

WORKERS' POWER

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STRIKE WAVE GROWS



Within a few brief days, a military coup on Cyprus led to invasion of the island by Turkey, the threat of a full-scale war, and then the collapse of the military dictatorship which had ruled Greece since 1967. The dictatorship gave up power only because the generals - and their US protectors - were afraid that their disastrous blunder in trying to take over Cyprus might lead to revolution in Greece.

Neither Greece's nor Cyprus' future can be clearly predicted as we go to press. However, the working class in Portugal has shown this year that the overthrow of a brutal dictatorship can lead almost immediately to explosive struggles. Portuguese workers fought for massive wage increases, control of their own lives and other potentially revolutionary demands.

The same process will begin even more rapidly in Greece, where workers' living standards fell by 20% last year. Strike activity began to revive as early as 1971. On page 4 some brief articles provide the background to help understand what happens in the next weeks and months.

There is big news in the labor movement. Everywhere you turn, someone is on strike.

Airline mechanics, bus drivers, copper miners, sanitation workers, firemen, hospital workers, painters, and scattered teamsters, auto workers, steel workers and telephone workers. AFSCME voted to "shut down the state of Ohio."

Spurred on by inflation and the end of wage controls, the total number of strikes is approaching 600 - the largest number in almost twenty years. Contract rejections have also increased - to the highest level since 1969.

Many of these strikes are in small shops or in newly organized public employee locals. Many of them are among lower paid workers - largely blacks, women and other minorities - who've been most seriously hurt by the years of inflation and wage controls.

But since many of these strikes are in less critical industries, their impact is not yet as serious as was, for example, the series of strikes which swept through heavy industry after World War II.

Nevertheless, the impact of the current strikes is considerable. Telephone workers across the country, for example, have staged wildcat strikes as the CWA leadership delays an official strike. (Story, page 3.)

Since CWA members know other workers are fighting, it will be harder to convince them it's their patriotic duty to accept a low wage increase and take the burden of inflation on their shoulders alone. Faced with the flood of strikes

and contract rejections, a few people are still trying to put their fingers in the dike.

One of these is Kenneth Rush, Nixon's new economic advisor. Rush knows that the Nixon Administration's wage controls are totally discredited and so is Nixon himself. Even were this scandal-ridden government to take firm action against workers' new wage demands, it might not be effective.

So Rush is doing the only thing that might get some results. He's quietly talking to labor leaders, playing golf with George Meany, and urging restraint.

But the Democrats, not yet so thoroughly discredited themselves, will try the same ploy. Already there is talk in Democratic policy-making circles of such things as a "social contract" with labor.

That will involve a lot of talk about cooperation between labor, business, and the government (more no-strike deals, anyone?). But what it will mean is this: liberal Democrats ("friends of labor") cooperating with labor leaders to keep wages under control.

In return, the labor leadership will get a few crumbs: maybe a small public works program during the recession, maybe some minor tax changes for low income people.

The labor leaders will go along with this, much as they have accepted - and still are accepting - (with occasional squawks of complaint) all the wage restraints imposed by the Republican administration.

The very modest gains won by the Baltimore municipal workers' strike, for example, were won entirely by rank and file action against the efforts of the AFSCME leadership (see page 7).

As inflation continues its merry climb towards the sky, the new militancy among workers in this country is indeed welcome. It offers the first chance in years to reverse the downward trend of real wages.

OIL: IT'S THE SAME OLD SONG AND DANCE

The other day, a Sunday no less, I drove into my neighborhood gas station and asked for a fill-up.

It was about 10:00 at night, in the middle of July, and there were no lines and no looks of astonishment at my "greedy" request.

Things were just the way they used to be - before the oil crisis. Just the price was different - up over a half.

Yup, there I was buying a full tank of gas, on a Sunday night, in the middle of July - in spite of the dire predictions of ex-energy czar Simple Simon and the oil companies that we'd all be dry by mid-summer.

And the whole scene was almost exactly as I, and anyone else not about to make a profit off the "great oil crisis Boondoggle," had predicted.

The fact is there never was an oil crisis. The whole thing was engineered by big oil money to greatly increase their profits.

And it worked. Exxon, the largest oil company in the world, just released its second quarter profits - 67% over the same period in 1973 and 20% over their incredibly bloated first quarter profits. Readers will remember those were the highest in industry history. After taxes, which they don't pay anyway.

And it is not only that there never was a shortage - in less than six months there is now an overabundance of 2-3 million gal-

lons a day, worldwide.

Indeed, one oil executive commented, "You can almost say we have nowhere else to put the stuff."

Yet we still see large ads in the newspaper bemoaning the poor misunderstood oil industry.

The latest, incredibly called "Musings of an oil person..." states, "What if history shows our critics' critics...turn out to be right? The ones who...attribute the shortage to soaring worldwide energy demand, foreign oil embargoes and production cutbacks, foreign crude oil price escalation, and the twists and turns of US government oil policy."

Yeah. And what if the moon is made of green cheese?

Their profits are soaring, and in almost no time at all we've gone from shortage to glut.

The glut, of course, is no more real than the shortage was. During the "shortage" oil companies simply kept oil off the market. Today's 2-3 million barrels excess is not more than can be paid for, more than can be used, but more than can be paid for.

All the "twists and turns of US government oil policy" seem to go in their favor.

• When the crisis started there was talk in Congress of not allowing "windfall profits." Haven't heard any of that lately, have we?

• The companies' extremely favorable federal tax exempt status

remains completely intact.

• And the biggest threat to stockholders' dividends, curtailing the oil depletion allowances, has been shelved "because of Watergate."

"The longer Congress waits the better the chances are that the industry will escape unscathed," says oil analyst Alan Habact. Congress, much of which is backed by oil money, is in no hurry.

So if you believe the moon is made of green cheese, you can also believe there really was a shortage and feel sorry for the under-

stood oil industry.

On the other hand, we can use the "great oil boondoggle" as a striking example of the fraud, deception and robbery that is practiced on working people when basic industry and energy resources are under private, corporate control.

And we can use what we've learned to get ready for next winter's "pleas of compassion" from the profit-sucking oil companies.

Gay Semel

ORGANIZATION

But militancy by itself is not enough. The key word now is organization - rank and file organization.

There are still the fingers of the labor leadership in the dike, trying to hold back the flood of wage demands. They will be successful, to a greater or lesser degree, unless an alternative leadership is developed by the rank and file movement.

What is needed is rank and file leadership and organization on the shop floor in every union local, and that these local leaderships link up in the various unions to present an alternative to the sell-out policies of the International leaders.

Developed opposition groupings in the IBT, CWA, UAW, USW, and other unions will not spring fully grown from the midst of the current turmoil. But we are not starting at zero either. Small rank and file oppositions exist in many locals and in a few International unions.

The goal of militants today must be to consciously build these opposition groups into viable nationwide organizations that can take on the current crop of labor leaders.

Jim Woodward





What We Think

Fools On The Hill

"The Congressional Spectacular," hosted daily by Congressman Rodino, is finally on the air. Amidst the lights, cameras and hoopla of television the agonizingly slow impeachment of Richard Nixon draws closer to conclusion.

This show does not compare favorably with last year's hit - "The Watergate Show." The cast of self righteous Congressmen and women does not measure up to the more colorful, actual culprits of the Watergate scandal. And the wordy, moralistic script read in deadpan by the actors is not nearly as enjoyable as the free-wheeling ad-libbing style nurtured on "The Watergate Show."

But then the impeachment proceedings are a somewhat more serious business than was the investigation. And 1974 is an election year.

The Congressmen and women of The House Judiciary Show are playing to their constituencies and outdoing each other in appeals to the Constitution, our forefathers and the national interest. Speech after boring speech debates whether in fact the Constitution provides for impeaching a crook. What did the framers of the Constitution mean by this and what was their intent by that? Does the Constitution provide the legal authority to oust a known criminal or not. Drone, drone, drone. Preceding and concluding each speech are the testimonials to sadness, outrage, the pain and suffering of this sad hour, all read in monotone.

Behind these appeals to the Constitution and the legal and moral authority it supposedly grants these proceedings lies a political process. Nixon is being impeached not for his crimes but because he bungled them and everything else.

To Congress, Nixon's real crime is that the corruption and ineptness of his Administration threw the whole American political process deeper into question. And they are pulling out the Constitution - what we've all been told in elementary school makes us a free nation - to clean up the mess. They are telling us that the system and its Constitution are essentially sound. So sound in fact, that when a historical tragedy like Watergate occurs, the Constitution provides for a cleansing process.

But what is the Constitution - this supposed document of freedom? It is the legal protection for the capitalist system.

When signed it considered blacks only three-fifths a human being and women the property of their fathers or husbands.

It is broad enough to allow the US to rape and plunder large sections of the world. It allowed for two world wars and the horror of concentration camps for Japanese Americans.

It allowed the genocide of the American Indian and a racism so profound that it is almost unequalled anywhere else in the world.

It allowed McCarthyism in the 50's and the repression of the black and student movements in the 60's.

It allows Vietnam - Nixon's excuse for Watergate. And it is being brought out to clean up the system's image so that other presidents can conduct more Vietnams without domestic upheavals.

Impeachment will not cleanse the White House no matter how couched in Constitutional rhetoric. Because the real crimes of the American government are far greater than the petty thievery Nixon is accused of. The real crimes - imperialism, racism, and political repression, the things that lie behind Watergate - are all allowed by the Constitution.

TRY TO SEE IT THEIR WAY

Even millionaires are having a hard time coping with inflation these days. Take the case of Don and Alice Ingram, who live in Dallas.

Don is a vice president of the Wall Street gambling firm, Paine, Webber, Jackson & Curtis, Inc.

The Ingrams have to watch their pennies, even though they have a lot of them.

Alice's poodle, Suzette, used to see the poodle-groomer every Friday. But with poodle-grooming soaring from \$3 a session to \$12, Suzette now makes it only every six weeks.

For someone like Don Ingram,

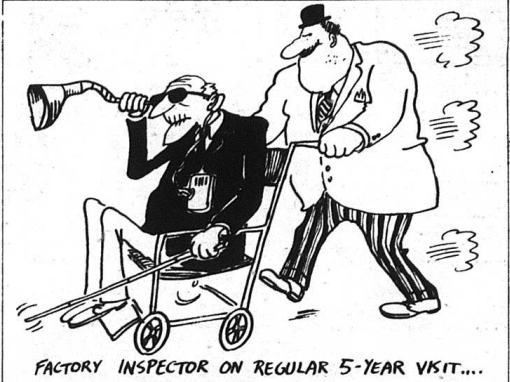
making money is what life is all about. He started young. When he was nine, he bought up all the bubble-gum in the corner store for a penny a piece, and sold it to his class-mates at two for a quarter.

Later on he moved into oil and real estate, doing much the same thing.

Don's goal in life is to put together a fortune of \$50 to \$100 million before he retires. But he's not in it for the money.

"What I'm after is the fun of seeing things develop," he explains. "Money is only a way of keeping score. Inflation is just an added challenge." □

Our Health versus Nixon's Wealth



FACTORY INSPECTOR ON REGULAR 5-YEAR VISIT....

COVERING UP THE COVERUP

Watergate and other scandals of the Nixon administration are presenting an understandable problem for the nation's school system.

How do you teach working class students to do "an honest day's work for an honest day's pay" when the top government officials are on the take?

How do you teach black students to keep their struggles for liberation inside the "proper channels" when the proper channels are exposed as being bought and manipulated by big money and corrupt politicians?

In short - how do you continue to teach that capitalism is an essentially fair system when it has become obvious that it is not?

At the recent convention in Chicago, leaders of the National Education Association (NEA) attempted to solve the problem for their members by offering lesson plans on how to deal with Watergate morality.

NEA director Sam Gohginian explained that the new lesson plans will "show that the system is fine, but some people in government aren't."

The lesson plans are divided into three groups: kindergarten to fourth grade, fifth through ninth and tenth through junior college. The lesson plan for elementary schools entitled "Playing Fair" is

most interesting.

The students are presented with a problem: there are more children at a playground than can use a single jump rope. The youngsters are then asked to come up with a moral resolution to the problem. The alternatives offered the children are: turns can be taken, some kids can be excluded or someone can just steal the jump rope.

The moral and ethical answer implied is that turns should be taken - and no doubt that is what will be taught in public schools across the country.

But if the upper class private schools are to be true to the methods of the class they teach, the children of the rich will undoubtedly be taught to steal the jump rope.



By now, Nixon's use of the Internal Revenue Service to reward his friends and punish his enemies is common knowledge.

Lesser known, but in many ways far more serious - because it involves the lives of working people - is Nixon's similar use of OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration).

OSHA's job is to issue exposure standards and regulations for harmful substances.

Nixon and his cronies delayed and toned down implementation of worker health and safety standards as "a sales point to attract corporate donations to the Nixon re-election campaign" in 1972.

In 1972 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare sent OSHA criteria documents recommending more stringent exposure standards for 14 different workplace substances.

OSHA issued regulations on only one - asbestos - and that was only after pressure was applied by the AFL-CIO.

Five million workers are exposed to the other 13 substances OSHA did not issue standards on.

All this is documented by HEW and the Watergate Committee.

In a memorandum to his boss Laurence H. Silberman (then Labor Under Secretary, now deputy Attorney General), George C. Guenther, then assistant Secretary of OSHA, states that no worker health and safety standards contrary to the interests of big business would be issued during the re-election period.

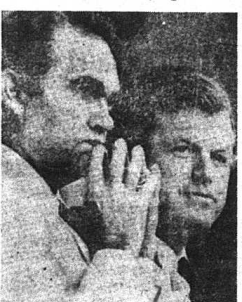
Guenther also asked Silberman for additional suggestions "as to how to promote the advantages of four more years of properly managed OSHA for use in the campaign."

Although Silberman, like his friend Nixon, denied everything, his record speaks for itself.

Not reported however, are the millions made by the corporations while maiming and possibly killing tens of thousands of these five million workers.

And things are not much better today. In defense of his agency's drag-ass policies current OSHA director Daniel P. Boyd said "HEW's findings must be balanced against economic and technological considerations."

Boyd's statement shows clearly the attitude of the capitalist class and the government they own - profits and machinery come before people. □



George Wallace built his political career as the standard bearer for white racism.

His image became so tarnished that even a cesspool like the Democratic Party, which embraces such characters as John Stennis and James Eastland, was embarrassed to call him their own.

But all that's over now. Wallace is on the road to becoming a favorite son. With lightning speed he is cleaning up his image and has emerged as a possible vice presidential candidate for 1976.

Wallace has picked up the support of several prominent southern black politicians, including Charles Evers, mayor of Fayette, Mississippi and brother of

Jim Crow meets mister clean

the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers.

Behind this surprising move by southern black Democrats stands Ted Kennedy, the darling of white liberalism. Kennedy, in fact, was one of the first mainline Democrats to help spruce up Mr. Charlie.

Kennedy's rationale, according to John L. Cashin, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Alabama, is as follows: Kennedy's major handicap as presidential contender is his liberal pro-black image, just as Wallace's is his well-known racism.

Both turn off the other's constituency - but together they could run the Democratic Party. And being practical men, what are a few principles here and there?

So Kennedy made the opening move and appeared in Alabama last April giving a speech conciliatory towards Wallace.

Unfortunately for Kennedy many of his supporters weren't quite ready to become bedfellows with the Wallace machine, and Kennedy needed help in convincing them.

In stepped many of his good friends, black Democrats from

Kennedy's wing of the party saying "We like Wallace, too."

Where "friendship" failed other ploys were used. Black Alabama officials supporting Wallace are getting state financial aid for their localities - and perhaps themselves.

Those that aren't going along are losing state funds and financial aid from liberal agencies and national foundations - which are connected to the Kennedy fortunes.

It all fits together very neatly. Just like the Mafia, the Democratic Party is one big happy family. □

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CWA Ranks Can Press National Phone Strike

On the morning of July 18, thousands of telephone workers throughout the mid-west walked out to demonstrate their intention to fight for a decent contract.

Recorded messages from two AT&T Long Lines locals, Detroit and Minneapolis, and statements by picketing operators in Detroit made it clear that their actions were directed as much at the International leadership of their union, the Communications Workers of America (CWA), as at the company.

At midnight, July 17, CWA contracts covering over 500,000 telephone workers expired. CWA President Glenn Watts, however, announced that no agreement had been reached with the Bell System and that the contracts were extended indefinitely.

Thousands of CWA members were angered by the complete news and information blackout that accompanied Watts' actions. When Watts finally made a statement the following morning, to the press not the union membership, it only gave cause for more anger.

The major stumbling block to a settlement, Watts said, was the company's refusal to grant the CWA the full "agency shop."

The agency shop requires all employees covered by CWA contract to pay dues to the union, but does not require them to join. Watts complained that some 50,000 Bell employees were not paying dues.

THE REAL ISSUES

With inflation running 10-12%, telephone workers did not want to hear Watts complain about not getting enough dues. Watts also said the wage offer was inadequate: "it would be

difficult for any union to settle for a wage increase of less than 10%." He also announced that the company's first year offer was for 9.9%.

Watts was asked if that meant he considered the first year money offer to be adequate. Looking like a fool, Watts then changed his story and told the Washington Post that a first year increase ought to "average in the neighborhood of 14%."

For telephone workers, the issue is not Glenn Watts' agency shop. It is money, working conditions and, more and more, job security.

Automation and economic slowdown are threatening the jobs of thousands of telephone workers. Western Electric has already laid off workers throughout the country.

Operators' jobs are being automated rapidly. While operators are not being laid off, it is a national policy of the Bell System to harass them in an attempt to drive people out of the company.

In polite circles this is called "attrition." Watts was silent on these issues as he was vocal on his need for more dues.

STRIKE VOTE

In the last week of July, CWA members began voting to give the union Executive Board the authority to call a strike. There is no doubt that the vote will favor a strike.

But there is a good deal of suspicion among the members as to what Watts and the Executive Board will do with a strike.

Will they just wear out the members and present the same offer later on? Does he really expect telephone workers to strike just for his agency shop?

A leaflet distributed by the rank

THROW THE BUMS OUT!

DETROIT—CWA Local 4001 (plant) held one of its infrequent meetings the night the contract expired. A crowd of 1000 (one-third of the local) showed up.

No one needed glasses to see that the standing room only crowd was not what the union officials had in mind. It was supposed to be a quiet meeting, with the local officials protesting that they didn't know what the International was doing.

But as soon as local president "Jolly" Eckels got up to speak, the crowd erupted with shouts of "strike, strike!" The local leadership said, no, we can strike only when and if the International decides. But after considerable yelling and booing, they took a

straw vote, which was overwhelmingly for a strike.

The next speaker from the floor angrily proposed that the entire executive board be thrown out. The proposal passed enthusiastically, if not officially.

One member then raced up to the stage, grabbed the nearest executive board member, and started beating him up. The crowd watched attentively. The rest of the executive board rushed to call the security guards.

The board, seeing that it had really lost control, said that the CWA might be on strike the next morning, unless radio broadcasts said otherwise. Everyone cheered until the next morning's broadcast.

and file United Action caucus of New York CWA Local 1101 undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of most CWA members:

"President Watts thinks the big issue is the agency shop, where everyone pays dues whether or not they belong to the union."

"We all accept the company's offer is unacceptable and that we must prepare for a strike. But we must also make it clear to CWA officials who care more about dues than working conditions that we will not settle just for an agency shop."

United Action urged members to get their locals on record for a real

wage increase, at least \$50 for the first year, to demand an end to the information blackout, and to fight racial and sexual discrimination by getting more operators and clerks into higher paying craft jobs.

Without pressure from below it is certain that Glenn Watts will do little about any of these crucial issues.

WHAT NEXT?

In New York, United Action has worked with a Membership Committee for a Decent Contract to fight for these and other issues.

Operators in Louisville passed

around a petition that Traffic Department workers, mostly operators, not be forgotten in national and local bargaining.

Their petition demanded the right to strike over grievances, double time for Sunday work, upgrades for operators, and six hour tours (work days).

A telephone worker in Oakland, California told Workers' Power that several members of the Oakland Local 9415 had resigned in disgust over Watts' behavior and the news blackout.

This telephone worker pointed out that while the anger was understandable, resigning from the union was a dead-end way to protest anything. The job of enraged telephone workers is to fight within the CWA to get a decent contract, and get rid of pro-company leaders like Watts.

Once you're outside of the union Watts doesn't have to worry about you - with the agency shop he won't even have to worry about your dues.

CWA members are angrier than ever. Detroit operators wildcatted for a week or more, and sent out flying picket squads to close down installation and repair garages for a day. When they were told to go back to work, they refused.

It just might be that should Glenn Watts try to call off a national strike, and propose the same 10% - agency shop offer, that telephone workers around the country will refuse to go back to work.

As the United Action leaflet argues, telephone workers can win more if "we make Glenn Watts understand he will have a revolt on his hands."

Brian Mackenzie

Women's Liberation Divisive?

Pan-African Women Meet In Newark

NEWARK—Between seven and eight hundred black people attended the Afrikan Women's Conference here over the July 4th weekend.

The conference was sponsored by the Congress of Afrikan People, a black nationalist group led by Imamu Baraka and centered in Newark.

The conference, mainly a series of workshop-forums, was not intended by its organizers to be a discussion of women's liberation or racism and sexism and how to fight them. Rather the series of meetings were planned as educational discussions for black women interested in "nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and socialism."

This was, however, not clear in the conference call. Many of the women who attended, some from as far away as Colorado and Oklahoma, were not prepared for the kind of discussion planned.

The view of the Congress of Afrikan People, and many black nationalist groups, is that black women are not "specially oppressed" as women.

In the final conference speech, Imamu Baraka stated that oppression against one member of the black family is experienced by the family as a unit, and it is the family unit that must respond. Male chauvinism among blacks is thought to be an attitude forced on the black family by the dominant European culture, an attitude that would be wiped out by black liberation.

For black women to organize against sexism, according to Baraka, would be divisive to the struggle for black liberation. Baraka's theory focuses on the

oppression of black women as a problem of racism, and not sexism.

It is true that black people must be united in the struggle for liberation. But if that unity is based on a denial of the liberation of black women as women, then it will never last.

Many of the women present did not agree that they shouldn't struggle against sexual oppression. They had, in fact, come to Newark in order to discuss with other black women the problems of being black and female, the pressures against fighting back placed on them by the nationalist movement, and why the white middle-class women's liberation movement failed.

As it became clear that the conference was not going to organize those discussions, many of these women simply left to regroup on the mall outside.

The courtyard was usually filled with 150-200 women, discussing these and other questions in groups of five or six. No alternative conference or large discussions developed.

The conference inside mostly debated strategy for the black movement today. The black nationalist movement has been in a period of intense political discussion of the relationship between the struggle in Africa and in the United States.

Debate centered around four major points of view.

The All Afrikan Peoples Revolutionary Party, headed by Stokely Carmichael and represented by Evelyn Paris, has the viewpoint that seizing the land in Africa is the key to black people's revolution worldwide. They argue there is no need for a specific strategy for

liberation in the United States.

Maxine Williams from the Socialist Workers Party described American black people as a nation, with all rights to self-determination including, if necessary, the right to separation.

Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBU) represented by Joyce Johnson stated the dominant point of view: the struggle of black people in America must be centered here; and, in the past, the nationalist movement had isolated itself from the masses of workers by pointing to only African liberation.

The fourth point of view, held by an aggressive minority and put forward from the conference floor by the Republic of New Afrika, is that the land question, and therefore the American black revolution is winnable today in the south.

Although there was extensive discussion of the various ideas, conference participants were unable to reach enough agreement to form an on-going group.

After passing a few motions - notably an anti-abortion statement - all questions of permanent structure were tabled to another conference in January, 1975.

The anti-abortion statement was purposefully worded unclearly because there had been strong minority points of view and little time for discussion.

But the sense of most women present was that the conference had passed an anti-abortion statement, and that it was the correct point of view.

While this attitude is primarily based on fears of black genocide, there is another, and very dangerous, attitude that also exists: that



the greatest contribution a black woman can make to her people's liberation is to raise more revolutionaries to join the struggle.

This point of view perpetuates the oppressive division between the sexes: men have ideas - women have babies.

Women must have the right to control their own bodies; to decide whether or not to have children and when to have them.

To deny black women the right to

abortion is to continue and extend their oppression, even if it is in the guise of "revolutionary duty."

Participants were urged to carry the discussions held in Newark back to their organizations and to develop position papers for the January conference. The aim is to determine a basis for united activity at that time.

Kay Stacy

WORLD IN CRISIS



An Island Divided By Nationalism

Coup Brings War, Topples Junta

The military takeover of Cyprus very clearly reflected the policies and the direct involvement of the military dictatorship that ruled Greece.

The overthrow of the Archbishop Makarios government was directed by the 650 Greek officers who led the National Guard on Cyprus. The man they installed in power, Nicos Sampson, was a long-time right-wing activist in the movement to unite Cyprus with Greece.

The aim of the coup was to accomplish the extension of the policies and power of the Greek dictatorship to Cyprus. This is why the majority of the Greek population on Cyprus, as well as Greek Cypriots living abroad, were opposed to the coup.

Greek Cypriots may be for union between Cyprus and Greece in the long run. But they opposed the Greek junta and had no desire to be ruled by a similar one.

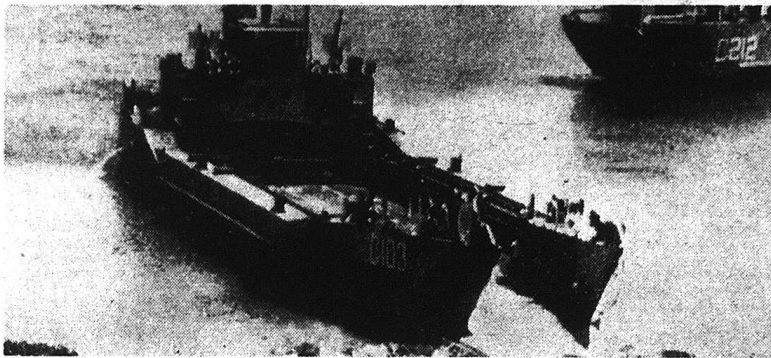
Therefore, immediately on taking power Sampson's men began an Athens-style crackdown against the Greek Cypriot community - rounding up socialists, trade unionists and Makarios supporters wholesale and throwing them in jail, while every plaza and street corner bristled with machine guns.

In fact, the coup almost immediately led to the beginnings of a popular national resistance movement against the new junta. But that resistance was dissolved in the rapid-fire events of the next few days.

The Turkish invasion re-united Greek Cypriots, not only against the Turkish army but also against the Turkish Cypriots, who were again subjected to brutal terror and slaughter.

Meanwhile, it was initially very clear that Washington, which supported and underwrote the Greek dictatorship from the beginning, was willing to approve the coup.

Despite Makarios' pro-western views, the US government disliked him because of his friendliness to Russia, and because under his rule the US could not use the military



Turkish fleet landing troops on Cyprus

bases which were available only to Britain.

Nixon and Kissinger had no objection to seeing Cyprus run by the Greek generals.

As in the October Mideast war, the US found itself isolated in the middle of a crisis which threatened to rip apart the NATO alliance. Except for Greece, all of the major NATO allies of the US immediately came out for the return of Makarios while the US "tilted" toward the interests of the Greek generals.

Suddenly, however, it began to appear that organizing the Cyprus coup was a huge blunder that was leading the Greek regime itself to collapse. Then everything changed, including US policy.

Turkey, like Greece, a NATO member armed by the US, could never tolerate the extension of Greek power to Cyprus.

First of all, Greek control of Cyprus, 45 miles from the Turkish coast, would strongly affect the military balance between the two countries.

Second, if the Turkish regime (a nationalist coalition of social democrats and extreme right-wing

forces) allowed Greece to take over an island with a Turkish minority already living in constant fear, this would produce a crisis that could overthrow the Turkish government itself.

The prospect of an all-out war with Turkey over Cyprus proved to be the final, fatal disaster for the Greek generals.

There was no enthusiasm for such a war among the Greek people, who had become completely disgusted with the policies and adventures of the junta.

A suicidal war might bring revolts in the Greek army, unloose the threat of popular upheaval, and turn Greece into another Portugal. When the US realized the Greek generals were finished, it raced to arrange a cease-fire on Cyprus and to help quietly force the generals out of power.

HEADING OFF REVOLUTION

Why did Turkey agree to a cease-fire when its military position was so strong? While the rulers of Turkey had no love for their enemies, the Greek generals, they

The modern history of Cyprus is the story of two national communities, Greeks and Turks, divided and ruled by imperialism, and now pawns in the political maneuvers of the superpowers.

With the collapse of the Turkish empire during World War I, Cyprus was taken over by the British. But the Greek population of the island (slightly over 80%) resented British rule. They fought for union with Greece (the term for this is "Enosis").

Britain refused to grant this demand because Cyprus was a key military base. Physical repression

was employed to try to destroy the movement for Enosis.

Greek Cypriots resisted with years of guerrilla warfare led by an extreme right-wing Greek nationalist, General Grivas. Britain finally offered Cyprus independence in 1959, provided Britain's right to the military bases was guaranteed. But union of Cyprus with Greece was blocked by Turkey, which threatened to invade Cyprus if union were carried out.

It was then that Makarios, who had been deported by the British during the 1950's as a leader of the Enosis movement, came into power in the 1960 election.

Makarios has maintained power ever since, by balancing between different forces. Few people believed that he could maintain an independent state of Cyprus in the long-term this way.

For Grivas and his supporters remained committed to union with Greece. They began planning to overthrow Makarios, whom they saw as a traitor to their cause. But Makarios continued to make use of their services.

For example, there was bitter fighting between the Greek and Turkish communities in November 1963, during which Greek forces tried to slaughter the whole Turkish population. Yet Makarios in 1964 invited Grivas to organize the Greek Cypriot forces into a National Guard under Greek officers.

A couple of years ago, Grivas even reorganized his terrorist organization in order to bring down the government. But Makarios hoped to stay in power by balancing these forces against the threat of invasion from Turkey. He also maintained friendly ties to both the Soviet Union and the western powers.

Far from being a dedicated opponent of the extreme right, Makarios displayed all the normal characteristics of any capitalist politician.

The biggest popular political force in Cyprus is the Cypriot Communist Party, AKEL. It controls the main trade union body (45,000 members) and wholeheartedly supported all of Makarios' pro-capitalist policies.

A few hours before the coup, AKEL called for answering to the threat from the right by "strengthening the police" and the "special police force."

Meanwhile, the Greek generals, whom Makarios had welcomed to Cyprus, were preparing the coup which overthrew him and plunged the island into new fighting, invasion and civil war. The balancing act was over. □

FROM WAR TO REVOLUTION?

The Greek colonels' junta seized power in 1967, in the midst of an economic and political crisis.

During its years in power, the task the regime set itself was to thoroughly crush all independent political organizations, and especially to keep profits up at the expense of workers' wages and working conditions.

For several years, these policies seemed quite successful. In 1968-69, for example, income from profits rose by 15%. Wages were frozen, 158 unions dissolved and their militant leaders jailed in hideous concentration camps where starvation and torture were common.

In 1970 alone, appalling speedup and safety conditions resulted, for example in 135 deaths on Greek ships from fire and other disasters.

Suddenly, this regime has caved

away and collapsed. Why? What happened?

The fall of the military regime appeared to be very sudden. In reality, however, it has been rotting away from within for some time - the Turkish invasion of Cyprus finally cracked the shell.

During 1971-72, soaring inflation (which reached a rate of 45% by 1973) touched off a wave of unofficial strikes by plastics and power workers, among others. Mounting student revolt also forced the junta to try to broaden their base to include at least right-wing civilian politicians.

Then last November, a massive worker-student uprising forced the junta to dump original dictator Papadopoulos and install a new front man, General Gizikis.

But the masses of Greek people who fought and died in the streets

In November were cheated of their victory - the same apparatus of repression and military rule remained.

In the Cyprus crisis, however, no such easy solution was possible. The Greek Third Army, massed on the Turkish border, was threatening to refuse orders to fight if the military remained in power.

Under this threat, US officials realized that the junta must either resign or face the threat of revolution.

Washington, acting quickly in concert with some of its junior partners - notably the Labor Party government in Britain - moved to force the junta to hand over power to a new group of right-wing civilian politicians who had been axed from power by the military.

Greece is headed now by former premier Karamanlis, who governed



previously from 1952-63. It was his government that banned the Communist Party and engineered the murder of the left wing leader George Lambrakis (the hero of the movie "Z").

So far the new government has opened up the jails to free the political prisoners. But hundreds of Greeks have massed in the streets to celebrate the end of dictatorship and to demand the full return of democratic rights.

A wave of struggle from below is almost certain to open up in Greece. Today, masses of Greek

workers believe that the road to a better future lies in the promises of constitutional democracy being issued by the new government.

But the return of Karamanlis to power cannot solve the problem of inflation or the general crisis of Greek capitalism. He is certain to resort to new repressive measures.

Revolutionaries in Greece will be arguing the need for socialist revolution and independent working class struggle, not bound by this government or its pleas for "stability" and "restraint," if further gains are to be won. □

CLUW Leader Lays It On

DETROIT—250 women trade unionists gathered here at UAW Local 212's hall to launch Southeastern Michigan CLUW chapters. The formation of CLUW chapters in the Detroit area holds special importance because Detroit is the home of the CLUW national office and of Olga Madar, CLUW president.

Around the country, as Workers' Power has reported, various CLUW chapters have been told by the national office that they "did things wrong" and would have to start over.

Southeastern Michigan, under the watchful eye of Madar "did everything right." Detroit is the showpiece for the leadership's strategy.

This showpiece was the last major city to hold a local meeting, a full four months after the CLUW founding convention in Chicago.

Southeastern Michigan followed in painstaking detail the leadership's admonition to "go slow and do it right." The result was a turnout far below all predictions. Chicago had attracted nearly twice the number from the Detroit area as did the local meeting.

One young auto worker told Workers' Power that seven women from her plant had gone to Chicago and only three came to the local meeting.

The leadership tried to blame the beautiful Sunday afternoon for the

poor showing and undoubtedly the sunshine had some effect. But there are other explanations to be found.

The "go slow" policy, lasting four months, drove many away in disgust. The leadership's demand that publicity be done through notification of local union presidents meant that notices ended up in the waste baskets of the male union leadership.

The result was that only the most dedicated came - the leadership who wants to use CLUW as a battering ram to open the door for more women in union "policy making positions" and the militants who want an organization fighting for the needs of working women.

The most significant aspect of the meeting was Madar's keynote speech, her first major speech as CLUW president.

Since the founding convention, the CLUW leadership has been under pressure from rank and fliers and militants demanding CLUW become a fighting organization open to all working women.

Amidst a few militant sounding phrases Madar's speech was designed to take on the militants and radicals and make clear the leadership's strategy.

In answer to criticisms of the "go slow - do nothing" instructions from her office she stated, "We will be around for a long time so it

is important that things are done right... Many were concerned because they needed membership cards before becoming a chapter [membership applications have only just been sent out]... but that is not so important. What is the important thing is getting union women together to work out programs and priorities."

And what are these priorities? Madar listed those agreed on in Chicago: "Organize the unorganized, Affirmative Action, Legislation and Union participation."

But she continued, "what we are seeking primarily is equitable representation of women in policy making positions in their unions... if we can do this we will have an impact on the other three, therefore that is the most important priority."

In other words, the major purpose of CLUW, to Madar, is to get more women into the leadership of the unions.

Interesting words from a woman who told the Detroit Free Press that women in the UAW Administration Caucus would not run for any UAW Vice Presidential position, other than the one Madar was leaving, because they would not challenge men in their own caucus. Since the administration caucus runs the show, what men will they challenge?

Madar listed other important leadership roles that more women



The question of active support to the United Farm Workers, a large percentage women, continues to be a major question for CLUW.

should be filling: the COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education) endorsement committee, more women running for government and then endorsed by COPE, and women on the Social Security Commission.

She discussed legislation concerning women, like rape and credit, that CLUW should be pressuring the unions to actively support.

She listed facts on discrimination in employment that CLUW should be circulating within the unions.

In short, she laid out a program for CLUW of pressure politics and legislative lobbying. And she laid out a strategy - get more women into the trade union leadership who will be in important positions to pressure and lobby."

Nowhere did she discuss possible mass actions of tens of thousands of women workers demonstrating in support of women's demands. In fact the strategy laid out by Madar effectively excludes the masses of working women (how many can fill a smoke filled room?) and cuts off the real power working women have - large numbers, demonstrating and striking for their needs.

For example, her strategy for organizing the unorganized is to get more women in the leadership "then they can pressure the unions." But what about active support for existing organizing drives now?

What about CLUW, as an organization, demanding the AFL-CIO, UAW and IBT fund massive organizing now? What about CLUW demonstrating toward that end?

And what about fighting the policy of union Internationals to destroy chances of organizing women with their own petty jurisdictional disputes?

The point is that changing the sex of union officials will not change the plight of working women unless the program and policies are changed as well. We are for more women in the leadership - but women who will fight sexist policies by mobilizing the masses of working women - not by helping to hold them down.

Rank and file women answered Madar's powerless strategy with ideas of their own.

The first speaker, from the floor, discussed the plight of the farm-workers and the importance of CLUW giving all out support to their struggle by organizing mass picket lines in support of the boycott of scab lettuce, grapes and wine.

Other women suggested that CLUW could give active support to existing struggles of women like the current organizing drives of Editorial Department workers at the Detroit News and Detroit hospital workers.

Other suggestions raised from the floor were to bring unorganized women workers into CLUW and to fight for childcare for women workers.

There is a lot to be done. Women workers have a long history of grievances to rectify.

Olga Madar laid out her program and strategy and militants answered her - bring in rank and file working women and organize mass actions in support of women's needs and struggles.

In answer to charges of CLUW women being outside the unions Madar stated "We are the unions."

And rank and file working women are CLUW - every bit as much as Madar.

CLUW can be as militant as they can make it.

Gay Semel

From the Scrimmage Line To the Picket Line

The young National Football League Players Association appears to have matured into a labor organization demanding the respect and admiration of the trade union movement.

A few years ago members of the NFLPA had a hard time conceiving of themselves as workers let alone recognizing the possible benefits of collective struggle. Now the NFLPA is pressing demands to gain a measure of freedom and respect for its members that the rest of the labor movement should support.

It is certainly true that professional football players are an elite and privileged part of the working class. It is also true that the outcome of this struggle will not have a profound impact on the rights of labor in this country. Nevertheless, this struggle is important for at least several reasons.

First, it demonstrates how natural and necessary it is for workers of all descriptions to band together in order to fight for their interests and against their employers.

Second, it shows how basically and universally the interests of labor and capital are opposed—even for professional athletes.

Third, it is important because the NFLPA is fighting for "freedom" and some degree of workers' control.

The strike is based upon what is popularly referred to as the freedom issues. It is freedom the NFLPA and owners are fighting over.

It appears from all reports that the money issues are settled or are settleable. How the owners cry and moan that freedom will destroy the game!

Those cries are not too unlike those one hears from those who own and control industry in general. Remember how the auto manufacturers cried that no forced overtime would wreck the industry? Or how the freedom to strike itself disrupts the steel industry?

The owners of football teams and industry correctly fear demands of freedom from workers. If owners lose freedom to workers it means their profits are threatened.

THEIR TERMS, OR OURS

It does not mean, however, that football games won't be played or cars and steel won't be produced—it boils down to on whose terms, theirs or ours.

As it is now the NFL owners are exempt from the usual, even if impotent, anti-trust laws.

The owners for years were faced only with competition from the Canadian Football League. During that time the NFL had a virtual monopoly on player talent in the United States.

Today they face some added threat from the World Football League. The WFL, however, faces some very lean years if it is to survive at all.

With the help of Louisiana senators and representatives, the NFL achieved its anti-trust exemption. For their trouble New Orleans got a franchise. That exemption paved the way for the merger of the NFL and AFL and locked players in to the team drafting them.

College players have no choice in who drafts them. If they wish to play football in the United States they go to the team that drafts them or they don't play at all.

Once signed to a NFL standard player contract for one year, the player must play out his owner's option on his playing rights for another year, often at a 10% cut in pay before theoretically free.

In actuality, however, in order for the player to play elsewhere he must find a team willing to give up a player of equal value or some other form of compensation to his former team.

"ROZELLE RULE"

If no satisfactory agreement is reached, the owners' representa-



tive, Pete Rozelle, acts as the arbiter. The player has no voice or representation in that decision.

The "reserve clause" and the "Rozelle rule" are at the heart of the struggle. Other demands, perhaps as important if not more so, are being fought for by the players. These demands involve the right of players to have representation in dealings with the owners and those involving working conditions.

The NFL and its management, including the coaches, can and do impose restrictions on players that most workers would not stand for. Players' off the field activities are controlled, they are forced to submit to behavior codes, demeaning medical and mental examinations, curfews and the dictates of coaches who often are authoritarian and brutal.

Fines can and are imposed at will by coaches for everything from being late, making mistakes and even losing games. The NFLPA

demands that players subject to discipline have a hearing and the right of union and private representation if desired.

The owners determine the virtual rules of the game and what kind of ground the game is to be played on.

WORKING CONDITIONS

This last spring the owners significantly changed the rules of professional football so that players are subject to more hazardous working conditions and longer hours. The owners decided that the game can be played on artificial turf.

The NFLPA has objected to these changes and demands a joint committee on player safety and rules. That is not nearly too much different than what the OCAW fought Shell about last year.

Several years ago when the Central Conference of Teamsters

and Harold Gibbons sought to convince the NFLPA to affiliate with the Teamsters, Gibbons suggested the possibility of labor solidarity that could effectively win strikes.

That is, that if players refuse to work and the owners attempt to play the game with scabs, then the concession workers, ticket takers, ushers and television and other supportive workers could refuse to work the game also.

When it comes right down to it, labor solidarity is what it takes to win any strike even in the unique industry the NFLPA deals with.

Other workers ought also to take notice of freedom issues themselves, and fight for freedom, dignity and workers control.

[The author is a former professional football player and NFLPA member.]



labor briefs

A new Gallo wine is on the market which should be added to your boycott list. Its called **Madria Madria Sangria**. Support the United Farm Workers union. Don't buy any Gallo wine (those with "Modesto, California" on the label).

Pat Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meatecutters union, is still trying to sabotage the Farm Workers' grape and lettuce boycott. Gorman recently wrote AFL-CIO President George Meany saying that he couldn't support the boycott because the Meatecutters have a few members in California packing sheds who would be affected.

Some people don't care. The **B.F. Goodrich Co.** is building a new polyvinyl-chloride plant in Louisville. It was at Goodrich's old Louisville plant that the connection between exposure to vinyl chloride and liver cancer was recently publicized. The new plant, says Goodrich, will not meet the new government standards for vinyl chloride exposure which are likely to go into effect this fall.

Workers in **District 221 at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant** in Detroit recently won a campaign to get their chief steward, Neil Chacker, back. When the plant laid off 2000 workers as a result of the energy crisis, the number of stewards was reduced and the skilled trades steward, Ron Heppler, was appointed to cover Chacker's district. Workers in the district became very unhappy with Heppler's performance and signed a petition to get Chacker back. A large delegation went to the union hall with the petition, implying that production would halt unless they got their steward back. Within a week, Chacker was re-assigned as steward. He is now trying to set up a system of line stewards.

The federal **Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)** is now trying to get its research arm, the National Institute of Occupational Safety & Health, to stop announcing what levels of exposure to factory hazards are "safe." OSHA complains that such recommendations create public pressure to adopt the safe standards and make it hard to consider other factors, such as cost.

The firing of **Steve Smith**, a chief steward at the Warren, Michigan **Dodge Truck plant**, led to a four-day wildcat strike in June. One Chrysler personnel manager says that Smith was fired not so much because the company was out to get him, but due to constant pressure from the union officials.

Two thousand members of **UAW Local 819** in St. Louis spent a month on strike at **Carter Carburetor** in St. Louis. During the strike, fifty person picket lines blocked plant exits, with picketers demanding to examine the trunks of all cars leaving the plant for possible smuggled carburetors.

John Delury, leader of New York's **Sanitationmen**, and **Richard Vinzini**, president of the **Firefighters**, have praised New York's Democratic Mayor **Abraham Beame** for the "fair way the city bargained" in recent contract negotiations. But the praise should be the other way around, for the gentleman-like way in which rank and file sanitationmen and firefighters were taken for a ride. New contracts provide for an average 7% a year increase, with tiny cost of living raises. And in addition, the city gets a "productivity commission" to develop changes in work rules to save the city money.

At the June UAW Convention in Los Angeles, the International Harvester Co. threw a lavish party and invited all UAW delegates from IH plants. Two delegates from Local 6, Melrose Park, Ill. were the only ones who refused to attend. The party featured all the **steak, lobster, caviar, and liquor you could eat and drink**. All at IH expense, to be treated as a tax deduction as a "legitimate business expense."

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

'They bought the judge...'



"If they're going to do this, we ain't working." Day shift really carries all the weight - if you've got their support, you got everybody.

They were out four days, and then this judge they got from I don't know where comes on. Warren Truck just like hired the guy. You know, like they hired the police.

The judge got on a bus or a van or whatever and he gives everybody three choices: you go to work, you go home and stay there and get fired, or you go to jail. That's a hell of a three choices.

It was either go to work, go to jail, or be fired. It was either you work or don't have a job. It was very effective, because most of the guys, they got big families. They can't find another job.

Last night they circulated a letter saying it was 79 that got fired, but my boss told me it was over a hundred that was fired and he told me it was still more to come.

A couple of days after when we were going to work the guards had these lists - four or five sheets of paper - and all these people were supposed to be fired because they were seen by their foreman on the picket line or out there talking to the picketers.

Then the judge came in the plant sentencing people to time. Him and the plant manager were walking down the line. If they missed somebody at the gate, they would just simply go through department by department, get the foreman and say, "Is this the man here who you see outside?" They were fired.

A judge is supposed to be in the middle, right? He can't be for the company and he can't be for the people. He's just supposed to sit right in the middle. The way he was doing it, he didn't give nobody no choice. He do what the company wants or that's it.

How can this man be a judge? Everybody knew Warren Truck had hired him. Everybody knows everybody gets money under the table. Even the union gets bought off.

The union labels it as communist action - outside agitators. But these people are in there working. How can they be outside agitators? They're in there under these conditions.

The union had a goon squad out there. This was something I didn't know that the union had. They had all the union reps lined up at every gate. These guys were out there with sticks talking about, "We ain't letting no communists hold our people back from work."

I mean, these people were doing something constructive, whether they were communists or not. The goon squad was unnecessary - these people still pay union dues.

The only way I can see to get them back is full cooperation throughout the plant. Some guys are saying, "Hey, either bring them back or we quit work."

I feel that the workers inside the plant have an obligation to these people because they went out there to get something better for everybody - not just for themselves but for everybody.

[Workers' Power recently carried the story of a wildcat strike caused by the firing of **Steve Smith**, a chief steward at the **Dodge Truck plant** in Warren, Michigan. The strike was eventually broken by the company, with considerable help from the union, the police, and a local judge.]

Workers' Power interviewed **Bob Smith**, a member of **UAW Local 140** at the plant. He tells why the strike occurred and what has happened since it was defeated.]

It's been like a circus, actually. Management is trying to put pressure on people. Either you work 9 or 10 hours, seven days a week or you don't have a job.

I first hired in in February of '73. We worked seven days there in my department for five months. Then we had a break; we worked six days from that time on til now. We never had a five day week.

Before the strike, there was tension all over the plant. Each foreman had his orders to harass people.

All over the plant it's the same pattern. Ever since I've been there, all you can hear everybody that works on the line complain about is

speed-up. The company, if they get behind maybe 70 trucks, they'll speed it up.

And you can call your union rep, he'll come down and he'll say, "Well, OK, I'm gonna stop this," and he'll go in the back room or over there in the corner. He don't give a fuck, you know.

In my department - I'm a maintenance worker - when we first started off cleaning up it was six guys. Then they cut it down to three. And it's impossible.

We got some crazy guys in our department. One day they went in and did the whole job in four hours. So they want us to do this all the time, which is impossible. It's an eight hour job.

What they did was - it was a holiday. Ain't nobody wanted to work on that Saturday, so they promised them if they get through within three or four hours, they can get that day off. So they did it. OK, what happened was, they said, "Well, you can do it this time, you can do it every day," and this is how they entrapped them.

The day they fired the steward the word just spread like wildfire. Everybody said, like hey, this department walked out - they fired so many people.

Support came the next day. They told the day shift workers what happened. And these guys said,

Ruckers Still Out

The 13th week of their strike marks the most serious point yet faced by women at the **Ruckers Electronics plant** in Concord, California. The company still refuses to bargain and there is no progress on any contract negotiations at all.

The lack of strike benefits is a problem. Striking over low wages of \$2.05 an hour, strikers are facing serious financial hardship.

There is only enough in the strike fund to cover dire emergencies. This has forced many strikers to take part time temporary work. The result is fewer picketers.

But there is some good news on the horizon. Workers' Power has just learned that **IBEW locals** throughout the state of California are assessing their members \$1 a month for three months for the strike fund. Money from other sources is also starting to come in.

Ruckers strikers spoke to a recent California AFL-CIO meeting on women, and enlivened an otherwise dull meeting. Trade unionists present donated \$300 out of their pockets.

Although most strikers are sticking together, a few have begun to go back. The union leadership's role in this has been less than militant. In mid-July, rumors were rife that the leaders of **IBEW Local 2131** were going to propose calling off the strike and going back to work without a contract.

MASS PICKET

The rank and file strike leaders were appalled and spent a week rallying other strikers and by the Friday meeting had managed to solidify their ranks. The officials did not present the rumored

proposal and pooh-poohed the whole idea.

But the union leaders did forbid continuing the mass picket lines which had been mobilized once or twice a week. They kicked the strike support committee out of the union hall. The effect of this was to leave the strikers in a weaker position.

But by Monday, July 22, another mass demonstration was called and the turnout was good, although some were arrested. The increased financial support and wider publicity should help the strikers hang tough.

More than money is needed, however. The most important objectives, which the union leadership is not seriously pursuing, are

pulling out workers from other Ruckers plants, and winning agreements from other unions not to handle Ruckers products. □

Frank Running Horse
Cissy Almond



Boycott
Grapes,
Lettuce, and
Gallo Wine!

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

Coal Boycott: Solidarity Or Protectionism?

In the last two articles in this column we have shown how a protectionist policy ties the union to the bosses and weakens the struggle of the workers. By protectionism we mean those policies that attempt to protect the jobs of American workers by protecting American industry from foreign competition.

Socialists, who are internationalists, have realized that protectionism divides workers along national lines and harms the growth of a strong international workers movement.

It is easy enough to see that the other side of protectionist slogans like "buy American" is "to hell with the other guy." That not only weakens the international working class movement, itself still too weak, but, as we have shown in past columns, it doesn't even work for American workers.

Recently, however, the United Mine Workers (UMW) have succeeded in confusing much of the left with a rather sophisticated version of protectionism.

The Gulf Power Co., a subsidiary of the Southern Company, has contracted with Coal Exports South Africa, Ltd., for 500,000 tons of low sulfur coal for 1974 and another 750,000 tons for 1975. The reason the Southern Co. has turned to South African coal is simple. The cost of mining South African coal is \$1.95 a ton as compared to \$7.65 for U.S. coal.

South African coal is cheap because of the low pay and slave labor conditions under which black miners in that white supremacist state are forced to work.

UMW members in Alabama have staged two one-day strikes against the use of South African coal and the UMW has promised a mass demonstration in Mobile to prevent the unloading of that coal.

Certainly the sight of black and white miners in Alabama striking together in apparent opposition to the racist regime in South Africa is enough to turn the head of any revolutionary worker.

According to the UMW Journal, the UMW opposes the import of South African coal "both because jobs for American miners will be lost and because the South African coal is produced under slave labor conditions."

In fact, the UMW's opposition to South African coal is nothing

but protectionism with a good cover story. The logic of this policy is every bit as protectionist and American chauvinist as the Garment Workers' "Buy American" campaign or the Steel Workers' codling of U.S. steel monopolists.

The UMW is apparently fighting the Southern Company. But that corporation is not a coal producer. It is a coal user. In fact, beneath its rhetoric, the UMW is demanding that the Southern Company buy only from American coal producers.

Any way you read it, that spells "buy American." And that is how they propose to save American jobs.

And what does saving American jobs mean in this case? It means counterposing American miners' jobs to South African miners' jobs. That is, as the UMW says, if the Southern Company uses South African coal, thereby using South African labor, "jobs for American miners will be lost."

And if Southern and everyone else uses only American coal, that is American labor, what happens to South African labor? Or, to put it another way, "to hell with the other guy."

When one group of workers, here or abroad, goes on strike and other unions boycott the goods being struck, as in the UFW lettuce and grape boycott, that is an act of labor solidarity. Similarly, when the UMW goes on strike it should try to prevent all coal shipments and deliveries, domestic or foreign, in order to weaken the bosses. But there is no strike of South African miners or of UMW members involved here.

The UMW's "boycott" of South African coal is neither an act of solidarity with African miners nor an attack on American coal operators. It is a "boycott" in favor of American coal operators and against South African coal operators. Regardless of the cover story or anyone's intentions, the solidarity here is between the UMW and the U.S. coal operators.

Anyone who can interpret siding with one's own bosses against the bosses of another country as an act of international labor solidarity is, indeed, confused.

Of course, the UMW leadership has stated that it intends to work

with the Miners' International Federation (a loose grouping of miners' unions in non-Communist countries), the British Trades Union Congress, and other labor groups to oppose the policies of the South African regime. Good. It is long past time that U.S. unions got involved in fighting on questions like this.

In particular, we hope the UMW will fight U.S. support to South Africa's racist regime. We hope the UMW will give financial aid and any other help when South African miners strike.

But none of this changes the character of the UMW's attempt to save American miners' jobs by imposing protectionist policies. Even if it is all sincere it is still a cover story for the wrong policy.

Banning imports, raising import tariffs, cut-throat competition on the world market; these are the weapons of imperialism, not of labor solidarity. Throughout the twentieth century protectionist policies have helped push aggressive capitalist nations into war. Again and again, under pro-capitalist or Stalinist leadership, the working classes of one country have taken up arms against those of another.

Like the protectionism that preceded them, each war has had a better cover story than the one before: the war to end all war, the war to make the world safe for democracy, etc. Labor protectionism has been nothing but the junior partner in this savage process.

The new leadership of the miners union is playing the game of the pro-capitalist "statesmen" who run the other big unions: Woodcock of the Auto Workers, Abel of the Steel Workers, and so on. The way to protect the jobs of the bituminous miners is to fight for a contract that protects those jobs through a shorter work week at a full week's pay. The UMW could also do more to fight strip mining, which ruins the land and cuts labor to a minimum, than its current half-hearted Congressional lobbying effort.

According to UMW President Arnold Miller, intensive investment by big coal operators in western strip mining could eliminate 25-40,000 jobs in the next five years. Why not strike against that?



"They won't come to the bargaining table so we will take the bargaining table to them...."

"Don't be afraid to get arrested."

With that announcement striking East Bay bus drivers marched to downtown Oakland July 19th and stormed the offices of the A.C. Transit Co. until their negotiators were allowed in.

"You know how it is with the bigwigs, man, they don't want to pay any attention to you," said one striker.

A.C.'s general manager, Alan Bingham, began to notice the drivers, however, when his office windows were smashed to shreds of "We want Bingham!" and "Bring the greedy bastard down to the street where we can talk to him!"

1,650 striking drivers, mechanics, and clerical workers have shut down the transit district since July 1. The strike has attracted widespread notice because of the resulting traffic jams.

The union is willing to go back to work under the old contract until a new one is negotiated, but management refuses. The sticking point is a cost-of-living clause the union negotiated two years ago, which has won the workers a 22% wage increase over the past few years as the Consumer Price Index has soared.

Angry City Workers Shut Down Baltimore

BALTIMORE—Fired by rapidly rising prices and falling real wages, growing public employee militancy led to a widespread municipal strike in Baltimore that at its height involved nearly 3,500 workers.

But, alternately bungling and timid leadership by the bureaucrats who head the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) threatened to erode the modest gains made by the city's blue-collar workers.

The strike began after Local 44 of AFSCME, representing blue-collar municipal workers, ratified at a sparsely attended membership meeting a contract providing for a wage increase of only 5.5%, far less than the current rate of inflation.

Since for the past several years city labor contracts have failed to even keep pace with the cost of living, this represented the last straw.

Driven to desperation by a wage increase that came to only 20c an hour for laborers now making \$3.42 an hour, and enraged by a "point system" that allows the city to fire workers after eight absences (excused or unexcused), about 700 sanitation workers hung Local 44's president in effigy and began a wildcat strike July 1.

A few sewer department workers

joined them almost immediately.

The city administration reacted with shrieks of indignation. Mayor William Donald Schaefer threatened to fire all of the strikers and replace them with strikebreakers as soon as they could be hired, and the city went to court to get an injunction.

Local AFSCME leaders at first refused to back the strike, but soon gave way to rank-and-file pressure and gave it official sanction, demanding a minimum 50c an hour increase.

As expected, the city got its injunction (in municipal strikes, courts hand out injunctions as quickly and automatically as vending machines dispense candy), and fines began to accumulate against the union.

But injunctions, fines and threats did little even to halt the spread of the strike, much less stop it. Walkouts occurred in department after department, with the number of strikers growing to 1,500 on the second day, 2,500 on the third day and 3,000 by the eighth day.

When the city attempted to shift highway and utility workers to garbage pick-up duties, they refused to cross the picket lines and many of them later joined the strike.

Local and state AFL-CIO bodies endorsed the strike (but not until

the seventh day) and offered to pay whatever fines were imposed by the courts, but other than that did little to rally their members in support of the strike.

By July 6 the strike had spread to include most sewer, water, parks and recreation and vehicle maintenance workers, and city public works operations were virtually paralyzed.

But Mayor Schaefer refused to negotiate except within the framework of the original 5.5% offer, and was soon backed up by Governor Marvin Mandel, who announced that no additional state aid would be forthcoming to pay the cost of any higher settlement.

Both Schaefer and Mandel are Democrats who have had the enthusiastic support of the state



Baltimore police arrest striking sanitation workers

[continued on page 14]

Building the Amer

Rev

Working class organizing—fighting for workers' control on the shop floor and in the unions—and building a revolutionary party in this country are both topics of intense discussion and controversy today.

How to build these two struggles into one united fight was the theme of a recent Workers' Power Educational Conference in Cleveland.

Joel Geier, national chairman of the International Socialists, gave the closing talk, bringing together some of the ideas discussed during the conference and drawing some conclusions about political direction for the rank and file movement.

Most important, he laid out the IS perspective for building the revolutionary party out of the growing rank and file movement—so that workers are not just able to fight more effectively within capitalism, but also to destroy it.

For reasons of space we have had to abridge this talk considerably. The complete version is available from IS Book Service. Please send ten cents to cover postage.

The last 30 years since the end of World War II have been peculiar for capitalism. There has been long sustained economic expansion and growth without sharp slumps, without the normal capitalist cycle of booms and busts, which before World War II had produced both unrest and struggle and the development of a workers' movement.

In the post war period, that capitalist cycle of booms and busts was flattened out. There was a rather constant expansion which allowed for a rise in the living standards on the part of workers without sharp working class struggles.

This was projected to us as something that would continue forever and ever, that capitalism had solved its' problems, that depressions were a thing of the past. Depression became a 'dirty word', a sort of deleted expletive in academic and government circles.

Expansion, we were taught, could go on forever, due to the wonders of Keynesian economics, of government regulations, of pump priming.

Even the "new left" originally bought that, saying there are no

more economic problems, just problems of the quality of life.

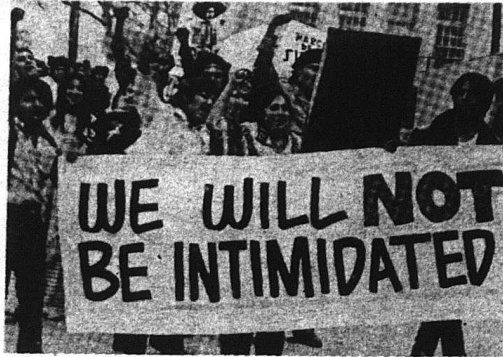
The post war boom, however, was not based upon Keynesian controls, but upon two interrelated factors which emerge from modern imperialism and which now are reaching their limits and producing their own contradictions. They were the total American domination over the world market, and the permanent war economy here at home as the prop of the American market.

The sharp struggles for the world market between capitalist countries which gave rise to modern imperialism, to two world wars in this century, to the breakdown of the capitalist equilibrium in the 20's and 30's, was overcome - for a period when all of America's capitalist rivals were destroyed in the Second World War.

All of them became dependent client states of the United States, which picked up and displaced their enemies.

For a long period of time we had a healthy capitalism in the United States, precisely because it was the only healthy capitalism in the world.

German, Japanese, French, Ital-



Chicano Moratorium Day, Los Angeles, 1971

ian and British policies were all subordinated to American needs.

And here at home we had the partial state planning of a permanent war budget. Ten percent of the GNP in the 1950's and 1960's went into the war budget. It was equal to all of the capital investment in this country.

Arms spending flattened out the traditional capitalist cycle, because capital which would have fueled booms was drained off into the waste production of war goods.

On the other hand the state military market absorbed these goods and limited the development of recession.

Arms spending, however, was not strictly an economic mechanism. It was not shared evenly, but paid for mainly by the United States, and to a lesser extent Britain and France. And this arms spending, these costs, were inherently inflationary.

This meant that while the benefits of a constantly expanding market were shared by the German capitalists, the Japanese, the Italians and others, they had their war budget paid for them by the United States.

They grew faster - and by the mid 60's they were increasingly capable of competing with the United States on the world market, in heavy goods, steel, autos, chemicals, and other things.

As a result we began to get economic crisis and instability returning to the capitalist system in the mid 60's. The United States was forced to cut back on arms spending as a percentage of GNP,

from 10% in the 50's and 60's to where it is now down to less than 6%. As an economic stabilizer of the system it has declined.

We have also seen the return of a sharp struggle for the world market and with it the return of the traditional business cycle of booms and busts.

STRUGGLE RETURNS

The first post war bust that we got was in 1968 to 1970, when we got the first international recession since the start of World War II. That recession was peculiar in two respects. First, it was international; and second, inflation didn't decline during the recession, it got worse.

During that recession we got a new invention in economics, a "stagflation recession." We had a recession in which there was both stagnation and inflation.

With it we also got politically the first wave of working class struggle in the advanced industrial countries since the 1940's. It broke out sharply in 1968 in France and in Czechoslovakia, and then spread in 1969 to Italy in the "hot autumn" and in 1970 to the workers' uprising in Poland and in a less dramatic form to other European countries.

There was the start of a strike movement in Spain for the first time since Franco's fascist regime took power, and the rather uninterrupted rise in trade union militancy in Britain.

That first international recession, which led to the first wave of working class struggle in the advanced world in the post war period, did a number of things. The first thing it did was to restore revolutionary ideas in the working class in the advanced industrial world.

Secondly it created a layer of workers, in the European countries in particular, who were to the left of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties.

Thirdly what this upsurge did was it began to transform a number of sects - revolutionary sects who believed in proletarian revolution, but during the years of reaction in the 50's and 60's were reduced to being sects on the margins of working class life. In Britain, France and Italy in 1967, these sects consisted of 200 - 300 people, primarily students.

The rise of working class struggle took those groups and put them into the heart of the working class and turned them into the embryos of revolutionary parties. It did this because, for the first time in a generation, it allowed revolutionaries to lead reform struggles and to relate them to revolutionary perspectives.

The Social Democratic and trade union leaders in Europe were more reluctant to lead struggles as a result of this return of crisis and instability to the capitalist system.

In a period of prosperity they could deliver the goods without leading sharp working class struggles. In a period of crisis they

moved away from leading those struggles.

This happened for two reasons. First is their commitment to their own national capitals. For example, the commitment of the Labor Party in Britain to British capitalism means that it accepts the needs and limits of British competitive position on a world market. It accepts incomes policies, holding wages down, engaging in speed-up and so on.

Secondly, in a period of increasing instability, winning reforms means mobilizing the rank and file in sharp forms of struggle.

That would mean reviving democratic rights in the union, which is a threat to the position and power and privileges of the union bureaucracy.

As a result, for the first time in a generation, revolutionaries in Britain, France and elsewhere have been able to fill some of the vacuum of leadership that has been left by the trade union leaders that wished to abandon those struggles.

Revolutionaries have been able to lead struggles over wages and working conditions, and against the

**"It is in the
workers' consciousness
horizons are developing
are developing"**

capitalist state attack on the trade unions, and to relate that to revolutionary perspectives. They are able to show workers that they are the best militants, precisely because they are not committed to capitalism but to the interest of the workers.

They can show that their militancy grows from their socialist perspectives and that the sell-outs of the bureaucracy flow from its commitment to capitalism and to the needs of national capital in the struggle for the world market.

THE NEW WAVE

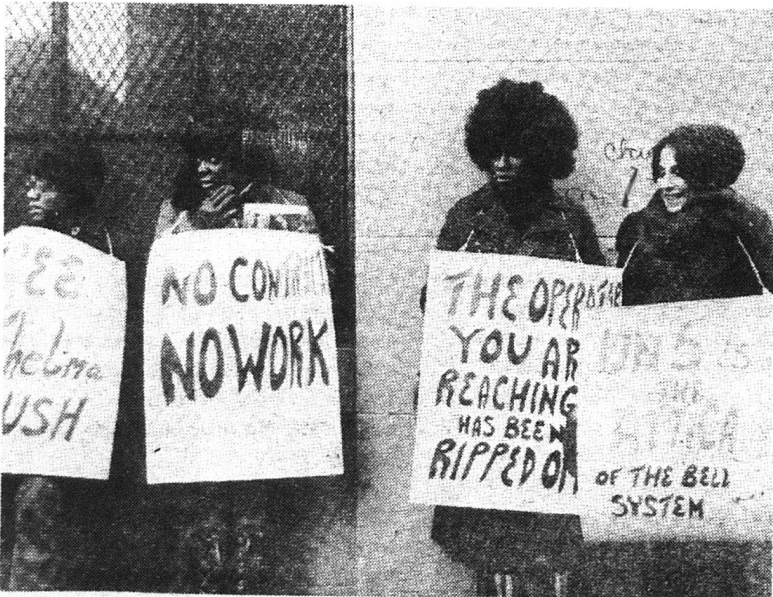
In 1971 to 1973 we started a new stabilization and new booms. Internationally the advanced capitalist countries from 1971 to 1973 went through the biggest boom that they had had in over 20 years, since the Korean war.

To some extent that new boom slowed down the process of radicalization and the development of revolutionary parties in Europe - it didn't thoroughly alter it, but slowed it down.

Towards the end of 1973 we started the second postwar international recession, which is going to be worse than the first recession. And the inflation that is going to come in this recession will be worse than that of the previous recession, and worse than that of the boom of 1971 to 1973.

With a sharper economic conjuncture than the first post war recession we are going to get sharper forms of working class struggles, in the next two to three years.

Already the signs have broken



New York City operators striking to end racist and sexist practices of phone company

American Revolution



The International Socialists of Great Britain (above) on an anti-fascist march. Women's Day March in New York City (below).



around 15 or 16%. In Japan they went up 26%, in France, Britain and Germany they went up around 14 or 15%.

The result is that in this country, in the last year, the decline in real wages is such that real wages are now back to where they were in 1965 - all of the gains of 10 years have been wiped out.

The result is that, as I mentioned, this country is overripe for a rank and file revolt - for a movement inside the unions, because in this country the form that a working class revolt must take will be that of a rank and file movement inside the unions.

Although the unions are bureaucratized, although they are atrophied as organs of struggle, they are the only working class organizations that exist in this country. And the working class revolt that takes place will find its form as a revolt inside the unions.

BUILDING A PARTY

For the International Socialists, our strategy for building a revolutionary party is to be part of building the rank and file movement, and building the party out of that rank and file movement.

How can a small group of revolutionaries play an important role in working class struggles? The key to the answer is that here, similar to conditions in Europe, US union leaders are tied to American capitalism and to its competitive position on the world market.

While American workers are trying to make up for their lost wages, to resist speed-up and worsening conditions, the union leaders have given their answer: they give away the right to strike, they call for import controls, for productivity commissions, for a "veto-proof" Congress controlled by the Democrats who legislated wage controls.

So as working class struggles develop, a new kind of rank and file

organization and leadership is needed if they are to force their unions to fight for anything.

It is possible for revolutionaries to lead those struggles, to start to organize to lead those struggles by organizing a rank and file movement, and to draw the connections between union militancy and socialist perspectives.

The struggles for those reforms today and the mobilization of a rank and file movement, requires more militant methods of struggle. And it is up to us to show the movement that its direction must go beyond capitalism.

It is in this struggle to create a rank and file movement that we can create the cadre, the first cadres of a revolutionary workers party.

Industrial militancy produces the working class leadership which is open to being convinced that the total attack produced by the long term deterioration of American capitalism requires a total answer.

This leadership which is thrown up in the course of struggle, has to be organized in a revolutionary workers party which is the link between the struggles in the different factories, which acts as a vanguard for the rest of the class, which brings together workers from different mills, offices, and unions, from different sectors and struggles of the working class.

The party organizes the network of working class leaders who share their experience, who generalize their strategies for their struggle, who overcome the parochialism of individual struggles.

The party brings into the struggle the difficult questions some would like to avoid in the short term, like black liberation or women's liberation, which are crucial to long term success.

The job of the revolutionary party is not to substitute itself for the working class, in the fashion of the social democratic or Stalinist parties, but to organize the working class and its consciousness. The role of the party in fighting for socialism is not to form a new elite, but to raise the working class itself to the level of ruling class.

The consciousness of the working class is developed through its own struggles, the struggles that make it fit to lead society. It is in the course of struggle that workers' creativity is untapped, that horizons are broadened, that self-consciousness and self-confidence are developed.

That is what takes place in the struggles of the working class, and the same thing is true in the independent struggles of black people and women - consciousness and strength develop in struggle.

But for that consciousness to bear fruit, it must create a party which acts as a guide and a comrade in the struggle, learning from the struggles of the working

class and generalizing the experiences, giving a lead by showing the direction and goal of the struggle and putting forward tactics and strategies to advance both the struggle and the final goal.

BUILDING THE I.S.

The International Socialists believe that we have a vital contribution to make in developing both a rank and file movement and a revolutionary party out of it.

We have put together the ideas of the revolutionary movements of this century - that socialism can only come from a revolution from below, and not from some substitutionist dispensation from above, from some benevolent elite whether it be social democratic or Stalinist, from Allende or Castro or Mao.

Socialism means workers control of production and the state - not just the nationalization of the means of production - it means the need of soviets, of workers' councils to destroy the old state apparatus and create a new form of state in which the masses are armed, there is no police above them, in which every official is elected and recallable, in which none makes more than a worker, so there is no basis for a privileged bureaucracy.

Socialism means that women are brought into economic, political and social life, so that they are liberated rather than being forced back into subservience and slavery in the family. It means socializing child care and housework. It means building unity between black and white workers - unity on the basis of equality, up to and including the right of black people to self-determination if they so choose.

The road to socialist revolution requires the centrality of the industrial working class, and it requires no subordination to the foreign policies of Washington, Moscow, or Peking.

Aside from synthesizing those ideas which are necessary to carry through a successful socialist revolution here and internationally, the International Socialists are attempting to put those ideas into practice - to start the job of creating a rank and file movement and an alternative leadership inside the unions.

We do this by helping to build rank and file groups, in auto, in steel, in teamsters, in teachers, among telephone workers, among white collar workers and starting to create some of the first rank and file working class papers in conjunction with other militants.

The International Socialists today are in a position where revolutionary groups were in the 1960's in Europe.

We are still on the margins of working class life. Unfortunately we have not yet had our France or Czechoslovakia. Fortunately however, we have not yet had our Chile.

That is where we are at. We believe that for the working class to emancipate itself it needs the ideas and the organization of a group like the International Socialists.

The International Socialists has to be built to play the role of training and educating a new generation of working class leaders. The time to start is today, and the place to start is in the rank and file movement, and the group to start it with is the International Socialists. □

out. The struggles of black workers in South Africa to gain the right to strike and to form unions, struggles in Ethiopia which are bringing down the feudal regime of Haile Selassie, the food rioting and the railroad strikes that have led to uninterrupted crisis in India, the British miners' strike, the pre-revolutionary situation that has been created in Portugal are all indexes of this new crisis.

This crisis will lead to higher and sharper forms of working class struggle than existed in 1968 to 1970. And those embryos of parties, which came out of that wave, are going to create the first small mass revolutionary parties in Europe since the revolutionary communist parties of the 1920's were destroyed by Stalinism.

In the next two to three years we can expect to see small mass revolutionary workers' parties in France, in Britain, in Italy and possibly elsewhere as well.

AMERICAN SCENE

That same process is occurring here in the United States, at a

also secondarily out of the student antiwar struggles and the women's liberation movement.

In this country, however, the left went down to a rather disastrous defeat in 1970.

It went down to defeat, generally, overall, due to a lack of organization, lack of strategy and most particularly due to its lack of roots inside the American working class.

The result is that when the capitalist offensive in this country started in 1971, when the New Economic Policy was introduced, already the defeat had taken place, the cadres to fight back had been pretty much wiped out and the working class has taken it on the chin in this country for the last couple of years.

Nonetheless the same process is at work here as internationally. Indeed the economic crisis this time starts in the United States, unlike the preceding economic crisis.

The effects of the recession are already beginning to be felt. In the first three months of this year industrial production declined by

the course of struggle that creativity is untapped, that the broadened, that self-confidence and self-confidence led."

much slower tempo of development. Why?

First of all, economically this is still the strongest, the fastest, the richest capitalist country in the world, and it is possible to cut into layers of fat on the system before people really start to feel the crunch, the crisis and so on.

Secondly, there are the political traditions of the United States: that is, the American working class and the American left are more politically backward than the working class and the left in Europe.

It takes a much longer period of time for consciousness in this country to catch up with objective conditions.

In this country revolutionary ideas were developed or reborn in the 1960's, primarily out of the black liberation movement, but

6.3%. Inflation which was awful last year, running at approximately 10%, did not decline during the recession, but accelerated and is running anywhere between rates of 12 and 15%.

All of this comes on top of Watergate, when the moral authority of the government and political institutions have been shaken. This country is thoroughly overripe for an industrial rank and file revolt.

This country has had in the last year a decline in real wages of 5 to 6%. It is the only country in the world that had a decline in real wages in the boom - you can imagine what will come in the bust.

Wages in this country went up 6 or 7% last year and inflation was over 10%. In Italy, for example, where inflation was 12%, wages went up 29% so real wages went up



PORTUGAL'S ROAD TO REVOLUTION



A revolutionary situation always short. For a time, the ruling class loses its confidence to manage society in the old way, while the expectation and militancy of the workers rises to unprecedented heights.

Fear of the revolution paralyses the ruling class—but only for a moment.

As the social crisis deepens, they are forced into recovering their confidence. As they bounce back, they resort to still more extreme and brutal methods.

The action of the workers to achieve victory in these situations cannot be postponed. Marx said that revolution was the midwife of a new society.

Midwives cannot postpone the moment of birth. They have to act when the moment comes, or the results can be fatal.

That's why in September and

October 1917 Lenin was adamant that there should be an immediate insurrection.

During those two months Lenin implored, castigated, bullied the Bolshevik leaders to name the day of the uprising. "The success of both the Russian and the world revolution depends on two or three days fighting," he wrote.

No ruling class will ever give up its privileges and wealth without using all the force it can muster. The capitalists of our time have much more wealth and privilege to defend than any ruling class in the past.

Their most powerful force is the army. Trotsky wrote about the army: "It is a copy of society, and suffers from all its diseases, usually at a higher temperature."

The hierarchy of command in capitalist society is reflected in a more extreme form in its armed forces. The officer castes keep in close touch with the capitalists.

How did the Socialist and Communist Parties in Portugal solve the problem of the generals?

By marriage. They joined the generals in a new Portuguese government.

It is a marriage of convenience. The Portuguese President, General Spínola, who fought for the fascists in Spain and in Russia, has no love for the socialists or communists, but he wants to marry them for their dowry.

That dowry is the popular support of both parties—which has been handed on a plate to the junta.

The generals need that support for the moment, because the big business corporations which control the Portuguese economy want class peace while they consolidate their position.

The situation has some interesting side effects. One of the largest and most unscrupulous companies in Portugal—ITT—has been mass-producing the red carnations which are the symbol of the Portuguese revolution!

The carnations are making ITT a booming profit.

But a fight is needed to win the troops to the workers' cause, not a union with the generals at the top.

That means constant efforts to win the rank and file soldiers to the revolution. This means propaganda and organization of course, but it also needs the will to fight the reactionary sections of the army.

Lenin wrote: "We shall prove to be miserable pedants if we forget that at a time of uprising there

must also be a physical struggle for the troops."

In Portugal, winning the rank and file soldiers to the revolutionary struggle need not be difficult. After ten years of colonial wars in Africa which cost many soldiers' lives, the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese soldiers are sick to death of the wars and sick to death of their officers.

So it is extremely sad to read a statement by the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party attacking about 100,000 deserters from the army who have offered to rejoin if they do not have to fight in Africa.

The Communist Party statement urged the deserters to re-join the army, to fight in Africa and "to obey the law" which was laid down by the former fascist President Salazar.

EXTEND MASS STRIKES

One essential of a revolutionary situation is that workers' expectations rise very high indeed. No wonder that in Portugal, after 48 years of fascist rule, expectations are soaring.

That members of the Socialist and Communist Parties have joined the government naturally gives a boost to these.

Rampant inflation—more than 30 percent a year—raises workers' demands even further.

How natural, under such conditions, that practically all strikes in Portugal at present are mass strikes that take the form of factory occupations.

At a time of revolution or in a pre-revolutionary situation, you cannot separate the political struggle and the economic strikes.

Long ago Rosa Luxemburg pointed out: "The movement does not go only in one direction, from an economic to a political struggle, but also in the opposite direction. Every important political mass action, after reaching its peak, results in a series of economic mass strikes."

"Every fresh attack and victory of the political struggle has a powerful impact on the economic struggle, in that at the same time as it widens the scope for the workers to improve their conditions and strengthens their impulse to do so, it enhances their fighting spirit...."

"And the reverse also applies. The workers' constant economic struggle against capital sustains them at every pause in the political battle...."

In Portugal, however, the leaders of the Communist Party have taken precisely the opposite point of view.

They have worked against the mass strike movement, using all their power to break the strikes. They have pretended that by playing down the economic struggle, the workers will heighten the political struggle.

But on the contrary, both strug-



WINNING THE ARMY IS VITAL - Soldiers and citizens celebrate the dictatorship's downfall.

gles are weakened, to the delight of generals and businessmen all over Europe.

CRUCIAL

There are plenty of examples in history where the workers have moved towards a revolutionary situation, but have not seized the time, have not smashed the state or won the army and have not extended their mass strike movement.

In all these instances, the working class was broken to pieces.

In France in May-June 1936, soon after the election of a Popular Front government, a general strike broke out spontaneously.

The strikes were followed by mass occupations of the factories. The terrified employers offered no resistance. For a crucial moment, they lost confidence.

The leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties sold the strike movement for concessions within the system. They accepted a 40-hour week and a wage rise across industry of 11 percent.

The ruling class regained its confidence. Its army was intact. It threw everything into the counter-attack. Prices rose so fast that the wage rise of 11 percent was quickly wiped out.

Less than two years later the Popular Front government was defeated in a wave of reaction. The new Conservative government swiftly put an end to the 40-hour week, raising it to 48 hours. Soon the new government was loving up to Hitler's fascist regime in Germany.

Even more dramatic were the occupations of factories in Northern Italy in 1920. The entire industrial power of Italy was paralysed by the

workers' movement. But state power was not seized by the workers, the army was not won, the mass strikes were not extended.

The capitalists, who had been so shaken that some were prepared to hand over their factories and flee the country, regained their confidence.

They put their faith in a new fascist movement which promised the annihilation of workers' organization.

In 1922, Mussolini marched on Rome to topple the old parliamentary government. His march was supported by the army all the way.

Once power had been seized, the Italian working class was smashed for more than 20 years.

How can we ensure that in situations like that in Portugal today the workers seize the time and go all the way for victory? There is only one way. We need in the roots of the working-class movement a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party forms a bridge between the experiences of the past and the action that must be taken into the future.

In situations such as in Portugal today it raises the question of state power first and foremost. It demands and leads the extension of mass strikes and occupations as a necessary prelude to revolution.

The Communist and Socialist Parties in Portugal have shown that they cannot fulfill the tasks of such a party.

They have gone in the opposite direction, and unless an alternative emerges they, like the Communist Party in Chile in 1973, will be murdered by the generals with whom they sought co-operation. □

Tony Cliff

Generals Crack Down

President Antonio de Spínola has shaken up his cabinet in a move aimed at strengthening the crack-down already in process against strikers and revolutionaries in Portugal.

Spínola dismissed his first government when it failed to bring strikes for higher wages and the firing of pro-fascist managers under control.

The new 16-member Cabinet shows the hand of the military officers who hold real power in the country. They will directly control seven posts, including the crucial interior (police), labor, defense and information ministries.

The moves to outlaw and imprison militant strike leaders, and to restore censorship for papers opposing the continuation of the African wars, will tighten up. Spínola proclaims that the new government will save "the prestige of the Portuguese people" - by which he means the profits and the confidence of Portugal's capitalists.

The heads of the Socialist and Communist Parties remain in the new Cabinet. Both are too useful to drop right now - the Socialist Soares to negotiate with the African liberation movements on Spínola's terms, and the Communist Cunha as a "Minister without Portfolio in Labor Affairs" - to enforce discipline on the workers.

However, these parties, despite their previous faithful services, have had their status in the government sharply reduced - the SP down to three posts, the CP to one.

Meanwhile, African workers in the colonies of Mozambique and Angola have been giving an example of how to win real gains.

Massive strikes by coal miners, transport workers, dockers, newspaper, hotel and factory workers - and a walkout at the giant Cabora Bassa dam being built in Mozambique to provide power for South Africa - have won wage gains of 100% and more.

Portugal's new regime also showed its "democratic" face in the colonies by shooting down thirteen miners returning to Mozambique from South Africa when they refused to be searched at the border. □



The war came home: unpopular wars in Africa brought upheaval in Portugal.

UFW BATTLES FOR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers of America have an eye on the California State Assembly in their fight for free elections in the fields. They are supporting a bill in the Assembly (AB 3370), patterned on the Wagner Act of 1935 which granted the right to unionization to almost all workers. In 1935, farmworkers were deliberately excluded from coverage under the Act.

The UFW, which has never lost a fairly campaigned and honest election for representation, is confident that the passage of this bill will help ensure the success of their union.

The growers and Teamsters have four other bills, all of which are intended to cripple true union representation of the fieldworkers. Several of these bills are blatantly anti-union, banning strikes at harvest, and placing severe restrictions on union rights.

One of the bills, the Wood-Berman bill, is being pushed as a liberal compromise friendly to the UFW. But the union doesn't find it very friendly. Sit-ins have been held in Berman's North Hollywood office calling upon him to withdraw the bill which he co-authored with Wood, a Salinas grower.

Berman, a liberal Democrat, sees the bill as a compromise which can be passed in the Assembly and "save" the UFW, with himself as the savior. However, as with most compromises with the growers and Teamsters, it strips the UFW of some of its weapons and makes representative elections almost impossible.

"SAVING" THE UFW

The Wood-Berman bill outlaws the secondary boycott in agricultural labor disputes. It calls for separate elections in each work category on every ranch, permitting year round, predominantly Anglo mechanics to choose their union representative independently of the largely Chicano tractor drivers, irrigators, pruners, or harvesters. This clause encourages division of each craft or race into different unions or no union at all.

Wood-Berman also states that if there are pre-election challenges to the balloting that the election will not be held until the challenges are heard and resolved. In this way the Teamsters or growers can challenge an election and delay it until the majority of the workforce, migrant laborers, has left the ranch to work another crop.

Although the bill supported by the UFW and the AFL-CIO does not guarantee union organization, it offers the farmworkers a better deal in three key areas.

AB 3370, sponsored by Representatives Burton and Alatorre, does not outlaw the secondary boycott. It calls for elections to include all of the workers of the ranch voting as a unit, and only when at least 50% of the peak season workforce is employed. Challenges of the election will be heard after the actual balloting, permitting all workers employed by the grower to vote, regardless of the number of trumped up challenges created by the growers or Teamsters organizers.

Under AB 3370, only regular employees will be allowed to vote. If there is a strike in progress strikers can vote, but scabs will be excluded from voting.

Any contract signed without the election procedures outlined by the Alatorre bill will be void and unenforceable. This provision is crucial. It could allow reopening of all the contracts stolen by the Teamsters in 1973 and 1974.

Although the bill contains many provisions which defend the rights of fieldworkers to choose their own union, it has some potential dangers.

In particular, the enforcement of the bill is placed in the hands of a three person board nominated by the Governor of California and approved by the State Senate. This board would have one representative of the growers, one of the union, and one from the "public."

WATERGATE, WAGE CONTROLS AND DEPUTY SHERIFFS

In effect, this places control of the bill in the hands of business.

To expect the "public" representative - appointed by the Governor - to be neutral is to expect the government to be neutral. Who expects that in the era of Watergate, with the experience of wage controls, and especially after the

experience the UFW has had with police and deputy sheriffs on picket lines?

Decisions of the board are appealable to the Supreme Court of California which has consistently supported the growers and Teamsters by granting injunctions against the UFW and hindering them at almost every turn. The judge who issued the injunction limiting pickets on the boycott lines in California was a former attorney for the growers.

This is the class of people who will be sitting in judgement of the fieldworkers' efforts to gain a representative union.

Nevertheless, passage of AB 3370 would be a major victory for

the UFW and greatly aid winning back those contracts stolen by the Teamster sweethearts.

The fate of the bill (and its enforcement, should it pass) are too important to be left in the hands of California politicians who may pose as "friends of labor," but who are also friends of the growers and belong to the political parties which have always supported agribusiness in California.

Ultimately, the future of the bill, including the degree to which it is enforced, depends primarily on the organized strength of the union in the fields.

The Wagner Act was only passed because of nation-wide working class pressure. Its passage was an

attempt to head off a militant union movement which was beginning to appear in 1935 and surfaced in the form of the CIO. The Burton-Alatorre bill will only be passed if the Assembly is faced with no alternative, either disruption of agribusiness by the UFW through strikes and boycotts or grant workers the rights they demand.

Rank and filers in other unions can help. Local unions should pass resolutions demanding that their representatives support AB 3370. Mass demonstrations should be called in support of the bill, with labor taking the lead role in organizing and building such demonstrations.

Dugan Wheeler



Steel: It's Time to Organize!

Time after time in the last eighteen months, officials from the United Steelworkers have returned from Pittsburgh with big surprises for the rank and file.

First there was the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), promising there would be no national strikes by steelworkers from 1973 to 1977.

Then there was the "Consent Decree" - a token award to minority steelworkers, arranged by the federal government, for past discrimination by the company and union. It was a token designed to save the companies from being forced to pay what they really owed for past discrimination.

Then the ENA was extended through the next contract - to 1980.

UNION - COMPANY ALLIANCE

Pursuit of these sellouts was not without some risk for I.W. Abel, Steelworkers' president. Nor was it without risk for the steel companies.

In order to proceed at breakneck pace down a road so foreign to both the traditions of the union and to the current needs of the membership, Abel had to be confident of his ability to enforce these sellouts on the membership.

In addition, the company had to be confident of Abel's selling ability. They will not spark a revolt if they can possibly avoid it. Thus it was no accident that the ENA was announced only after Abel had successfully squelched any opposition to his reelection in 1973, and only after his slate of District Directors had swept the first uncontested election since 1957.

As well as controlling the top

spots, Abel has met little significant opposition from the local union leaderships. Many local presidents were voted out of office following ratification of the original ENA. But their replacements, by and large, did not run on a commitment to actively fight Abel's policies.

The new crew proved spineless when they approved the 1974 contract extending the ENA to 1980.

But this lack of opposition does not mean, as the companies wish it did, membership support for Abel's policies. This can be seen most decisively in local level response to the Join Productivity Committees. Another nice idea according to the union leadership, but in the plants, the ranks know speedup when they see it.

After three years, few committees are functioning and few local presidents can politically afford to push them. Where Abel's policies have depended for effective implementation on rank and file participation or acceptance, they have been rejected.

REVOLT BREWING

While it is clear to anyone who works in the mills that the rank and file is not happy or satisfied, it is also true that there is no uproar. Few steelworkers feel it is possible to fight against the International with its hundreds of paid staff men.

But minority steelworkers, especially blacks, have not been fooled by the union's public relations about many issues, including racial discrimination. In January about 150 steelworkers from Sparrows Point invaded the Basic Steel Industry Conference to demonstrate both their impatience

about discrimination and about health conditions in the Coke departments, overwhelmingly black.

And there is an increasing basis for such opposition.

For the past 18 months, Abel's sellouts have come with dizzying speed. To many, the cost of these sellouts has not been immediately clear.

This is bound to change, particularly as the companies intensify their speedup drives against a weakened union, and as the crisis in the US economy continues.

The membership can no longer

afford to leave their only weapon of defense against company attack in the hands of a leadership which relies more on the employers' friendship than on the membership's fighting strength.

Steelworkers can no longer afford a leadership which sacrifices their needs and interests whenever the employers complain about profits.

And the union definitely no longer needs a leadership which secretly conspires with the employers, and then rams its policies through rather than openly advocating them for a vote.

[continued on page 14]

At the Convention . . .

The United Steel Workers' Convention will meet in Atlantic City, September 23-27. It is important that oppositionists have an active presence there, even if their numbers are small.

Even a fairly minimal level of organization on the convention floor can have a number of effects. It may be possible to actively take the floor challenging the ENA, the Consent Decree, or any move for a dues increase. At the recent UAW Convention, a tiny handful of oppositionists was able to have an impact far beyond their numbers because they provided decisive leadership on several issues.

However, even if Abel has solid control of the floor, rank and file press conferences and floor demonstrations can provide a visible presence for oppositionists and break the myth that I.W. Abel

either represents the ranks or can completely control them.

Such a presence will allow the rank and file movement to make contact with those delegates who want to represent the members and to draw them into the movement - at the convention and beyond.

Opposition at the convention will also have an effect on all steelworkers. It can begin to break down the attitude that nothing can be done, so why try. Or that it is impossible to fight because one local is weak fighting alone.

Of course, if the organization of the rank and file is not carried back into the plants and locals, Abel will go on as before, dreaming up new things to give the companies. At this level too, the ranks cannot afford to leave the union to those who will not organize to fight.

I.Q(uackery): IS IT SCIENCE — OR RACISM?



Slavery era social scientists bolstered the slave system by teaching that black people were less than human. Shockley and his friends try to justify today's racism the same way.

In 1956, William Shockley got the Nobel Prize as co-inventor of the transistor. Last fall he did something much stranger and less useful. He toured colleges as the star attraction in the greatest snake oil show since P.T. Barnum. Wherever he went there was a great uproar: cancelled appearances, threats, disruption.

The reaction is easy to understand: Shockley's message is offensive to most people, especially to blacks. He pushes a "voluntary sterilization bonus plan" in which those of us who are supposed to be genetically inferior would be paid to be sterilized.

Shockley thinks he is another Galileo, speaking the truth to a world that will not listen. But it's hard to take him seriously after hearing him. He is a bumbling, ineffective speaker whose argument is full of holes. The only thing he's got going for him is the people who try to prevent him from being heard.

As Shockley loves to point out, they have created tremendous publicity for him. People get the idea that if the only argument against Shockley is to drown him out, he must be right.

Is he? Shockley is joined by psychologists Arthur Jensen and H.J. Eysenck in claiming that blacks have genetically lower IQ scores. But in fact there is no evidence at all for such a genetic difference.

No one can deny that there are some genetic differences between races: skin color, hair texture and color, eye color, and so on. There is also a 15-point difference in the average IQ scores of blacks and whites.

But there is no real evidence that IQ scores measure "general intelligence." There may or may not even be such a thing as "general intelligence."

IQ scores do a fair job of predicting success in school and in the business world, and that is about all we know. IQ score could just measure the extent to which school and society are rigged against you.

In spite of Jensen, Eysenck, and Shockley, there is no direct evidence that the IQ score differences between races are genetic. Blacks and whites not only have genetic differences - they also live in very different environments. Blacks have to content with a racist society. We can't tell whether any difference is genetic, unless we could find blacks and whites raised in the same environment.

Amazingly enough, this seems to be possible. In two recent studies in England and the US, black and white children raised together in orphanages were tested. There was no difference in IQ test score. There is not very much of this evidence, but what there is suggests that there is no detectable genetic difference in IQ score between races.

RACE AND CLASS

Shockley, Jensen, and Eysenck assume that differences between races are genetic because they believe that differences within races - between social classes - are genetic. They are joined in this belief by another psychologist, Richard Herrnstein.

But the evidence for genetic differences in IQ score between classes is flimsy. Relatives tend to have similar IQ scores, but this doesn't mean that IQ is highly heritable. Relatives not only share genes, but they also live in similar environments. The only way to separate genetics and environment is to look at twins who have been separated early and adopted by different families, or to look at unrelated children raised together.

There is very little good separated-twin or adoption data. Recently, psychologist Leon Kamin pointed out that most of the data is of very poor quality. Some may even have been faked. One of the biggest problems with all of it is that twins who were separated were often placed in very similar homes.

Shockley, Jensen, Eysenck, and Herrnstein all keep saying that this is a scientific issue, not political. But the issue is deeply political. Shockley and company assume that success in school is a fair measure of true intelligence. They assume that our society rewards the most intelligent people. These beliefs are pure politics.

Shockley and company have little or no scientific data to back up what they say. They why have they all suddenly begun to publicize genetic differences between races and

social classes? The answer is of course political.

The poverty wars of the '60s failed to reduce poverty. Most academic "social scientists" were not willing to think about fundamental social changes. The majority kept on supporting OEO-type programs.

But an influential minority of academics decided that poverty must be the fault of the poor. They hated the student movement and feared the black movement. But since the student movement had disappeared, and the black movement had suffered defeats, they felt more confident in publicizing their views.

RIGHT WING SCHOLARS

In an October, 1972 article in Fortune magazine, that voice of the large corporation spoke out in favor of this academic right-wing. The article was entitled "The Social Engineers Retreat Under Fire."

It didn't just praise psychologists who say blacks are poor because they're dumb, and that white workers make less than their managers because they're dumb. It also praised political scientist Edward Banfield, who says that the poor are poor because they're irresponsible.

It praised anthropologists Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox for saying that people behave the way they do because millions of years of evolution has bred in their behavior. And it made the connection clear - all these theories have a common message: blacks and workers are oppressed by their genes, not their employers.

These theories, built on hot air, find an audience readily in a society with racism and class prejudice. They find support from a ruling class nervous about future demands for social change. It is silly to say, as some do, that the new academic reactionaries are an outright ruling class plot. But the academic right-wing is gaining ground.

It is clear that this new "biological determinism" will be part of the ideology pushed forward in any attempt to roll back or resist demands of workers or of the black liberation movement. Academic issues, you see, aren't just academic after all. □

Joe Felsenstein

[Felsenstein is an associate professor of genetics at the University of Washington in Seattle.]

Harlan County Miners' Strike Spreading

HARLAN COUNTY, Kentucky—The United Mine Workers strike at the Brookside mine in Harlan County, Kentucky has spread. On July 8, UMW pickets moved to the High Splint mine - also owned by the Eastover Mining Co., a subsidiary of Duke Power Co.

Strikers had the mine completely shut down for the first week. But an extra regiment of 25 state police were sent to Harlan County to "prevent violence."

The main violence had been inflicted on Miniard Turner, a UMW pensioner, who was shot twice and wounded July 8 on the UMW picket line by an Eastover Security Guard.

In fact, however, the police were

used as strikebreakers. They formed a convoy to escort scabs into the mine. Over a period of several days at least 15 UMW picketers were arrested for "disorderly conduct."

Although a majority of miners from High Splint have honored the UMW picket line, scabs have been recruited from parts of West Virginia, Virginia, and other areas in Kentucky. These are the same scabs who tried to operate the Brookside Mine months ago, according to UMW organizer Huston Elmore.

The workers at High Splint are represented by the Southern Labor Union - a company dominated union. But despite that, on Monday, July 22 workers belonging to

the SLU set up their own picket lines to protest the firing of two High Splint miners for being seen on the UMW line.

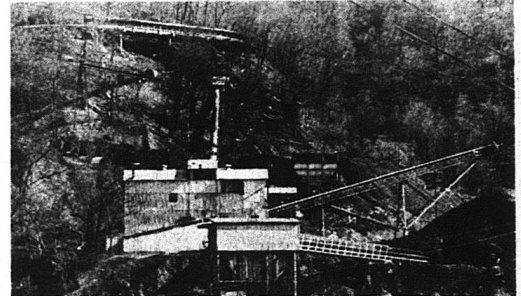
Of approximately 220 miners, 130-160 have honored the picket line. A strike leader, one of those fired by Eastover President Norman Yarborough, said the miners are really strong in their support. However, he said they need money to feed their families and that the more money they can get, the more workers they can pull off the job.

NATIONWIDE COAL STRIKE

In Harlan County July 21, at a rally attended by 3500, UMW President Arnold Miller spoke of another tactic. He announced that the union was considering a nationwide coal strike in support of the Harlan organizing drive, and against the use of state police at High Splint.

The next day, however, Miller met with Kentucky Governor Wendell Ford - the same man who sent the troopers into High Splint - and made a deal. Ford agreed to limit law forces to those locally based state police - the extra troopers were withdrawn.

In return, Miller agreed to limit the number of pickets at High Splint to a "reasonable number." It's also likely he agreed to support Ford in his campaign for US Senator this fall.



The Brookside mine, also closed.

Whether Gov. Ford will keep state police out of Harlan County in the future is anyone's guess. One thing is clear, however. To the extent that Miller substitutes promises of politicians for the united action of miners in the threatened nationwide strike, to that extent he weakens the Brookside organizing drive.

Events in Harlan County are moving very quickly with the spread of the strike. The Southern Labor Union is claiming that picketing by its own members at

High Splint is unauthorized. Unfair labor practices against the UMW have been filed by the SLU. But the extension of the Brookside strike to High Splint is an important step.

This is a critical test for the UMW. Not only the future of the Eastern Kentucky organizing drive, but also, to a certain extent, the results of this fall's nationwide contract negotiations depend on whether the union is prepared to use its muscle to win the Brookside strike. □



Brookside company store, closed.

reviews

movies

Cinderella Claudine



For those of you who like pretty love songs, cry at weddings, and like happy endings, there's finally something other than Walt Disney: "Claudine."

A modern fairy tale about almost-real people, this movie will satisfy the urge to get a sentimental lump in your throat.

Claudine is the mother of six children and living on ADC. Her Prince Charming is the garbage man, Rupert, who sweeps all her problems away with ease.

Money? He provides. Problem kids? He befriends them and steers them on the right track. The nosy social worker is put in her place, and then he taken on the whole New York City Social Services Department in order to win Claudine's hand.

Although the movie points out clearly how it is nearly impossible to win against the welfare system, how marriage is really just a social and financial convenience, and how personal relationships are destroyed by economic problems, in the end true love conquers all. Claudine and Rupert marry and live happily ever after.

Interspersed with all the romanticism are some very real glimpses into the life of a poor black family in New York City.

The humiliation of living on public assistance, the trials of a mother living in constant worry about money and her children's problems are portrayed.

The vicious cycle of poverty is repeated when Claudine's teen-aged daughter becomes pregnant and must leave school to work.

Day to day life is bleak, and the future holds no promise for improvement.

Unfortunately, many of the characters are little more than stereotypes, imprisoned by their narrowly defined roles.

The oldest son thinks himself a revolutionary, but is shown to be impractical and naive, and must be bailed out of trouble by Rupert, playing a Father-knows-best role.

Another son plays craps in the street and wants to drop out of school, but Rupert again saves the day by convincing him to "play it smart" and stay in school.

The movie does have good features. One of the best; of these is the music of Gladys Knight and the Pips. As well as the hit, "On and On." Gladys sings a soft and romantic love song, "The Makings of You," which has not received as much airing as it should.

Susan Ellis

books

Toward Teacher Power

[Toward Teacher Power, by Steve Zeluck. Published 1974 by Sun Press, 60c. Available from I.S. Book Service.]

Very few people have many kind words for public education these days. The once-held liberal belief that education would solve most of society's problems has given way to widespread cynicism about the effectiveness of our schools in teaching children.

Student absenteeism and apathy are now permanent features of American secondary schools, not to mention mounting vandalism and violence. Achievement levels have declined in many urban school systems despite increased federal money for compensatory programs.

Unfortunately Congress, state legislatures, and school boards alike have irresponsibly used these failures to attack teachers and students, rather than themselves, their corporate allies, and the educational bureaucracy who in fact control the American school system.

Funding is allowed to stagnate while inflation soars. Thousands of teaching jobs have been lost, teachers' real income is declining, tenure is under attack, teacher accountability is preached by an unaccountable administration.

And teachers are fighting back all over the country. Yet, these local strikes are not producing anywhere near the results they did in the 1960's, when the teacher union movement really took off.

Nowadays a strike is considered a big success if the status quo is maintained.

Against this background, *Toward Teacher Power* by Steve Zeluck is a timely contribution. Addressed primarily to teacher union militants, the pamphlet begins with a fundamental critique of the leadership of the American Federation of Teachers, and in particular of its most powerful and articulate representative, Albert Shanker.

Shanker, who is now president of the 60,000 member New York local and president of the New York State United Teachers, will be elected president of the AFT itself in August.

EXPOSING SHANKERISM

Zeluck, himself a long-time AFT activist and officer of the dissident New Rochelle, N.Y., local, brings together a wealth of material documenting Shanker's conservative approach to teacher unionism. He documents Shanker's opposition to leading statewide militant actions, his tacit support of Meany's opposition to the right to strike for public employees, his receptivity to binding arbitration of contracts, his refusal to join in coalitions with other public employee unions in New York State, his enthusiastic support of anti-teacher politicians such as Nelson Rockefeller, his rigid opposition to forming alliances with forces in the black and Latino communities struggling to improve ghetto schools, his attempts to impose a bureaucratic strait-jacket on the relatively democratic AFT.

But more than this, Zeluck analyzes Shanker's strategies, showing why they have resulted and will continue to result in failure for the teacher union movement.

Furthermore, he examines the roots of the type of conservative union leader represented by Shanker. Rather than dwelling on personal attributes, such as thirst for power, corruptness, or egomania, Zeluck argues that sell-out policies and bureaucratic practices are in fact aspects of a larger phenomenon inside the trade union movement, namely business unionism.

Business unionism accepts the system as it is, and tries to reconcile the worker to the system in return for concessions from the employer.

And so, "the top labor leadership has become an actual prop to the system - a prop to which the corporations must give periodic concessions in order to keep the 'irresponsible' membership off the leaders' backs, provided that these concessions are no threat to the employers' basic dominance of the work place, or the school. The whole method represents a classic example of cooptation by the employers."

The trade union leader, especially those separated from the ranks by high salaries and full-time positions, then begins to view the contract as the be-all and end-all of union activity, rather than a resting point in a continuous struggle between employee and employer for control over the conditions of work.

CLASS STRUGGLE OPPOSITION

Zeluck thus provides theoretical armor for union militants wanting to understand why the leaders of victorious insurgent movements in the trade unions invariably wind up defending the same policies as their predecessors, unless they are prepared to break with business unionism.

As an alternative, he proposes a strategy of class struggle unionism which recognizes the basically conflicting interests of workers and employers, and which attempts to unify teachers with all workers in a militant independent struggle for their needs.

Examples of such a strategy for the AFT include militant direct action at all levels - local, state, and national - in alliance with other public employee unions and community organizations.

They also include demanding an end to all laws which limit labor's freedom of action; an end to support for the two pro-business political parties and initiating the formation of a party of labor; an

end to all racist and sexist practices inside the labor movement and in the work place; democratic procedures which guard against the growth of a bureaucracy.

Yet, such a program itself is only a means to an end. In the final analysis, Zeluck concludes that a public school system which really meets the needs of teachers, students, and parents is impossible as long as capitalism survives.

"The culture of the corporation

is in conflict with the aim of democratic schools - the free and full development of character and personality."

It is therefore no accident that under a business unionist leadership the AFT has abandoned its own stated commitment to democratically-run schools.

Hopefully, this pamphlet will help begin to reverse this trend.

Joel Chaplin

toward teacher power

STEVE ZELUCK



Order from: I.S. Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. 60c, plus 15c postage

Communist Party Thugs Beat Black Revolutionary Socialists

Socialist Collective Press Release

The following statement was issued by the Socialist Collective, a revolutionary organization based in Los Angeles. A statement by the International Socialists expressing solidarity with the Socialist Collective and condemning the use of violence within the socialist movement accompanies this statement.

On Saturday July 20, 1974, nine members of the Socialist Collective (seven men, one of whom was crippled, and two women) were viciously attacked by some 40 armed men from several so-called "Pan-Africanist" and poverty-program hustler-type organizations under the guidance and directives of the Communist Party USA and the so-called "Republic of New Africa" (RNA).

As a consequence of the assault, one member of the SC had to have six stitches beneath his left eye. Another suffered three cracked and two broken ribs, and a young woman suffered a breakdown due to emotional distress. Others suffered various injuries stemming from the cowardly ambush.

The attack was pre-meditated and well-coordinated by Communist Party members. Involved were ex-Sentinel columnist, Sepia employee and Communist Party supporter Emily Gibson, and Ed Bradley, who is official national treasurer of the RNA.

The attack was, moreover, politically motivated from the CP's point of view. They, through their black "cadre," fired up racist animosities of members from the African Peoples Party (not affiliated with the African Peoples Revolutionary Party), the Umoja Center, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the professional poverty-pimp gang known as the "Sons of Watts."

The nationalists were told by Emily Gibson that the Socialist Collective is an organization run by whites and were in fact agents of "white folks" who were sent into the black community to disrupt and destroy some fantastic nationalist notion of "black unity."

Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotionalism and blind fanaticism, the Pan-Africanists, in the name of black people (sic) savagely and pigishly brutalized the nine Socialist Collective members.

Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions, blindly misled by the Communist Party, which is a predominantly white organization, the fascist (and we do not use this term loosely) American black nationalists are known anti-union, anti-communist, pro-capitalist thugs who have historically terrorized the revolutionary left, and now acted on the side of "white folks," i.e. the CP, against "black folks," i.e. the Socialist Collective.

Politically, the nationalist attackers stood on the side of the state which itself has been trying (without success) to terrorize the Socialist Collective.

By attacking the Socialist Collective, the nationalists stood with the state-monopolist capitalists of the Soviet Union whose policies the CPUSA represents, and who have historically, in the name of the movement, suppressed independent working class activity against capitalism. Objectively, the Pan-Africanists by attacking the Socialist Collective, attacked also the black community.

STEEL, con't.

In the meantime, the effects of isolation are slowly being overcome.

In a number of Districts increased communication opens up possibilities for opposition within District organizations. A Memorial Day conference in Chicago brought together more than 90 rank and filers from coast to coast. On August 17, again in Chicago, a follow-up meeting will lay concrete plans for opposition at the upcoming convention.

Building a rank and file movement which can offer a clear and credible alternative to Abel will not be quick, easy or automatic.

The suspicions of black steelworkers will only be overcome when there is a movement which can and will fight to make the companies stop racist policies and compensate blacks for years of discrimination.

While the task will be a difficult one, the stakes for the rank and file are high. Fortunately, we need not wait till the rank and file controls the union to see important results from organized opposition.

The companies will be less bold in their attacks on the rank and file when the ranks begin to fight back when they are unsure of Abel's control.

Steve Carter

The Coalition of Labor Union Women: What It Is And How To Build It

articles reprinted from Workers' Power

25c

Baltimore Strike con't.

and city labor movement in their election campaigns.

Meanwhile, city police, who were also represented by AFSCME (the Baltimore Police Department was the only one in the country where a union was officially recognized as bargaining agent) had also rejected the city's 5.5% offer.

On July 11 a full-scale police strike was called.

Then it was the union bureaucrats' turn to panic. Shaken by the firing of 82 probationary patrolmen, by fines of \$35,000 a day imposed on the police union and by the threat that union leaders would be jailed for contempt of court, AFSCME capitulated on July 15 and agreed to recommend acceptance of city contract offers to both the police union and Local 44. The city nearly doubled its

previous offer to city blue-collar workers, but sanitation department laborers still only got 35c an hour.

Soon afterward, Schaefer indicated that the settlement would be paid for by cutting the city's payroll by 300 workers in the departments which had been affected by the strike. The "point system" was to go to arbitration.

With a noticeable lack of enthusiasm but without much hope, members of both locals ratified the agreements on July 15 and 16.

With the strike over, the city police commissioner, Donald D. Pomerleau, escalated a campaign of savage reprisals that appear to have crushed the policemen's union.

What began as an effective, militant public employee strike was seriously damaged by AFSCME's leadership.



Socialist Collective member Debbie Daniels.

I.S. Statement

Stop Gangsterism!

The vicious physical assault on members of a revolutionary group, the Socialist Collective in Los Angeles, planned and carried out by supporters of the Communist Party and other organizations acting under their guidance, demands an immediate response.

We regard the attack on the Socialist Collective as an attack on ourselves. Since the 1930's the Communist Party has used these methods to attempt to impose its own monopoly over the political life of the working class movement. Particularly when confronted and exposed in political debate by the revolutionary left, the CP has resorted to organizational exclusion or physical terrorism to defend its own anti-revolutionary politics, by trying to drive its opponents out of political life.

The use of these methods by the CP has also helped to isolate its members within the working class and helped lead to the effective destruction of the CP as a mass political force. In recent years, however, the use of violence to suppress political ideas has been revived in the US radical movement, both by the CP and by other Stalinist groups. Such methods represent a cancer which can destroy the movement from within if they are not directly exposed and fought.

Members of the Socialist Collective were beaten up for one reason: they argued against the program of the CP inside the black community, a program designed to tie the black liberation movement to liberal ruling class politics and to subordinate black political struggle to Democratic Party reform schemes. Because they argued against this program at meetings in the black community, nine members of the Socialist Collective were met with a crude provocation and then beaten by some 40 CP-organized armed thugs, resulting in serious injuries and hospitalization.

As the accompanying statement issued by the Socialist Collective makes clear, this attack also represents politically an attack on the black movement. Gangsterism aimed at a monopoly for the CP (and some of its temporary local allies) among radical forces in the black community is a serious threat to any struggle to build a united, independent black movement fighting for liberation from the racist capitalist system. Real unity in struggle cannot be achieved if attempts to impose fraudulent, monolithic "unity" by beating up revolutionary opponents of the CP is permitted.

Both the International Socialists and the Socialist Collective stand for unity of black and white workers in struggle, and for workers' democracy. We do not believe that the working class, or the black liberation movement, have any need of "benevolent" guardians or "saviors" like the Communist Party to tell them which ideas they will be allowed to hear - either today or in a socialist society.

The International Socialists will politically and physically help to defend the rights of the Socialist Collective as we will our own, or any other political tendency threatened with gangsterism either by the state or by the CP, to express political ideas openly in the working class and black liberation movements. We believe that members of the CP itself must also oppose these reactionary thug tactics, not only because they discredit the CP's politics but also because they offer fertile ground for police agents and provocateurs to operate. Finally, we completely solidarize with the Socialist Collective in calling on all socialist, black liberation and militant trade union organizations to stand up against this gangsterism.

WORKERS AGAINST THE MONOLITH

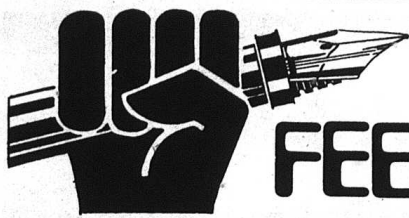
The Communist Parties Since 1943

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IAN H. BIRCHALL

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FEEDBACK

NOT ME, BOSS

It has been claimed in certain news media the leadership of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), Local 2131 has directly encouraged the violation of the present injunction faced by the IBEW members at Ruckers Electronics in Concord.

The position of the union is, and has been, that the membership of IBEW 2131 obey the law, including the current strike injunction faced by the striking workers at Ruckers.

The leadership of the strike at Ruckers Electronics further maintain that any allegation in violation of the above stated position is FALSE. We continue to maintain the company REFUSES to meet with the duly elected employee group, and bargain in good faith as prescribed by law.

IBEW, AFL-CIO
Local Union No. 2131

Reply: Workers' Power did not intend to imply that Local 2131 officials were telling strikers at Ruckers Electronics to violate the injunction. Indeed, we feel that the union has not provided the decisive leadership needed to win the strike, and that by asking the strikers to obey the injunction, they have weakened the strike. Workers' Power regrets any confusion over our earlier story.

WAKING DEATH

I dedicate this letter to all of my fellow workers in the hope that I might contribute my efforts to the cause of the truth that will someday set us free.

Each working day I view the stark realities of the effects of stultification and oppression on self-esteem and emotional security.

I speak about this rather hesitantly because I myself have fallen victim to the unmitigated and blind, social and psychological degradation that is the unswerving and ruthless monkey see, monkey do world of automotive industry.

Sir Francis Bacon, in an essay on death states "he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking."

A particularly poignant example of a man who dreams waking is "Dock." He was born in Kentucky some forty odd years ago. He has been working in the plants nineteen years and is classified as an inspector, which is a "good job" since it involves little drudgery and he can "fuck off" a lot.

Several days ago, I sat down at a bench beside him and said, "What's up Dock?" I had noticed that he was staring forlornly at the floor and seemed in a pensive mood, as if he was struggling with some agonizing decision.

We got to talking and he said to me, "I sure wish that I had only ten more years in at this place. I'd go back down home and have it made."

I hear this same lament almost daily since I'm a "hillbilly" and going back down home is the most frequent and fervent desire of a majority of the "transplants" that work in the auto plants in Detroit.

Dock said that he didn't like it up here and never had. I asked him why he didn't like Michigan and he replied that he hated factory work and asked me, "Do you call this living?"

Later on I thought about his question and agreed that this was not life, but a form of waking death.

His child-like sadness coupled with the knowledge that he would probably never get out of the place

alive, brought home the pathetic spectacle of thousands of kindred spirits.

More pathetic still does this story become when we realize "what might have been."

Dock is an intelligent and sensitive soul who might have become a positive force and a source of inspiration for the folks back home. In this world he is a lost child who lives for the day that his sentence is served and he can go "back down home" to spend the remaining years of his life. As for now his life is made up of "waking dreams" and his contact with reality is so seriously impaired that he is a laughing stock of some of the more "sound minded" of his co-workers.

The message of this story is that although factory life has varied and manifold distortions on lives of the workers, in a large number of cases, it becomes a living death.

For Dock, damnation is already a fact! He lives in a personal hell; waiting to become a child again.

Floyd Bevins
Detroit

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

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

But please be brief.

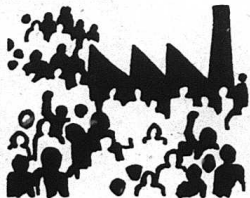
ABOUT ADVERTISING.....

My son will be five in August. Already he knows by heart such verities as "C&C soda is best," "Sugar frosted flakes are GRRReat" and "At Burger King kids are king."

The last time he asked me to buy Sugar Frosted Flakes I had to remind him that the one time he had eaten it he hadn't liked it. He didn't remember that and wanted me to buy it again, promising this time he would like it - like all the kids in the advertisement on TV.

We bought the C&C because we needed something to drink. But I told him that all sodas are pretty much alike.

"But they said it is best," he explained - patiently as if it should be self-evident.



So I had to explain about advertising. But how do you explain to a child, not quite 5, that some people make a living by lying to other people.

And it made me mad because that shouldn't be so and I shouldn't have to explain it. I wondered don't these people have children too? Don't they see what advertising does?

We are throwing away something that should be very precious to us, we are squandering the trust of our children. And the people who run our society - the businessmen and politicians - don't seem to care.

Maybe we need a new society that does.

G. Williamson
New York

GET OUT PRODUCTION

At a small parts plant in Chicago the company has been holding desperate little meetings to brief management personnel on how to "get out production."

In a panic, the foremen use all sorts of bull-headed methods to make us move. Their failing is that they expect we are too stupid or too scared to do anything.

They posted a notice saying "Anybody who fails to punch in whether or not they complete a day's work shall not be paid. There is no excuse for failure to punch in." They've really gone off the deep end with "efficiency." What a laugh. Hardly anything works. The presses are old and falling to pieces. The place is so disorganized and disorderly that what work gets done is never enough.

The foremen prance around like they think they are astronauts and we are Martians. There's 400 of us and about 25 of them. We are humankind universal, blacks, chicanos, women, Poles, Lithuanians, Arabs, Portuguese, Mexicans and so on and on; they are all (prejudiced) white guys.

The place looks like a medieval dungeon complete with little trolls. It stinks and is hot and full of fumes and dust and racket. Somebody is always getting cut or hurt and the foremen act like it's their fault. If a machine breaks down they stand over us with folded arms and scowl and say "Now, what's wrong!!"

The foremen lay off with little excuse and keep everybody scared for their jobs so we are full of inner terror because jobs are hard to find and life is hard. The company sets piece rates higher and higher so that they're out of reach by most except somebody who's breaking their ass to please the company.

When the company started enacting their line about efficiency and 100% production we all thought of the same thing - "Hey, where is the union." We are "organized" by the Teamsters though you'd never guess we have a union.

One night when we'd really had it with the pressure and harassment a few of us were talking about what to do to keep our jobs and keep the foremen off our backs. As we talked we came to a few general conclusions: things are getting worse and we ourselves must do something about it. If knowledge is power then we will collect information about the company and the union to strengthen our hand.

The discussion was exhilarating because just in talking we found out quite a bit about the social relations in the plant and how things all hang together.

B. Putnam
Chicago

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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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Shanker Tightens Grip On AFT

Workers' Power

As teachers return to school this September, they will face another round of school board and legislative assaults on their hard-won gains of the 1960's. Just how far these attacks will go depends upon the effectiveness of teacher resistance.

Unfortunately, the upcoming August convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in Toronto is not likely to provide much direction for teacher militants.

Not that the 2000 or so delegates, representing hundreds of AFT locals all over the country, won't adopt many militant resolutions on all aspects of teacher union activity. They will, as they always have.

The problem is that the convention will mark the further consolidation of power in the hands of Albert Shanker and the conservative pro-Meany politics he espouses. With firm control over most of the gigantic New York state delegation, accounting for almost half the delegates at the convention, he should have little trouble being elected AFT president over his former ally, incumbent Dave Selden.

Worse, the militant opposition forces inside the AFT are weak and in retreat, both politically and organizationally, before the powerful Shanker machine.

In desperation, they are turning to Selden's candidacy, rather than one which would put forward a real alternative to Shanker's policies and methods.

Such an election offers little hope for the creation of an effective rank-and-file opposition, committed to a program of mobilizing teachers for militant action.

TWEEDLEDUM, TWEEDLEDEE

The differences between Shanker and Selden are minor, though real. Allied with a more liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy, Selden offered mild opposition to the war in Vietnam and supported George McGovern.

Shanker, on the other hand, is an aggressive defender of the policies of George Meany, whom many believe Shanker wishes to succeed as president of the AFL-CIO.

In spite of these differences, however, their approach to AFT politics has been virtually identical. They both prefer a quiet lobbying approach on the state and national level rather than mobilizing mass demonstrations or coordinating strikes for increased school aid.

Both see merger of teacher unions as a means of creating a lobbying machine, rather than a more effective organization in activating the membership.

Both see political action in traditional terms: contributing money for one or another pro-business politician in return for small concessions.

(To avoid "excessive" demands which the politicians would not meet, the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) actually demanded \$20 million less in state aid than the Republican leadership was prepared to give!)

Until last year Shanker and Selden have functioned together in the Progressive Caucus, which has been the ruling caucus in the AFT since Selden was first elected president in 1968.

Of course, they have had their conflicts through the years. Selden even resigned for a short time from the Progressive Caucus in protest over Shanker's policies.

But Selden soon found out that he had no power base of his own other than that provided for him by Shanker. His pallid liberalism was unsuited to the more militant pro-black liberation, anti-war elements which had emerged in the AFT by the late 1960's.

Particularly repugnant to these activists was Selden's unwillingness to disassociate himself from the 1968 New York teacher strike directed against community control, a strike which drove a large wedge between the union and the black movement.

MERGER POWER STRUGGLE

Thus Selden rejoined the Progressive Caucus and has never failed to support Shanker (or Shanker him) for union office until now.

Instead of fighting Shanker openly, Selden attempted to consolidate his power as AFT President by desperately trying to work out a merger agreement with the National Education Association (NEA) before this year's union election.

That is when Shanker, hitting upon Selden's alleged violation of Executive Council discipline and taking a hard line on the necessity for AFL-CIO affiliation (opposed by the NEA) in any merged organization, demanded Selden's resignation.

The NEA was thus forewarned that Shanker, not Selden, would control merger talks.



Political ambitions, not principles, lie behind this split. In fact, Selden's entire career as AFT president has been marked by silence or outright support for Shanker's de facto domination of the AFT. He helped to create the monster that he now wants to destroy.

For the leaders of the AFT's main opposition caucus, the United Action Caucus (UAC), who have been nearly inactive, Selden's candidacy has been a god-send.

The UAC, after suffering a

crushing defeat in the 1972 elections, has limped along as a "loyal opposition," running an almost invisible campaign at the 1973 convention and hosting a few conferences during the year at the membership's insistence.

Now the leadership of the UAC, having presented no real alternative, has found a "credible" candidate (they never looked for any other) and is urging the UAC to join in an ad hoc pro-Selden coalition, probably with an appropriately watered-down program.

At best, UAC militants can insist that the UAC not endorse Selden and find a candidate with a genuine commitment to the generally excellent UAC program. Failing that, they can at least insist that the pro-Selden coalition adopt and publicize that program.

But most important, UAC militants, must not allow the UAC to dissolve into the Selden campaign or a tenuous grouping such as Selden's Teachers Cause.

Joel Chaplin

NEA LEADS MASS TEACHER STRIKES

Last month's convention of the National Education Association (NEA), the 1.5 million member teacher organization, showed that the organization had moved a long way to becoming a union.

The NEA endorsed the right to strike more vigorously than ever, including, for the first time, the right to defy court injunctions against strikers.

Of the 140 teacher strikes last year, 117 of them were conducted by NEA locals. The two six-month-long teacher strikes in Hortonville, Wisconsin and Timberlane, N.H., (both NEA) were given strong support (the convention broke into public rallies for their defense, and for fund raising).

The NEA also adopted a call for the inclusion of Cost-of-Living clauses in all contracts.

At the same time, the NEA convention showed that it had no solution to the deep crisis facing teachers: rising unemployment (10% of all teachers); declining real wages, which are falling even faster than those of most workers; increased work loads; longer strikes; and a generally deteriorating educational climate.

FAILURE

The failure to meet these needs was nowhere more evident than in the case of the two six-month strikes in Hortonville and Timberlane.

No mention was made of the fact that when the Wisconsin Education Association had tried to call a state-wide work stoppage to stop union-busting in Hortonville, this proposal had to be withdrawn partly because of NEA and AFT refusal to support the call.

Not was any reference at all made at the convention to the need for joint action by all public employee unions as a means of taking on the city and state politicians. It was actions such as this in Baltimore and Ohio which were responsible for modest gains there for public employees (considerably above the settlement won in Baltimore by teachers when they went it alone in a strike last Fall).

Al Shanker, shortly to become President of the AFT, criticized the NEA for its inability to defend the teachers on strike in Hortonville and Timberlane. But since Shanker, too, rejects coalitions of

unions for joint actions, and rejects also the idea of state-wide strikes (which he calls "fascist") all Shanker could offer as a "solution" was the promise that the AFT would have brought tremendous pressure to bear upon the legislatures.

Of significance also is the fact that while the NEA calls for the right to strike, it has in fact failed as victories laws which imposed compulsory binding arbitration upon public employees. (AFT has remained silent on these laws, and would doubtless accept them too.)

FUTILE STRATEGY

There was one last and critical respect in which the NEA convention reached total agreement with the AFT: working for a Democratic "veto-proof Congress" to get the federal government to raise its share of educational costs from the present 7% to 33%.

Nothing illustrates more the futility of this strategy than the fact that 73% of all Congressmen have already been elected with the active support of teacher organizations - more than enough to over-ride any veto. But not one "friend of the teachers" among these politicians has even considered proposing a bill for significant increases in federal aid to the schools.

The main "controversial" issue dealt with by the convention was that of merger with the AFT. The NEA withdrew from merger negotiations last February on the grounds that it could not agree to becoming an affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

But while this undoubtedly is a real objection to many teachers, the objection of many more, especially the NEA leaders, was to association with Albert Shanker.

The NEA bureaucrats are not yet confident they could avoid being swallowed up by Shanker's well-oiled machine (as happened in the New York State merger).

So they have decided to use the objection to "affiliation with the AFL-CIO" as a smokescreen to give themselves time to consolidate their own control of the NEA, before re-opening merger talks at a later date.

David Miller

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