

# Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NO. 87 DECEMBER 7 - 20, 1973 154

## NIXON'S NEW "CANDOR": MORE DESTROYED TAPES

### GM Contract Brings Layoffs, Forced Overtime

As the top leadership of the United Auto Workers amicably concluded its contract negotiations with General Motors, GM announced a Christmas bonus for employees at sixteen of its plants -- a one-week layoff to reduce inventories. Permanent layoffs were also given to 350 Fisher Body employees, with more promised early in the new year, as the downturn in the economy and the fuel shortage take their toll.

While GM management is wrapping up plans for these unwanted gifts, UAW President Leonard Woodcock is busy trying to sell the terms of the new contract to the rank and file GM workers. The GM settlement is the last of a series of sellouts this summer and fall by Woodcock and his team.

The new contract follows closely those with Ford and Chrysler. It provides for a tiny wage increase that does not keep up with current inflation. On the key questions of life on the line -- line speed, workers' control of production standards -- there was nothing.

The UAW leaders are pushing hard for acceptance of the con-

tract, noting their so-called breakthrough on voluntary overtime.

GM workers will get to vote on whether they wish to change the present forced overtime situation to terms similar to those at either Chrysler or Ford. Chrysler workers got voluntary overtime after nine hours six days a week, with every third Saturday and every Sunday off provided their attendance was perfect, and the company didn't declare an emergency and it wasn't at model changeover.

At Ford, overtime is voluntary after ten hours, five days a week with similar restrictions. So the GM workers can vote on whether they want the 54 hour week or the 50 hour week.

These two areas -- working conditions and voluntary overtime -- will probably cause more trouble for the UAW leaders, eager to see their new contract accepted. In the GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) plants, which have seen many strikes over working conditions and unsettled grievances, things may not go over very smoothly.

Woodcock has called for "mini-strikes," which many GMAD workers see as frauds since they force one local to take on the immense power of

[Continued on page 12]

The abrupt and total collapse of Nixon's latest "counter-offensive" against the Watergate scandal has left many people wondering what his so-called "Operation Candor" was really all about. Is Nixon fighting to save his Presidency or merely to stay out of jail?

Operation Candor was launched with even more ballyhoo and fanfare than its predecessors. But the ink was still wet on his promise that no more bombshells were in the works when the news broke that another crucial segment of the White House tapes had turned up missing.

Oh dear, the White House announced, President Nixon's secretary has accidentally erased 18 minutes' worth of conversation -- by a strange coincidence, the particular 18 minutes when Nixon was discussing what to do about Watergate with H.R. Haldeman. No one believed this absurd story for a minute -- and no one could have been expected to believe it.

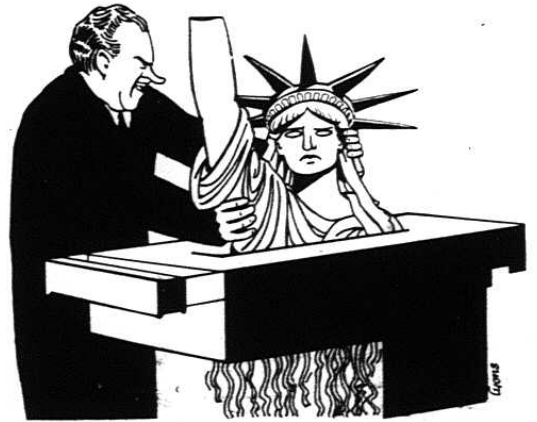
Operation Candor was obviously another installment in Nixon's continuing cover-up of his many crimes. Even Nixon's lawyers and his faithful secretary have begun to crack under the strain of defending Nixon's patent lies.

*How could even the most desperate President imagine such a transparent maneuver would rebuild public confidence in his Administration? The answer is, probably, that was not what Nixon had in mind when he planned this "counter-offensive."*

Nixon must know he has little chance of saving his regime. Even the business community is deciding he has to go. He served them faithfully and well, at home and abroad, but today his usefulness is at an end.

So long as Nixon remains in office, the crisis of public confidence is sure to grow -- and popular faith in the myths of American politics is nearing an all-time low.

Not only government officials but corporate executives are being dragged into the courts. The basic solidarity and self-confidence of the ruling class are being undermined. If



they were to condone all Nixon's multiplying scandals, the legitimacy of the government would be badly, perhaps mortally, compromised.

The Republican Party in particular stands a good chance of being demolished if it fails to disassociate itself from Nixon. But all politicians are suspect in the shadow of Watergate. The Watergate scandal is blowing the cover of the whole status quo.

Worse, a major recession is probable next year. It was already in the works as the 1972-73 boom began to evolve into a classic bust. Now the oil shortage will make it much worse -- American workers will shortly face rising unemployment, no relief from rising prices and an across-the-board attack on the quality of American life.

Thus, now more than ever the ruling class needs a strong executive to help it weather the approaching economic storm. A strong, respectable administration is required to force the American people to swallow the enormous sacrifices that capitalism has prepared for them.

*Nixon after Watergate could hardly play this role. His hand-picked successor, Gerald Ford, couldn't either, on his own; he is not very bright, much less charismatic, and politically primitive. But he can front for an informal "government of national unity," really run by Kissinger, Richardson and others, and that is what is no doubt being put together behind the scenes.*

So what does Nixon hope to

achieve by delaying his resignation and prolonging the agony? Like Agnew, he wants to resign on his own terms -- in comfort and out of jail.

Operation Candor bought Nixon time, not simply to continue the cover-up as in the past, but to *destroy more evidence*. By the time he resigns, Nixon hopes, everyone in the world may know he's guilty but no one will be able to prove it.

Moreover, it allowed him to mobilize some of his hard-core supporters, in the real estate industry, for example, and in the South. He wants to demonstrate he can still put up a costly fight if he doesn't get the kind of deal he wants. In this sense, Operation Candor represented, like Agnew's campaign to "prove his innocence," plea bargaining on a grand, national scale.

The sad thing is that no movement exists to prevent Nixon from being allowed to cop a plea. Whatever the terms of his resignation, whatever regime takes his place, it will be designed to restore and secure the very political system that created Nixon in the first place.

One gangster president has gotten caught. Other, more sophisticated criminals will take his place. The real tragedy of Watergate is that the American working class is not organized to force Nixon out on its terms, to bring down the system as well as its servants.

So long as capitalism is allowed to rule, more Watergates will be waiting in the wings. ■



GM's Morris and UAW's Woodcock share victory over rank & file



# Editorial

## ENERGY CRISIS: SACRIFICE FOR FUN & PROFIT

During World War II Americans were asked to save bacon fat for the production of soap, metal scraps for the war effort and women's hemlines were raised to save cloth. Almost everyone planted a victory garden, including city dwellers who made window boxes out of cheese crates.

These efforts made little difference to the American economy or its available resources. As a matter of fact, the scraping and saving was a gimmick engineered at the top to make American workers at home feel they were all making sacrifices to help those in uniform win the war.

While vast profits were earned by industries involved in war production and other profiteering, the psychology of group sacrifice was used to outlaw strikes and impose wage controls. These were the real sacrifices made by workers to preserve the prosperity of American capitalism.

Today, the same shuck is being pulled again. Each day the papers bring us new inspired ideas for deprivation: candle light while watching TV, wrapping our homes in Saran Wrap, car pools for shopping, washing clothes less frequently in colder water and taking cold showers.

Editorials tell us that this is really a blessing in disguise, bringing back a better way of life. Walking will make our fat complacent bodies slim and beautiful, and 65 degrees is really healthier anyway. Less TV will bring back family life as will replacing the dishwasher with mom and the kids. One commentator remarked, "A reduction in air conditioning will force people out onto their porches for relief and possibly perk up neighborliness."

Nixon is even making a feeble attempt to use the Arab oil embargo to whip up the kind of national chauvinism that made the war drive a success before. He is promising that if everyone tightens up now, "no foreign power will be able to cut our lifeline" within a few years.

Most of this is garbage. The amount of energy saved through private sacrifice will make little difference. Appliances used by working people are not luxuries that allow us to get fat and lazy but necessities that enable working mothers to do two full-time jobs.

The capitalists' appeals to working class patriotism are as much a fraud today as they were during the wars in Vietnam, Korea, and World War I and II. "Patriotism" always means that American workers sacrifice, suffer and die for the bosses' interests.

We cannot return to an older way of life without creating even more severe dislocations in the economy. The period ahead will not be filled with a lot of old-fashioned, down-home cheer but massive layoffs, rising prices and severe shortages. Phrases like "equality of sacrifice" and "tightening our energy belt" are merely a mask for who will profit and who will suffer from the energy crisis.

Just like in World War II the rich will get richer while the rest of us, huddled in our patriotic sweaters, try to save heat and gas and stretch our shrinking paychecks.

## UAW'S FAILURE

Six months ago, Workers' Power warned: "Some auto plants are working as much as 12-hour, seven day a week shifts . . . But the boom will not last . . . A recession, perhaps quite serious, is expected next year. Many auto workers will be out of jobs, and not just new hires."

Sadly, this prediction is already beginning to come true. All three major auto manufacturers have announced layoffs, and there is little doubt that many more are on the way. The director of the Michigan unemployment office has forecast a 12 percent unemployment rate for that state in 1974.

In the months to come, many auto workers will pay with their jobs for the UAW leadership's failure to make unemployment an issue in this year's contract negotiations.



### INTERESTED?

International Socialists  
14131 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

I would like more information  
about the International Socialists.

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

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

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

Bloomington: 300 North Bryan,  
Bloomington, IN 47401

Boston: P.O. Box 8488, Boston,  
MA 02114

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

Cleveland: P.O. Box 02239, Cleve-  
land, OH 44102

Detroit: 14131 Woodward Ave.,  
Highland Park, MI 48203

Los Angeles: Box 110, 308 West-  
wood Plaza, Los Angeles, CA  
90024

Louisville: P.O. Box 19094, Louis-  
ville, KY 40219

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

North Carolina: P.O. Box 445,  
Chapel Hill, NC 27514

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

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

St. Louis: P.O. Box 24135, St.  
Louis, MO 63114

## Workers' Power 87

Copyright © 1973 by the Inter-  
national Socialist Publishing  
Company.

Editorial Board: Marilyn Dan-  
ton, David Finkel, Joel Geier,  
Brian Mackenzie, Jack Traut-  
man, John Weber.

Editor: Kit Lyons. Art Editor:  
Lisa Lyons. Staff: David Fink-  
el, Kay Stacy, Rose Veviak, Jim  
Woodward. Business Manager:  
David Katz.

14131 Woodward Avenue.,  
Highland Park, Michigan-48203.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year.  
Supporting subscriptions: \$5.

Institutional subscriptions: \$5.  
Foreign: \$5. Domestic first

class (sealed): \$7. Foreign first

class: \$10. Foreign air mail

(unsealed): \$15. Introductory

subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months.  
Bundles of 10 copies or more:

15¢ per copy. Signed articles  
do not necessarily represent the  
views of *Workers' Power*, which  
are expressed in editorials.

Published bi-weekly except semi-  
monthly in December and  
monthly in July and August by  
the International Socialist Pub-  
lishing Co. at 14131 Woodward  
Ave., Highland Park, Michigan.  
Send notice of undelivered  
copies or change of address to  
*Workers' Power*, 14131 Wood-  
ward Ave., Highland Park, Michi-  
gan 48203.

*Workers' Power* is a member of  
the Underground Press Synde-  
cate (UPS) and is indexed in the  
Alternate Press Index and micro-  
filmed by University Microfilms.  
International Standard Serials  
Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.

# Ford Workers' Call: Reopen the Contract!

"We're tired of broken promises, sick of dirty tricks, fed up with bankrupt leadership," stated a leaflet for a picket outside the United Auto Workers' (UAW) General Motors Council meeting on November 27. The demonstration, organized by the United National Caucus (UNC), drew workers from Ford Locals 600 and 228 in the Detroit area and Chevy Local 14 in Toledo.

The signs at the demonstration showed that these workers agreed that it was time to "Dump Woodcock." Indeed, in the field of broken promises, dirty tricks, and bankrupt leadership, Leonard Woodcock and the rest of the UAW's officialdom have outdone themselves this year.

In mid-November Ford skilled tradesmen voted down the settlement negotiated by Woodcock. They objected, above all, to an appendix in the agreement which allowed Ford to replace any skilled worker who refuses overtime with a part-time or outside worker.

According to the UAW Constitution as amended in 1966,



the entire contract had been voted down. Ford, however, immediately announced that it regarded the sellout as legally binding. The UAW leadership, also insisting that the Ford contract stood, came back a couple of weeks later with a trick that dumped the whole matter on the local unions.

On November 27, UAW Vice President Ken Bannon told a skilled trades sub-council meeting in Cincinnati that the skilled trades units would get to vote on alternative overtime plans. The so-called "choice" is

between the old forced overtime system, with low seniority workers forced to work if high seniority workers don't volunteer, and a new scheme that would juggle work schedules and set up labor pools.

Under the proposed new scheme, the company could change work schedules, force workers in one trade to do the work of another, use apprentices, and in other ways undermine the job security of the skilled tradesmen. Either way, the company wins.

*The real reason the UAW*

*leaders pushed their own sell-out on the locals is, of course, to get the heat off themselves. Opposition to the Ford settlement was widespread.*

*Not only did the skilled tradesmen reject, but many production units also voted it down. This was concealed in the voting figures released by the union because of the unit vote system.*

*Under this system, if a unit composed of, say, 3,000 workers, votes favorably by a majority of one with only 300 voting, then 3,000 votes are counted toward ratification.*

## UNC Campaign

Opposition, however, has gone beyond just voting against the contract. In the wake of the rebellion by skilled tradesmen, the UNC has grown and initiated activities against Woodcock and his bunch.

A well-attended UNC meeting on November 18 decided to take the UAW leadership to court for violation of its own constitution. This was meant to back up the UNC's conviction that skilled tradesmen have the right to veto a settlement under the provisions of the union's constitution. According to the 1966 changes in

the constitution, they argue, the whole contract — for both skilled and production workers — must be renegotiated.

This is a demand around which militant actions and a campaign to dump the pro-company leaders should be organized.

## Mistaken Strategy

The UNC's strategy of taking the International to court over a constitutional violation, however, can only be a drag on such a campaign and on any other militant program.

The courts belong to Ford, GM, Chrysler and the other big corporations — not to the "ordinary citizen," much less a group of dissident workers.

Even if the courts did decide to intervene in union affairs — which is hardly likely on behalf of workers organizing militant action to upset a contract — this would set a dangerous precedent for the future. The courts are far more likely to shackle the unions and the ranks than to support them.

Petitions supporting the court case are also being circulated by the UNC. These petitions call for wage re-openers. *[Continued on page 15]*

## Enforcing the Contract— UAW Official Shoots Worker

The first rejection of a United Auto Workers' contract was marked by gunfire, as well as by rank and file militancy. The gun was fired by one-time oppositionist David Mundy, president of one of the giant Local 600 bargaining units, at a black skilled tradesman who had come to the local hall to help vote down the contract.

### Insult to the Ranks

During the balloting of the ratification votes the comments from UAW headquarters were uniformly insulting to its members.

"If they knew what was in the contract," UAW president Leonard Woodcock claimed, "They wouldn't vote it down."

In unison the UAW local presidents chorused to their members — "Let us explain it

to you, it's a good contract if you read between the lines."

But the skilled tradesmen had already seen the handwriting on the wall, and voted the contract down in the biggest NO vote the UAW has ever seen.

David Mundy, president of the Michigan Casting Center in Flat Rock and at the massive Ford Rouge complex in Dearborn, both units of Local 600, echoed obediently the International's line, and not for the first time.

Prior to the 1972 UAW convention, Mundy was on the outs with the International. Mundy was one of the first blacks elected head of a bargaining unit. His base is the militant black foundry workers who face some of the most brutal and inhuman working conditions Ford has to offer.

Just before the Convention Mundy organized and led a broadly based group of black unit chairmen and local presi-

dents called the League of Causes for Democracy in the UAW. The League's stated aim was to fight the bureaucracy of the UAW, to put control of the union back into the hands of the rank and file members.

Unfortunately, Mundy's real aim in setting up the short-lived "League of Causes" was to further the career of one David Mundy.

Knowing the power that lay behind Mundy, the potentially very powerful foundry workers and possibly a good section of all the black UAW membership, the International was quick to find out Mundy's price.

By the Convention, only a few weeks later, the League had disappeared. Mundy himself played absolutely no role in the Convention, mainly because he was busy being Sergeant-at-Arms.

He was too busy acting the good servant, bringing Woodcock and his crew fresh glasses of water throughout the pro-

ceedings, to even speak once.

He's tried to be a good servant ever since. When Woodcock said the contract was a good one, so did Mundy. When Woodcock called for a re-vote in one Local 600 unit to phony up the balloting, Mundy made the arrangements.

So many skilled tradesmen cried foul that Woodcock's trick didn't quite work, and the re-vote was cancelled. Mundy, the good servant, trying to put a lid on the growing anger and militancy in the unit, got in an argument with a black skilled tradesman named William Harrell who had turned out to vote no for the second time.

When he couldn't convince Harrell with words, he pulled out his gun and took four shots at Harrell, chasing him down the street. One hit home, injuring the worker while he was trying to call the police from a phone booth.

Mundy is probably on his way out now. He's not likely to be re-elected by the foundry workers. There are, however, many black UAW bureaucrats like him who will talk tough for their ranks while aiming for a soft spot in the UAW's headquarters, Solidarity House.

Militant leadership and organization is what auto workers need today to dump Woodcock and his sell-out unionism. But

militant rhetoric is all types like Mundy offer.

*UAW workers must organize themselves, and elect leaders they can democratically control. The new leaders of auto workers must be workers who will be tough all the time, not just long enough to feather their nests.*

This leadership — militant, black leadership — will organize UAW members so they have more than words to back them up. Black UAW militants and radicals must begin to organize other auto workers to get rid of the Mundys, break Woodcock's noose on the UAW's neck, and take on the auto companies with some muscle. ■

Kay Stacy



David Mundy

# international report

David Finkel



## INDOCHINA TRUCE BREAKING APART



As Henry Kissinger struggles to hold together one patch-work cease-fire in the Middle East, the one he set up in Southeast Asia is coming apart at the seams.

In Vietnam, the Saigon regime is holding on to power only through political fraud and terror. War refugees, many of whom wish to return to their land but are prevented by Thieu from doing so, endure unspeak-

ably miserable conditions.

Thousands of children, with a "food stamp" on their chests, are on the streets of Saigon, begging for support and sleeping wherever they can find an abandoned corner.

### Third Indochina War

Both Saigon and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) have declared that the "Third Indochina War" has begun.

The signal that the Vietnam peace had collapsed came when Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnamese diplomat who negotiated the truce with Kissinger, refused to accept his share of the Nobel Peace Prize awarded

jointly to himself and Kissinger. Recently, major pitched battles have been fought in several regions.

Both sides, of course, have regularly violated the truce whenever they found it convenient to do so. American sources claim that North Vietnam has built up its forces in the South to 100,000 men and is preparing a new offensive to topple Saigon once and for all.

### Saigon's Days Numbered

If these reports are accurate, of course, Thieu's lease on life without new U.S. intervention is likely to be short. North Vietnam and the PRG have every right to break the truce.

The deal they were forced to accept in January, under the pressure of massive U.S. terror bombing of North Vietnam, was a blatant denial of the right of Vietnam to self-determination.

The Saigon regime is a puppet for the U.S. It is an independent state, based outside the Geneva accords, which has been kept in power by the U.S.

The overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants of the country detest the regime, even if ten years of all-out terror and destruction have largely succeeded in keeping them down.

At this point, U.S. imperialism is probably prepared to write off Vietnam to the Communist-led national liberation movement rather than trying to re-introduce American planes directly into the fighting.

Piled on top of Watergate and the Middle East, the costs of keeping Thieu in by military force would be too high.

Still, the US will force the national liberation forces and the Vietnamese people to pay the highest possible price in blood for their victory. Tens or hundreds of thousands more will be slaughtered as Thieu tries to hang on.

### No Imperialist Deals!

Nixon still has one card left to play, one which has served him well in the past: an appeal to his detente partners, Russia's Brezhnev and China's Mao, to force the North Vietnamese to hold back their offensive.

Heavy pressure from Moscow and Peking forced the Vietnamese to accept the truce in the first place.

This gamble is not likely to succeed. The Stalinist rulers of North Vietnam, despite all their costly vacillations and their loyalty to "peaceful coexistence" on a world scale, are eager enough to gain control of all Vietnam, and independent enough of both Moscow and Peking, that they will probably push ahead even if this goes against their allies' wishes.

Neither Brezhnev or Mao, quarreling with each other, could afford to come out openly against the victory of national liberation in Vietnam.

In Cambodia, where Lon Nol's regime continues to stagger toward defeat, the situation is more complex. The collapse of his regime could be delayed by the fighting inside the Khmer Rouge forces as to the role of North Vietnam in the war, the future of King Sihanouk, and the politics of the government to be set up after victory. ■

## Notes

The death toll in the Ethiopian famine is more than five times that of the October Middle East War and is rising every day. Even in good years unknown numbers of Ethiopians die of starvation, in a country that could become the breadbasket of Africa.

The main reason for the poverty of nine out of ten Ethiopians is the system of land holding. Vast amounts of land are owned by huge landlords. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church (which calls the famine an "Act of God") is one of the largest.

The Ethiopian parliament - which by law consists exclusively of landlords - has blocked even the most moderate efforts at land reform.

Ethiopia is an important American military base on the Red Sea, and is also involved in repressing the freedom struggle in its own colony of Eritrea.

Compared with 14.8 million Ethiopian dollars spent on agriculture last year, 95 million were allocated to defense and 89.5 million to internal order.

The International Socialists of Great Britain held a successful conference on November 11, attended by 2,800 rank and file workers. The theme was "Build New Leadership - With Socialist Politics" for the coming struggles of the British working class.

The conference voted a resolution to bring down the Tory government and Phase 3, smash the Industrial Relations Act (Britain's Taft-Hartley) by militant industrial action, defense of strikes and pickets, independent rank and file action where official union leaders refuse to fight, and build concrete and effective link-ups between different factories and industries, and between struggles on the shop floor and in the unions.

Speakers from the floor also stressed the need to intensify on-going struggles for tenants' rights and against the spread of racism.

Most important, the conference pledged to organize a delegated rank and file conference for the spring to launch a national rank and file organization.

IS organizers stressed that this work is the essential first step toward building a mass revolutionary workers' movement to challenge the entire capitalist system.

There is more than one war in the Middle East. The Kurdistan Democratic Party claims that Iraq is planning to re-open its war on the Kurds, the people of northern Iraq, northern Iran and southwest Turkey who have been fighting for self-determination for 20 years.

The KDP, which is traditionally pro-Russian, has accused Russia of supplying Iraq with poison gas which is stored in army headquarters in Kurdistan, where there are also Russian advisors. ■

## GREECE: COLONELS RULE SHAKEN

"This is the radio station of the free fighting students, this is the radio of the free fighting Greeks! Fight on! Smash the junta! It is confirmed, it is confirmed, the Attica County Hall has been occupied by fighting workers. We call on everybody to help in our struggle for freedom!"

These were the words thundering out all over Athens at the height of the student and worker uprising against the Greek colonels' regime. Only after hundreds of deaths and thousands of arrests was the uprising suppressed.

### Facade of Stability

The right-wing military coup which overturned George Papadopoulos in Greece has set up a facade of stability. Accusing the former dictator of going soft on democracy with his "new face," the new regime has again postponed elections and is aiming to turn the clock back to the iron rule of 1967.

In real life, the fact that the colonels had to remove their own tool Papadopoulos demonstrates that they are sitting on top of a powder keg. Inspired by the example of the students who overthrew the regime in Thailand a few weeks earlier,

Greek students had moved into mass action to topple military rule altogether.

Their struggle was not dampened, but heightened, by the limited concessions of amnesty and middle class "liberalization" forced from the Papadopoulos government in August.

The working class, led by the traditionally militant building workers, responded magnificently. At one point the forces fighting the Army in the streets numbered 200,000.

Although no revolutionary organization has succeeded in

gaining a base among the workers, their actions have shown the only way forward: only the organized strength of the workers, peasants and students will smash the junta on the way towards workers' power.

The right wing takeover will, for a time, drive the struggle underground once again. When it breaks into the open again, however long that takes - certainly less than the six years that elapsed between the '67 coup and the 1973 revolt - it will take off from the level reached this time. ■



# THE \$20 MILLION \$HAKEDOWN

Cal Williams

It's usually only in the darkest days of depressions that millionaires talk of suicide. And it's even more unusual for men like Cleveland's George M. Steinbrenner, III, the "handsome" young chief executive of the American Ship Building Company.

But Watergate has changed even this. Just a few weeks ago, Steinbrenner, in a meeting with his top staff, dropped his head to the desk, said he was "ruined," and then, according to his chief secretary, mumbled something about "finding a bridge" to jump from.

The cause of his despondency is yet another case of illegal campaign contributions. And Steinbrenner's subordinates, rather than go to jail themselves, turned in their boss.

After FBI investigations of campaign contributions smoked them out, two of Steinbrenner's hirelings, Robert Bartolme and Matthew Clark, testified before the Watergate Committee. For their display of loyalty they were granted immunity by the courts.

In this case, Steinbrenner had them help funnel hundreds of thousands of dollars of the company's money illegally into the Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

The trick was bogus bonuses. Steinbrenner paid eight of his executives a total of \$25,000 in bonuses which they in turn paid the Committee. He then ordered all records of the transaction destroyed, and justified this by say-

ing, "the Nixon Administration has been good for the shipping industry."

Steinbrenner also gave himself a \$75,000 bonus which, with the rest, was delivered by courier to the Washington office of Herbert Kalmbach, then Nixon's personal secretary.

All this must have been a bit painful for poor Steinbrenner, for as it happens he is a staunch Democrat, a patron of Hubert Humphrey and a personal friend of Edward Kennedy.



George Steinbrenner

In fact the Democrats were probably not forgotten. Bartolme reported that another \$37,000 of company money remained unaccounted for, though he suggested it had probably gone to other candidates.

But, business is business, and Steinbrenner like all businessmen had ample cause to be on good terms with the President. In early 1972, for example, Amer-

ican Ship Building Co., facing a heavy government fine for late delivery got off lightly.

Later that year, a government anti-trust suit was settled out of court, leaving American Ship free to acquire several ships from Litton Industries and continue its drive for a monopoly of Great Lakes shipping.

These revelations have been a serious blow to Steinbrenner and his supporters. In less than ten years, he has built American Ship Building into one of the nation's top 1,000 firms, with revenues last year of more than \$100,000,000.

Only 43 and clearly on his way up, Steinbrenner has a reputation to boot. The Jr. Chamber of Commerce once named him the "Outstanding Man of the Year in Ohio." More recently, the Cleveland Press Club presented him with their "Man of the Year Award."

## Committed Angel

Steinbrenner also loves the theater, and proves it by sponsoring both Broadway plays and local talent. Only recently he was hailed as "one of Ohio's most committed angels" -- a term apparently reserved for theater backers.

Now this angel may be committed. Why? Watergate of course.

The fact is that corruption is not limited to such seamy types as Howard Hughes and Robert Vesco. Angels like George Steinbrenner, III, also bet on both parties. This means ignoring legal niceties, but both Democrats and Republicans are for it.

In the end, however, Steinbrenner's fears may prove premature. Thus far, despite everything, few executives find themselves behind bars, rubbing shoulders with men and women who stole not millions, but mere pittance.

And in the meantime business has already taken a turn for the better. Last week, apparently oblivious to Steinbrenner's personal fortunes, Elton Hoyt III, President of Pickards Mather (a shipping firm), announced the awarding of a record contract to American Ship Building -- \$70,000,000, the largest contract in Great Lakes history. ■

# NIXON'S BLACK BUSINESS RIP-OFF

The federal program to encourage black capitalism set up in 1971 by the Nixon Administration did more than just grant money to aspiring black entrepreneurs. They also received a free lesson in how capitalism actually works.

According to investigations reported recently in the *New York Times*, the federal Office of Minority Business (OMBE) in 1972 became a channel through which Nixon tried to gain support for his re-election in black and Latin communities.

Businessmen who held contracts from the OMBE were pressured into supporting Nixon's re-election -- or at least refraining from opposing him. Some who resisted the pressure found their funds cut.

Funds to the Watts Labor Community Action Committee, for instance, were reduced after the Committee's director, Theodore Watkins, refused to show up at a Nixon fund-raising dinner.

In addition, Watkins reported constant harassment including frequent auditing by the government.

According to the survey, similar stories were told "repeatedly" by recipients of OMBE funds all over the country.

New contracts were not awarded to minority capitalists without assurance that they would take the right political position.

The OMBE's former director, John Jenkins, was fired because of his reluctance in following such White House orders.

The OMBE also shifted emphasis in awarding contracts from Black businessmen to

Spanish-Americans after Nixon decided to write off the Black vote.

In addition to these political pressures on the black capitalism program, sizeable amounts of the funds designed for aid to black capitalists actually ended up in the pockets of white businessmen who set up black front organizations for their own operations.

Bureaucrats at the OMBE were aware of complaints about this practice, but said they were either too busy to investigate or were ordered not to by higher-ups.

While the atmosphere created by Watergate has encouraged capitalist papers to uncover new scandals in the Nixon administration, this is far from the first time that federal programs ostensibly designed to aid minority groups have been used by an Administration in power to further its own political aims.

Lyndon Johnson's poverty program -- which Black Capitalism was designed to replace -- was more effective in promoting the interests of the Democratic Party machine than in fighting poverty.

One of its more spectacular cases was the cutting off of funds in 1967 to the Child Development Group of Mississippi -- a successful, but independent program run by former civil rights workers.

Mr. Nixon, as a right-winger, talked of aiding the development of black capitalists. Mr. Johnson, a liberal, claimed to be helping anyone who was poor.

But as capitalist politicians, both these gentlemen showed that their true interest was only in helping themselves and the system they represent. ■

# Black Dems and Wallace

Several weeks ago Governor of Alabama and well known racist George Wallace unofficially hit the campaign trail.

One of his first stops was the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. In 1963, Wallace stood at the steps of this same university trying to stop integration. This time Wallace crowned the black homecoming queen.

The next day Wallace addressed the Southern Conference of Black Mayors in Tuskegee where he received a standing ovation and the key to the city. He stated that he did not think "anyone would be against

somebody for the way God made them."

Wallace was applauded when he pointed out that his administration had attracted industry, created jobs and built schools for "all the low income folks, black and white."

Wallace has serious national political ambitions. He is angling for the Democratic Party's number two spot with Teddy Kennedy as the presidential candidate. He understands that his racist image has become excess baggage which he is looking to lose. So the worm is turning. But more shocking than Wal-

lace, self proclaimed bigot, playing Mr. Brotherhood is the response of the Black mayors.

"The fact that he showed up tells me something good," stated Tuskegee's mayor Johnny Ford.

Charles Evers, brother of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, said that he could see supporting Wallace "if he were on the ticket with say, Teddy Kennedy and the Republicans didn't offer a good alternative like Ed Brooke or Nelson Rockefeller."

At their three day conference, selling out became a part of the Southern Black Mayors' program in a seminar on how



to get along with the white man and when to compromise with the establishment.

The actions of these Democratic Party Uncle Toms proves, once again, the danger of the Democratic Party as a vehicle for black liberation. These politicians are not only forced to become political bedfellows with racists like Wallace, but are even ready to move a step further to the right.

Nelson Rockefeller -- whose fortunes have been built by robbing and brutalizing working people (black and white) the world over -- becomes a possible contender for their support. ■

# labor briefs



UAW members at the Chrysler plant in Twinsburg, Ohio, have voted unanimously to demand the resignation of President Nixon. The plant is a key stamping facility for Chrysler and has a militant history.

Rumors of massive layoffs are circulating through Detroit Chrysler assembly plants. Workers at the Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant are told to expect one of the two shifts to be laid off. Heavy cut-backs are expected at Lynch Road, and overtime is to be cut back at Dodge Main.

This year's convention of District 31 of the Steelworkers was an unruly affair. District director Sam Evett devoted much of his speech to an attack on union members who oppose the no-strike agreement with the steel companies.

Evett claimed the opposition was the work of "former members of SDS."

Delegates to the convention were not allowed to bring in copies of a petition denouncing the no-strike agreement which thousands of USW members have signed. One delegate was attacked and beaten up by USW goons.

Ten thousand UMW miners in 18 Illinois locals struck in sympathy when the Midland Coal Co. closed one of its mines, throwing UMW members out of work. Midland Coal closed the mine rather than comply with an ecological zoning ordinance.

Federal court injunctions issued in Peoria and East St. Louis, and the urgings of UMW District 12 officials, sent the miners back to work with the Midland mine still closed.

John Z. DeLorean, former vice president at General Motors, is setting an example for workers who have to pinch pennies to get by in these days of soaring inflation. When he quit his GM job, he lost his \$650,000 a year salary, and took a 90 percent pay cut.

But it's no problem, DeLorean says, "I can live on \$60,000 or \$70,000 a year. I have always lived conservatively."

The professional gamblers on Wall Street are getting a bit nervous. Union workers at the New York Stock Exchange have rejected a tentative contract settlement. Under the terms of their old contract, however, they cannot strike for ninety days.

Willie Farah, the viciously anti-union maker of Farah slacks, has hired a liberal Democrat, Fred Dutton, to help with public relations in his campaign against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Dutton is a former aide to Kennedy and McGovern.

At its recent convention in Bal Harbour, Florida, the AFL-CIO leadership expelled the United Brewery Workers. The Brewery Workers have since voted, 26,129 - 4,756 to join the Teamsters, a move initiated by Teamster raids on the Brewery union. But 22 locals will remain in the AFL-CIO as directly affiliated local unions.

Since the last AFL-CIO convention two years ago, Federation spending has increased for most things. Two exceptions: the organizing and civil rights departments both had their budgets cut.

Most of the 950 workers at Borden Inc.'s plant in Columbus, Ohio, have accepted their union's call to return to work, even though the cause of a nerve disease that affected several hundred of them has not yet been found.

172 workers, however, are still boycotting the plant. They are too sick to return to work.

The top leadership of the Teamsters Union is the latest group to be implicated in the spreading illegal campaign contribution scandal.

Former Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa has chosen to use Watergate by spilling the beans against his rival, current President Frank Fitzsimmons. Hoffa revealed that the IBT actually contributed \$60,000 or \$70,000 for Nixon's re-election.

The Teamster bureaucracy had officially reported only contributing \$18,000. The rest was apparently given in secret, and in violation of the law.

Fitzsimmons replied to Hoffa's charge by asserting that Hoffa didn't know what he was talking about. "He's a damn liar," said Fitz.

# Secret Steel Memo Hides Abel's Tracks

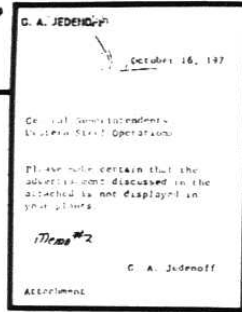
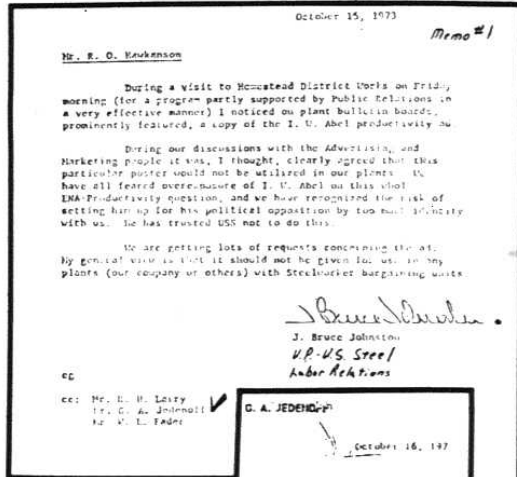
## Special To Workers' Power

Confidential memos show U.S. Steel bigwigs protect I. W. Abel from dissident Steelworkers.

Memo no. 1 is a gentle reprimand to Robert O. Hawkanson, Vice President for Public Relations of U.S. Steel for allowing copies of a U.S. Steel ad to be posted where workers could see it. The ad, paid for by U.S. Steel, appeared in national news magazines and featured Abel's suggestions on "stepping up the efficiency of each worker" and "cutting down on excessive absenteeism, tardiness, turnover and overtime."

Memo no. 2 is from George A. Jedenoff, Vice President for Western Steel Operations, to his plant managers.

In Lorain, Ohio, meanwhile, the 7,000 member U.S. Steel Local 1104 voted to condemn Abel for his appearance in the company-sponsored ad.



# AFT Reform Caucus Rejects Selden

Thirty rank and file teacher unionists from six cities met in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 18 to discuss policy and plans for the next American Federation of Teachers convention. The teachers, most of whom were delegates to last year's convention, came from Boston, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, New Rochelle, and Washington, D.C.

The meeting was an East coast regional meeting of the national opposition caucus in AFT, the United Action Caucus (UAC).

One major decision coming out of the meeting was a vote to run a slate in the coming AFT elections. But it was also decided that the UAC would not nominate David Selden, current President of AFT.

Selden is in the process of being deposed by Albert Shanker, Shanker, President of the 65,000-member New York City local of the union, and the national leader of the right-wing of the AFT, has announced his own candidacy.

The rejection of Selden was based on the grounds that his basic policies for the union did not differ from those of Shanker and his friend, AFL-CIO chief George Meany. Like Shanker,

Selden supported the wage freeze, and opposed united action with other public employee unions around common issues.

Both oppose state-wide actions by teachers. Both rely upon lobbying rather than independent political action as the right way to get more financial aid to the schools, and both actively

support the Democratic Party as being pro-labor.

The meeting also endorsed the proposal that AFT aim at becoming an industrial union - one which would organize all school employees, janitors, cafeteria workers as well as teachers.

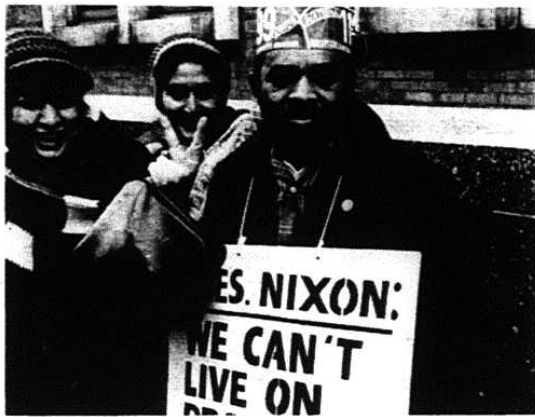
A third decision was to recommend that at the coming convention the UAC hold two or more evening meetings with prominent speakers on the question of Racism in Education and on Independent Labor Political Action. These meetings are to be open to all delegates to the convention.

Among the thirty delegates to the meeting were several supporters of the Communist Party and of the International Socialists. The CP supported the candidacy of David Selden for AFT President on the grounds that he was a "progressive."

The IS supported the view opposing both the near-identical candidates Selden and Shanker. The CP's supporters also opposed the decision to hold an open meeting at the AFT convention on the question of independent labor political action, while IS supporters worked for the proposal.



David Selden



"No we're not satisfied," said Mrs. Ann West. "But if the people up there (the union leadership) say they ain't getting no more, what can you do?"

That was the attitude of most of the New York hospital workers who reluctantly voted a week before Thanksgiving to end their strike against the Cost of Living Council.

The 30,000 members of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union had been on the picket lines for a week, demanding that the government approve a 7.5 percent wage increase to which their employers had already agreed.

But the CLC ruled that the hospital workers could have on-

ly six percent -- just a half percent over the 5.5 they already were getting. With that, the 1199 leadership recommended a return to work.

Not since rank and file miners wildcatted in 1971, forcing the government to immediately approve their new contract, has such a significant challenge been raised against wage controls. Furthermore, this latest challenge need not have been defeated.

The disadvantage the hospital workers faced, compared with the miners, was that their strike had very little impact on the profit system. Consequently, their strike was much more difficult to win.

One factor that could have made a big difference would

# Pay Board Defeats 1199

Jim Woodward

have been outside help from the rest of the labor movement.

In an interview with *Workers' Power*, Judy Baston, assistant editor of *1199 News* acknowledged that this was a problem. "We got very little in terms of labor support," she said.

At the same time, Baston denounced "super-radicals" who were demanding that the Central Labor Council call a general strike in support of the union.

**Needed: Sympathy Strikes**

But it was precisely sympathy strikes by other unions that could have provided the economic muscle 1199 needed to win. The question was how to get this support.

Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, knows that the leadership of New York's Cen-

tral Labor Council is not interested in general strikes, sympathy strikes and the like, which might be illegal and would certainly stir up trouble.

To have publicly demanded that the Central Labor Council support 1199 with strike action, and not just with words, would have set Leon Davis at odds with other labor leaders and branded him as a troublemaker.

His alternative would have been to go over the heads of other labor leaders and appeal directly to the rank and file. One crucial element -- widespread sympathy of other workers for the 1199 members -- was clearly present.

Truckers almost unanimously refused to cross 1199 picket lines to make deliveries.

But appealing to the rank and

file of other unions means waging a fight against their leaders. Davis, despite his progressive reputation, clearly has no stomach for this.

Building a movement against the conservative leadership of the labor movement is a vital necessity if unions like 1199 are not to bear the brunt of wage controls. If Davis won't do it, 1199 members will have to -- starting with a right to replace their own leadership.

The alternative is that the same thing will happen with 1199's next contract, on which negotiations are about to begin. A raise, even if negotiated, may again be knocked down by the government, leaving 1199 members with a continually deteriorating living standard.

**Pattern of Defeat**

Only with a united, militant labor movement can this pattern be reversed.

The leadership of 1199 has no strategy that can work. While it opposes wage controls, it is counting on the same liberal Democrats who initiated the controls to remove them.

Editor Baston told *Workers' Power* she felt that Senators Kennedy, Bayh and others did not realize what they were doing when they voted legislation allowing Nixon to impose wage controls.

Consequently, she said, these Senators could be counted on to work for the end of the controls.

This kind of thinking might make for good dreams, but not for higher wages. ■

Rank and file Teamsters in the Pittsburgh area have rediscovered a very effective tactic -- flying squads, or mobile pickets that go to other cities to spread the strike.

The tactic was used in the recent strike of Teamsters Local 249 against United Parcel Service (UPS). The strike of 900 drivers and loaders closed UPS operations in Western Pennsylvania for over eight weeks.

Although the strike was eventually defeated by the treachery of the Teamster leadership, the ranks had found the tactic that can mean eventual victory over UPS.

The issues in the strike were not so unusual, but the methods were, as the ranks took the initiative in action.

The striking Teamsters organized themselves and sent dozens of pickets to other cities to communicate with UPS workers there.

In early November a couple of dozen hit Columbus, Ohio, and set up a picket line. Columbus workers responded by walking out for two days.

Next they hit Cleveland where many UPS workers greeted them by walking out and joining the picket line. One of the centers was completely closed.

Another "flying squad" was sent to Harrisburg, Pa., as the workers planned to spread the

# Drivers Use Flying Squad Against UPS

Ken Smith Cal Williams

action to still other cities. Committeeman Bob Miller explained: "We're going to continue going around until we've hurt them enough to get them talking to us."

The pickets reported that they were amazed at the enthusiastic support they got as they found out that "we face the same problems all over," as one man put it.

A Cleveland driver summed it up: "We'd all like to shut this giant down across the country."

The response of the Teamster officialdom was also uniform -- uniformly bad. Officials of Cleveland Local 407 showed where they stood by bringing out their own brand of flying squad -- a goon squad -- to halt the wildcat there. They also col-

laborated with the company in getting an injunction.

But the organized strength of the ranks pressured their own Local 249 officials to take a more friendly attitude. They were put on the spot when a flying squad went to Washington D.C. to picket, not UPS but the Teamster International headquarters!

The local officials warned that this would endanger strike benefits, but the point wasn't too well taken -- since absolutely no strike benefits were received in five weeks.

Like many strikes this year, this one was basically defensive to keep from losing ground to inflation and a company offensive. In this case the biggest issue was job security.

It's the stated goal of the company to eliminate all full-



time inside workers in favor of part-time and casual help. Part-timers make \$2.97 an hour compared to \$5.97 for full-timers.

A worker with eleven years' seniority said, "We're fighting for our lives!"

The drivers stuck tight with the inside workers since they knew that if one group loses then all are weakened. But in the end, they all voted by a 2-1 margin to go back to work without winning the demand that part-timers be limited to 15 percent of the workforce.

The flying squads of the UPS workers are just the opposite of the bureaucrats' tricks. Instead of keeping the rank and file uninformed and passive, they involve the workers and tap their energy.

Instead of keeping workers divided and isolated the squads

bring about communication and understanding of common problems.

Most importantly, instead of relying on back-room fakery they rely on the real power of the ranks in spreading the fight against the company and taking their case to other workers.

UPS prides itself on its anti-union policies: a few years back they held out for 44 months against a strike in Philadelphia and broke the union in the end.

UPS is able to do this because they can keep most of their operations going even though one city may be shut down.

Even though UPS has won the latest round, the Pittsburgh Teamsters have found a strategy which is capable of, in the end, bringing the company to its knees. ■

## Fuel Crisis Fans Fires Of Recession

David Finkel

The "energy crisis" has raised the possibility of freezing homes, idled cars, and shuttered schools this winter. It may also close factories, cause substantial layoffs, and help bring about a serious recession in this country.

Such a recession will be accompanied by skyrocketing fuel prices which may help the American people forget what happened to meat prices earlier in this year of capitalist prosperity. You can boycott meat, but you can't boycott heat!

So far, the government's new restrictions have produced more chaos than conservation. Speed limits of 50 mph, aimed at forcing cars off the road more than at increasing gasoline mileage, threaten to cause snarls and raise costs in the trucking industry. The costs of perishable goods (like milk) shipped by truck could jump sharply.

Meanwhile, the feasibility of the one alternative to heavy automobile use -- mass transporta-

tion -- is itself being threatened. Restricted speed limits are making a hash of Greyhound and other bus line schedules and may force more people to use cars. (Missed connections won't prevent Greyhound from raising their fares, however).

In Los Angeles, the fuel shortage is causing bus service to be cut back and even eliminated on Sundays.

On the East Coast, air pollution standards are being scrapped wholesale to allow the utilities to convert from oil to coal. But because much of the coal supplies to these utilities will largely depend on small mines selling on the open market a whole series of new critical shortages will drive fuel prices up even higher.

There are not sufficient supplies of diesel oil to power strip mining operations for coal. There are not enough railroad cars to transport the coal that is mined. Utilities will be bidding against each other at speculators' prices for coal from privately owned mining companies.

The absence of any coal allo-

cation program encourages every corporation with oil-burning plants to hoard coal against the day when they may have to switch over.

Many individual states face administrative crises of their own. In Michigan, officials concede that they have little or no idea how much energy is used where it comes from, and what to do if supplies from Canada are cut off due to shortages in eastern Canada.

In some other states, fears are expressed that reduced oil allocations may leave fuel delivery trucks without enough gas to make their deliveries!

All these facts, and many others like them, can be found in the daily papers, along with the Watergate coverage and the reports of Nixon's latest private jet flight to Key Biscayne.

The point is, every thread of this huge industrial economy is dependent on the rest. The fuel supply system is one of the most vital of all. Yet the government is incapable of even predicting when and where shortages might develop, let alone do anything effective about them.

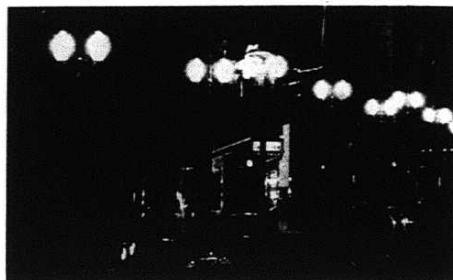
The single most immediate factor behind the fuel squeeze is the growing inability of America to control the crucial events affecting the world economy. The cutoff of oil by Arab nations is politically and economically effective only because the US can no longer force its European partners to adopt a unified hard line against the Arabs.

Instead, the US and the European Common Market nations are squabbling with the Arabs and each other over who will be exempted from the embargo, and at what price.

But the American capitalist economy and the profit system itself have created the deeper causes that make crises like this possible.

The American economy has been going through a boom of major proportions, through 1972 and most of 1973. Production and profits in most basic industries have set all-time records.

This boom had already begun to enter a downturn before the full impact of the fuel crisis. In the last two months, housing



construction and consumer spending were "sluggish," cutting into the gains created by capital investment and exports.

Another difficulty for the capitalists was the tendency for various shortages and supply bottlenecks to build up as the boom peaked, stretching productive capacity to the limit in a number of industries.

These bottlenecks could slow down economic growth to the point of an actual recession, as shortages in one industry cause production cutbacks and a chain reaction in others.

The fuel crisis comes on top of these already existing tendencies toward recession. As the biggest shortage of all, it may cause drastic dislocations in key industries and turn a mild recession into a severe one. This is what has Wall Street and the

Nixon Administration so concerned.

Thus, a severe recession could result from insufficient supplies of some commodities (like fuel) and too little profitable demand for others (like housing). Instead of overcoming this problem by planning how to allocate resources to meet human needs, the capitalist system responds by becoming more irrational, more unplanned, more dominated by the scramble for profit.

The fuel shortage is a modern textbook example. From the oil wells, to the refineries, to the coal mines, to the transport system, to the utilities and corporations which consume fuel for light, heat and production, everything is privately owned--largely by huge monopolies--and operated for profit.

Each one has its own sources, its own markets, its own book-keeping secrets and political strings to pull for huge government giveaways. These corporations control the economy--so long as they hold economic power, no one can control them.

For many years, oil companies deliberately held down refinery capacity because they didn't feel the profit margins were high enough. Government policies actively encouraged this.

In the coming months and years, the government will be doing everything in its power to help the oil giants expand their profits (the goal is to raise the annual profit increase from 8% to 16%) so that new refineries will be built by these same giants.

Since neither Richard Nixon with all his advisors, nor the Democratic Congress, can effectively control the economy, capitalism has only one recourse left--expand fuel profits, while trying to save as much as possible, by imposing stringent restrictions and appalling price increases on workers and individual consumers.

The man-made "energy crisis" promises a freezing recession for working people, and an overheated inflationary boom for the fuel corporations, the utilities, and whatever other interests can come up with an angle on how to cash in on it.

## Plentiful Energy Lost To Capitalist Waste

### "Free" Market Plans Rationing

If you want a graphic example of how the capitalist free market resolves consumer goods shortages, here's the word straight from the horses' mouth.

The November 19 issue of *Economic Week*, a report by the First National City Bank of New York, states: "Both the proponents of mandatory rationing and their antagonists in the Administration appear to accept the proposition that the free market is the most efficient arrangement ever evolved for allocating--or price rationing--goods and services among consumers."

The same article goes on to explain why. "A long run solution of the petroleum problem--no matter how soon progress is made on the diplomatic front--calls for sharp increases in prices

to consumers, price hikes sufficiently high to choke off demand."

The government would prefer not to slap a heavy tax (as has been suggested) on oil products to reduce consumption, since it would then have to take responsibility for raising prices.

"What's more, to the extent that [for political reasons] the impact of the tax on the poor is diminished, its effectiveness as a deterrent to consumption is diminished--and that, surely, is the name of the petroleum game at this juncture."

There you have it. The advantage of the capitalist market is that it victimizes the poor most efficiently--and that's how the free-market economists like it.

Power without fuel? It's possible. There's 200,000 kilowatts of electricity being produced right now in Northern California by harnessing the heat of the Earth's core. It's called geothermal power.

Deep "wells" are drilled into a fault area where heat from the Earth's core is near the surface. When underground water hits these hot rocks, steam is produced and piped into a steam turbine to produce electricity.

It has been estimated that enough energy can be taken from the Earth's core to run all of today's power plants for 20 million years and drop the core's temperature only 1°F, if a way can be found to tap all this energy.

Solar power also does not require fuel--except sunlight. One scientist has proposed a single orbiting satellite that could beam to Earth energy supplying New York City's current needs.

This scheme requires technology that is available now or

in the near future. Sunlight would be converted to electricity by solar cells in a stationary orbit in space. The electricity would be converted to microwaves and beamed to Earth where it would be converted back to electricity.

Although the initial investment would be 50-100 percent more expensive than current plants, it would use no fuel and create no pollution. But, there seems to be no money available to develop this project.

There is also a process available that uses coal and oil to generate electricity more efficiently. It has no moving parts, virtually no pollution and costs less for the initial investment than currently used equipment. It's called a magnetohydrodynamic generator -- MHD for short. It produces electricity from the supersonic flow of hot, ionized gases through a magnetic field.

One 30,000 kilowatt experimental unit was built back in

1965. It performed well and had the potential to use coal and oil 50 percent more efficiently than the current steam turbine generators. Still, however, the project was dropped by General Electric, producer of most of the big generators that this new process would replace.

So while gas and oil prices skyrocket and profits climb this winter, our pockets will be emptying and our thermostats falling. The air will also be getting dirtier and more natural resources wasted as ecological controls are abandoned.

The technology, however, exists to start producing power more efficiently and without pollution, but it means cutting into the profits of the big oil and electrical equipment companies. Therefore it hasn't been done. It is the working class, once again, that will pay the price for this so-called "energy crisis."

Doug Patterson



## Workers Will Pay For Fuel Crisis

Kay Stacy

While 70 percent of the nation's energy is consumed by commerce and industry, the bulk of government regulations to defuse the energy crisis are aimed at working people. The American working class is being bluntly told by the well-oiled machinery of the government to stay home, turn off the lights, the TV, the radio, the Christmas tree and quietly freeze.

The most dramatic cutbacks involve gasoline and heating oil. Today the price of gas hovers around \$1.50 a gallon. Now that the government has ordered refineries to cut their gas production 15 percent prices will climb even higher.

Shortages will become acute. Sales are banned on most of the week-end, and Saturday fill-ups will soon be limited by law.

Members of Congress are already calling for gas rationing. Drivers would then have to submit to intensive questioning about where they intend to go before being awarded the precious coupons.

Speed limits of 50 and 55 miles per hour are the law of the land.

For working people owning a car means more than transportation to and from work or a more convenient way to shop. The automobile means the ability to escape -- to pack the family in and get away -- for a day, a weekend or summer vacation. While the rich will be able to fly, cruise or pay inflated gaso-

line prices, working people will not.

Even if working people get gas, it is increasingly doubtful there will be places to go.

Stores are having their arms politely twisted to shorten shopping hours. The 24-hour grocery store, a tremendous time-saver to working women in particular, will soon have gone the way of the buffalo.

Entertainment centers -- movies, bars, clubs, and other

will be climbing throughout the season. The effect will be sharpest on the aged and the poor, all people on fixed incomes whose budgets are already ruined by inflation and the climbing food prices of past months.

Each year major cities' newspapers report occasional deaths, sometimes of entire families, from fire or suffocation caused by the use of cheap electrical heaters, and gas or charcoal stoves. This year we can expect

crisis on the environment. The energy crisis has become the excuse for sweeping away each and every gain won to protect the environment.

The Alaskan pipeline, sure to destroy major sections of the state's tundra region, will be completed by 1974. The auto industry expects, and will probably get, exemption from all restrictions laid down in the Clean Air Act.

While most harmful effects won't be felt for some time, some will have an immediate impact. Many industries are being urged to convert to coal. The most readily available supply is high-sulphur, previously subject to stringent control.

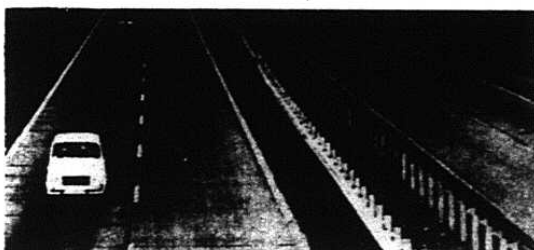
Both the workers in the factories and the people who live near industrial areas will feel changes first.

Emphysema, heart disease and lung cancer are all directly related to the quality of the air. While property damage and physical discomfort will be the first signs, all of these diseases will have a sharp upturn.

Strip-mining and off-shore drilling, finally being limited because of their dangerous impact on nature, are now actively encouraged. This crisis, a tragedy for working people and the poor, is a boon for the fuel industries.

These companies will get both massive subsidies from the government and the license to run amuck across the countryside.

While millions of people suffer the brutal effects of a crisis created by the oil companies, oil executives will warm their hands on the massive profits they will reap next year.



public gathering places -- face government restrictions. Public parks will soon be closed to cars.

Americans are being told more than to stay home -- home may soon be the only place open.

It will, of course, be none too bright and cozy a place to be. President Nixon is asking for a voluntary drop in house heating to 65 and 68 degrees. The only alternative is to risk running out of fuel entirely in February or March -- months not well known for sunny skies and balmy breezes in most parts of the country.

At the same time fuel prices

an epidemic of these brutal tragedies.

The cold will come to most working people as the economy is interrupted by shortages and cutbacks. Overtime will disappear in both major and marginal industries. Temporary and permanent lay-offs will become more and more frequent.

As all prices climb -- particularly necessities like fuel and food -- job security will disappear and paychecks will continue to shrink. Working people, more and more, will find themselves hovering on the brink of poverty.

Just as destructive, but less apparent is the effect of this

### Truck Drivers Lose Pay



Truck drivers may be among those hardest hit by the energy crisis. If Nixon's plan to reduce speed limits to 50 or 55 miles per hour is carried out, truckers will have a fight on their hands to prevent their wages from being slashed as much as their speed.

If drivers are forced to go slower, it means they cannot cover their normal distance each day. Since many contracts pay drivers on a per mile rather than hourly basis, the new speed restrictions could well mean a 20 percent pay cut.

Teamster President Fitzsimmons has said that the nation-

wide Master Freight Agreement might be reopened depending on results of road tests being conducted by the union.

The road tests are presumably being run to determine whether it takes longer to cover the distance between two points if speed is reduced!

Some employers may also use the fuel shortage as an excuse to further tighten up supervision of their drivers. UPS in Cleveland has been posting charts to record fuel consumption on each driver's route. Some drivers fear that this may be a prelude to new harassment.

# Mideast Talks Will Bar Palestinians

David Finkel

Since the signing of the October 29 truce ending the latest Middle East war, talk of a full-scale conference and a "lasting peace" have filled the air. At center stage in the maneuvering over peace terms has been US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Even the proposed dates for a Middle East peace conference are being arranged so that Kissinger can fit the talks into his busy work schedule.

The other central factor of the last few weeks, of course, has been the continuing cutback in Arab oil supplies to the US, Japan and Western Europe. The Common Market countries, Japan and the Philippines have come out in support of some Arab demands and will be exempt from the additional 5 percent production cutback scheduled for December.

Pressure on European governments to continue supporting the Arabs' position, against the wishes of the United States, is intense.

This pressure is threatening to break apart the entire alignment of the Western imperialist powers. Like thieves falling out

over the spoils, the national ruling classes of the United States, Europe and Japan are scrambling to regain the supplies of Arab oil which fuel their industrial economies, foreign trade, and profits.

Kissinger, however, represents more than simply one imperialist ruling class among the others. His mission is to restore the decisive superiority and domination of American imperialism over all the rest.

His aim is to secure a settlement which will make the US once again the "big stick," the umpire of all conflicts among lesser powers and the controlling force in shaping the lives of all the peoples in the Middle East.

Kissinger's aim is "peace" -- not on Arab terms, or Western European terms, or Russian terms, or even Israeli terms, but on American terms -- a "peace" that will leave the US free to push all the others back into line.

This is the drama being played out in the Middle East today. Against this backdrop, the fates of the Palestinian people and of all the masses of the Arab Middle East are being arranged.

The last few weeks have been

instructive. First, Kissinger promised the Zionist rulers of Israel that with a full peace settlement, in which Israel might be forced to abandon much of its plunder from the war of 1967, the US would be willing to enter a "mutual security treaty" which would directly commit the US to defending Israel in any future war.

This maneuver is a double-edged sword. First and foremost, of course, it is a warning to the world that the US remains committed to maintaining the military superiority of its Zionist ally. There is also a message of warning, however, for Israel.

Israel's rulers have never wished to be bound by formal treaty to the US. Aside from all the advantages of being able to shop around for support from other imperialists, the Zionists could hardly hope to improve on the tens of millions of dollars worth of planes and tanks they have been getting from the US without a treaty!

Kissinger is promising to defend Israel as an ally of Western imperialism in the Arab East, but only on his terms. He is warning Meir and Dayan that they will have to make concessions and accept greater dependency on the US.



SADAT & KISSINGER CHATTING

Kissinger's second maneuver was a warning to the Arab states not to push their oil weapon too far. If pressures continued "unreasonably," he stated, then "with great reluctance we would be forced to consider counter-measures."

The meaning is clear -- a threat of military action to take over the oil fields of the Arabian Gulf if the embargo persists after the US imposes its "solution."

Kissinger is promising the Arab ruling classes that he will restore and guarantee their damaged national integrity, but they must demand no real control over the future of the Middle East -- nor allow their own peoples to do so.

Despite the awesome power of the US, and its willingness to threaten nuclear war with Russia during the war, Kissinger's game is a dangerous one. In a relative sense, the weakening of US imperialism has been shown by this war.

The US government was unable to prevent the Arab rulers from going to war and mobilizing their oil resources -- as a weapon to force the US and Europe to make Israel return the occupied territories.

Then, when the war did break out, the performance of the

Arab armies showed that Israel's military superiority, underwritten by the US, had eroded because of greater Arab cohesion and the superior quality of missiles and anti-tank weapons supplied to Egypt and Syria by Russia.

Kissinger's game is to turn these weaknesses into strengths. The Arab rulers, despite all their talk of "liberation from colonialism," went to war and organized the oil cutbacks precisely to force the US to impose a settlement.

They have in effect invited Kissinger to extend US domination over the entire region.

There is only one thing standing in the way of Kissinger's peace plan: none of his proposals can bring a genuine peace, because they leave every basic question in the Middle East unresolved.

## New Sellout Planned

The chief victims of the previous Middle East wars, especially Israel's expansionist victories of 1948 and 1967, have been the Arab people of Palestine.

They have not only been driven out of Israeli-held territory by Zionism, but also oppressed and sold out by the Arab regimes. Today, a new and even greater sellout is in the making.

At the preliminary talks scheduled to begin December 17 or 18, the Palestinians will not be represented. What role they are to have in the eventual peace conference itself will be "settled" at that time.

The Israelis refuse to discuss anything with the Palestinians at all. Jordan's King Hussein, who murdered 10,000 or more Palestinians in 1970, insists that he is their only legitimate spokesman. The other Arab regimes demand that Yasir Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, be seated at the conference.

Arafat, however, no longer represents an independent Palestinian struggle. He has been leading delegations to Moscow, acting as a spokesman for Russian interests in the Middle East, and trying to bring all the Palestinians into Moscow's orbit.

At best, Arafat's policies will make the Palestinian nation a satellite of Russian imperialism, dependent on Brezhnev for support while Zionist Israel remains the dominant military Middle East power.

The alternatives are more stark than ever. Without an independent revolutionary struggle against all the regimes in the Middle East, the coming peace settlement will mean disaster for every nation in the region.

## 2,500 Arab Workers Demand UAW Dump Israel Bonds

A Detroit B'nai B'rith dinner to support Israel bonds turned into a victory for Detroit's Arab community when a picket line called by the Detroit Arab-American Co-ordinating Committee turned out about 2500 demonstrators at Cobo Hall.

The picket line was called to protest the banquet, which presented UAW President Leonard Woodcock (a major supporter of Israel's war bonds drive) with a "Humanitarian of the Year" award.

The central demand was that the UAW end all purchases of Israel bonds, which finance the seizure of Arab lands at the expense of UAW members.

The mass protest drew almost its entire strength from the Arab community. The demonstrators, mostly young and many of whom are auto workers in Detroit Chrysler and Ford plants, formed a spirited and well-organized picket line around the entrances.

The attending celebrities--

businessmen, auto executives and UAW bureaucrats--had to slip around the back to honor Woodcock for his pro-Zionist stand.

Woodcock's "humanitarianism" was aptly summarized by a spokesman for the Arab demonstrators: "The UAW's investment in Israeli bonds is regarded by the UAW's large Arab membership as black workers would regard investment in South Africa."

Organizers were effective in pointing out that South Africa is virtually the only remaining African regime that still maintains friendly relations with Israel, and appealed for black workers' support on this basis.

The late evening TV news broadcasts, as usual, drastically underestimated the size of the anti-Woodcock demonstration. They also ignored a much more important fact: the turnout of Arab workers was large enough to force the giant Dodge Main

plant (where many Arab workers are employed) to shut down for almost the entire shift.

Even if the media ignored it, this is the central lesson to be learned from the success of this demonstration. Like other workers, Arab workers--who are subjected to harassment, discrimination and heavy intimidation in the plants--have the power to stop production when they organize to fight for their demands.

Until now, Arab workers have been severely restricted by the fear of deportation, or what would happen to their relatives, should they be fired for any kind of militant activity.

As a result, Arabs have not organized caucuses to fight for their own needs, and most have not played a role in rank and file action against Woodcock's policies.

If the success of this demonstration changes this around, it will be a turning point both for the Arab people of Detroit and

for all auto workers trying to organize a movement against the UAW bureaucracy.

A group called the Arab Workers Caucus, which was instrumental in bringing Arab workers to the demonstration, carried signs denouncing the whole "Woodcock Shame" and led the chant "We Shut Chrysler Down" in Arabic.

Also seen for a few moments early in the demonstration was Joe Davis, an opportunist UAW Local 3 (Dodge Main) official who is angling to ride to power in the next election against the corrupt administration of current President Andy Hardy.

Davis evidently felt that showing up on the picket line would be good for his campaign for Black and Arab workers' support. He disappeared, however, as soon as his token appearance was completed--before any Woodcock or Hardy supporters attending the dinner were likely to spot him.

# GOV'T AGENCY WON'T WIN JOB EQUALITY

Rose Veviaka

Job discrimination based on sex is as American as apple pie. Just ask all the telephone operators, waitresses, file clerks, secretaries, nurses and domestics who slave away, year after year, earning 40% less than men.

But more and more women are saying "No More," demanding the right to all jobs and equal pay for equal work.

The Federal Government, by setting up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), claims to provide working women with a powerful weapon in the fight against sex discrimination.

Having seen the "Great Society" turned into a get-rich-quick program for the poverty pimps while black unemployment rose and black income fell, women should regard gifts from Washington with suspicion.

For most of its young life the EEOC was allowed to beg and plead with employers. In 1972 it was granted the "additional power" to initiate court action, but it still has no enforcement power of its own.

Its budget is wholly inadequate. Its yearly allotment nationally for salaries is slightly under ten million dollars -- about the same amount as the cost of one of Nixon's estates.

The EEOC's lack of funds and staff has resulted in a backlog of over 53,000 cases nationally. Complainants sometimes wait up to five years for their case to be heard. And even if they win in court they may still lose, as the EEOC does not have the resources to follow up.

At the bottom, the EEOC stall is filled with well wishing, dewy-eyed, bumbling young lawyers. At the top it is headed by five Presidential appointees; men favored by the same President who vetoed the childcare bill and the minimum wage increase, opposed legalized abortion, and considers the unemployment of women relatively unimportant.

Nixon, the favorite son of big business, is going to appoint a commission that would interfere with the practices of his friends? No way!

While young EEOC staffers run around taking complaints and filing briefs, deals are made at the top selling out the interests of women and minorities.

Nonetheless, thousands of women filed complaints and the number doubles annually. This is due, in part, to the big play EEOC settlements get in the national press and in part because many working women do not know where else to go.

The unions have failed to fight for equal rights for women and minorities and the wo-

men's movement has been, so far, unwilling and unable to fight for working women.

Splashy headlines aside, the EEOC is not the weapon it claims to be. Thousands of angry women workers have devoted their energies to endless court suits, rather than toward building a strong fighting movement.

Besides diverting the struggles of women and minorities into legal and therefore "safe" channels, the EEOC plays another role -- union busting.

On the surface the EEOC won a large financial settlement against the notoriously racist and sexist AT&T. The telephone company also agreed to open the better paying craft jobs to women, eventually achieving a 20 percent female craft workforce.

Obviously, as women are almost 40 percent of the workforce, an eventual goal of 20 percent is inadequate. Upon further investigation, however, it becomes apparent that the AT&T settlement is more than inadequate, it is being used to weaken the bargaining ability of the union, Communications Workers of America (CWA).

Instead of upgrading the thousands of women and minority men already working for the company as operators, clerks, framemen and custodians, AT&T is filling its quotas with new hires.

AT&T is filling its quotas with new hires.

Stewards who file grievances demanding that AT&T upgrade and transfer from within the company first are being told that those questions are no longer grievable. According to AT&T, upgrades and transfers are now covered by the EEOC agreement and not the union contract.

The EEOC was not ignorant of the fact that its agreement with AT&T would be used to undermine the collective bargaining process and the CWA. The EEOC's original case was brought before the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) which supposedly "regulates" telephone rates.

The EEOC charged that AT&T's rates were inflated because of unnecessarily high labor costs. Because AT&T discriminated against women and minorities it was forced to pay premium wages, the argument continues. This writer was told by the EEOC national headquarters that if the craft jobs were opened up to women and minorities AT&T could lower its pay scale.

In other words, the EEOC was not fighting to raise the job possibilities of women and minority workers but to lower the wage scale of all phone workers.

Next on the EEOC's agenda

is General Motors, Ford, General Electric and Sears. This time the attack on the unions is more direct. In addition to suing these corporations, the EEOC is also filing suit against the related unions -- International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and the United Auto Workers (UAW).

## No Union Busting!

The trade unions have failed to fight seriously in the interests of women and minority workers, and have thus left themselves vulnerable to court suits and union-busting actions by the EEOC.

But despite the unions' failings, it is still in industries organized by unions that women and minority workers make out best.

Breaking the strength of the unions will not improve the lot of women workers but will lower the job conditions and living standards of all workers -- with women, black and other minorities hit the hardest.

A successful fight for equality on the job demands an independent movement of working women -- a movement that relies on its own strength through demonstrations and strikes to win its demands. Unlike the EEOC, a movement of working women will want to strengthen the power of the unions -- not break it. ■

# Women Workers Fight Sexism On The Job

## Playboy Bunnies Demand Union Rights

Patti Columbo has worked as a waitress for 11 years. She intends to stay on. Nancy Phillips, another "bunny" who is also a shop steward for the women, representing Local 1, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International, has been fired four times for her union activities.

She said that she had been told that women who suffered from "crinkling eyelids, sagging

breasts, varicose veins, stretch marks, crepey necks and drooping derriers, lose their bunny image."

The stress on big tits, cute rear ends, and sweet smiles is not really all that Playboy is interested in. According to Phillips, the question is really over job security.

"Senior [read over 28] girls are being fired so that the club can rotate the bunnies and eliminate seniority as a factor in placement."

For Hugh Hefner and the boys, it doesn't really make much difference how they make money off women workers. They'll hire us and pay us rotten wages.

We're told to pad our bras (or not to wear them) to sell a few more drinks, and then we get fired because they think we're too old.

Perhaps Hugh should just stick to working with paper centerfolds. At least they can't fight back. ■

Celia Emerson

## Detroit Waitresses Told: Freeze Or Get Fired

waitresses than their uniforms had. "These uniforms," said Wolfe, are meant to be, uh, er -- "appealing."

Myra Wolfgang of the Hotel, Motel & Restaurant Employees Union, which represents the waitresses, was more direct. "If the waitresses are supposed to be sex objects, it's hard to be a sex object if you're freezing," she said, "unless they want blue sex objects." ■

One cocktail waitress has been fired and ten others suspended from their jobs at Detroit's Metropolitan Airport for the high crime of trying to keep warm.

The airport administrators had, in a patriotic gesture, decided to lower the temperature to 68 degrees. And then, said Alex Wolfe, general manager of the airport cocktail lounges and restaurants, "some of the employees took it upon themselves to feel they needed sweaters."

That move, complained Wolfe, destroyed "the integrity of the uniform." The sweaters did indeed cover more of the

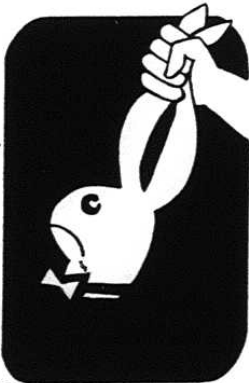
## RADICAL AMERICA

A SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE ON

## Women's Labor

- The Political Economy of House Work
- The Family & Wage Labor
- British Women's Liberation and Labor Struggles

192 pages, \$2.00 from Radical America, 5 Upland Rd., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140



It appears that all is not happy in Hugh Hefner's "bunny patch." Patti Columbo, Nancy Phillips and two other women who work for Playboy as waitresses (referred to as "bunnies") have testified before the New York State Commission on Human Rights. They argue that Playboy Inc. practices sex and age discrimination.

According to Toni LeMay, international bunny mother, once women employees reach the age of 28 they "have changed from a girl into a woman. You look old. You have lost your bunny image." So they get fired.

# Why Socialists Must Fight In The Unions

Brian Mackenzie

Should revolutionaries work in the trade unions or attempt to build new, revolutionary workers' organizations? This question has plagued the revolutionary left for decades. Anarchists, syndicalists, "left communists," and New Leftists of a dozen varieties have all said, "No," to working in the existing unions.

These unions, they say, are reactionary, divisive, racist, sexist, and class collaborationist. The unions, they insist, do not even fight for the daily needs of the workers.

Certainly, that's the way it looks. If by "the union" you mean the officials and the apparatus, then, *today's unions don't serve the needs of the workers.*

The union apparatus appears to be directed as much, or more, against the workers as against the company. Most unions participate in racial and sexual discrimination.

Contracts are worse than just sellouts. More and more they tie the hands of the workers and free those of the bosses. Indeed, the whole dismal picture painted by those radicals who oppose working in the unions seems to be true.

*In spite of all of this, revolutionary socialists still advocate working in the unions. The reason we do so is independent of our criticism of or opposition to*

*the functioning of the unions at any given moment.*

The reason is purely political: without participating in union struggles and waging a fight in the unions against the existing leaders, socialists can never lead the working class to revolution.

Lenin, in *Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, attacked those "left" communists who, in the early 1920's, refused to work in the existing unions of Europe.

These "lefts" argued that the unions were reactionary. They wanted to start new Red Labor Unions.

## Political Strategy

Lenin said this was absurd. The task of revolutionaries was not to build "artificial forms of labor organization," but to win the mass of workers from the political leadership of the reactionary labor leaders to the side of the Communists.

*"But we wage the struggle against the labor aristocracy in the name of the masses of the workers and in order to attract them to our side. We wage the struggle against the opportunist and social-chauvinist (pro-imperialist) leaders in order to attract the working class to our side.*

*"To forget this most elementary and self-evident truth would be stupid. But it is just this stupidity the German 'Left' Communists are guilty of when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the heads of the trade unions, they jump to the conclusion that -- we must leave the trade un-*

*ions!! That we must refuse to work in them!!"*

The unions are organizations that evolve from and reflect the class struggle. They are progressive or reactionary, revolutionary or reformist, militant or cowardly depending on the level of struggle, the balance of class forces,



the consciousness of the workers and the politics of the officials.

The ups and downs of trade unionism over the decades are not what determines the socialist strategy for working class revolution.

Central to that strategy is the need to defeat the conservative leadership of the unions politically. In the US, the trade union bureaucracy is the political leadership of the organized working class.

The bureaucrats exist, in large part, because the consciousness of the workers allows them to exist. Today, the majority of workers hate and detest these labor bureaucrats for their sell-out policies, but millions of these same workers still follow their political leadership.

The top union leaders define

the popular meaning of unionism, and most workers accept their definition. The bureaucrats consciously direct the political action of the workers into the capitalist parties, and the workers still follow.

The revolutionary who fails to understand this, and who refuses to combat the labor leadership in the organizations where this all takes place, will never provide alternative leadership of any kind.

Unfortunately, many sincere revolutionaries see the question of the unions in organizational terms. They equate the structure, policy and officialdom of the union at any given moment with the union itself.

That is, these revolutionaries accept the labor leadership's own definition of the union as an administrative bureaucracy that serves the will of its officials. They accept this view precisely because most workers still share the same idea.

But the union is more than that. The union is also the workers who form its power base. Without the workers the union apparatus would be meaningless.

Without the workers, the union leadership would be a power-

less bunch of windbags. The unions in the first place push the ranks into conflict with their privileged leadership. The need to fight the bosses becomes the need to fight the labor bureaucrats who, for their part, attempt to restrain the workers and maintain "labor peace."

This conflict, this inevitable result of the class struggle, provides the active basis for the political fight against the reactionary union leaders.

In this fight socialists put forth the ideas of democratic, militant unionism, a unionism that fights for the needs of the workers and is not limited by the needs of the bosses.

## Cross Purposes

The strategic notion of a political struggle in the unions, however, has nothing to do with predictions about the organizational forms workers will use or the likelihood of actually reforming the existing unions under capitalism.

The question of which tactics (wildcats, slowdowns, elections, caucuses) to use at which time is subordinate to the political task of defeating the labor bureaucracy.

The possibility of transforming the unions into militant organizations depends, in fact, on the defeat of these labor parasites. The attempt to build new revolutionary unions, or vaguely defined "mass workers' organizations" outside of the existing unions, is utopian because it dodges the real political problem: winning the workers from their present leaders to a class struggle perspective.

Like many workers who are cynical about the unions, the best radicals opposed to working in them do in fact participate in union affairs to one degree or another. They use the grievance procedure, accept whatever protection the contract does afford, and even become union officials (stewards).

They do so because they have no choice. They are fighters who wish to fight the bosses. Like everyone else, they must participate in the class struggle as it actually exists if they are to participate at all.

Their practice, however, is in contradiction to their theory. They work and think at cross purposes. For a revolutionary, that is political suicide.

In the end, it is those who have a conscious policy of political struggle in the unions who will build a revolutionary workers' movement. ■

# GM

Bill Hastings

(Continued from page 1)

General Motors alone. The long strikes at the Lordstown and Norwood plants in Ohio were part of a similar strategy, and were defeated by GM.

A national strike against the auto giant could put on enough pressure to win. The mini-strikes, at best, have only delayed the

company from putting into effect everything it wants.

The contract ratification period can be used by GM workers as the start of the fight to defend their jobs. A clear rejection of this contract by the ranks would clear the way for a new one that provides for security and better conditions. The union leadership must not be allowed to give in to the obvious company provocation of layoffs.

But the ranks of the UAW are recognizing that the Woodcock leadership is an obstacle in the way of a real fight against GM. Already there is sentiment growing for a campaign to dump

the Woodcock regime at the UAW Constitutional Convention next spring.

Right now militants in the GM plants as well as the rest of the UAW should be preparing to run for the delegate election on a clear statement of opposition to Woodcock's policies of sellout unionism.

More and more the question of preventing layoffs will be important for auto workers. The old UAW demand of the shorter work week - 30 hours work for 40 hours pay - should once again be put forward. After all, GM has set new records for profits this year, and can afford to

All the talk by Woodcock about winning voluntary overtime is not going to mean very much to the men and women put out on the street as a result of the layoffs. In fact, GM will probably still work some of the plants overtime while laying off at others.

Winning the shorter work week, combined with real voluntary overtime, would solve this problem. The alternative is working long hours with lousy conditions at inhuman speeds for those who have jobs, and walking the streets looking for work for those who don't. ■



# reviews

movie

## The Billy Jack Fantasy

**Billy Jack, surrounded by a dozen men trying to beat him to a pulp, faces their leader. "Your Green-Beret karate tricks won't help you against all these men."**

"Well, I don't have much choice. You know what I'm going to do?" Billy asks him. "I'm going to take this foot and smack you this side of your head. And you know what? There isn't anything you can do about it."

Moments later, his leg darts out, smashing his opponent's face, as he has promised.

Then a wild series of kicks, swirls and dives before Billy is finally hit from behind and savagely beaten.

This is the scene people tell their friends about, the one audiences respond to most strongly.

But these strong responses are not caused just by the karate

fight, but by the character of Billy Jack.

Since he will be beaten this time, no matter what, he might as well fight back; he might as well keep his dignity.

Billy Jack doesn't appeal to audiences because he is a realistic character.

He is completely unreal: half-white and half-Indian - choosing to be an Indian but really neither - a Viet Nam war hero who hates the war, riding around (with no visible means of support) on horseback, motorcycle and jeep, appearing whenever he's needed, a left-wing Lone Ranger.

But then, films don't have to be realistic to be entertaining or even to get people emotionally involved.

"Billy Jack" does do this, despite some terrible, phoney dialogue, bad acting, and often silly ideas.

People are involved by this

movie because it is a fable, like many Westerns are.

The characters are exaggerated and simpler than in real life. There are good guys and bad guys.

But audiences identify for another reason. This is one of the relatively few films that gives people a chance to identify with a "good guy" who fights back against his oppression, who doesn't "work within the system," who is neither a cop or a dope dealer, but is ready to die and to kill to be free.

I'm not sure the people who made the movie wanted these things to be there, but they are - and people feel it.

The film is about the conflict between a "free school" and the local towns-people.

The kids (and Jean, the saint-like woman who runs the school) are non-violent, creative and free.

They are black, white, Chicano and Indian.

The towns-people are mostly narrow-minded racists, full of violence. (That's what I meant about things being simple.)

A few towns-people are sympathetic, or become so after finding out how good the kids really are.

But nowhere is there even a hint of how or why both sides became the way they are. That is part of what is shallow and phoney about "Billy Jack."

I think the film-makers wanted "Billy Jack" to be a plea for understanding and tolerance.

Jean and Billy are constantly arguing about non-violence. I think the film-makers probably agree with her.

They want the audience to equate Billy's willingness to fight back with the oppressive violence against which he is fighting.

But that is not what comes

through. What we feel, watching this film, is that Billy is right.

When some Indian children are degraded and humiliated for trying to buy ice cream in a segregated store, Billy responds to this violence by fighting for their dignity - and for his own.

"Billy Jack" mentions many causes, and is full of clenched fist salutes, but it is not really a "radical" movie. It asks no political questions: what is wrong here? Why is this happening? What can be done?

It is a fantasy movie, not about solutions, but about one person's insistence on fighting to be free.

For many of the people who see this film, although they know there are no radical Lone Rangers to watch over us, the film is a tremendous "up." Because Billy, even beaten, even in handcuffs, makes us feel that it does matter to fight back.

Ken Morgan

book

## Capitalism & The Mafia

[*Honour Thy Father*, by Gay Talese; *The Valachi Papers*, by Peter Maas]

According to the US Justice Department organized crime is the most lucrative business in America, with annual profits estimated at up to 40 billion dollars from gambling, moneylending, prostitution and narcotics. Much of this is controlled by the mafia.

In 1965 Robert Morgenthau, the US Attorney-General, told the press that the mafia owned considerable property in New York, including the buildings from which the *Wall Street Journal*, the big business newspaper, and *Vogue*, the posh women's magazine, were published, the Chrysler building and the building housing the FBI.

In the Vito Genovese family alone there were 27 millionaires. A relatively small-time member of the family, Joe Valachi, at the time of his arrest in 1959 owned a dress-making factory, a juke-box firm and three restaurants.

For successive generations of immigrants to America, condemned to live in the poverty and squalor of the slums, crime had been the only way out, the only way to achieve the wealth that was the American dream.

After bloody gang wars, first Al Capone in Chicago and later

Lucky Luciano in New York established an uneasy reign.

In 1934 Luciano's right hand man, Vito Genovese, fled to Italy to escape a murder charge and soon bought the protection of the fascist government.

He gave 250,000 dollars to the cost of building a fascist HQ in Naples and received the highest civilian honors from Mussolini himself.

When the allies occupied Italy he quickly changed loyalties and was appointed as an interpreter to the US Army.

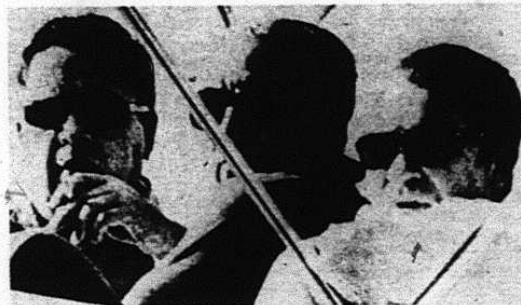
But eventually he was deported back to America to stand trial for the 1934 murder. The prosecution's case collapsed when the key witness was poisoned while under police protection.

Genovese now dominated the mafia until he was jailed for 15 years on narcotics charges in 1959.

Soon afterwards Joseph Bonanno tried to take over. *Honour Thy Father* is about the decline and fall of his "family" seen from the point of view of his son Bill Bonanno.

This is a sympathetic journalistic account of the disintegration of the Bonanno family under the retaliatory attacks of the other mafia leaders and of the FBI who launched a campaign against organized crime in the 1960's.

The author brings out the



Pres. Nixon, well known international gangster, with friends Robert Abplanalp and Bebe Rebozo, both reputed to have Mafia connections

indignation of the mafia leaders at FBI harassment of their operations, which they regarded as no less legitimate than those of any other businessman.

And it shows their narrow right-wing views. After Bill Bonanno's release from prison in 1966 he told his relatives that while inside he re-read Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative*.

"I agree with a lot of points he makes - especially his point that the federal government today has entirely too much power and the individual citizen's rights are being ignored," said Bonanno.

The *Valachi Papers* is a much

better book that brings out more fully the brutality of the mafia.

Valachi himself was involved in at least 33 killings. While in prison in 1962, after Vito Genovese had pronounced a death sentence on him, he attacked without provocation another prisoner - whom he had mistaken for a mafia assassin - and beat him to death.

After this murder Valachi turned informer to avoid the electric chair and for the first time exposed the workings of the mafia to the light of day.

The FBI had virtually ignored organized crime for years and as late as 1959 had only four agents working on it in New York,

while some 400 were engaged in persecuting the American Communist Party.

Valachi's testimony was one reason for the FBI campaign in the 1960's.

Both books are mainly concerned with the power struggles within the underworld and only incidentally throw light on the mafia's exploitation of the people of the slums, of their involvement in politics and in the unions.

This last aspect is particularly interesting. Valachi describes how he solved labor relations at his dress-making factory: "The next thing I got to worry about is the union, so I go downtown to see Jimmy Doyle or one of the Dio brothers. . . . They are supposed to straighten any trouble with the union, I think it was Local 25 . . ."

"If any union organizer came around, all I had to do was call up John Dio or Tommy Dio and all my troubles were over . . ."

Organized crime is an inevitable product of a system driven by the remorseless pursuit of profits, which is after all itself only organized robbery and extortion. Criminals of the stamp of Vito Genovese or Joe Valachi are of minor significance compared to Richard Nixon or Marcel Caetano, whose armies have slaughtered hundreds of thousands.

John Newsinger

BRINGING BACK THE WAR:

# Nixon Plays Patton

Charles Leinenweber



For the first time since Cambodia, Richard Nixon is again playing General George Patton. He slapped Archibald Cox, and now the press and Congress are howling for his command. So General Nixon took up where Patton left off: he ordered his troops to prepare to do battle with the Russians. No bastards would challenge this Commander.

But it was a midnight order, a foolish one, and he took it back to reel one. The movie "Patton" opened with a huge, cloth flag, before which the General addressed his troops. Nixon appeared before one made of plywood, but just as huge, with light-bulb stripes. The troops were not soldiers, but pink, cheering realtors. For the moment, they would have to do.

All his life Nixon has wanted to be an American, but the vision eludes him. Thus he chases his image in and out of stock American situations, through soap operas and family pathos, foreign intrigue, sports chatter, low-profile quietude, and Blood-and-Guts toughness.

As a Standard American, Nixon has a Mother: "My Mother propped herself up on her elbow, and she said to me, 'Richard, don't you ever quit.'" He has a coach: "My coach back at Whittier used to tell me . . ." He has a little property: "All I have are the two pieces of property in Key Biscayne and San Clemente, and the house in Whittier that belonged to my Mother." He has a metal flag in his lapel; and he is President.

Being President is no easy matter now. In quieter times one Nixon was as good as another. A few years ago Daniel Patrick Moynihan said that Nixon reminded him of Disraeli, so Nixon bought a paperback biography of Disraeli, had his aides read it, and for several weeks became Disraeli. He acted reflective.

Today Nixon awaits his executioner, and there is no time for experimentation. With each sunrise another of his retainers is led off - Mitchell, Stans, Haldeman,

Erichman, Agnew, even Rebozo. Nixon alone remains. What he fears most is jail. Agnew resigned under Nixon's protection. Who can protect Nixon? Only the President, and so he stays to "tough it out."

Of all Nixons the tough one is most dangerous. This is so because of the enormous power that the running of American capitalism and American imperialism places in the hands of the President. Lyndon Johnson was obsessed with power, and a dangerous man. John Kennedy was obsessed with courage, a fact most evident during the Cuban missile crisis, but also in the Berlin crisis, and in his secret plans to invade Laos. Nixon has the same obsession, but combined with a profound lack of self-confidence and upbringing, that makes him nastier, far less stylish, and more given to wounded bluster. Nixon draws his courage from the movies.

When he saw "Patton," Nixon felt so struck that he kept a copy in the White House, to watch it over and over. It was Kissinger who finalized the Fishhook invasion plan for Cambodia, but it was Nixon, drugged by "Patton," who acted on it. Secretary of State William Rogers said at the time that the movie "comes up in every conversation" with the President.

Patton is back for Nixon's last stand. Whether Nixon has the temerity to pull it off, or will be allowed to, are at present speculative matters. The worldwide troop mobilization was a flash of what can happen. The Energy Crisis is a more logical route, since it conjures up the Guts without the Blood.

If Nixon is to be an American President, he must first establish an America outside the White House. He has an aide named General Haig who calls him "Commander-in-Chief," but General Haig hardly qualifies as the public.

Spiro Agnew was Nixon's pipeline to the outside, the administration's only bona-fide mass agitator. With Agnew freshly broken and discarded, Gerald Ford ventured out to discover druggists. Nixon followed, to meet with realtors and tell them, "I believe in America and I believe in America's real estate." Nixon is looking in the right places, but it is not enough to save him.

Not long ago America was a wonderful country where

everybody worked. It was like that during the War, the Second World War - no welfare chislers, no strikes, no complainers, workers lined up outside the factory for pictures, everyone chipped in. The nation had a mission, there was a sense of common crisis and urgency, and besides, no one wanted the Depression back.

Under capitalism people won't work unless they're afraid. After the War auto workers struck for overtime, because they were afraid of becoming poor again. They're no longer afraid, and now they strike against overtime. These auto workers never knew the Depression. Bit by bit Nixon is bringing it back.

It isn't just Nixon. Throughout Europe too, and Japan, the various regimes and ruling classes are turning back the clock to a time when capitalism meant discipline instead of welfare, discipline based on a primal fear of poverty - fear of not having enough food, housing, and fuel. Capitalism, after all, can provide only so much before workers become self-indulgent, unproductive, strident and demanding. Thus in England they are given the marriage of sweet Princess Ann, then the lights go out.

Nixon takes his theme from Europe, where the same wave of reaction that carried him to power in the late 1960's, washed in similar regimes there. If he seems incompetent, or even demented, he is not unique. Capitalism's political leaders are being asked to save their systems from the excesses of liberalism and prosperity, which led or seemed to lead to Black and student revolts in the United States, workers' revolts in France, and general strikes in England. All over the capitalist world the War is returning, with sacrifice, duty, and rations.

This is the stuff of Nixon's plan. He needs his America now more than ever, because now it means saving his own skin. He failed to get America back to work, perhaps his worst crime. Meanwhile he behaved insufferably in office, extorting his major social base, the corporations, playing favorites, and isolating himself from the middle levels of power and his own party's rank-and-file. Nixon is trying to find his America in Bible colleges and real estate conventions. The rest get Patton. ■

WORKERS' POWER  
DOESN'T HIDE THE TRUTH...  
SUBSCRIBE NOW!

## Workers' Power



A revolutionary socialist biweekly, published by the International Socialists.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 a year; Supporting subs: \$5 a year; Foreign subs: \$5 a year; Bundles: 10¢ a copy for ten copies or more; Introductory subs: \$1 for three months.

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

14131 Woodward Ave.  
Highland Park, MI 48203



# NEWS

## Fund Drive at 76%

As the IS fund drive enters its ninth week several branches are approaching their goals. The Champaign group, with 100 percent of their quota in two weeks early has joined Louisville in the lead.

Not far behind is the New York branch which has reached the 98 percent mark, partly due to the great success of their rummage sale.

On the West Coast, two branches, San Francisco and the East Bay, both have achieved 90 percent.

*Have you sent your contribution to the fund drive yet? Remember that Santa Claus will not present gifts to the socialist movement.*

Only people who are committed to the goals of revolutionary democratic socialism can make this movement succeed. Time is running short! Send your check or money order, payable to International Socialists to:

14131 Woodward Ave.,  
Room 225  
Highland Park, MI 48203

## Scoreboard

| BRANCH          | QUOTA           | COLLECTED       | %          |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Bloomington     | \$ 250          | \$ 35           | 14         |
| Champaign       | 100             | 100             | 100        |
| Chicago         | 1,100           | 938             | 85         |
| Cleveland       | 900             | 540             | 60         |
| East Bay        | 1,500           | 1,353           | 90         |
| Detroit         | 3,000           | 2,220           | 74         |
| Louisville      | 200             | 200             | 100        |
| Los Angeles     | 900             | 635             | 70         |
| New York        | 2,400           | 2,350           | 98         |
| St. Louis       | 250             | 220             | 88         |
| San Francisco   | 500             | 450             | 90         |
| Seattle         | 1,200           | 852             | 71         |
| MAL's           | 650             | 529             | 81         |
| National Office | 2,150           | 1,012           | 51         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>    | <b>\$15,100</b> | <b>\$11,434</b> | <b>76%</b> |

## Workers' Power

**WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM:** the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy and the state by the working class. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist," and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis: war, racial strife, pollution, urban decay, and the deterioration of our standard of living and working conditions. This crisis is built into capitalism, an outlived system of private profit, exploitation, and oppression. The capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority that controls the economy and politics alike, perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other — white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal

nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank and file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

The struggle must become political. Because of its economic power, the ruling class also has a monopoly on political power. It controls the government and the political parties that administer the state. More and more, the problems we face, such as inflation and unemployment, are the result of political decisions made by that class. The struggle of the working people will be deadlocked until the ranks of labor build a workers' party and carry the struggle into the political arena.

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party, at the head of a unified

working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers.

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole; the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

### NOW AVAILABLE

Documents of the 1973 International Socialists Convention  
Tasks and Perspectives for the International Socialists.....25¢  
Labor Perspectives for the International Socialists.....25¢

Order from: I. S. Book Service  
14131 Woodward Avenue  
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

## Ford

[Continued from page 3]

voluntary overtime for all, 25 and Out for all forge and foundry workers, a cost of living clause for the pension plan, the opening of apprenticeships to all in-plant workers and the elimination of discriminatory aspects of the tests and courses, and the right to strike over work standards, health, safety and outside contracting.

*The petitions would be bet-*

*ter linked to direct action and to dumping the Woodcock team than to cheering on the court action.*

Fortunately, the UNC is also planning to take on the Woodcock leadership at the upcoming constitutional convention in April. UNC Co-Chairman Pete Kelly told the November 18 meeting that it was time to dump the rotten UAW leadership.

Another UNC leader told *Workers' Power* that wherever possible, the UNC would run candidates for convention delegates against the whole Woodcock gang. Indeed, more and more militants realize that it's time to be done with this bankrupt leadership. ■

those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the US in Vietnam, the USSR in Czechoslovakia), they perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. Socialism — the direct rule of the working class itself — exists nowhere in the world today.

We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic ruling class. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is **WORKERS' POWER.**

## UFW RENEWS STRIKE TO PROTECT RIGHTS

After a meeting with California growers on November 16, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons announced that the Teamsters would honor the sweetheart contracts it signed with the California grape growers. In response Cesar Chavez has called for a new wave of strikes in the California fields as the answer to the latest Teamster betrayal.

On September 28, the Teamsters, UFW, and representatives of the AFL-CIO had reached an agreement which gave jurisdiction over most field workers to the UFW and jurisdiction over processing and packaging workers to the IBT.

The key section of this agreement was that the Teamsters would refuse to honor the sweetheart contracts signed with the grape growers this summer leaving an open field to the UFW which has the support of the farmworkers.

At the time of the agreement the Teamsters made a statement that there were just some technical details to be worked out by the lawyers. Now Fitzsimmons claims there was no agreement at all!

Three years ago the Teamsters made a similar agreement with the UFW covering the Salinas lettuce fields. This was signed on the dotted line by William Grami, who is in charge of the Teamsters drive against the UFW. This agreement was also broken by the Teamsters, claiming that they had the moral and legal obligation to honor their contracts with the growers.

In fact the Teamsters have the "moral obligation" as a trade union to break these contracts. They were nothing more than deals with the growers to help smash the farmworkers' own organization! The huge Teamsters legal staff should have no difficulty with any legal problems that should arise.

Chavez has called for extending the boycott of non-UFW



grapes, lettuce and wines and the key stores such as A&P, Jewel, and Safeway which sell these products. Already there are over a thousand farmworkers now in the major urban areas carrying on boycott activities. More are being sent.

More important, Chavez has

also called for a new round of strikes in the grape and lettuce fields. This could begin with the lettuce crop in the California Imperial Valley at the end of this year. In the past the union has tended to rely on the boycott even at the expense of carrying on the strike.

In his recent statement Chavez' plans for the expansion of the boycott were definite but the strikes were to be dependent on the union's resources. The strike is the union's most powerful weapon, especially in the agricultural industry where produce must be harvested at a specific time or be lost.

Even if the struggle could be won by the boycott alone rather than by a strike in the fields by the workers themselves, the result will be a weaker union. Workers who have been working in the fields or even scabbing while the struggle is won far away, will not be prepared to carry on the struggle to the next stage.

### AFL-CIO Inaction

Resources for full strikes depends primarily on the AFL-CIO. Meany has denounced the Teamsters for renegeing on the agreement but up to now his biggest threat has been "to consider national boycotts."

The sad truth is that the AFL-CIO has still not endorsed the lettuce boycott of the Gallo boycott. The \$1.6 million from the AFL-CIO has been far from enough.

Meanwhile in Detroit the

farmworkers boycott has been dealt a massive body blow by Michigan courts.

Although the UFW is not covered by the National Labor Relations Act, which outlaws secondary boycotts, the supermarket chains have succeeded in getting injunctions against the boycott based on Michigan common law.

Nowhere is "common law" in print. A judge can decide on his own what is generally considered legal or illegal by the community or by common practice.

Citing no law or precedent, the judge passed out an injunction forbidding boycott supporters from picketing Farmer Jack supermarkets in early November.

This was later modified by the State Court of Appeals to allow pickets and leaflets, but no publicity aimed at the supermarket chains -- only at lettuce or grapes.

The Detroit farmworkers committee has just been slapped with another 30-day injunction by A&P, preventing them from picketing.

Although that injunction is expected to be modified in the same way, the support committee has called for mass picketing in defiance of the A&P injunction, labeling it "illegal and unjust."

### End Court Harassment

If these rotten injunctions are allowed to stand the support committees would be continually harassed and hampered by the courts wherever the giant chains can find a sympathetic judge to interpret the laws in their favor.

The boycott, which has been used so successfully by the farmworkers in the past, would be mortally crippled.

The labor movement needs the farmworkers to win. A victory for the growers is an open invitation for the bosses everywhere to use this method of smashing trade unions.

And the farmworkers need the support of the labor movement. One more reason for the labor movement to actively carry on the boycott is to free the farmworkers and their union to heighten the struggle in the fields. ■

## Building the Boycott: What Can Be Done

A successful boycott requires the active support of trade unions, student groups and community groups. Passing resolutions of support is not enough. Every union, for example, should organize its own committee to support the farmworkers in several ways:

- Demand that factory cafeterias stop using non-UFW lettuce and grapes.
- Organize union members to regularly picket stores handling non-UFW produce.
- See that no union functions accidentally support the growers. For example, the California Federation of Teachers convention cancelled a banquet when delegates discovered that the restaurant served non-UFW lettuce.

- Collect food and money in the union for the farmworkers.

- Arrange for farmworker speakers to come to union meetings.

- Arrange for articles about the farmworkers in union newspapers.

- Send delegations of union members where possible to participate in Farmworker strike activities in the fields. Whenever grower, police or Teamster goons threaten, the labor movement should respond massively to defend the farmworkers.

- Introduce resolutions at union meetings demanding full organizational and financial support for the UFW from International unions and the AFL-CIO.

In September United Auto Workers Officials from the big Ford plant in Lorain, Ohio joined in a UFW picket line. They were not used to anyone crossing their picket lines, and so a few of them entered the store to disrupt it.

They filled their baskets with food, but when the clerk rang it up they loudly demanded to know "if these grapes are scab?" and then left the food behind.

The store management could not risk calling the cops because they feared the union officials might be angered enough to mobilize the thousands of auto workers' to boycott.

This is one isolated example. What's needed is this kind of action nationally to use labor's power to force the food industry to recognize the Farmworkers Union. ■