

WORKERS' POWER

Biweekly Newspaper of the International Socialists

July 5-31, 1974 No. 101 15c

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The Food Killers

Atlanta Myths Explode

Atlanta blacks exploded the myth of racial harmony in that city with a series of demonstrations demanding the ouster of the police chief.

Called Atlanta's greatest racial crisis in over a decade, the demonstrations arose from the murder of a 17-year-old boy by police.

Two of the three demonstrations called have been marked by police violence and arrests. The third was peaceful only because mass pressure forced black Mayor Maynard Jackson to issue a march permit at the last minute.

Of the several dozen demonstrators arrested, the most prominent is Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a longtime civil rights activist.

No police officers have been suspended since the murder. All involved were black.

Atlanta's black middle class has considerable social and political power.

The mayor, a good chunk of the city council and many other officials are black.

The city has been called the showcase of racial peace, and the place most blacks would like to move to.

But Atlanta has the exact same class forces as any other American city.

Hosea Williams is still leading demonstrations against police brutality. Demonstrations are still ending in club-swinging melees by the police and dozens of arrests.

The fight today in Atlanta is over a racist white police chief. The difference is that black people are demanding an end to racial abuse from a black political establishment - and getting no response.

The Atlanta strategy for black liberation is exposed as a failure. Putting a lot of black officials into the city government through the Democratic Party doesn't change the basic structure of a class society that is racist to the core.

The class structure is what needs changing. Atlanta black militants are proving that today.

Kay Stacy

Again we are faced with the disgusting spectacle of food being destroyed while people around the world are starving.

Hundreds of thousands of turkeys and turkey eggs are being destroyed. Not too long ago, it was chickens. Before that milk was dumped. At the same time the government pays farmers not to grow wheat, corn, and other crops.

And in the next year we can expect 20 million people, mainly in Africa and Asia, to starve to death, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

There's a very simple, very devastating reason why some people starve while food is destroyed. The reason is that some people can make a profit from the starvation of others.

In a capitalist system the basis of social relations is money. Food is not produced to feed people, but to make a profit.

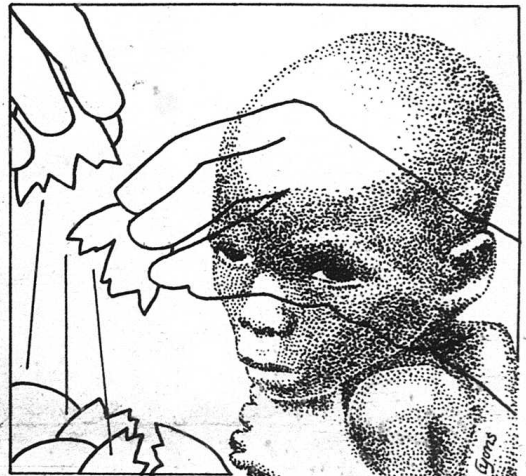
And so we watch white one company alone, Wampler Foods, for example, destroyed 50,000 fertilized turkey eggs since April, gassed 10,000 one day old turkey poults, and slaughtered 11,000 breeding hens.

The purpose of this wanton destruction is to raise turkey prices on the American market.

Last year's high beef prices, engineered by cattlemen holding back beef production, resulted in increased consumption of poultry bringing turkey prices as high as \$1.19 a pound.

With costs only 30-35c a pound, turkey farmers rapidly stepped up production, hoping to make super profits.

Meanwhile, cattlemen, having



driven beef prices sky high, also increased production.

Rampant inflation, especially in food prices, changed the eating habits of American working people and the demand for beef and turkey fell.

The result is a glut on the market of turkey and beef.

Turkey farmers are attempting the same ploy used by the cattlemen last year and are destroying livestock and fertilized eggs to drive turkey prices up.

When you think about all this in

the cold, objective language of capitalist economics, it may, possibly, have a certain logic of its own. But when you think about it in terms of human need - there is something profoundly wrong.

What's wrong is very basic - the whole system of production and exchange for private profit that we call capitalism. An economic system that produces, or in this case stops producing, for profit rather than human need cries out loudly for its own destruction. ■

Gay Semel

Freedom for Portugal! Freedom for Colonies!

Members of the International Socialists joined with other organizations in a demonstration Saturday, June 22 in New York City demanding immediate independence for Portugal's African colonies.

The sponsoring organizations included revolutionary socialist, Pan African and anti-imperialist solidarity groups. 100 people picketed the Casa de Portugal on Fifth Avenue to back up the demands by African freedom fighters that Portugal get out of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

See story on Portugal, page 4.



Blacks march in Atlanta protesting police terror

What We Think

Bandits at Summit

Richard Nixon and Russian Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev began their third summit conference in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Such an atmosphere seems only fitting for the personal meeting of the two most powerful bandits in the whole world.

Since Brezhnev is known to be very fond of fancy automobiles, Nixon presented him with another one, a luxury custom-made Monte Carlo sports car. And Brezhnev threw a state dinner in Nixon's honor featuring fresh caviar, venison, baked white salmon and boned hazel grouse stuffed with mushrooms, with undisclosed quantities of fancy liquor to wash it down.

Little tokens like this help different ruling classes to assure each other that they speak the same language. There are also political circumstances surrounding these talks, however, that help to explain why these two statesmen get on so famously.

Both Nixon and Brezhnev, for example, no doubt remember their first summit meeting two years ago. It came just after Nixon had ordered the mining of North Vietnamese harbors and launched massive air raids to destroy North Vietnamese cities and irrigation ditches. By keeping his summit appointment with Nixon at that time, Brezhnev helped that campaign crush a North Vietnam-NLF offensive. He also helped prevent it from becoming a crisis that could have destroyed Nixon's domestic position.

Today, Nixon has gone back to Moscow after a very successful mission of peace to the Middle East. In fact, this peace mission was so successful that he wound up making promises of nuclear weapons to both Israel and Egypt, and gave the green light to Israel to launch new free-fire bombing of Palestinian camps in Lebanon. This came on top of the already announced doubling of US arms export to sub-imperialist powers like Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia.

What better time to hold another summit conference to celebrate these great new advances toward world peace? This time, however, it was already announced in advance that no substantial results can be expected - in particular, no new agreements on limiting strategic arms and nuclear weapons. Secretary of State Kissinger noted the Russians are firmly committed to a full-scale program of MIRV missiles, as the US has been for some time.

This admission reveals more of the real meaning of "detente" than all the glittering speeches and editorials. Detente means a commitment to share quietly, for a time, in the benefits resulting from the division of the world. It also means, however, a new and even more frightful development of the superpower arms race.

Both the capitalist rulers of the US and the bureaucratic ruling class of the USSR have taken up the race for massive "first-strike" capability that could overwhelm all existing defenses and achieve pre-emptive annihilation.

The specifics of this situation may be new, but they illustrate an old truth: peace between imperialist powers is only a phase in the preparation of the next war.

Today, for example, both superpowers have agreed to sponsor a Geneva conference that is supposed to bring "lasting peace" to the Middle East. Already, they are scrambling to see who can put more bases and submarines into the Indian Ocean.

The last summit conference agreed to limit the arms race. Today, they are escalating it to an unheard-of level.

Nixon and Brezhnev are each using the other's friendship to gain greater confidence for their policies from their own ruling classes. Brezhnev proved he understands this game by coming directly to Nixon's aid against the Senators who have denounced Nixon as a liability and want to drive him out of office.

In reality, these meetings at the summit do not bring the world a single step closer to peace. The only road to peace lies in building a movement to sweep away the rival imperialist systems and their ruling classes, who divide the world and call it "detente" while they draw up the plans for the next holocaust.

"Books Make Money, We Don't"

NEW YORK — Singing "Solidarity Forever," workers from the Harper and Row publishing firm moved into a strike in the publishing industry that may be a major step toward the organizing of all workers in publishing, one of this city's most important industries.

Members of the Association of Harper and Row Employees, 73% of whom are women, are fighting a management which is attempting to take away gains previously won by the union.

The company is offering an average \$10 per week raise, with a cost of living increase capped at 4%. Management also wants to tie the union to a three year contract.

Many picketers protested that during these times of growing inflation, workers just cannot agree to a three year contract.

It has been the failure of the publishing industry to keep up with the increasing cost of living that has made these workers determined to stay out and organize.

Publishing has traditionally relied on low paid, unorganized women workers whose exploitation

is concealed behind the facade of "glamorous" publishing work.

Workers have found they have no job security in publishing, particularly when recession hits. McGraw-Hill laid off 1,000 workers last year.

Harper and Row is one of the few organized publishing houses. Actually, however, it is a company union, organized in 1941 to keep the CIO out when it was attempting to organize publishing.

It is only very recently that the union became active. As a result the workers have no strike fund.

Harper strikers have been contacting people from other companies both to gain support for their strike and to discuss further organizing. They are currently discussing where organizing in publishing should go, what unions to join, or to remain independent as Harper has done up until now.

Publishing firms are already worried about the potential of an organizing drive. Macmillan offered an immediate 8% raise to offset the organizing there.

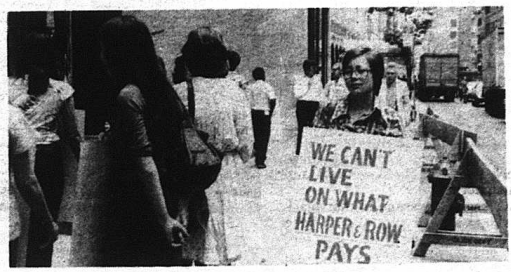
It is expected that Harper's will be under pressure to drag out negotiations to defeat the union and set back the organizing drives.

It is thought that Harper's may even be willing to sacrifice their fall line in order to defeat the union. So workers are conducting a boycott of Harper books in order to have a more immediate effect on the company. Their latest release is *Gulag Archipelago*.

The support that the strike has received from other publishing workers, from many unions and from members of CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) is extremely important to the Harper workers.

The success of their strike is particularly important to women office and publishing workers in New York. Hopefully, the strike will give confidence to many women in publishing, to unionize and fight back after these many years of exploitation.

Joan McKiernan



CHICAGO FORD WORKERS END 9-DAY STRIKE

The only Ford plant in the country which did not settle local grievances after the national contract struck for nine days beginning June 11.

This stamping plant situated in Chicago Heights, Illinois is a key plant in the industry supplying parts to assembly plants worldwide.

Assembly plants in Los Angeles, St. Thomas, Oakeville, Ontario, and Kansas City were shut down affecting 9,000 workers.

Rather than correct the deteriorating working conditions that brought on the strike, Ford let desperate conditions worsen over 11 months of negotiations.

Last October Local 588 President

Richard Marco led a wildcat over working conditions and the failure of the UAW International to make Ford correct conditions in the plant.

Marco was fired and only recently re-instated after a long court battle.

Over 3,000 workers run mainly punch presses and sub assembly lines, producing hoods, fenders, doors and other metal parts for cars and trucks.

The plant itself was constructed in 1956 largely from material transferred from Ohio. The presses and other equipment were already antiquated so that safety has been a standing issue.

Ventilation has been steadily

worsening, so that summers in the plant are unbearable.

The noise from the clattering old machinery is described as nerve-racking and well above levels established by the federal government. Discipline is high-handed and arbitrary.

On June 20th a local agreement, which the leadership considers a victory, was accepted.

Joseph Naughton, recording Secretary of Local 588, told Workers' Power that some of the more significant gains are clauses on noise, ventilation and disciplinary procedures.

Barbara Putnam

WORKERS' POWER PICTURE CREDITS

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- Page 14: Celia Emerson
- Page 16: Joan McKiernan

Workers' Power 101

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. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to Workers' Power,

14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, MI 48203. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of Workers' Power, which are expressed in editorials.

Workers' Power is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and microfilmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Series Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.

Jesse Jackson, PUSH And Black Workers

Since the beginning of the energy crisis Jesse Jackson has been storming the countryside, pointing out that the crisis was a hoax and that black people, as usual, were paying for it.

Jackson and his organization, Operation PUSH - People United to Save Humanity - have launched an economic and political drive aimed at black workers.

The program is called "Save the Worker" and centers around three basic demands: no more layoffs; jobs for all able-bodied men and women; and organizing unorganized workers into trade unions.

Jackson has been popularizing his program at breakneck speed. Throughout the week he tours plants and factories, in Buffalo, Philadelphia, Detroit, rapping with black workers, and he speaks before college, corporate and Congressional audiences.

On weekends he returns to Chicago where each Saturday morning he speaks before at least 2000 people at the PUSH headquarters.

The sign outside proclaims it "Dr. King's Workshop." And Jackson claims to be "completing the agenda of Martin Luther King."

Under this heading is Jackson's idea for re-building the black movement. He wants to re-connect it to black churches, and to organize black people both as workers and consumers.

Jackson's message is that black workers are the economic backbone of the black community. Contrary to popular white belief, he says, "We are a race of workers," not welfare recipients and superfluous.

He also demands black workers, who are suffering worst for the country's economic ills, begin fighting layoffs - through union contract clauses, sit-downs and a moratorium on bill payments for anyone laid off.

DESPERATE NEED

There is no doubt that organization is a major need of black people today.

The period from the breakup of the mass black liberation movement of the 1960's until today has been marked by a retreat of both black consciousness and black gains - economic and political.

The single most important reason for these losses has been the absence of mass black organization.

Can Jesse Jackson and can PUSH fill the vacuum? The potential is certainly there, but the odds are probably against it.

PUSH is an umbrella group of community and church groups, mainly that grew up around Operation Breadbasket, beginning in 1972.

Breadbasket had been part of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and it had taken three years after Martin Luther King's death for Jackson to break from it.

In little over one year, by April of 1973, when the Coalition for Jobs and Justice held a rally in Chicago, PUSH had by far the biggest contingent. Thousands of black people marched under its banner.

In one more year PUSH has grown to an organization claiming 60,000 members in 16 cities, mostly the industrial mid-west. Its impressive growth is a clear sign of the times. Broad sections of the black community, especially workers, are ready to respond to clear leadership and calls for action.

But the organization centers around one man - Jesse Jackson.



And nine longtime associates have left him in one year, all citing personality differences. That makes it hard to build an organization.

Moreover, one-man leadership is not simply a personality problem, but a political problem - even when the one man has the dynamism, inspirational ability and obvious dedication of a Jesse Jackson.

What the black liberation struggle needs is independent, democratic mass organization that builds the consciousness of black people and enables them to rely on their own strength in struggle.

One-man leadership distorts this need - while it may mobilize thousands, it reproduces the top-down relations between the pastor and his flock that ultimately work to keep people disorganized and passive.

This style of leadership is also tied to some very deep-seated political contradictions.

On the one hand Jackson can put forward excellent demands which should be central to both black and working class struggle, demanding jobs for all and insisting that "workers are not responsible for the mismanagement of the economy."

On the other hand, he has also emerged from a discussion with arch-conservative racist governor Ronald Reagan and proclaimed, "We're, saying some of the same things."

Statements like this reveal blatant opportunism - the attitude of a leadership which will use a mass base to wheel and deal with the political establishment, looking for concessions but not leading a struggle for liberation.

A movement which cannot control the actions and statements of its leaders will, in the long run, be unable to grow politically and find its own voice.

As PUSH continues to grow, it is becoming even more the vehicle of one person.

But Jackson's control of the organization today doesn't necessarily mean PUSH or the "Save the Worker" program can't become a vehicle for real struggle. It just means that if either organization keeps growing, politically-conscious black activists will have to fight hard for a real program of democracy, political independence and mass struggle.

Black people are looking for political alternatives today. The

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, an organization of black labor officials with liberal politics similar to Jackson's, is showing signs of rank and file growth. Not because it's doing anything particularly; mostly because it's there.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women, organized largely by Jackson's good friend Addie Wyatt of the Meatcutters' Union, was swamped by militant union women ready to fight to get a better deal.

Black activists just have to be on top of what Jackson is really about.

When Jackson talks about black consumer groups, and black workers being the "backbone of the black community," he is roundabout talking about creating a base for a form of "black capitalism."

BLACK CAPITALISM?

The black community, according to Jackson, now earns \$51-billion per year. "Where are our taxes deposited - in black banks?" he asks. And what about black-owned insurance companies for school board contracts in majority black cities?

Now most political black people know black capitalism is a trap for the liberation struggle.

First because \$51 billion, impressive as it sounds, is really peanuts compared to gigantic corporate wealth.

Second, because black capitalism is just a mirror of the white society that most political blacks reject. It would mean a few black groups making lots of money off a whole lot of blacks sweating in auto plants, steel mills and hospitals.

But worst of all, the black capitalism scheme requires the kind of wheeling and dealing Jackson carries out. It means, in the end, begging the capitalist establishment for capital.

Although Jackson sometimes denounces the Democratic and Republican parties in radical terms, a black capitalist program means that black people can never break away from the racist capitalist parties which have sold them out for a hundred years.

It means that, black workers, instead of leading the struggle, will remain in the background.

PUSH's trade union membership is large, and should be organized. New people could be brought in, and real local chapters and action programs built.

A major effort today should be to make "Save the Worker" a real and democratic organization, and Jackson's stated action program - jobs for all people, an end to layoffs, and organizing the unorganized - the center of its activities.

Kay Stacy

Strawberry Strike

DETROIT — 250 migrant strawberry pickers won a two-day strike June 20-21 in Southwestern Michigan after appealing to the United Farm Workers union for support.

Michigan is an important agricultural state. Thousands of migrants come here every year to work in the fields.

The strawberry pickers are mostly Chicanos from Texas. They face the same conditions as do farm workers in California, Florida and elsewhere and so have the same urgent need for unionization.

They have been inspired by the example of the United Farm Workers union. And so, when they walked out of the fields in Keeler, Michigan, it was not surprising that they called the UFW boycott office in Detroit for help.

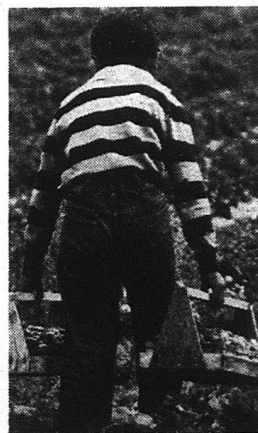
The workers elected a four-person strike committee, which was immediately fired. But the strike remained 100% effective

after a mobile picket line was able to bring out several workers who had gone back to the fields the second day.

In short order, the grower agreed to a large part of the workers' demands. They won a raise of from 76c to 90c in the rate for each 8-box tray, abolition of the \$5 per week housing fee for tiny, run-down shacks, and re-hiring of the strike committee.

The UFW office in Detroit succeeded in raising \$3,000 overnight to buy food for the strikers.

News of this victory will certainly spread rapidly among migrant workers in this area, and additional strikes are quite possible. Were this to develop, it could be a considerable boost to the UFW's efforts here. It would offer not only the opportunity to organize new workers, but could put new vitality and enthusiasm into the existing grape and lettuce boycott. ■



Boy, 9, at work in strawberry fields

WORLD IN CRISIS



The Fight Is Growing



Leftists in Lisbon demonstrating for independence of African territories

complete control of the radio.

The army continues to hold real power in Portugal, in spite of all the fine phrases about democracy. Increasingly, however, especially with sharp divisions over economic and political issues growing inside the army, the regime relies on the support of Portugal's fastest-growing force - the Communist Party.

NEW CP BETRAYALS

The CP now claims over 100,000 members. It has grown because it is the only organized political force in the working class, and is the main force building the unions.

The CP is also popular because it claims to represent the long-term goal of socialism. At the same time it rests its policies firmly on the enormous illusions which Portuguese workers have in "national anti-fascist unity."

Portugal's postal workers went on strike June 16. They were fighting for \$275 a month, against the government's offer of \$205.

General Spínola responded by threatening to draft the postal workers into the army, but the CP went one better. The CP organized a demonstration at the post office to denounce the strikers as "reactionaries, fascists and saboteurs of democracy."

These tactics broke the strike after four days, and kept the CP in favor with the government.

The Communist Party is not tied to Portugal's capitalists, but it is firmly committed to maintaining its own strict control over the working class. The CP is completely opposed to a workers' revolution from below in Portugal, and will do everything in its power to discipline the working class to prevent one.

to demand the dismissal of pro-fascist writers and executives.

The Spínola "Junta of National Salvation" responded with a threat to close *Diário* by force.

At the same time the junta, backed by the Communist Party, has begun to crack down on the revolutionary left with the arrest of the editor of the paper *Luta Popular* (People's Struggle) for calling on Portuguese soldiers to desert the army rather than fight in Africa.

The army has also taken over

compliments with the leaders of the Chinese government and ruling Communist Party.

Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping hailed Heath's statesmanship in bringing Britain into the European Common Market as "an important event in the interest of the West. European people's struggle against hegemonism."

The Common Market represents the Europe run by the giant corporations. This is why Heath spent his term in office trying to shore up British capitalism, enacting repressive wage freezes and jailing workers who broke anti-union laws. This is the kind of Europe the Chinese regime supports.

The Chinese leader did not indicate whether Heath's policy of keeping British troops in Ireland, shooting down civil rights demonstrators, and imprisoning and torturing Catholics without trial was also part of a "struggle against hegemonism."

Any feelings of solidarity the Chinese rulers might have expressed for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland were apparently overshadowed on this occasion by the fact that Heath, while in office, reached an agreement with China "acknowledging that Taiwan is a province of China."

In return, Heath was equally fulsome in his praise of good relations between British imperialism and China. He endorsed the view that world affairs should not be left up to the big superpowers, while at the same time stating that "eight members of the European Community are allies of the United States in NATO. . . . We value that alliance."

But the punch line of the evening was delivered when Heath, Britain's conservative champion of stability, noted:

"As Chairman Mao wrote: 'The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history'."

Fascists Murder Socialist Militants



[The following is a special report by Andreas Nagliati of the British International Socialists.]

I went to Brescia, Italy on May 31 to attend the funeral of six comrades who had been slaughtered by a fascist bomb three days earlier while demonstrating against the fascists.

There were half a million of us in Brescia that day - the biggest anti-fascist demonstration Italy has ever known. Workers came from all over Italy.

A four-hour general strike was absolutely solid and added strength to the demonstration. Even before the meeting started, the fascists had been driven off the streets of most Italian towns and their headquarters sacked.

By early morning, the town was brimming over with people. Banners, placards, red flags everywhere. Thousands of trade union and factory banners, those of the democratic parties, of the partisan associations, of the revolutionary left.

From nine in the morning the demonstrators filed uninterruptedly before the coffins. At 2:30 pm, when the ceremony officially began, tens of thousands were still waiting to go through the square.

The president of Italy, a Christian Democrat, was there. So were the representatives of the armed forces. They are the very same people who have allowed the fascists to organize.

As the president started speaking, a massive shout gathered momentum outside the square: "Ban the Social Movement. Death to the Christian Democrats who protect it!" Suddenly the square itself responded as massive applause greeted the chant.

Applause, shouts and raised fists greeted the more militant speeches - total silence for the official Communist Party line that workers do not administer justice and the struggle against the fascists must be carried out through the democratic institutions.

When the coffins are moved towards the cemetery they pass slowly between thousands of raised fists. Some of the older members of the Communist Party and ex-partisans stand to attention.

Four coffins are followed by the flags of the Communist Party, one by that of the revolutionary socialist Avanguardia Operaia organization.

From thousands of windows the people of Brescia give their salute. Many faces streaming with tears.

At the end, softly at first and then gathering momentum, comes the chorus of the Internationale, as the workers proclaim yet again that the old and new resistance to fascism is militant and red. ■

Portugal



Both working class militancy and the threat of repression are rapidly rising in Portugal.

Printing workers on the largest daily paper, the *Diário de Notícias*, took the paper over and locked out management and the editorial staff

What'd He Say?

When he was Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Edward Heath had planned to visit China this last January.

The trip was regrettably postponed, however, by circumstances beyond the control of either government - mainly, a British miners' strike which brought down Heath's anti-union Conservative government.

With this inconvenient detail now out of the way, Heath has been welcomed to China and exchanged



Giulietta Banzi

Luigi Pinto

Avanguardia Operaia Loses Two Comrades

Avanguardia Operaia has lost two comrades in the Brescia outrage, Giulietta Banzi and Luigi Pinto.

Giulietta was 30, a teacher and one of Avanguardia's key militants in Brescia.

She had just participated as a delegate in the teachers' union conference. She had 3 children.

Luigi was 26, had grown closer to Avanguardia over a period of work among the teachers. He was married. ■

How to deal with "workers without documents" - the so-called "illegals" - has become a critical problem for the United Farm Workers. California agribusiness is using large numbers of these workers as scabs to try to break the UFW's strikes. The problem is highlighted by a new UFW campaign against the use of "illegal" workers.

They come to the U.S. driven by the poverty of their home areas. With high unemployment rates and wages that go as low as 10c per hour, many are forced to seek jobs in the U.S. where wages of even \$1 an hour look good.

This, plus immigration laws make those workers who enter the United States without "green cards" or other legal papers a major source of scab labor in low paying industries.

Their illegal status means that the bosses and labor contractors have a big weapon to hold over their heads. If these workers give any trouble, or try to organize, without access to legal and other help they can simply be reported and shipped back to Mexico.

Unfortunately, the UFW is responding to the use of "illegals" as scabs by taking actions which strengthen the institutions that already oppress these workers as workers and which drive them into becoming scabs.

Borders exist for the purposes of the ruling classes - not for workers. Borders are one means of dividing workers, of setting one group of workers against another.

Any time one group of workers uses such divisions as race, sex, or political borders to improve their own conditions at the expense of another group, the basis for continued exploitation and oppression of all workers is strengthened.

And so, just on the question of this most basic principle, the UFW's campaign against "illegal" workers is fundamentally wrong.

But there is more to it than just that. The UFW is not faced with a question of what is right or wrong in an abstract moral sense.

It is not only in the long run that the UFW's strategy is self-defeating. Looked at even narrowly in terms of the UFW's current struggles in California, the campaign against workers without documents can win only small gains at enormous expense to the continuation of that struggle.

BORDER PATROL

The UFW campaign is centered around trying to get the border patrol to crack down on the "illegals" and is asking boycott offices to start a letter writing campaign to Congress to pressure Attorney-General Saxbe to pressure the border patrol.

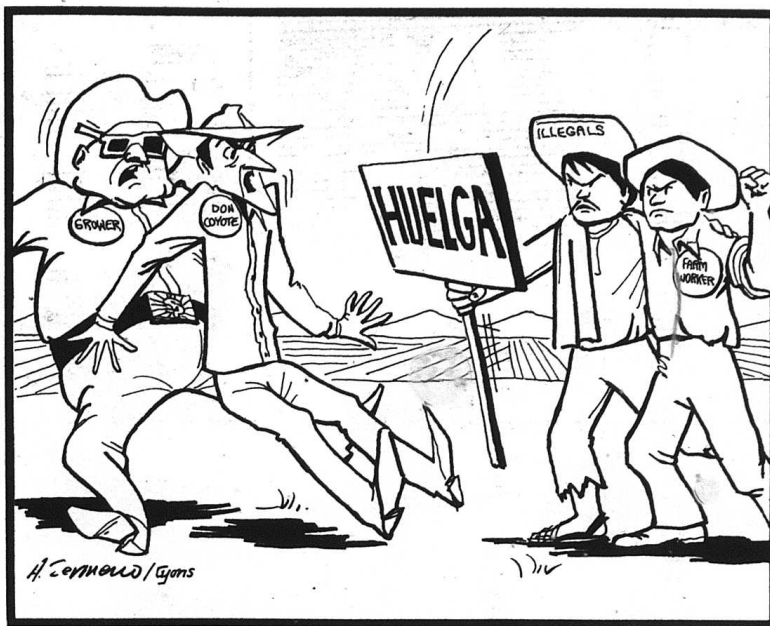
The UFW, for example, is circulating a copy of a memo to the border patrol. The memo begins: "This is to confirm our phone reports yesterday, May 23, 1974 regarding the location of illegal aliens. Local farmworkers have reported to us the presence of large numbers of aliens at these locations and checks by our members indicate that they are accurate."

Then follows a list of six Arizona fields and the approximate number of "illegals" in each. The UFW is also circulating an affidavit by a farmworker who states that he reported the presence of "illegal aliens" to the border patrol but they did nothing about it.

There are few possible benefits to the UFW from this kind of campaign. The border patrol, Congress, and Saxbe are not neutral. Their interests lie with U.S. corporations and growers who want the cheap labor force for the purpose of forcing down wages and recruiting scabs.

The border patrol serves its masters well. The periodic raids during normal times do not make, and are not for the purpose of making, any serious dent in the numbers of workers without documents in the U.S. But the raids do keep these workers sufficiently terrorized so they can be kept docile by the bosses and growers.

Only during large scale unemployment in the U.S., like in the 1930's, was there any serious move to stop the flow of massive



Solidarity, Yes! La Migra, No!

numbers of workers across the border.

That is, when U.S. capitalism temporarily did not need or want the reserve army of the unemployed from Mexico because it had more than enough unemployment in the U.S. for its purposes, only then did the border patrol move massively against workers without documents.

But the only way that the flow across the border could be effectively slowed was by unleashing massive campaigns of terror against the U.S. Mexican communities. A similar campaign now would mean exactly the same thing.

Mexican workers promise to pay up to \$300 to be smuggled across the border to their "pollero" or "coyote" (as he is called depending on the degree of friendliness of the smuggler). They face the miserable conditions of "illegal" workers because they are driven by even more miserable conditions.

The border is too long and there is too much commerce and travel across the border to effectively seal it without endangering capitalist relations.

COSTS

That is why any real border patrol clamp-down takes the form of constant raids in the U.S. Mexican-Chicano communities, stop-and-identify tactics like those used against blacks in San Francisco's Operation Zebra, and huge penalties against Mexican and Chicano families who "harbor" their "illegal" brothers and sisters.

This is the reality of the UFW's campaign against workers without documents: it is seriously pur-

sued, the union winds up supporting the police.

At best, all the UFW can hope for with its current campaign is to make some propaganda points to the rest of the labor movement and its liberal supporters about the growers' dirty methods and the class bias of government agencies like the border patrol.

This is hardly worth the cost. The propaganda points can be made without fingering workers to the border patrol. The union could recruit a large citizens' commission of well-known people to investigate and make a public report on government cooperation with the growers in recruiting scabs.

But the costs of the UFW's present campaign will be enormous. The strategy prevents the UFW from waging a serious

campaign to win these workers without documents over to the UFW. The growers will certainly spread the word among these workers that the UFW is fingering them to the border patrol and they will avoid the UFW like the plague.

The UFW's campaign also further increases its estrangement from significant militant activist sections in the large urban U.S. Mexican communities.

There has already been considerable passivity and even hostility toward the UFW over its policies toward workers without documents. Most Mexican and Chicano families in the U.S. have a relative or friend who is in the U.S. illegally.

Up to now the UFW has equivocated. Pressure forced the UFW to reverse its position on the racist

Rodino-Kennedy immigration legislation which it now opposes with an excellent statement. But the current UFW campaign will only serve to identify it with the hated and feared immigration service, "La Migra."

FIGHTING THE SCABS

No matter how oppressed they are, those workers without documents who scab are still scabs - the tool for the oppression of other workers. They must be fought, but as scabs - not because they suffer from additional oppression through the law.

They should first of all be fought with the same methods that every militant union uses against scabs. On the one hand every attempt should be made to win the scabs over to the union by appeals to oppressed minority and class solidarity and paying strike benefits when possible.

At the same time there needs to be militant mass actions in the fields so that scabs and potential scabs learn that scabbing on striking workers is dangerous to their health.

Special appeals must also be made to workers without documents to undercut the growers'/contractors/coyotes' power over them. The UFW should publicize its formal position against the immigration restrictions of the Rodino-Kennedy type legislation.

It should also publicly state that only organized workers can and will really protect the farmworker without documents.

Last year for example, an immigration officer entered the fields and shot a fleeing worker. The UFW workers announced that if immigration officers ever came into the fields again, they would stop all work. Not wanting to lose production during the critical harvesting season, the grower kept "La Migra" out.

The power of the growers and coyotes can also be weakened by participating in the underground railways to transfer workers without documents to other areas where they can not be fingered by their coyotes and where they can escape from being forced to pay the exorbitant smuggling charges.

The UFW should also participate with groups like Casa and the Lawyers Guild immigration project in setting up legal counselling centers.

Finally, the UFW should attempt serious education on the issues in Mexico. The union has made a start at this with its radio broadcasts in Mexico but this must not be undercut by identifying with "La Migra."

The current UFW campaign is an act of desperation, faced as it is with the enormously powerful and well financed coalition of agribusiness and Teamster leaders. The UFW's struggle is, in fact, the struggle for the whole labor movement.

For the UFW to effectively win over the scabs, militants in the labor movement must demand now that the AFL-CIO come up with serious support for the farmworkers. This means millions of dollars and mobilizing urban workers to make the UFW picket lines massive and militant.

James Morrison

striking clerks back UFW

SEATTLE — Retail grocery clerks on strike here are getting help from supporters of the United Farm Workers.

The Clerks are on strike against Safeway and Lucky, and have been locked out by most of the other chains in the city. They are demanding a decent cost of living clause, a wage increase and retention of overtime pay.

UFW supporters walking the Clerks' picket lines are explaining their boycott of grapes, lettuce and Gallo wine to the Clerks.

The Clerks generally support the UFW. Some want to put a clause in their contract against scab products, such as those being boycotted by the UFW.

This attitude on the part of the Retail Clerks rank and file is a sharp and welcome contrast to the scandalous actions of their leadership. Through newspaper ads, the Clerks' and Meatcutters' leaders denounced the United Farm Workers for their use of the secondary boycott and helped force the UFW to give it up several months ago.





labor briefs

Wage settlements are escalating in the construction industry. The average wage increase in new contracts is now around 10%, still below the inflation rate, but climbing. Numerous locals on the West Coast have won increases in the 15 - 25% range. In Salem, Oregon one settlement included a 40% immediate raise.

The United Transportation Union, the biggest railroad union, is demanding a 20% wage increase when its contract expires January 1, in addition to cost-of-living protection.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock recently ordered 1200 auto workers to cross picket lines of Teamster cafeteria workers at the Fisher Body plant in West Mifflin, Pa. Woodcock denied he had taken this action because of hostility to the Teamsters Union. Instead, he explained, the terms of the UAW's "national agreement with GM prevent honoring the Teamsters picket line at the plant."

The National Labor Relations Board has put further restrictions on the use of boycotts by trade union members. The Board ordered members of the United Steel Workers, on strike at the Dow Chemical Co. in Midland, Michigan, to stop picketing "Bay" brand gasoline stations. "Bay" gets its gasoline from Dow Chemical. The Board ruled that the picketing constituted an illegal secondary boycott, since the boycotted gasoline was the principle product of the stations involved. What, this decision amounts to is the outlawing of any boycott just because it is effective.

Children under the age of 12 now have the right to work in berry and bean fields in Washington and Oregon. A US District Court ordered the government to stop enforcing its law which bans child labor. Berry growers in the two states, who led the fight to win for children the right to work, estimated they would have lost 9,000 tons of berries this summer if the normal work force of 21,000 children was not available.

"Support the Teamsters against the United Farm Workers because the UFW is backed by reactionaries like George Meany." This is what a Teamster official, claiming to be a socialist, is telling socialists and trade unionists in Britain. The official, Mr. Adrian Carmel, has so far been quite unsuccessful in his campaign to get British dock workers to stop their boycott of scab grapes from California.

I.W. Abel is putting the heat on Steelworkers locals to conclude local contracts without strikes. Any strike votes must be taken by June 30. At Workers' Power press time, strike votes had been scheduled only at two Youngstown Sheet & Tube plants in Youngstown, Ohio.

The strike and boycott at Concord Fabrics is having its effect. Company profits for the first quarter of 1974 dropped 63.9 percent.

4000 nurses have been on strike against 40 hospitals in the California Bay Area since June 7. The strike is supported by non-nursing personnel of the hospitals. Among their demands are: increased staffing, more time off, a portable pension plan, adequate training for new nurses, and a pay raise of 5.5 percent.

Working conditions are not equally bad in all the Big Three auto plants. One Detroit UAW member who has worked for both Chrysler and GM puts the difference this way: "At GM, the foremen give out band-aids; at Chrysler you have to bring them yourself."

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



Behind Clothing Workers' Strikes

The newspapers called them "the sleeping giant," some members called them "sell-out," and the bosses called them "friends" - when they bothered to call. But after eighteen months of new leadership, the historic Farah victory in the Southwest, a general strike in Canada, and now a nationwide week-long strike for a new contract, some people are even calling the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America a union.

The new contract, which calls for more than a 30% increase in wages over three years, is clearly a victory for clothing workers and all organized workers. While the wage settlement falls short of the rate of inflation, it is a repudiation of the Nixon Administration's attempts to hold wage increases to 7 or 8%.

This was the first nationwide ACWA strike in 53 years. For the past fifty years the Amalgamated has rested on its laurels of once having been a militant socialist union. ACWA officials often cited the union's militant history, but rarely called for militant action.

Three years ago, the ACWA settled its last contract for about 60c over three years without any fringe benefit increases. That contract brought busloads of rank and file workers to the union's headquarters in New York protesting the weakness of the agreement.

Perhaps the union leadership learned something from that experience because this contract comes

much closer to matching the demands raised at local meetings prior to negotiations.

The new contract guarantees a \$1 per hour increase over three years plus small cost-of-living increases; pension improvements that include vested rights for those still working; increases in disability pay; pregnancy will be treated as disability and pregnant workers will be entitled to disability pay; and other health care improvements.

Given its past history, this contract is a breakthrough for the union. The most important question is why and how did this once moribund union decide to press for such demands.

Obviously existing economic problems of the membership were a key factor. The average wage in the industry before the strike was \$3.50 per hour, and there are many who make as little as \$2.50. Thus the membership's demands reflected their inability to maintain even a moderate standard of living.

But in the past the ACWA has ignored the real needs of its members, or at best has been unwilling to challenge the bosses for what was needed.

NEW MILITANCY

The new militancy in the Amalgamated is basically a reflection of three things: first, rank and file pressure after the last contract that

has not yet subsided; second, new leadership in the ACWA that is not yet so established and is under pressure to prove itself; and, third, the exciting victory of clothing workers in Canada several months ago where the ACWA had a general strike in Ontario and Quebec. This and the victory at Farah have had considerable impact.

Will the new militancy last? In part, this depends on whether certain anti-democratic practices are changed.

Unfortunately, the ACWA is not very different from other unions when it comes to who controls the union, how strikes are run and how the bosses are viewed.

Now that the strike is over the Amalgamated leadership is telling clothing workers the bosses are not really their enemies. Local negotiations, however, will be taking place in the near future and this is where the question of working conditions will be brought up.

Workers in the older markets have long complained about the union's willingness to deal with changed working conditions, especially the introduction of automated machinery.

It is unlikely that the leaders of the ACWA will put up a big fight over working conditions. It is up to the Amalgamated's rank and file to see that a fight is mounted.

John Erickson
Tom Sullivan

New York Taxi Ranks Win One

NEW YORK — Last month there was a wildcat strike in the taxi industry here - organized by the Taxi Rank and File Coalition and voted for by the drivers at Dover garage.

The strike occurred after a driver was fired. He had had an argument with a dispatcher who refused to take an emergency message from the driver's wife. The driver was a member of the Rank & File Coalition and active in fighting for better working conditions at the garage.

Both the shop chairman and Local 3036 Vice-President Elias Rick called the garage owners and said there was little chance the driver could get his job back.

Members of the Coalition called a garage meeting the next day. The drivers at the meeting voted over-

whelmingly to strike, and no more cabs went out that night. The strike lasted for 24 hours; most drivers stayed away from work and many walked the picket line.

The drivers voted to settle for immediate binding arbitration for the fired driver and no reprisals for the strike. The arbitrator decided in the driver's favor; the bosses then attempted to fire him for instigating the strike, but they lost that too.

The members of the New York Taxi Drivers Union have been working without a contract since November. Union President Harry Van Arsdale - also president of New York's Central Labor Council - tried to send the contract into binding arbitration without a vote by the membership, but was stopped by a court injunction.

Negotiations are stalled, and there is an election coming in the fall. The union leadership is running scared.

Anne Quill



FIREMEN LEADERS INDICTED FOR STRIKE

NEW YORK — In an extraordinary move in recent labor history, a grand jury indicted leaders of the Uniformed Firefighters Association on criminal charges for leading a strike one year ago. Union lawyers challenged the right of the state to prosecute on these counts, but on May 28, Judge Burton Roberts ruled the union leaders could indeed be tried.

Instead of being convicted the union leaders were permitted to plea bargain, admitting to all counts but one, receiving year long suspended sentences and \$1000 fines in return.

Roberts also ordered them not to "advocate, threaten, cause, call or support a strike" for the next three years or face imprisonment and fines.

A grand jury indicted and the state prosecuted the three officials on five counts of reckless endangerment of life and property, attempting to coerce city officials in bargaining and conspiracy to commit these acts. They pled guilty.

They were also indicted for conspiracy to withhold the fact that the membership had voted 4,119 to 3,867 against striking, but this charge was dropped as part of the plea bargain.

The trial and guilty verdict were admittedly deliberate precedents that could be used

against other unions. The police were singled out, but the ruling obviously applies to any union-like garbagemen - whose strike might "endanger life and property" or "coerce city officials" during negotiations.

The three leaders also agreed not to appeal Roberts' May 28 ruling that the union could be tried on criminal charges for any strike that placed the city in "imminent peril."

The results of this case open the door to the threat of similar trials for any government employees' union that strikes. The criminal charges grew out of a strike last November 6 in which the UFA struck in defiance of a court injunction.

There's a lesson in the almost unbroken silence among other unions on what has happened. They are following a head-in-the-sand policy, pretending that the UFA is different because its services are essential. These unions will find, however, that this "weapon" can be turned against them as well.

Class solidarity is not an old-fashioned, out of date slogan. It has become, again, absolutely essential if unions are to defend the living standards of their members let alone advance them. ■

G. Williamson

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

Protectionism & Profits In Steel

The last article in this column presented the general arguments against supporting protectionist policies like "Buy America" or import quotas which draw U.S. workers into a fight with workers in other countries instead of building international labor solidarity.

This week, we will look at the fruits of protectionism in a real case - the steel industry.

The steel industry in the U.S. faced serious international competition in the 1960's. In fact, it has had a significant trade deficit for several years.

Until recently, foreign steel, largely Japanese and German, has been able to under-price U.S. steel on both the foreign and domestic markets.

There were several reasons given by the steel industry. U.S. wages were much higher than those in Japan and Germany, U.S. labor was not keeping ahead of those countries in productivity, and American steel was produced by antiquated methods.

There is a good deal of truth in all of these arguments. However, they neglected to mention that U.S. steel bosses take about twice the profit of their Japanese or German colleagues.

So, if U.S. steel prices were habitually higher, one central

reason was that good old American high profit margin.

At an International Socialists Educational Conference a few weeks ago, Ed Mann, president of Steel Workers Local 1462, put it this way: "The steel companies don't really believe in this system any more than we do. They just want to get everything they can and run before it collapses."

Well, we can't read the steel bosses' minds, but in any case the leaders of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) took the bosses' word for it. They were prepared to protect the American steel industry.

President L.W. Abel of the United Steel Workers launched a propaganda campaign to convince steel workers that their only hope was to join in with the companies, and sacrifice to protect their jobs by protecting the industry from foreign competition.

The union even produced a movie about the threat of layoffs called "Where's Joe?", which was supposed to scare people into speeding up their work and giving up the right to strike.

"PRODUCTIVITY" = SPEEDUP

Backed up by the very real drop in steel employment during the 1960's, these propaganda moves had some effect.

Abel was able to get "productivity committees" in the 1971 contract. As everyone knows he has since outdone himself by abandoning the right to strike until 1980.

In the 1974 contract, wage gains were held down to 8% for the first year - which can only mean that inflation will eat up steel worker wages as they have everyone else's.

In other words, Abel's program for protecting the jobs and living standards of American steel workers is to speed up work and hold down wages.

That, of course, is the program of the bosses. That is what lies at the root of all protectionist approaches to the problem.

For the steel corporations, this program is realistic, patriotic and effective. In fact, it works!

Indeed, steel sales have risen dramatically since 1971. The productivity of U.S. steelworkers has helped make that possible by rising 3.6% in 1971 and 5.9% in 1972.

The unprecedented international business boom of 1973 kept sales soaring. But what did all of this do for steel workers?

For one thing, it did not protect their jobs. In 1967 there were 424,000 production workers in steel. By 1970 this was down even further to 403,000.

In 1971 and 1972, under the new contract, steel production jobs continued to fall as sales and production grew. Steel jobs were 367,000 in 1971 and 364,000 in 1972.

Steel production in net tons grew from 120.4 million in 1971 to 133.2 million in 1972.

In other words, American steel bosses were protected by fewer workers producing more steel - courtesy of the leadership of the United Steel Workers of America!

Where's Joe?

A must!

For steelworkers and their families and every American concerned with keeping jobs in this country.

Presented by the United Steelworkers of America and the Coordinating Committee, Steel Companies.

In 1973 steel production grew to 148 million tons and employment grew somewhat to 386,000.

The reason for this increase in jobs, however, was that the enormous demand from the 1973 boom forced the steel bosses to use the less efficient, more old fashioned, open hearth furnaces they had been hoping to retire from use.

The 1973 boom, however, is giving way to the 1974 slump and the industry will put these old furnaces to rest.

The industry wants to protect itself by modernizing. This they are doing by installing the more efficient electric furnaces and basic oxygen process.

These innovations will tend to protect U.S. steel production on the world and domestic markets, but only by decreasing the number of jobs in the U.S.

Steel employment will never again rise to its 1967 or even its 1973 levels - and the USWA's protectionist policy is helping to make sure.

From the workers point of view the results of protectionism, the alliance of the union with the needs of the bosses, is a disaster. Fewer jobs, declining working conditions, and a fall in real wages.

So American steel is now in great shape on the world market. And why? Because now it's American workers who are cheap labor!

There are other effects as well. For example, while the older furnaces remain in operation there are horrible safety hazards and accidents because the bosses won't spend the money even for minimal maintenance, since they'll be shut down fairly soon anyway.

The fight against the no-strike agreement is growing. Many steel militants know that the way to fight the loss of jobs is to fight for the shorter work week with no loss in pay.

Just as important is the need for the USWA to work closely with the steelworkers' unions in Japan, Germany and elsewhere to equalize wages on a world scale so the bosses won't attempt to make labor cheaper here. ■

Sloane Strikers Build Boycott

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, Calif. — The strike by United Rubber Workers Local 621 against the R&G Sloane Company has entered its sixteenth month. There is still no sign the company is interested in returning to the bargaining table.

On June 22, Local 621 strikers and representatives from several supporting trade unions and Chicano organizations marched 200 strong to the Sloane plant, just to remind the company the strike is still on.

At the same time in San Francisco, strike supporters began a boycott campaign at Bay Area Montgomery Ward's stores, a major retail outlet for GSR products.

Plans are underway to spread the boycott to San Diego and other California cities. The union has also begun distributing leaflets to scabbing workers, explaining why the local is on strike and urging scabs to join the strike.

Since the strike began, working conditions inside the plant have seriously deteriorated, resulting in at least one worker's

death. The company's response to the death was to post a notice of when memorial services were scheduled.

Unfortunately, the URW's response was almost as weak. When the death was announced at a membership meeting, Tony Rodriguez, recently promoted to URW District 5 Director, said the International would send the dead worker's family a lawyer.

The union should have seized upon the tragedy as the grossest example of why they are fighting R&G Sloane and mounted a massive protest. Just following the death, reports from inside the plant said many of the scabs were starting to talk about walking out. The union could have made it easier for them to do so if mass picket lines had been posted. ■

Mary Franklin

To send contributions or get more information on the boycott and the strike, contact United Rubber Workers Local 621, 10760 Vanowen St., North Hollywood, California.



Militant Strike Closes Mines

Harlan County is quiet now. Norman Yarborough, the President of the Eastover Mining Company, has closed the Brookside mine. No scabs have been used since February, and no one can be certain when they'll be used again.

In the camps at Evarts and Brookside, the miners' children fish and swim in the river, while their fathers wait for a settlement or work at other jobs.

Ray Widener is driving a bus. He had to go to work. The United Mine Workers Union (UMW) pays \$100 a week strike benefits, but it doesn't pay the bills. The Widener's got 'so far behind, they were coming for the furniture.'

Still, he told his new boss that if they brought scabs to Brookside again, he'd "park the bus. If I'm needed, I'll be right there where it counts, on the picket line."

The miners at Brookside walked off the job almost a year ago. They voted 113-55 to be represented by the UMW, but Norman Yarborough would have none of that. Negotiations "broke down" and the strike has been on ever since.

The chief issue is union recognition, but behind that are all the things which mean life and death in the mines. Safety. Health. Welfare and pensions. And pay.

The UMW first came to Harlan in the thirties, but even then it was already "Bloody Harlan." Miners had fought the coal operators at the Battle of Evarts in 1931.

By the 1960's, however, the union was at best a memory. And in 1965, the Harlan mines decided not to renew. After a long strike, marked by violence and injunctions, the miners were beaten and the mines went non-union.

Then in 1970, the Duke Power Company bought out the Harlan mines, and five days later signed a contract with the Southern Labor Union, the company union, though there was no election.

America's first families are sure to be found.

Since mining began in Eastern Kentucky, the nation's finest have been there, ripping off the best. International Harvester has owned both land and mines. U.S. Steel works in Kentucky through its subsidiary, U.S. Coal and Coke Company. Behind U.S. Steel, of course, stands the Morgan Trust.

The Rockefellers have been in the mountains as well, with their company, Consolidation Coal. And the Mellons are there, with Pittsburgh Coal and the Koppers Company. Even Henry Ford fattened himself off Harlan.

THE POOR WORK THE MINES

The people, of course, are as poor as the mountains are beautiful, and looking across the mining camp at Brookside, it is easy to see why memories of the depression still haunt the miners and their families. So little has changed. Yet only poverty and the blacklist have driven them from these valleys.

The Wideners lived in Dayton, Ohio for sixteen years, where Ray Widener was a lathe operator and a member of the UAW.

Betty and Joe Eldridge lived seven years in Detroit. Joe worked at Ferndale Fasteners on Warren Avenue, and also was a member of the UAW.

They came back because they had to care for their families and because they loved the mountains. And they came back different.

"You know," said Betty Eldridge, "we've got good roads here now. We can get out of these mountains. We know that other people don't have to live the way we do."

Before moving to Detroit, Joe Eldridge had driven a coal truck, working sometimes sixteen hours a day and six days a week. "And that was twelve years ago, it wasn't back in the thirties."

When they returned to Harlan, Joe went to work in the Brookside Mine, but they were shocked by conditions and "the poverty and the sickness and seeing that there's no help from anyone."

"And there's no reason," said Betty, "why people can't live here and work and make a good living. That's the way I see it."

The UMW has taken on a big task and a grave responsibility, for it has raised the hopes of another generation of miners and their families, even though, in the words of Betty Eldridge, "the men have been sold out here so many times, that it's hard for them to believe in the union again."

Still, they must win. And if they do "the rest will follow in line," says Ray Widener. "They'll all come." And if they don't, if the Appalachians are left to Duke Power and the Rockefellers and the Mellons, they'll drive all the people from the land, and tear the mountains down as well.



In the 1930's, miners in "Bloody Harlan" County, Kentucky stand over the body of a man killed during a union organizing struggle.

UMW Must Spread Harlan Drive

In the early 50's, terror reigned in Harlan County, Kentucky. As the coal market slumped, mine owners organized to break the mine workers' union. State police and company goons shot and killed miners. Many were framed.

During that time mines modernized, laying off as much as two-thirds of the workforce. Many mines simply closed.

Rather than fight to protect miners' jobs, John L. Lewis, then president of the United Mine Workers, went along with automation. He even used UMW money to help support some of the basic research.

Mass unemployment and poverty in Eastern Kentucky were the result.

The UMW left Harlan County in the fifties - today it is coming back. Miners at the Brookside mine owned by Duke Power Company have been on strike for union recognition since July, 1973.

Harlan County miners work some of the most dangerous mines, at less than union scale, with no benefits or protection. For them bringing the union back is a matter of life and death.

To the Duke Power Company and the rest of the mine owners, keeping the union out at Brookside means keeping the union out of all Harlan County. Duke Power is

prepared to hold out for a long, long time. It has a lot to lose.

Duke burns 40,000 tons of coal daily - Brookside produced only 2,500. Duke can keep its operations going, buying additional tonnage elsewhere. But if miners in all the fields owned by Duke struck, the utility would be crippled.

Arnold Miller won leadership of the UMW because of promises to rebuild the UMW into a militant fighting union, and to organize the unorganized.

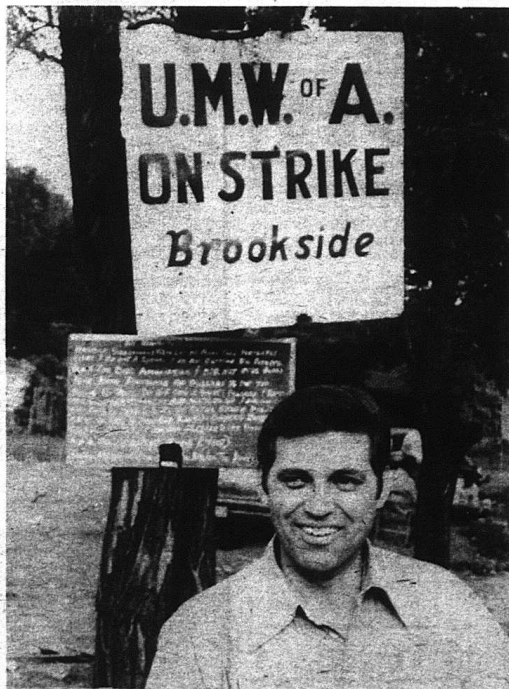
The UMW has stood by the Brookside miners, paying strike and health benefits and organizing demonstrations against Duke Power Company.

But Miller has not spread the strike. In fact he ended sympathy strikes at two U.S. Steel owned mines in Harlan County.

It is the unending militancy of the Brookside miners and their families that forced the Brookside mine closed and keeps the strike going.

But Duke has the wealth of the nation's sixth largest utility behind it, and the support of other big mine owning corporations.

Union recognition could be won quickly, at Brookside, if the strike were spread - the full power of the UMW should be used against the stubbornness of the owners.



Houston Elwood, United Mine Workers Brookside Organizer

Cal Williams



Jailed members of the Brookside Women's Club

You take a scab
and you kill it,
and you put it in a skillet,
and fry it up golden brown.
That's union cooking,
and it's mighty fine....

Brookside Women's Club song

This is not an ordinary women's club. It's not for tea parties and bridge games. The women of Harlan County, the wives and daughters of the Brookside miners, have a far more serious purpose. Their club exists to keep scabs out of the Brookside mine, to help win the strike.

The club was organized last September when circuit Judge Byrd Hogg issued an injunction limiting the number of pickets to three at each entrance to the mine. The result was at least 60 scabs crossed the line every day. Fifty women from the area showed up at the picket line and "persuaded" the scabs not to go in.

As a result of the picketing, and the arrests that followed, the women decided to set up a club. Betty Eldridge, the club's first president said that "We kept thinking that we had to get together and make some plans in case some other mines struck for our union."

Betty Eldridge recalls, "I was jailed for laying down in the road. One morning they had 75 state policemen. They were going to escort the scabs to work. We women couldn't fight the state police so we just lay down in the road. They took us to jail, so more others of us lay down."

CHILDREN IN JAIL

Nanny Rainey was another member of the club who was arrested in October for picketing. Three of her children - Boyd, age 7, Betty, 6, and the infant, Tabatha - went to jail with her. Immediately the welfare department came in and threatened to take Nanny Rainey's children from her.

Melinda Rainey, 13, the eldest, who has also been on the picket line several times, came to the jail and took care of the children.

These women were convicted and sentenced to 60 days in jail. They are out on appeal.

The last confrontation came on February 28th when the company tried to bring a half dozen more scabs through. In the afternoon a crowd of about 500 strikers and supporters gathered near the entrance of the mine. Melba Strong, Betty Eldridge, Lois Scott, and Bessie Cornell, all members of the club, received their second contempt sentence and were given 60 days.

The women in the Brookside club are awaiting the results of their trials and arrests.

The children of the strikers get into trouble at school. There are fights between the children of the strikers and the coal operators' kids. One day, the Rainey children showed up at Ages elementary school wearing their United Mine Workers badges. Their teacher ripped them off. Some teachers tell the students that the strikers are lazy men. It's not surprising. Most of the teachers in Harlan are the sons and daughters of coal operators.

One aspect of the strike and the women's club has been the way in which the women are judged. Mary Widener, who was arrested in the fall, said that the judge and Yarbrough's lawyer refused to call them ladies or women, only females. "In other words, we weren't ladies. Ladies don't stand around on picket lines."

Norman Yarbrough, the company president, was asked about the Brookside women. "I wouldn't like to think my wife would do that." "Indecorous" was the word he used to the press to describe the Brookside women.

THREE GENERATIONS OF FIGHTING WOMEN

The fight to bring the union back has brought together three genera-

tions of women; in each case, they see themselves anew.

Audie Widener who is 17, talked about how the strike changed women's thinking.

"The women started talking about it, now that the men are having to babysit and do housework, that they ought to be more respectful to the women, now that they know how hard it is to keep house and to take care of the kids. It cracks me up hearing the women out there talking about how they're going to keep their men in line."

Both Audie and her mother are members of the club. Even though her parents didn't want her on the picket line, she went and was arrested for picketing and fighting

scabs. She has been confined to her mother's custody.

Audie works as a waitress in Ackley's cafe in Harlan. And like her father, she is also on strike for union recognition. Audie didn't know too much about unions before the Brookside strike, but "I found out real quick."

For Betty Eldridge, who is in her 40's:

"I wonder if we had ever heard of anything before we went on that picket line. I'm telling you, it's really something. I think I've learned more during this strike about people than I have in all the years of my life put together."

"As far as I'm concerned, I've always been liberated. Some men

think they're gods and that he's given women to be their servants.

Some women if they want a quarter they'd have to ask their husbands and he wants to know that they're going to do with it, and if they're going to bring back the change. Me and Joe never had it that way."

And Minnie Lunsford, who's more than 70:

"It's just like school, it's learned us something. We've met people we didn't hardly know existed on the picket line."

"I'm like Betty. If my husband gave me a quarter and asked for change I'd go out and look for a job and make my own."

Celia Emerson

Brookside Memories: "It Makes Me Boil"

Minnie Lunsford lived in Harlan County forty years ago when J.H. Blair was the sheriff, and she still lives there today. She can point to the place, just above the river near Everts, where the coal operators set up machine guns.

"It was for the miners. If anyone wanted to go to work, to go a scabbin', they could go. But if the miners went to get them, or to turn them back, they would get the machine guns. They were meant to kill and they did kill."

She can also recall the days when coal operators "blew up houses, threw dynamite into the windows, and a good union man would be killed."

"One time," she said, pointing across the valley, "five carloads of gun thugs eased along the highway just over there and over that bridge and shot into that little white house. They meant to kill the whole family."

And one boy was killed. The Music boy. His father, Preacher Music, was the UMW organizer. In Harlan, almost every bend in the road marks a murder.

The machine guns are carefully hidden today, but there are still coal operators and miners in Harlan County. And Minnie Lunsford is still fighting. When Circuit Judge Byrd Hogg, himself a former coal operator, limited pickets to three at each entrance to the Brookside mine, Minnie Lunsford went out with the other women to stop the scabs.

"In the thirties, I saw people suffer, and I suffered enough, seeing my children. You know they didn't go too hungry, but there was a lot of things they needed we couldn't get."

"I suffered in that and saw others suffer more than me. And it makes me boil."

"The coal operators think, 'just anyway to get me a lump of coal. You go in there, with the rock

hanging way up there, you go in there and get that coal out. That coal is all we want."

"They ain't thinking about the miners' lives, to get back home to their children, maybe to get crushed up, set in a wheel chair the rest of their lives."

"That's what the coal operators think, they don't care. They don't think as much of a miner as a lot 'a people would a dog."

"I'll go anywhere around the mines to get a contract, get a union, have 'em organized and everything, and have 'em peaceful and working and conditions right and everything."

"That's what I enjoy, trying to do something in what you might say my last days. I want to do something to help others grow up here and that's why I really enjoy it and I really like to do what little bit I know how to do."

"Some of 'em tell me, 'Why as old as you are, why do you want to be out on the picket line?'"

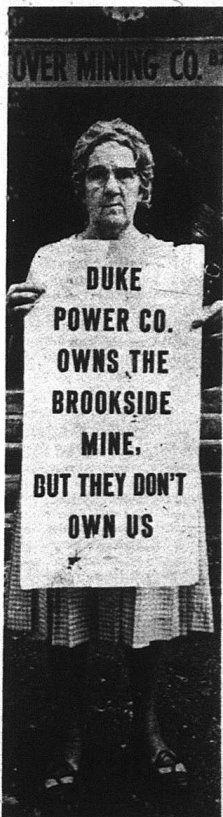
"I said the age and the looks don't count one bit. It's what you feel and what you've got in you, and what you want other people to have."

"My husband and me are up in years. He draws a miner's pension and we've got a good hospital card and all these things and he's worked hard and slaved and has got the black lung. And why shouldn't I feel if I was ninety years old, I'd get out there on that picket line."

"That's how I feel about it. And so many that's not got the card. I'd go, I'd gladly hand mine out and let 'em use it, if they could."

"If they ever get a contract here, or have these mines union organized, then the men would have that. And these young boys growing up."

"If they don't never get that, why, what can they expect when they get old like us. Nothing."



Minnie Lunsford



The Rainey children, from lower left, clockwise, Tabatha, Betty, Vera, Jerry and Mary. Tabatha, Betty and Jerry were in jail.



Ireland: The Struggle For Unity & Socialism

[WORKERS POWER reporter Celia Emerson spoke with the Irish revolutionary socialist Bernadette Devlin when she was visiting this country a few weeks ago.

Devlin has been active for many years in the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland. Ever since the Catholic Civil Rights Movement of the late 1960's, she has been working to build a movement to unite Catholic and Protestant workers in a struggle for democracy and socialism throughout all of Ireland.]

trade union movement should have nothing to do with politics.

In order to maintain "good" relations on the shop floor the trade union leadership fought solely on the question of wages and the political questions, such as sectarianism between Protestants and Catholics didn't come up.

Only when you had Catholic and Protestant workers against each other and rocking the trade union boat did the trade union leaders come around to speak of "peace," "brotherhood" and "extremism."

SOCIALISM OR FASCISM

We are making very small developments; we are beginning to get through to the Ulster Volunteer Federation [UVF, the Protestant working class based paramilitary organization]. We have gotten to a position where we can meet with some of them and hammer the issues out.

Protestant workers can only defeat their inferior position economically and socially by understanding the class relationship that exists between Ireland and Britain. They have to stop fighting as Protestant and Catholic workers and start uniting as workers.

There are very small groups operating on that basis, but we have to continue to fight wherever we are, and through our class newspapers we have which are very small. The Worker [paper of the Socialist Workers Movement] and the United Irishman [supporting the Official Irish Republican Army] are all we have.

The hope is in getting Protestant workers out of the UVF and Catholic workers out of the IRA. I think we have reached a crisis.

Workers' Power: Why did you lose your seat in the British Parliament in the General Election a few months ago?

Bernadette Devlin: I lost because the Social Democratic Labor Party (SDLP) ran a candidate against me. [The SDLP is the "moderate" Catholic party, with union support, which was involved in the recent efforts to create a "power-sharing" government in Northern Ireland under British rule.]

When I was first elected to Parliament, I was a socialist and fought on a socialist platform. I tended to fight on a class basis and refused to join the SDLP.

The SDLP thought I was young, and I really didn't understand politics. When they realized I understood politics and that I was a socialist, the political situation was such that they preferred the parliamentary company of right wing conservatives.

It was crucial for them to get me out for I was the last voice inside the system fighting the policies of the SDLP. So they put a candidate in the field knowing that I wouldn't win, and knowing that they wouldn't win either.

WP: In Ireland the division is among Catholic and Protestant workers. How can unity between the two groups be forged?

Devlin: One of the best ways of explaining our problem is that in Northern Ireland the Unionist Party [the dominant Protestant capitalist party] is so strong that there really isn't even a small group within the Protestant community of revolutionary workers, or even revolutionaries coming out of the universities.

If you translate this in American terms, you are in a position where the revolutionary left is both black and white, so that white revolutionaries can attempt to break white workers from their racism.

We are in a position in Ireland where it would be as if white revolutionaries aren't there, and it falls solely upon black revolutionaries to try to break white workers of their racism. It is as difficult as that.

One of the reasons for that was the failure of the trade union movement. Their attitude was that the

If we can't make a breakthrough soon then I think they are going to move with Paisley [a Protestant right-wing minister] and fascism. We're going to see the solution as a Protestant workers state that is going to hammer all the Catholic workers in it.

WORKING WOMEN

WP: Could you comment on the fight for equal pay for women, and for contraceptive reforms that took place in the South? What effect could campaigns such as those have on building a working women's liberation movement in both north and south Ireland?

Devlin: Because of the political developments in the North, the development of a women's movement in the South was more of a class development.

The women's liberation movement developed from working class women, organized essentially around the two issues of equal pay and the existence of the laws in the South against contraceptives, divorce and abortion.

There were a number of reasons why the women's movement got off to a good start. Because they were working women and to a large extent in trade unions, there existed women's caucuses within the unions and they exerted sufficient pressure to force the equal pay issue into the Irish Parliament.

Again through exerting pressure on the trade unions they were able to change the contraceptive laws.

On the contraceptive issue, the women were really militant. They used to come across the border and stock up with contraceptives. They used to call the Saturday train to

Dublin, "The Contraceptive Train."

The customs men couldn't do anything about it. When the train pulled into Dublin and the customs men were all there, the women had every contraceptive device and in large quantities, and they just threw them over the barrier.

The question of contraceptives was a real issue to working class women. It got to the stage that the number of women who got to the station to meet the train just grew and grew and grew.

It wasn't just a question of solidarity; there was also the practical question of getting the supply. The women organized in the trade union movement and put pressure on them so that the trade union movement came out in favor on the change in the contraception laws.

Even the church had to take a back seat, for you had working class women standing up in church and contradicting the priests on the issue of contraception.

USING PARLIAMENT

WP: You are the only revolutionary socialist in my generation to have run for Parliament, to be elected and reelected. How would you evaluate your experience. Would you also comment on what a revolutionary can do in Parliament?

Devlin: On a limited basis there are uses you can make of Parliament. You can use it as a platform and expose it.

But that's really all you can do. But you always have to be aware of the fact. One of the things that happen to some of the better people is that very quickly they begin to make small compromises,

and then the small compromises get bigger until they become part of the system.

As a tactic it can be used, but it must be understood in perspective. The circumstances were such when I ran for Parliament that I could get elected and that I was an independent.

I think it is very important that socialists don't get hung up on the idea of using elections as a tactic so that they destroy themselves.

Nothing as ridiculous as the small socialist party running for an election when they haven't got a ghost's chance. The system loves to see it.

WP: You have spoken in the US, and for the International Socialists on a number of occasions. What do you say to revolutionaries in this country who wish to build an international working class movement?

Devlin: What I would say to workers, is that they have to understand not the Irish problem, but the American problem, and that they have to get themselves organized on a class basis.

It is a very urgent task that a revolutionary workers organization be formed. For if it's not, the whole country, because of the crisis capitalism is in, the country will be even more divided.

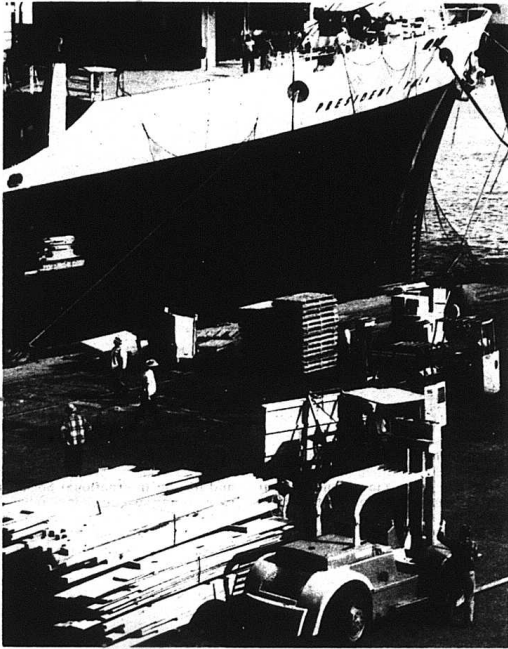
The working class will be even more divided against itself. To people who want to help the Irish, the only way is to build the revolutionary workers movement in America.

For we are fighting for socialism, we are fighting to create a workers state in Ireland, but we cannot do it in isolation. The only allies we have are the working class in every country. ■



"What Longshore Needs Is Another Bloody Thursday"

The Fight to Win Equality In ILWU



[July 5 marks the 40th anniversary of Bloody Thursday, high point of the militant strike that led to the organization of the West Coast Ports by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). In honor of the anniversary, Workers' Power interviewed two militant West Coast longshoremen about current struggles in the industry.]

can't cover. He has to be available. The B-man is given a guarantee of 18 hours, and that's compared to an A-man guarantee of 36 hours. . . Eighteen hours is not a sufficient amount of money to support a B-man and his family.

Workers' Power: About how much money is that?

Fred: Ninety-nine dollars a week. **Workers' Power:** So I guess one thing the B-men want is union membership.

Workers' Power: It's been forty years since Bloody Thursday, and lots of things have changed since then. What are things like now, and how have they changed in the last few years in this industry?

Jack: I think things have got to be changed completely. The Longshore Union has not been well-led for years. I think there are many errors, and the main error is mechanization, the change to Class B men.

Fred: In the longshore industry what the machine has done is made a squeeze at the top and a squeeze at the bottom. When the mechanization (M&M) contract was signed, what it did was give higher pensions to the old timers. This was done, in my view, to eliminate as many workers as you could.

Then they organized this B-man that was a non-union member. The way it works is that the B-man is not taken into the union or given any kind of status until they see a necessity for it. Otherwise it is a man without a union.

Workers' Power: And what are his obligations?

Fred: Well, he's obligated to cover the job that the Class A men

Jack: We are slaves. They can move us where and when they want. One man ought to be on the level of another, another worker's. We have the right to vote in the state, the nation, the county. But in one organization, the Longshoremen, they ignore that right.

Workers' Power: What are some of the grievances that A-men who are already in the union have?

Fred: I think the biggest grievance the A-men have that I've found, is the grievance over leadership of the ILWU and the grievance over the leadership of the local ports.

Workers' Power: So you think it's possible for a real opposition to form?

Fred: Yes, and I don't see the time more ripe than now.

Jack: I think that in most locals, what we have are dictators who have been in for many years, and the membership has to do things the way a dictator tells them - whether or not it is good for them.

Workers' Power: In some unions there's intimidation. Is there intimidation in the Longshore union? Threats? Are people afraid?

INTIMIDATION

Fred: Yes, it has happened in our port. . . . They do it here by not wanting to help you with certain problems, not wanting to send some grievances you might have, giving you the worst jobs on dispatch. . . . making it rough for you any way they can.

Jack: The way Class B men are frightened, and aren't willing to lose their longshore registration, is that they live just with a guarantee. . . . If these men together put pressure on a local, they remember the 83 men who lost their registration (in San Francisco) and have been fighting it for eleven years. . . The local leaders are worried about fighting the Class B men but they aren't worried about fighting lawyers. . . . Most B-men are afraid of suddenly being deregistered, losing their benefits, having to start their life over somewhere else.

Then you have little faith in lawyers?

Jack: Sincerely, no. I never had much belief in lawyers. . . the workers one day will have to defend

ourselves alone. We have to fight to keep alive, and the only way to fight to make them respect our rights is to unite all together and fight to make them respect our rights.

The time is coming that the Class B men are going to have to make a revolution, starting the same way it started in the unions. The time is coming when everyone is going to have to take up arms and go out to fight against whoever is against them, the union, the boss or another group of workers.

COMMON INTERESTS

Workers' Power: Is there a way to convince the A-men that they have common interest with the B-men to change the union and conditions in the industry?

Jack: We Class B men have never wanted to fight with another working man, because he has a better position. . . . We are not against the union. We are working for it. We just want them to give us the same rights as the others. . . . We want to fight against the

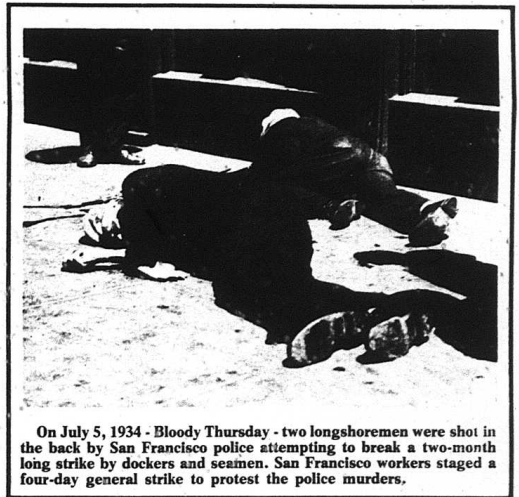
leaders who keep the union the way it is, without the principles of a union.

Fred: I think the A-men have always supported the B-men. . . the reason they don't move is because they're waiting for something to happen, and because of the scare tactics used against us. In Local 10 (San Francisco) they've got 400 B-men, and they're talking like, if you bring these men in, you've got a pie that everybody has to share, and you're going to have to share that pie with them.

Jack: In ports where 10 years ago there were a thousand men, today there are 500 or less. Where there were a hundred, its half - fifty - because of mechanization.

Workers' Power: If the B-men were brought in and some of the safety rules were enforced and the speedup was fought, there might be more work for everybody, so that's the other way for the union to go.

Fred: That's what the A-men need, I think, for the grievances they have - speedup, job security, etc.



On July 5, 1934 - Bloody Thursday - two longshoremen were shot in the back by San Francisco police attempting to break a two-month long strike by dockers and seamen. San Francisco workers staged a four-day general strike to protest the police murders.

Doug Fraser - Pig In A Poke



UAW top cop Douglas Fraser

DETROIT — Black Mayor Coleman Young has appointed a five person Police Commission, calling the move "community control."

The commission's function is to review civilian complaints and discipline individual police officers.

The big star of the new commission is Douglas Fraser, vice-president of the United Auto Workers Union, the union that powers Michigan's Democratic Party.

Fraser was once reputed to be the left-wing of the UAW leadership. But lately he has been moving rapidly to the right, apparently in response to a power struggle inside the UAW.

The present president, Leonard Woodcock, retires soon,

and the succession fight is on.

Fraser is the only candidate either of the police unions approve of - and even that support is grudging. He is appreciated more as a "law-and-order" type than a union man, according to the police unions' leaderships.

Fraser did help mark a significant turn to the right by the UAW last summer.

As head of the Chrysler department, he led 1000 UAW officials in a goon squad attack on a wildcat strike at Detroit's Mack Avenue Stamping plant. The rank and file protest against unsafe working conditions was successfully broken by the union bureaucracy.

For Fraser to be a part of any police department body is, of course, an insult to every auto

worker - particularly black UAW members.

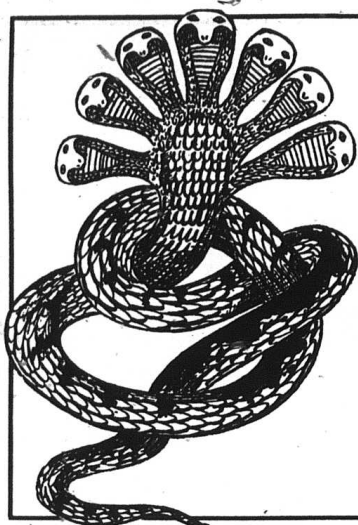
The most common role of the police in labor disputes is to protect employers' property by smashing strike actions. The police's role in the black community is to keep it in line.

When the cops can get a law and order guy like Fraser to do the job for them, so much the better as far as they're concerned. But it isn't really all that surprising a move for Fraser.

Leonard Woodcock fought no moral battles with his trade union conscience before leaping onto Nixon's Wage-Price board to help ram lousy contracts down workers' throats.

No reason Fraser should be any different.

Dottie Grant



Politics of Terrorism: Reformers With Guns

Emmet Casey

What is the SLA? In the aftermath of the massacre in Los Angeles, it became clear to everyone with a television set that the armed forces of law and order would stop at nothing to end any threat to their monopoly of power.

What was it about the SLA, an organization that had at most about a dozen members, that the police, FBI, mass media, and government found so threatening? Was this tiny group, with its fascination for automatic weapons, really a challenge to them?

If power flows from the barrel of a gun, the SLA represented only a minor threat. Compared to the vast stocks of weapons possessed by the Los Angeles Police Department, the SLA's small store of used army automatics and semi-automatics is a pea-shooter trading fire with a cannon.

But power does not simply flow from the barrel of a gun. The gun must be aimed by an eye, and the eye must know where it wants the bullet to go.

This requires the action of a brain: it takes not just weapons, but ideas, to build an army capable of winning.

The capture of a press tycoon's daughter was not the act of a band of lunatics. It was a calculated political act, through which the SLA was able to openly flout the power of the police and to get its ideas mass circulation. As a result, much has become known of the SLA and its ideas around the world.

What were those ideas? Why did the ruling class of this country treat those ideas as if they were a gun pointed at its head? The first important idea of the SLA that stands out is their self-sacrifice.

In a society where naked self-interest is supposed to be the noblest of all human drives, SLA members asked for nothing for themselves. Rather, they asked for food for all the people.

This fact begins to explain why the SLA was hated by a ruling class which profits from poverty - but it also belongs to explain what's wrong with the SLA. Like modern Robin Hoods they offered to do good things for the people, but stood separate from them.

The ruling class in this country already has many co-called poverty and welfare programs, where they distribute a little food to masses of poor people without giving them power and without really cutting into their own wealth.

HATED INJUSTICE

The six SLA members who died in the fire set by the Los Angeles police - Donald DeFreeze, Nancy Ling Perry, Mizmoon Soltysik, Willie Wolfe, Camilla Hall, and Angela Atwood - were not just attempting to gain personal publicity recognition and honors for themselves.

They hated oppression and injustice, and believed that their acts against individual members and agents of the ruling class were acts of war that would bring this system down. Their 1973 "Declaration of Revolutionary War" (printed in the San Francisco Chronicle of Feb. 13, 1974) stated:

"We are of many colors, but yet of one mind, for we all in history's time on this earth have become part of each other in suffering and in mind, and have agreed that the murder, oppression, and exploitation of our children must end now, for we have all seen the murder, oppression, and exploitation of our people for too long under the hand of the same enemy and class of people and under the same system."

The tragedy of the SLA was that their "war" was being fought without an army, without a social base, and without a program.

The various declarations and

statements by the SLA showed a real hatred of the system. But they did not even know the difference between fascism and everyday capitalist-style democracy.

In the "Letter to the People" of January 17, 1974, Fahizah (Nancy Ling Perry) said, "I saw us passively sit by our t.v.'s and unconsciously watch as the military armed corporate state took over the existing government and blatantly destroyed the constitution that some of us still believed in."

"I listened to the people around me deny that a military coup had taken place and claim that such a thing could not happen."

There are tens of millions of working people in America - people whose lives are made rotten by lousy jobs or no jobs at all, miserable housing and social services, and police repression and racism.

The point is, all this is happening under a capitalist democracy, not a fascist dictatorship. Exploitation is what this system is all about.

But organizing millions of workers into a movement that can translate hatred of the system into a struggle to overthrow it requires more than an awareness of the many evil results of the system. It requires an analysis of their root causes.

For liberals, the root causes of social evils are lack of education and the refusal of those currently holding power to share some of it with less powerful groups. Through reform programs like educational reform, voting and mass publicity (all within the framework of capitalism), liberals believe society can be improved.

The ideas of the SLA itself have more in common with liberal reform than with revolution. In fact, the ideas of the SLA are essentially those of liberals who have discovered, to their shock, that the system is not fair and that those in power will not share it.

The best description of the SLA is that they are liberals with guns. They believe that change can no longer come about peacefully but must be brought about by force.

Rev. George Hall, pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in Lincoln, Ill. is Camilla Hall's father. He made this point very clear when interviewed by reporters after the death of his daughter.

"They were interested in all issues - equality, the care of our land, the food we eat, pollution of the air, women's rights, peace. Every social issue that was raised they were fighting for."

"It had probably come to the point where they felt something dramatic had to be done. I do not agree with the method, but the causes they were concerned about were of concern to all of us."

It is important to note that the issues listed by Rev. Hall include the effects of capitalist exploitation - not their root cause.

Unlike many liberals who only talk about reform, the SLA were dedicated people who acted on their ideas. But as disillusioned liberals, who believed that a fascist

coup has destroyed what was once a democratic system, they had no understanding of who holds power in America today, or for that matter who has held undisputed power in this country for the last hundred years.

And again, like liberals, they still view the masses of people as a passive force to be educated, molded and reformed by a group of savors.

REVOLUTION

Revolutionaries see the source of oppression and injustice in the exploitation of the workers, whose labor creates all wealth in society.

We see the real rulers of society behind the desks in corporate boardrooms, not in their agents who run the government, the army and the police.

Therefore we see the end to oppression and injustice not in a small band of guerillas taking over the government, but in a class-conscious movement of workers which seizes the factories and smashes the capitalist state.

Revolutionaries believe that the working class has the power to free all humanity, through a self-conscious, revolutionary movement.

We look toward workers' revolution, not because workers are better people but because the working class, as a class, has the power to bring the whole society to a halt, and reorganize it on a free and equal basis.

Revolutionaries believe that a party must be formed of the vanguard of the most class-conscious and combative workers. Only such a party can spread revolutionary ideas among other workers and thus secure a solid base of support for the activities of the workers.

For Lenin, it was precisely the existence of a vanguard party that

made it possible for revolutionaries to engage in terrorism as a tactic - not to seize power, but for limited purposes. Writing in an article favoring guerilla warfare in 1906, Lenin stressed:

"The party of the proletariat can never regard guerilla warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle; it means that this method must be subordinated to other methods, that it must be commensurate with the chief methods of warfare, and must be ennobled by the enlightening and organizing influence of socialism. And without this latter condition, all, positively all, methods of struggle... become frayed, corrupted and prostituted."

Terrorist groupings that are not based upon and controlled by a revolutionary party and which do not take the feelings of the masses into account will be easily blown away by repression.

For revolutionaries, terror is at best a tactic which can be used as an aid to mass struggle, not a strategy which substitutes for the initiative of the working class.

SUBSTITUTIONISM

The SLA believes that their use of terror proves that they, and only they, are revolutionary. Even if such terrorist acts, without a mass workers' party, could destroy the present system the result would not be a society controlled by the working people and planned by them in a rational manner.

It would mean a new kind of oppressive state controlled by a few people who are responsible to no one.

Besides smashing the present capitalist state, the rule of the working class introduces genuine democracy - not the fraud of capitalist democracy, but genuine control of economic and political life by the world's masses in their own name. This is what we call **socialism from below** - and it has nothing in common with the new form of elite rule that the SLA's methods stood for.

The SLA did not understand the causes of the social evils they fought, and alone they had no power.

The murder of a school superintendent does not stop the schools from continuing to turn out factory fodder for the capitalists to exploit.

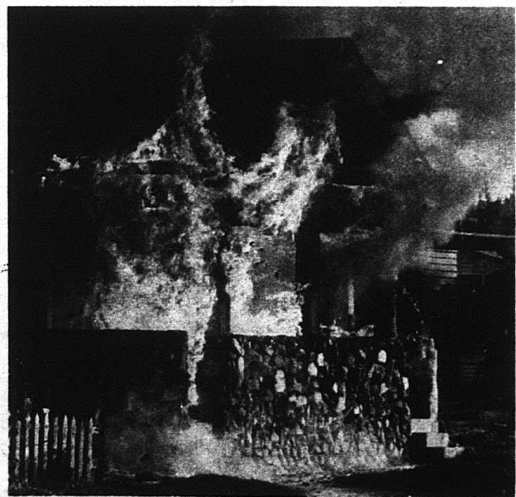
The kidnapping of an heiress for the crimes of the Hearst family does not prevent the Hearst press from pouring out the same lies which protect their system of exploitation.

Patricia Hearst's rapid conversion from an upper-class do-gooder to an SLA guerilla merely shows how close to liberalism the ideas of the SLA are.

The greatest significance of the SLA to the coming American revolution lies not in the path that they followed, for it is a wrong one.

The real lesson lies in the vicious and brutal response of the armed police who roasted them alive.

May their brutal murder convince many working people of the viciousness of American capitalism and inspire them to tear it down!



reviews

books

Feminism & Revolution

[Women's Consciousness, Man's World, Sheila Rowbotham, Penguin, \$1.95.]

"In fact behind this book, there is a basic optimism. I think we are at the beginning of new social and personal possibilities, both for women and men. Just as the making of the working class in the early stages of capitalism brought about the promise - still unrealized - of control over the conditions of human production, and thus the end of class, so the women's revolt in advanced capitalism brings new hope. By giving expression to the hitherto silent frustrations of women... this revolt has unleashed a new species of social passion. The articulation and exploration of the nature and source of that passion, which comes from the social situation of women now, through a movement, makes a new understanding to resist capitalism practicable."

Sheila Rowbotham's newest book reflects her optimism, about the future for women's liberation in our lifetime. In *Women's Consciousness, Man's World* Rowbotham attempts to explore the various ways in which woman is made, not born. She also tries to analyze how the various ways in which women work, both inside and outside the home, affect the way in which she looks at the world.

In this book Rowbotham deals with all aspects of a woman's life and consciousness. Her chapters on her own life, and how she came to feminism are revealing for what they say about most middle class women, who came into women's

liberation through revolutionary politics. Many women reading that chapter will see a bit of themselves.

Rowbotham is concerned with the relationship of oppression to struggle against it.

"The oppressed without hope are mysteriously quiet. When the conception of change is beyond the limits of the possible, there are no words to articulate discontent so it is sometimes held not to exist. The mistaken belief arises because we can only grasp silence in the moment in which it is breaking... the fact that we could not hear does not prove that no pain existed. The revolutionary must listen very carefully to the language of silence. This is particularly important for women, for we come from such a long silence."

In one of her best chapters entitled, "A Dog's Life" Rowbotham discusses that "silence" and why, how and when, during periods of social upheaval, when there is a promise for some alternative, that silence is broken.

Rowbotham believes that a working women's liberation movement is key to the fight for women's liberation.

"The predicament of working class women is the most potentially subversive to capitalism because it spans production and reproduction, class exploitation and sex oppression. The movement of working class women is thus essential for socialist feminism because the necessary connections are forced upon working class women when they make action."

She also explains the valuable contribution the women's move-

ment has made to the working class struggle for socialism.

"Women's liberation has mounted an attack on precisely those areas where socialists have been slow to resist capitalism: authoritarian social relationships, sexuality and the family... We have to struggle for control not merely over the means of production but over the conditions of reproduction."

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

While Rowbotham is excellent in examining both the role of women under capitalism and women's consciousness, she unfortunately stops there.

One of the problems facing women both in America, as well as England, where Rowbotham lives and writes about, is the failure to build a stable working class women's liberation movement. Why? What kind of a women's organization is needed? What kind of a fight needs to be waged? Rowbotham gives no answers other than to question the ability of the revolutionary party to fight for the specially oppressed.

True, the purpose of her book is not to deal with these questions. Nonetheless her book poses them. And by failing to understand the essential role of the revolutionary party in the overthrow of capitalism, Rowbotham gives no real strategy for the liberation of women as well as all human kind.

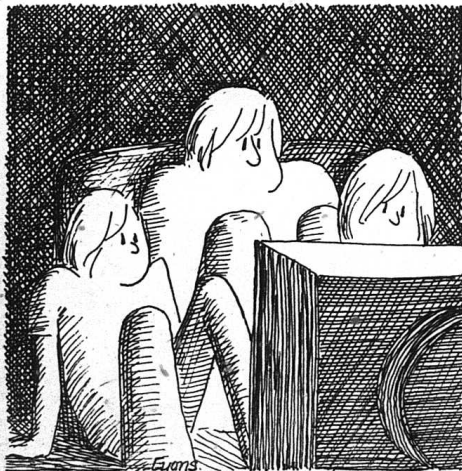
Marxists have too long neglected women in both theory and practice. Even with its flaws Rowbotham's book begins to fill the void.

Celia Emerson



the day t.v. died

Charles Leinenweber



It was twenty-five years ago that I first watched television. It was at Mrs. Posch's house.

Mrs. Posch was my neighbor in Riverside, New Jersey. My family had just moved there from Indiana, where television was still a dream. Riverside was in the civilized East, and children there would say "You ever seen television?" I would say "Yeah. I saw one at my cousin's house once in Madison, Indiana."

This was a lie, because the first one I saw was at Mrs. Posch's. Everyone knew when it came, and after a week Mrs. Posch, now a veteran invited the neighborhood children in to watch.

The set was a GE, large and dark brown, with a small screen in the middle, covered by a magnifying glass that stuck out four inches. Mrs. Posch unplugged the set during electrical storms.

When we came in the set was already on. Mrs. Posch left nothing to chance. She put us on the floor in front of it, and she sat in an armchair.

There was a picture of an Indian on the screen, wearing a headress. The sound was a steady, medium tone. Lines radiated from the Indian to the corners of the screen. Later on I learned this was a test pattern.

Mrs. Posch thought it was a curtain. We waited patiently for the show to begin.

Five minutes passed. "I think I see someone moving," she said. Five minutes more. Again she saw someone moving. Actors were kicking the bottom of the Indian curtain. I looked closely and saw it move. From time to time each of us reported movement.

After half an hour we went back outside. Mrs. Posch said it was too

bad, we should've seen the show yesterday, they must not be ready yet.

I have a family picture from Christmas, 1952. I am in it, and two of my brothers, and my grandfather. We are all watching television, leaning toward it like compasses.

For a quarter of a century I basked in television's gray light. Now I am through.

Last fall I moved here, a small, upstate New York town between mountains. No television show can penetrate these thick mountains. No one has yet learned how to make the signals so strong, or the mountains so porous.

People who want to watch television - most do - are required to pay rent to a cable company, who bring in the signals from New York City, over wires. Thus Walter Cronkite, the Six-Million Dollar Man, and other cultural fare make their way into Kerhonksen.

Three weeks ago the cable company cut me off. Since I moved here I had been living for free off their cable, lighting my home with television, keeping my family together, but secretly, criminally, draining the cable's energy without paying my fair share.

One day I drove home and noticed a big, orange truck parked across from my neighbor's house. It said Cable Television Co. on the door.

A man glided over the rear of the truck, in a bucket on the end of a hydraulic arm. I didn't pay much attention to him.

I went into the house and started watching *Lost in Space* with my sons. We fought a lot over *Lost in Space*. Sometimes I would say it was unhealthy to watch television

in the afternoon, and they couldn't watch it anymore.

Sometimes I would say they could watch it only if it were one they'd never seen before. Sometimes I would say they could watch it only if it were raining out.

Mostly they watched it, and I did too. I liked to watch Dr. Smith, who was nasty and cowardly, and made deals with aliens. Dr. Smith was always trying to sabotage the crew, wholesome people from Lassie and the Flying Nun. I also liked the Robot and the boy, Will.

In the middle of *Lost in Space*, the sound hushed and the picture turned to snow. One of my sons went to fix the aerial, the connection to the cable that emerged through a hole drilled in the living room floor.

Never had there appeared such a hopeless snow, such a soundless hushing noise. "It's no use," I said, and told about the orange truck outside.

Suddenly I realized it might all be a mistake. Perhaps they are putting in a cable for my next door neighbor, and my cable is only temporarily disconnected, like when they put in a new phone nearby.

Maybe they'll fix it, then come to my house and ask if I have a cable, because they found this extra circuit that's not in their records, and I'll say "No, I don't even have a television set."

They'll believe me and go away, and not bother to go up in the bucket to disconnect the extra circuit.

I fed the cable back through the hole in the floor, and hid the television set behind a screen in my room. Then I remembered there

[Continued on page 14]



NEWS

CLEVELAND I.S. HOLDS CONFERENCE

95 trade union activists and socialists attended the **Workers' Power Educational Conference** held in Cleveland June 8th and 9th.

The Conference was called to discuss a strategy for the rank and file of the labor movement.

Speakers discussed class struggle unionism, the recent steel contract and the no-strike agreement, the rank and file in the Teamsters, the newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), recent developments in the farmworkers struggle, the auto industry and the role of black workers, and the women's movement in Britain.

Workshops were held on rank and file publications, women's liberation, shop floor organizing and the Teamsters union.

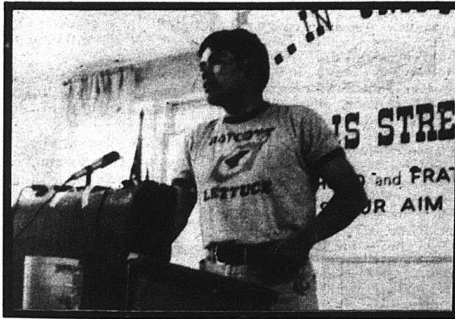
Joel Geier, the National Chairman of the International Socialists, concluded the meeting by calling for all those present to work with the I.S. in building a rank and file movement, and to join the I.S. in building a revolutionary organization.

In addition to members of the International Socialists, there were trade unionists and activists from RAFT, the New American Movement (NAM), CLUW, and the Akron collective which publishes the newspaper, *Breaking the Ice*. There were many rank and file Teamsters.

While participants came from throughout the midwest, and even New York, the majority were from the Cleveland, Akron, Pittsburgh area.

Plans were made for further meetings by both the members of the Teamsters and the members of CLUW.

It seems clear that there are great prospects for rank and file activity in the midwest. ■



Eliseo Medina, National Executive Board, UFW: "...when Frank Fitzsimmons went to Salinas last month, all the farmworkers in the valley walked out and stayed out the whole day. This shows they still support the union. . ."



Kim Moody, writer for *Workers' Power*: "...these bureaucrats, these people are class collaborationists. This means they go into collusion with the bosses. . .and even when they think they're fighting them, they're doing it on the bosses' terms. . ."



Ed Mann, President USWA Local 1462, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Rank and File Team (RAFT): "...the place for any worker is in the mill, the place for any union officer is in the mill, because that's where the problems are, and that's where the people are. . ."

Sheila Rowbotham, author of "Women, Resistance and Revolution" and women's liberation activist: "...the women who have just recently been unionized, who were clerical workers and who had not come out of a tradition of union militancy at all found that they were being dragged behind lorries and treated quite violently on the picket line. . .and some of the women in those strikes won and they had a very important effect on encouraging other women to take similar actions. . ."



too much democracy?

The leadership of the labor movement has more in common with big businessmen than just their high salaries. They both agree that there's too much democracy in the trade unions.

That's the conclusion presented in the report of the National Commission on Industrial Peace.

The Commission was appointed last year by President Nixon. It consists of five representatives of big business (including GM, US Steel, and First National City Bank) and five labor members: George Meany, Frank Fitzsimmons, Leonard Woodcock, I.W. Abel, and Paul Hall. As its name implies, the National Commission on Industrial Peace was charged with finding a way to avoid strikes and other labor unrest.

In its report, the Commission unanimously recommended the "Bill of Rights for union members" section of the Landrum-Griffin Act be reviewed "to ascertain the effect it has had on the ability of labor organizations to engage in responsible and constructive labor relations."

This piece of legislation, while relatively worthless in guaranteeing union democracy, has at times been an annoyance to labor leaders. It requires

union leaders to hold periodic elections, and allows rank and filers to disagree with leadership policies.

According to the Commission, even this is now too much, for it has allowed a small number of dissidents "to prevent settlements and cause unwarranted turmoil."

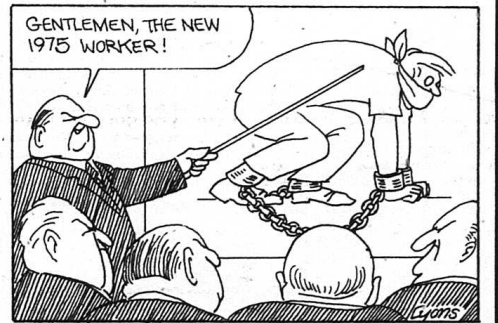
Translated, this means that if these dissidents could be squashed in some way, there would be even greater accommodation to the needs of big business. It means that the buying power of the American worker - now 4.7% below a year ago - would decline even further.

It also means that there might be more layoffs and speedup. The labor leadership is saying that it will not work any harder to fight this than it is forced to.

There could be no better demonstration that union democracy is not just a nice thing if you've got time to fight for it, but an absolute necessity if the decline in wages and working conditions is to be stopped.

The struggle to win back the unions for the rank and file goes hand in hand with the fight to improve wages and working conditions. ■

Jim Woodward



The President's National Commission on Class Collaboration

Death of TV

[Continued from page 13]

was another television set in the hall next to the front door.

It was a big set someone gave me, but it didn't work and I'd been wanting to throw it out. It was making its way gradually outside.

What could I say about that? I couldn't say, "I don't even have a television set," standing right next to a television set. The set was, however, standing on its side, so I could say "Except for this broken one that I'm throwing out."

I had a dream once that I lived on the third floor of an apartment building, and I came home and found the cops vacuuming the first floor for marijuana seeds, tiny evidences that the vacuum would suck up and display in a clear plastic tube.

I hurried upstairs to clean out any stray seeds before the cops got there, but when I opened my door the floor was covered with marijuana, marijuana deep as my ankles, marijuana from Kansas.

This was like my dream. I wanted no television set yet my house was stuffed with them.

I went into the kitchen and waited for the truck to leave. From time to time I peered out, until finally it was gone. We took the TV out and tried it again but nothing happened. There was no change, just snow.

Later I took a long TV aerial wire, hooked it to the set and peeled and split the end with scissors, stuck it out a window, then went outside and climbed a ladder and stuck the wire to a drainpipe and hollered in to see if there was a change. Still no change.

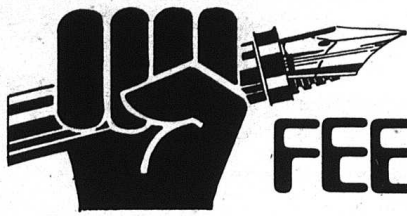
Three days later I bought the next week's TV Guide, and put it on the refrigerator.

Television has passed, and I am glad. My sons say they are glad, too.

So far as possible capitalism allows no time to think or talk. Even time at home becomes trivialized, reduced to "favorite shows," and deprived of the character of people doing things for themselves.

My late show is gone, but I find I'm reading good novels. I rearranged the living room, so that the couch and chairs point toward each other, instead of the television.

One evening after dinner my sons and I sat around with nothing to do. We were suffering from withdrawal. I brought in a novel about the Lower East Side - "Jews Without Money," by Mike Gold - and started to read it aloud. They loved it; so did I. We went on for hours, that night and after. No one tried to sell us anything. ■



FEEDBACK

IN DEFENSE OF THE S.L.A.

We read with interest your lead article in the May 24 edition. Points were made with which the Socialist Collective is in full agreement, viz. the callous disregard for the safety of the citizens of the community, etc.

However, there are certain things re: The Socialist Collective which must be clarified. First and foremost, just as the International Socialists are not a white revolutionary organization, though its membership is predominately caucasian, by the same token, the SC is not a "black revolutionary organization." No, comrades, though our membership is black, our organization is and properly so, a revolutionary communist organization.

Secondly, the rally which we held, immediately after the murders and less than one block from the scene of that crime, was called not merely "to protest the police terrorism," but primarily to give critical support to the beleaguered members of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

That is the SC refused to sink into the capitulative opportunism of the Black Panther Party, the Communist Party, the Spartacist League and others who bent over backwards to disassociate themselves and thus joined the bourgeois press and the police in viciously attacking the SLA.

In preparation for our rally we distributed a leaflet entitled, "WE APPLAUD THE PEOPLE WHO APPLAUDED THE SLA'S DEFENSE," which while criticizing and explaining the inadequacies of terrorism, nonetheless, advanced the perspective that the SLA members were subjectively on the side of the working class.

And isn't it amazing, but only to the non-working class perspectives of the above-named organizations, that the people of the invaded community cheered the SLA machine guns and brandished our leaflet in the faces of the police?

Finally, where was the IS perspective of the nature of the SLA? In vain we looked through the article but could not find this.

Members of the International Socialists in Los Angeles have, on this question, been competent in theoretical analysis and unwavering in their practice. Indeed, the Socialist Collective in fighting for the perspective outlined above have found strong support in



POLICE DURING SHOOTOUT

meetings and in practical activities from your group on a wide variety of issues.

But, to bypass the opportunity to put forward the group analysis on terrorism, in general, and the SLA, in particular, precisely at the time when such analysis is of the greatest moment compels the Socialist Collective to remind our comrades in the IS that "... the Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims."

Let these words from Marx be sufficient to bring about an open and clear analysis from the International Socialists on this burning question of our times.

SAME STRUGGLE. . . SAME FIGHT; WORKERS' OF THE WORLD UNITE.

Socialist Collective
Los Angeles

REPLY

The SLA article in WP #98 failed to mention our condemnation of the police attack on the SLA or mention that the rally was called to give critical support to the SLA. In this we accept the criticism of the Socialist Collective. Our editorial in WP #99 states our views on the murder of the SLA. We have also written on the question of terrorism and the SLA in WP #92 and 94.

Workers, not only in Los Angeles, but throughout the country, have cheered actions of the SLA. This, however, does not make the SLA a part of the workers' movement, objectively or subjectively.

That the SLA was most certainly

motivated by a desire to aid the poor does not make them a part of the workers movement either. Nor does their intense hatred of the ruling class. We believe that Lenin, when he characterized Russian terrorists as "liberals with bombs," came much closer to the mark.

Terrorism as a strategy is not merely "inadequate," it is a disorienting political dead end.

But when the SLA is attacked by police terror, we hesitate not a moment in choosing sides. Whatever ambiguity there may be in the class character of the SLA, there is not a shadow of doubt about the class character of the police.

The fury of the police terror directed against the SLA was no mistake or excess. It was intended as an object lesson to all who may wish to oppose the rulers of this society. It is this that makes it an attack on the workers movement. We have no choice but to choose sides.

We agree with you comrades of the Socialist Collective when you unequivocally and openly side with the SLA against police terror. But we believe you are mistaken when you characterize this as "critical support" to the SLA.

Your criticism of our reference to the SC as a "black revolutionary organization" is well taken. However, we recognize that the fact that our membership is still "predominantly caucasian" severely distorts and impedes the ability of the IS to function as a revolutionary socialist organization.

The I.S., for instance, could not effectively call and carry out the same kind of rally in the black community as you did. Even if the membership of the SC were multi-racial, we would still believe it important to mention in Workers' Power that black socialists were involved in calling the rally. Our error was to characterize your organization as a black organization.

The decisive test of the nature of each of our groups is not determined by what we call ourselves but will be determined by the outcome of our struggles to become part of a multi-racial revolutionary workers organization.

SOCIALISTS HARASSED IN PRISONS

I am no longer lodged at the Woodbourne Penal Facility as I and a few other comrades were transferred to other jails for allegedly masterminding an insurrection at Woodbourne, a few weeks ago.

We attempted to unite around a host of common causes, one of which was an immediate end to the humiliation and degradation which we were/are forced to accept whenever the fascist agents choose to dispense it. We also attempted to politically educate a vast majority of the inmates and were subsequently looked upon as a threat to the so-called tranquility of the institution.

When the agents became aware of our endeavors to formulate a socialist collective they immediately chained and shackled us and spread us all over New York State. We are all, however, still attempting to maintain communication with one another as we still wish to see our goals come to fruition.

In Struggle, In Liberation
To the Future of Socialism
(name withheld)

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.

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I would like more information about the International Socialists.

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Occupation

International Socialism # 69

Portugal; John Reed on Russia 1918; The Comintern; Workers and Peasants; and review of Eamonn McCann's "War and an Irish Town."



PORTUGAL

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Funeral of SLA leader Cinque (Donald DeFreeze) in Cleveland

CLUW Officials Clamp On The Lid

After the founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in March, rank and file militants returned home to begin building local CLUW chapters.

In spite of the tensions that existed between the needs of the rank and file and the wishes of the union officials, there was a tremendous spirit of exhilaration and determination.

Everyone wanted to begin the work of organizing working women and fighting for women's liberation.

What went on with the officials is another story.

Throughout April and part of May they did nothing. All the excitement and motion at the CLUW convention seemed to have disappeared.

Rumors that "they are killing it" spread. Private conversations with women union officials indicated that the right wing of the trade union leadership, the Meanys and the Shanks, were opposed to CLUW and trying to crush it. "Just a bunch of radicals" they taunted the CLUW leaders.

The CLUW leadership, representing the relative left wing of the trade union bureaucracy, was also concerned with the large numbers of rank and file women and radicals at the Chicago convention. The attack from the right made them even more concerned.

Among themselves they cursed a lot and said "the trouble with CLUW is that there are too many rank and filers here (or "radicals" or "young people" - depending on who said it).

THE STEAMROLLER

After a month and a half of apparent confusion and incompetence the CLUW leadership pulled together.

Solidarity In Action

NEW YORK — Seventy-five women trade unionists held a mass picket line here on June 22 in support of the United Farm Workers' boycott of lettuce and grapes.

The demonstration was organized by women involved in building a local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women to show their support for the farmworkers.

As one of the organizers of the demonstration, a local Teamster, said, "CLUW, in its statement of purpose supports organizing the unorganized. The farmworkers are showing that this can be done, that people, such as women and minorities, once considered unorganizable, are a part of the trade union movement."

Although this demonstration was sponsored by women involved in building CLUW, it was not sponsored by New York CLUW itself. Rank and file working women fought to have CLUW build the demonstration and pass resolutions in support of the farmworkers. The CLUW leadership asserted that official sponsorship of the activity was

impossible because the New York group was not yet an officially chartered CLUW chapter. Use of the CLUW name would have meant a bigger turn out at the picket line and an

opportunity to build CLUW. Nonetheless, this demonstration proves that many women involved in organizing CLUW are eager to begin active struggles.

On the face of it - this all seems pretty nonsensical. How do they expect to build an organization by discouraging all those enthusiastic about it? How many times do they expect to waste time coming to meetings that do nothing and get nowhere?

The answer is simple. They don't. Behind the officials' stalling tactics is the hope that radicals and rank and filers wishing to fight will fall away due to boredom and inactivity.

After the weeding out process the leadership hopes to consolidate an acquiescent membership around a strategy of pressure politics.

They will attempt to lead CLUW into a dead end of Congressional lobbying, court suits and reliance on the Democratic Party.

But these institutions will concede victories to women workers only when there is a mass movement, marching, demonstrating and striking for its demands.

The endless court haggling of the NAACP accomplished little until hundreds of thousands of black people took to the streets.

BUILDING SUPPORT

The plans of the CLUW leadership are not yet an accomplished fact. The needs and frustrations that brought 3200 women to Chicago still exist and will continue to exist.

More and more women workers are fed up. They come to CLUW because they want to fight and more will come.

They will come because CLUW stands for the rights of working women and they will demand CLUW fight for them. For their demands to succeed it is essential that radicals and militants remain in CLUW, and not allow the leadership to tire them out.

Already women involved in struggle have come to CLUW organizing committees seeking support: Vanita Staton, a fired Cleveland telephone worker, striking Harper and Row workers in New York, and the farmworkers in many cities.

Because the need to support these women is obvious to all, militants involved in organizing CLUW have found ways to build support.

This twilight period of meetings empowered to do nothing can be used by militants; contact can be made with women on strike or involved in other fights over women's issues or in the process of organizing. These women can be brought into CLUW.

Under the name, women involved in organizing CLUW, support can be built for existing struggles.

Under the same heading, picket lines in support of the grape and lettuce boycott can be organized.

The next several months can be used as a period of consolidation by the CLUW rank and file as well as the leadership.

Celia Emerson
Gay Semel

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.

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the CLUW they wanted - a working women's pressure group.

They made up new rules to freeze out those they couldn't control.

Groups in various cities, like Atlanta, Georgia, had begun organizing local CLUW chapters following what they understood to be the guidelines. They were told "you did it wrong - start over."

The Cleveland pre-CLUW group sent its dues money in and got it all sent back. "too early" they said, "start over."

At the CLUW founding convention, when membership was discussed, the leadership was asked if membership in an independent trade union was acceptable. "You're here, aren't you!" was the reply.

Apparently, however, attendance at the founding convention and even election to the National Coordinating Committee is no guarantee of membership.

Margaret Butz of CASE (Clerical and Allied Service Employees), an independent union of 4,000 clerical workers in the state of California, has been informed that she is not eligible for leadership or membership in CLUW. Members of other independent unions have been told the same thing.

The most telling and effective policy is a rule the top leadership completely invented.

"You can't become a CLUW chapter until you have had three official meetings" goes this one. "And the three meetings have to be done the right way or they don't count" the rule continues.

What is the right way? Most women, including many CLUW state convenors, don't know until they've done it wrong.

Like a giant Monopoly game, pre-CLUW groups are continually sent back to "go" without collecting their charter.

Almost four months since the founding convention, few cities have gotten past the first official, "sanctified" meeting. At this rate few CLUW chapters will be chartered by the second convention.

And finally there is the CLUW "Catch 22." Without a charter local organizing committees can do nothing. And if they attempt to do anything they will not be chartered.

DEAD END POLICY

Since CLUW organizing committees are mandated to be inactive, those few meetings held are unbelievably boring.

In New York, the Bay Area and other cities, attempts to pass resolutions indicating support for the farmworkers and other struggles are ruled illegal. "We can't pass any resolutions because we're not CLUW," they say.