cost of Arab oil."

Since last year gasoline prices have nearly doubled. And each penny increase is another billion dollars for the oil companies.

But if you go into a bookstore and try to read up on all of this, you would think that none of it was going on. Half of the books with "oil" or "energy" in their titles are simple rip-offs: books on other subjects which have been re-issued and retitled to make a quick buck.

The other half of the books are seriously misleading. They spend so much time discussing the fact that oil supplies may run out in thirty years that they leave the impression that the oil giants are just the helpless victims of fact, that this year's shortage is just the long-run shortage showing up a bit early.

And they never breathe a word about energy monopolies.

There is one exception to all this, James Ridgeway's *The Last Play*. While it is far from perfect, it is easily the best book on the energy crisis available.

What's more remarkable, it was out in hardcover in early 1973, before the gasoline shortage made the subject fashionable. Now it's in paperback, for which we should all feel thankful.

In the first part of the book, Ridgeway points out the growth of monopoly in the energy industry. Here are some of the stories he brings out: How George Love of Consolidation Coal Co. and the one and only John L. Lewis of United Mine Workers (whose hand-picked successor was Tony Boyle) conspired to concentrate coal production in the hands of a few companies.

How these companies were taken over by the oil industry. How impoverished West Virginia coun-

ties subsidize the coal companies with property tax breaks, to the benefit of stockholders in New York.

How the US oil industry formed a cartel to control the development of processes to convert coal to oil, paying off the European companies who owned the patents with a slice of their chemicals market.

How oil companies are involved in uranium production. How they created a natural gas shortage to drive up the price of natural gas.

How they borrow money and get tax breaks from the Canadian government, invest it in the Canadian oil industry (producing very few jobs in the process), export the oil and the profits to the US, leaving the US in ever stronger control of Canada's rich resources.

How they are investing in Indonesia and Australia to produce coal and oil for sale to Japanese industries.

The last half of Ridgeway's book is a guide to the energy industry. It includes summaries of the holdings and interconnections of the major companies, and the control of these companies by the large banks and insurance companies. It's easy to forget that the Rockefellers are bankers as well as oil magnates.

At the end of the first part of the book Ridgeway proposes his own solution to the problem of energy



monopolies. He wants to see the energy industry nationalized under the control of the citizens of each region of the country. He mentions workers' control of mines, but only as a possibility.

Ridgeway is apparently a populist. He sees clearly the atrocities of the monopolies, and believes that a movement of the people of the country is necessary to fight their power.

Ridgeway's book is far from perfect. Especially in the second section, he presents such a mass of facts that they are sometimes overwhelming. And often poorly organized. On one page we get production figures in barrels per day, and on the next in tons per year.

But the most serious problem concerns what doesn't appear in the book at all. Ridgeway has no idea how to get from here to there. He seems to believe that all that is necessary is to preach his message to "the public."

This shows up clearly in Ridgeway's treatment (of lack of treatment) of workers. He does not mention once the rank and file struggles in the United Mine Workers Union.

He never even mentions the names of Tony Boyle, Jock Yablon-

[continued on page 14]

In the longshore industry on the West Coast, the leadership of a once-militant union gave up the fight to protect its members against mechanization and speedup. As a result the longshore trade is threatened with extinction.

Disaster has already struck many of the workers, and will strike again, unless the rank-and-file can come up with a strategy for fighting back.

In many countries, longshoremen have strong unions. Because of their strategic location (by tying up the loading and unloading of ships), they can threaten the foreign trade of a whole region.

The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast is one such union. But its power did not fall from the sky; it had to be won.

In 1934, the Pacific longshoremen, led by radicals from the IWW (International Workers of the World), the Communist Party and other leftists, fought a militant and victorious strike to organize the West Coast ports.

Victory in this strike meant the establishment of the hiring-hall system, under union control, and the closed shop. The hiring hall and other gains in the control of the working conditions worked well for two decades.

#### THE DECLINE OF THE ILWU

But during the Second World War, the ILWU leadership, including its president, Harry Bridges, vigorously supported the no-strike pledge and cooperated with an intense speedup drive.

In the Fifties, government and management thanked the longshoremen by coming up with plans for mechanizing the ports to eventual getting rid of the longshore industry.

The main form of mechanization is known as containerization. A standardized cargo container has been developed which fits equally well aboard specially designed ships, the back of a truck, or a railroad flatcar.

The contents of the container need only be loaded and unloaded once - by the original shipper and at the final destination.

The industry lacked the capital to mechanize quickly, and feared union opposition, which would be a threat as long as the mechanization program stayed in the planning stages.

The union leadership, however,

# THREATS TO JOBS: CRISIS ON THE DOCKS



had come more and more to limit its sights to the interests of management. Bridges and Co. didn't think they could win any kind of struggle against eventual mechanization.

In 1960 the ILWU accepted the "Mechanization and Moderniza-

tion Agreement" ("M & M") of 1960. In the same year, Bridges supported Nixon for President!

#### SPEEDUP PACT

This "M & M" agreement bargained away a large part of

control over working conditions the longshoremen had. New conditions were imposed - lower manning and other speedup provisions - in return for large cash bonuses for working longshoremen as they retired.

This speedup allowed employ-

ers' profits to skyrocket. Profits from 1960 to 1970 went up 100 percent, while hours worked rose only 20 percent. It was these profits, taken out of the workers' hides, that allowed the bosses to mechanize the industry in order to throw still more longshoremen out of work.

The "M & M" agreement created a new division in the work force. These were the "B-men" who were only entitled to work when all the "A-men" or regular longshoremen were working.

B-men had to pay full union dues, but did not get to vote in union matters. Some B-men were later allowed to become A-men.

Others, the more militant, were fired in a backroom deal between management and the ILWU bureaucracy. Eleven years later, their case is still in court in San Francisco!

During the strike of 1971, the B-men were required by law to vote to authorize the strike, but under union rules, they could not vote on the contract!

Because of the Vietnam war, the Sixties were a period of great activity on the docks. The industry recruited new B-men to handle the war work.

Now that US troops have been pulled out of Vietnam, the industry is left with less work and the B-men with no union protection.

#### MERGER FAILS

Meanwhile, the containerships are coming in. There have been disputes between Teamster officials and the ILWU over who gets to handle the cargo.

Bridges's response at one point was to try to merge the ILWU with the Teamsters - in effect, to give up on fighting containerization.

Merger failed because there was too much opposition within the ILWU. The best Bridges could come up with was a "tax" on each container - but this tax will not save jobs.

At stake is nothing less than the future of the longshore trade. Bridges, by trying to merge his union on a bureaucratic basis, makes it clear that he has given up on trying to save the longshoremen's livelihood.

The membership didn't let him get away with surrender. But unless they organize a fight back, they will be slowly bled to death.

Derek Briscoe

## Dodge Workers

[continued from page 11]

ML: I think they are on that road. There is room for improvement, but the UNC has an important role to play today. It's still important that workers join the UNC. It certainly represents opposition to the whole International leadership.

BH: Your program includes a call for a labor party. Has Watergate and inflation helped to make this issue more important?

ML: Yes. If there's going to be a labor party built by the UAW and the trade unions, it's going to happen because there is a rank and file movement pushing for it.

When that pressure gets so hot on the bureaucrats, they may

decide to try to head it off. At the point the fight will be what is the program of that party: A third capitalist party, or a workers' party.

Right now the UAW is cozy with the Democrats. They're involved in politics. But the labor movement must break with the Democratic Party and build a working class party.

CD: I can't see the labor party getting off the ground unless the workers themselves lead it.

The labor diplomats may form a labor party. But to form a party by ideas and principles, and to form one by name are two different things. You can have the name labor party used by the capitalists and that's what we don't want.

If a real labor party were formed we should support that labor party, not the Democrats, not the Republicans. Unless we educate the masses, let the people know what is happening, what can be done about it, it's going to be very difficult to get a labor party off the ground.

BH: Dodge Main was the home of DRUM a few years ago.

LC: When DRUM first came it was a black movement to organize blacks. It was good because it made blacks aware and it got a few blacks into the skilled trades and more blacks became foremen.

But instead of just being black, they should have organized all people regardless of color for unity.

BH: But their having led struggles meant that whites were following black leaders, instead of always having white leaders. That changed certain relations not just at Dodge, but in the whole UAW and other unions as well.

CD: They put forward a very good educational program with their leaflets. A lot of people learned a lot of things because of DRUM.

But it didn't really carry itself to the full capacity of the proletarian movement. We are working for that now.

A lot of the problems that DRUM spoke to are still around. ■

## Oil Crisis: Last Play

[continued from page 13]

ski, or Arnold Miller. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) is not even in the index of the book.

Although he wants to break the power of the monopolies, he does not raise the question of whether people have a special power to organize in their role as workers (as compared to their roles as consumers, neighbors, or taxpayers).

#### BLACK LUNG

The closest Ridgeway comes to noticing that there are workers in these industries is when he discusses black lung. He points out

that European mines are safer than ours.

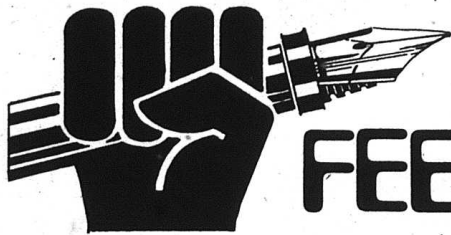
But he gets so carried away that he starts singing the praises of British mines. He even claims that "in effect, [British] miners themselves are paid hardship pay for working in the mines." This will come as news to the hundreds of thousands of British miners who just went out on strike because their pay was far below Britain's inadequate average wage.

In short Ridgeway shortchanges the workers in the energy industry, whose struggles will be a vital part of the fight against the energy monopolies. It is too bad that no one has written a book relating their situation to the actions of the energy titans.

Until someone does, Ridgeway's book will remain, as inadequate as it is in these respects, the best book around on the energy industry. ■

Joe Felsenstein





# FEEDBACK

### CLUW Coverage Praised

I thought the CLUW coverage in your paper was really fine. I agree that the Farmworkers was the most important question before the coalition.

never be able to organize significant numbers of working women. Congratulations on some fine coverage and keep up the good work.

B. P. Detroit

### Need Law Books

I am writing this letter representing other inmates on appeal who are concerned about the fact that Central Prison hasn't provided the write-room here with any North Carolina law books.

Many of us need access to these books because we are handling the bulk of our legal work personally, for experience or because we feel we can best and properly represent ourselves.

It has now become essential that we are provided with these books. We would appreciate you publishing this letter in Feedback so if some of your readers can help they may do so.

We also appreciate your help or perhaps referring this letter to someone who can certainly help us.

Bro. Joe Raleigh, N. C.

[Editor's note: Readers who can help obtain law books may contact Brother Joe, c/o Workers' Power.]

### Executive Raises

Workers' Power readers might be interested in an updating of information in the Labor Briefs column of your last issue.

It was interesting to note there that many top business executives got raises above the government's wage control limit.

Well, one gentleman should be praised for staying within that limit. Richard C. Gerstenberg, chairman of General Motors, limited his wage increase during 1973 to only 5.5 percent.

Gerstenberg allowed himself a wage increase of only \$48,037 last year, making his total salary (including bonus) \$923,000.

I'm sure that all General Motors employees will follow Gerstenberg's example of self-restraint.

Cecily Hammerson Cincinnati

### CORRECTION

An article in Workers' Power #96 mistakenly said that both Gallo and Novitiate wineries had signed contracts with the United Farm Workers.

As the context should have made clear, the contracts were signed with Almaden and Novitiate. The boycott of Gallo products continues.

### Workers' Power Photo Credits

Page 7, Susan Ellis; Page 9, Cal Williams; Page 11, Bill Hastings; Page 16, Kit Lyons.

# International Socialists

We stand for:

• **International Socialism:** the replacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

• **Workers' Power** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank-and-file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight - independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties - toward a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

• **The liberation of all oppressed groups:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination - an end to all racial and sexual oppression - the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

• **World-wide opposition to imperialism and exploitation:** for the self-determination of all peoples - for an end to US domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power - for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes - for workers' power East and West to build international socialism.

National Office: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203

Bay Area: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, CA 94701

Bloomington: 300 North Bryan, Bloomington, IN 47401

Chicago: P.O. Box 11268, Fort Dearborn Station, Chicago, IL 60611

Cleveland: P.O. Box 02239, Cleveland, OH 44102

Detroit: 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203

Los Angeles: Box 110, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, CA 90024

Louisville: P.O. Box 19094, Louisville, KY 40219

Madison: 706 Hill Street, Madison, WI 53705

New York: 17 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

San Francisco: P.O. Box 1045, San Francisco, CA 94101

Seattle: P.O. Box 9056, Seattle, WA 98109

St. Louis: P.O. Box 24135, St. Louis, MO 63130

## Subscribe to...

A MARXIST MAGAZINE IN ITS EIGHTH YEAR, PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY BY INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS, FEATURING IN-DEPTH HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ANALYSES OF WORKING CLASS MILITANCY, FEMALE AND BLACK LIBERATION, SHOP-FLOOR AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING ACTIVITY, SOCIALIST THEORY & PRACTICE, AND POPULAR CULTURE.

# RADICAL AMERICA

SUBSCRIBE TO RADICAL AMERICA FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR AND RECEIVE A REDUCED RATE. FOR A LITTLE EXTRA YOU CAN RECEIVE PERIODIC MAILINGS OF THE BEST REVOLUTIONARY PAMPHLETS BEING PRINTED IN NORTH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE.

SEND YOUR CHECK FOR \$ \_ TO RADICAL AMERICA, 5 UPLAND RD., CAMBRIDGE, MASS., 02140.

### CHECK THE SUB OFFER YOU WANT:

\_\_\_ 1 YEAR = \$5                      \_\_\_ 1 YEAR WITH PAMPHLETS = \$10  
\_\_\_ 2 YEARS = \$9                     \_\_\_ 2 YEARS WITH PAMPHLETS = \$18  
\_\_\_ 3 YEARS = \$12                    \_\_\_ 3 YEARS WITH PAMPHLETS = \$24

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_



International Socialists  
14131 Woodward Ave.  
Highland Pk., MI 48203.

I would like more information about the International Socialists.

Name .....  
Address .....  
City .....  
Occupation .....

### SPECIAL OFFER

## The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman

BY Alexandra Kollontai

Only \$2  
Hardcover edition  
Originally published at \$5.95

I.S. Book Service  
14131 Woodward  
Highland Park, MI 48203



# Workers' Power

# 97

## UAW Rank and File Opposition Grows

DETROIT — Recent delegate elections for the United Auto Workers Constitutional Convention have taken a healthy turn in Detroit.

The few modest successes have shown union members there are real, potential alternative leaderships to the UAW bureaucracy. The elections in several locals produced opposition slates that promise to be real vehicles toward union democratization.

**A common thread throughout all the slates was a strong pro-union, anti-management stand. Despite electoral failures, most candidates we spoke to remained optimistic about the future.**

One worker explained, "At Dodge the campaign was the first activity of our group. We put ourselves on the map."

"We were able to solidify the group, and now people know what we stand for. People look at it as only the first round. We've got a lot more fighting to do."

These opposition slates were different from most in that most candidates were interested in getting their ideas across. The results of the elections were secondary.

A leaflet from one, the "Gear and Axle Justice Committee," asserted, "we see these elections as only the beginning in the goal

we want to achieve: an involved membership and a strong union."

### THE ELECTIONS

**Dodge Main, Local 3:** At Dodge, the "Voice of Chrysler Workers" made a good showing with a militant and highly political program.

Eddie Fox, a woman with a long established reputation as a democratic trade-unionist, won her election. She, along with several other candidates, are members of the militant "Strike Back Caucus."

Strike Back has been waging a fight for workers' rights at Dodge for the past two years. (For a detailed description of the slate's program, see page 11.)

**Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Local 235:** The "Gear and Axle Justice Committee" did well in spreading a "Dump Woodcock" sentiment in their plant.

A few of the wide range of ideas they put forth included: A reopening of the contract on the wages and escalator clause, nationalization of all energy sources, and a referendum vote.

A member of the Justice Committee stated, "The membership has shown that it wants a change. The election was just the first step in establishing ourselves here as



United National Caucus members demonstrating against Woodcock regime.

## Workers' Power

A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting: \$5. Institutional: \$5. Foreign: \$5. Domestic first class (sealed): \$7. Foreign first class: \$10. Foreign air mail (unsealed): \$15. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months.

I enclose..... Please send me a..... subscription to Workers' Power.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

14131 Woodward Ave.  
Highland Park, MI 48203

people committed to justice and to a long-term fight for it."

Wendy Weinberg, a worker who had been fired for pre-contract union activity led the slate in votes. Because the Justice Committee was more concerned with the issues than election results, two write-in candidates were added to the slate. One hundred and ninety-four ballots were voided because of write-ins.

If not for the voided votes, the top runner of the slate would have come in 14th out of 49 candidates, with the top 12 going to the convention.

**Chrysler Mack Avenue Stamping, Local 212:** The election for the "United National Caucus" slate will take place on May 8. Their program includes shop floor issues like health and safety, and union representation. Broader political demands raised were for nationalization of all energy resources, for a national workers' strike, and a labor party.

Five of the nine UNC'ers running

on the slate were fired for their participation in the August sit-down strike at Mack. Four of the five have since been reinstated.

A candidate remarked to Workers' Power, "We are using this campaign to rebuild our organization that was pretty much destroyed in the repression following the sit-down last summer."

"The response has been encouraging, and whether or not we elect a single delegate we can expect to achieve our goal and come out of the campaign in strong shape."

**Jefferson Assembly, Local 7:** The slate at Jefferson did not do well - mainly because massive layoffs have particularly hurt young black auto workers most likely to support their program.

The slate called for an end to Woodcock's union destroying policies, and raised class struggle demands and the need for a labor party.

**Warren Stamping, Local 869:** One oppositionist summed it up, "As the first effort ever to build a

real opposition group here, our campaign must be called a success."

**Cadillac, Local 22:** The three candidates lost, but still feel the campaign was a modest success. As a newly-formed slate, they felt that building an on-going opposition group must be their next step.

**GM Tech Center, Local 160:** Two UNC delegates were elected from the Styling Unit of this amalgamated local.

These slates not only provide the opportunity to start playing an important role in the UAW, but also hold a promise for the future. These slates and the groups emerging from them are crucial steps in the building of a workers' movement.

Making a union serve its membership is the first step in fighting back. And workers in struggle is an essential foundation for a revolutionary workers movement.

Merry Pason