

# Workers' Power

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## WAGES PLUMMET TO '65 LEVELS

Nixon's Phase IV controls program is being phased out this month. A job well done? It depends on how you look at it. Prices and profits are flying higher than Jonathon Livingston Seagull, while real wages have taken their steepest dive since the great crash of 1929.

In the summer of '71, when Nixon went on TV to proclaim his wage-price freeze and his whole New Economic Program, inflation was running around 3.5 percent a year. Several Phases later, it's over ten percent. Have the controls programs been a total disaster? Is that why price controls are being lifted just when inflation is the worst it's been in a generation? Not at all - Nixon's Phases have served those he represents very well.

The point is, as *Workers' Power* has argued from the beginning, the

government's economic controls weren't really designed to control prices at all; they were intended to control wages and boost profits.

1973 was a vintage year for US capitalism: profits climbed 27 percent, to their highest point in history. But American working people were battered by the largest drop in living standards in the last forty years: average weekly real wages fell all the way down to the level they had reached in 1965.

The gains of ten years have been wiped out - gains often won at tremendous expense through strikes and other struggles. We are back where we were a decade ago.

### Controls Did Their Job

Rising prices and falling wages are just what Nixon had in mind when he launched his controls program a year and a half ago. The 90-day freeze and the subsequent Phases were billed as "wage-

price" controls. But the price controls were strictly a figment of the government's public relations - the wage controls were for real.

In a sense, Phase IV is being dumped, not because it's been such a flop, but because it's been such a success. Business and government leaders were eager for a wage controls program because they feared a rapid rise in labor militancy in response to inflation and speedup. But the labor bureaucracy has so far succeeded in containing and dispersing working class resistance to the ruling class attack of the last several years.

Confident that the labor bureaucrats can keep the rank and file in line, one business sector after another soon began to chafe against even the token restraints on prices that Phases II, III and IV have represented. Some - in particular the meat industry and the giant oil trusts - went so far as

to blackmail the government by creating widespread shortages and blaming them on government controls.

By the end of this month, even the feeble pretense of price controls represented by Phase IV will be dropped. The government will have washed its hands of any attempt whatsoever to bring the runaway inflation under control.

Because Nixon's controls have held down wages while unleashing prices, many people have concluded that it's hopeless, that nothing can be done about inflation. But there is no law of nature which says prices cannot be controlled - only the rigged game of capitalist politics.

What would a real anti-inflation program look like? To begin with, it would mean a total, across-the-board, top-to-bottom freeze on prices - no exceptions, no exemptions, no hidden extras, no "passing through expenses" and no controls on wages - take all increased costs out of profit margins, not wages.

Secondly, it would mean union committees to monitor the freeze - leaving price checks up to powerless individual consumers, as Nixon's programs pretty much did, is a sure and certain way to nullify controls.

Finally, it would mean a government prepared to move decisively against any business or industry that tried to sabotage the freeze.

Industries that boycott the US market and sell their goods abroad - thus creating shortages here and exacerbating inflation abroad - should be hit with iron-clad production quotas to ensure that all domestic needs are met. Corporations that threaten to close down or shift their operations to other countries should be nationalized outright, with workers' committees taking over control of production.

What this sort of approach adds up to is a head-on attack on the profits and powers of the capitalist class.

But it goes almost without saying that no Republican or Democratic government would consider taking such steps.

The crimes of Watergate, the energy hoax, and the wage controls have all underlined the fact that the US government, and both capitalist parties, are responsible to the ruling class and its best interests, not to the needs of the American people.

Thus, a real program to end inflation would also require one more thing: an independent political party of the working class, to lead the assault.

The first step toward shooting down inflation for good is to break up the two-party system that has sustained its record flight. The problem is, of course, that the present leadership of the labor movement is buried alive in the Democratic Party and has no intention of moving toward organizing a party of labor.

What can the rank and file do about inflation right now, today? Fight for a wage offensive.

For months the bureaucrats have been pushing their disastrous contracts with the line that the wage controls would allow nothing better. Now they can no longer hide behind that excuse.

Labor must launch a coordinated, national wage offensive - renegotiate all contracts, an immediate 25 percent wage increase for all workers with no price increases to reverse the fall in real wages, and a universal 100 percent cost of living protection to prevent any repeat of 1973.

Let's win it all back and go forward from there. ■

Kit Lyons

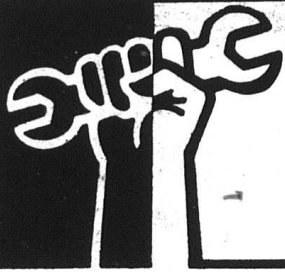
## 3200 CLUW Delegates!

Over three thousand trade union women gathered in Chicago March 23-24 to launch the Coalition of Labor Union Women, a nation-wide organization of working women.

Workers' Power reporter Gay Semel attended. Her report is on page 5.



# Black Political Convention page 3



# What We Think

## CLUW-A BIG FIRST STEP

The founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women is the first significant step towards organizing a working women's movement since the 1960's women's liberation movement. CLUW was late in coming. It is run by a tiny handful of top women trade union officials primarily interested in their own careers. But CLUW gives recognition and strength to the struggle of working women in a new and powerful way.

The potential of CLUW is enormous. For the first time there is a national organization that speaks for the needs of working women. Its mere existence will attract thousands of women oppressed on the job and in the unions. CLUW can be an inspirational force for working women everywhere.

The founding convention showed that CLUW's organizers share the conservative assumptions and bureaucratic methods of their dominant male counterparts in the trade union officialdom. But whatever the politics of its organizers, a national organization of working women challenges the trade union bureaucracy as well.

The women at the top organized, and will try to use, CLUW for their own advancement within the structure of the union leadership. But that was not what attracted three thousand women to the conference in Chicago.

What attracted these women was the excitement of meeting thousands of other women workers from across the country, in order to come to grips with the obstacles they face on the job, in the unions, and in the economy.

Women workers are specially oppressed and doubly exploited by the employers. Women are seen as a reserve source of cheap labor to be brought in and out of the labor force as the economy expands and contracts - no matter what the needs of the women involved.

Women have been excluded from most better paying industrial jobs. Those few who have finally made it into industry are now threatened with layoffs as the economic crisis deepens.

Women are often paid less than men for the same work. Working mothers pay a huge percentage of their salary for inadequate childcare. Maternity and pension clauses discriminate against women.

The male dominated trade union officialdom has rarely bothered to organize women, justifying their failure by claiming that women workers are too conservative, or only working for "extras" rather than to support themselves. Those women who are organized are more often than not ignored by the male leadership or covered by rotten sweetheart contracts.

Clearly CLUW has been on the agenda for a long, long time. But Chicago must be only the beginning. The potential that exists for CLUW as a fighting national organization can be realized only through hard work, serious organizing and political struggle in the months ahead.

This organizing must begin immediately. We strongly encourage all rank and file women militants and radicals to join CLUW and work to build a mass organization fighting to change the lives of women workers. To begin with, we propose that CLUW, locally and nationally, wage a fight throughout the labor movement for organizing the masses of unorganized women workers and against the layoffs which are forcing women out of industries they have only recently entered. CLUW will also have to fight for equality for women workers on the job and in the union, for childcare and maternity benefits.

A fighting organization that takes up the real issues plaguing working women will bring into CLUW the greatest numbers of rank and file women, giving the movement the dynamism and power it will need.

# DOUG FRASER - Role of a Flunkey

DETROIT — Several local UAW officials in the Detroit area held a testimonial dinner March 30 for Doug Fraser, UAW Vice President and head of the union's Chrysler Department. The dinner kicked off what looks to be a campaign to make Fraser the UAW's chief in 1976.

Just as the potential candidates for US President in 1976 are already campaigning, the race has also begun for President of the 1,400,000-member United Auto Workers union.

Leonard Woodcock, UAW President must retire in 1976. He comes up for re-election to his last term this June.

### Tarnished Reputation

Fraser was congratulated for his "great contributions" to the labor movement. Indeed many in the union consider Fraser to be the "left wing" of the top officials. The testimonial dinner is part of the effort to bring Fraser's reputation as a fighter and progressive back into the spotlight.

But the truth about Fraser's "great contributions" was made known to those attending the dinner and in various plants through a leaflet distributed by the United National Caucus, an opposition grouping within the UAW. In the leaflet, the UNC laid to rest many of the myths about the so-called progressive record of Doug Fraser.

Fraser often boasts about the Chrysler Department being one of the best in the union. And it is true that conditions at Chrysler and Briggs, Fraser's territory, used to be better than at GM or Ford. But as the UNC said:

"Instead of leading the fight to bring the working conditions of Ford and GM up to the level of Briggs, Fraser helped move things the other way. He helped bring Briggs down to the Chrysler level, and Chrysler was pulled down to the level of Ford and GM. And all this while conditions throughout the industry deteriorated."

Fraser's "great contributions" to the skilled trades of the union were also shown to be a lie.

The lily-white hiring practices of the companies, for many years unchallenged by the union; the removal of the right of the ranks to vote down a contract; the division of skilled tradesmen in the small shops from one another - these were the real accomplishments of Doug Fraser.

### Goon Squad Leader

Last year Fraser led a 1,000-person goon squad of International Reps and local officials against striking workers at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant. There, recalling the "good old days" of the flying squad that was used to build the union, Fraser and other UAW leaders showed that they too can lead a fight.

The only problem is that instead of using the squad to beat off company goons and police, they

beat off workers protesting deadly health and safety conditions. And instead of fighting the company, the fight was against the workers.

But Fraser, as the UNC leaflet points out, is "no worse than the rest of the crew that controls the UAW today." And that is precisely the point.

### Deals, Sellouts, Defeats

Fraser may have certain differences with Woodcock, Great-house, Olga Madar or the others. But these are differences within a certain common point of view. Within the labor movement the policies of Fraser and Woodcock are those of working to improve things within the confines of the common interests they see between company and worker.

This policy has never led anywhere but to deals, sell-outs and defeats. Most recently, Fraser and Woodcock's "common interests" with the companies meant that

locals without signed local agreements were forced back to work when the national contract was rammed down the membership's throats. Now with economic problems hitting the country, auto workers are paying heavily for this agreement.

Individuals and slates in quite a few locals are running in elections for Convention Delegates, committed to a different set of policies. These slates aim to begin making as strong a fight as necessary to throw out the bureaucrats, to change the union's policies and to improve the lives of auto workers on and off the job.

In the Detroit area, candidate slates opposing the Woodcock Team have definitely been fielded at the Dodge Main, Warren Stamping, and Cadillac plants and more may be formed in the weeks to come.

Bill Hastings

## Judge Acquits Chrysler Workers

DETROIT — In a blow to Chrysler's campaign of repression against workers who sat in at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant last summer, Judge Justin Ravitz acquitted two Chrysler workers of felonious assault charges here.

The two, Bill Gilbreth and Clinton Smith, began last year's sit-in.

In the case, the Judge ruled that the prosecution had relied on Chrysler Corporation for their "one-sided" case. Only corporation personnel - no auto workers - were called as witnesses. The charges stemmed from the strike beginning on August 14 of last year.

The company charged the pair with assaulting two company guards who were sent to remove Gilbreth from sitting on the press

line after being fired. A fight occurred and workers from the plant sat in, refusing to work until certain grievances were resolved.

Despite the efforts of the union, the company and newspapers (and some radical groups who claimed to be leading the action) to hide what was going on under charges of "communists," those workers who sat in were protesting the conditions in the plant.

Leaflets and statements by the Mack workers made very clear that the issues were the rotten working conditions that Chrysler forces on its employees.

As one Chrysler worker told Workers' Power, "It was a small victory. But we have to keep fighting to get the 42 people still out from the strike back into the plant."

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# Black Politics: From Gary to Little Rock

The National Black Assembly, a coalition of black officials with a wide range of politics, flunked its own test in Little Rock last month.

There are 3,000 black elected officials in the US. Less than one percent attended.

Thirteen of fifteen black members of Congress didn't come. There are 107 black mayors in the US; five came to Little Rock.

One co-chair of the Assembly, US Representative Charles Diggs, a Michigan Democrat, resigned from the group the day before the convention.

While there were 8,000 participants at the first convention in Gary, Indiana two years ago, less than half that number - 3,000 delegates - were expected in Little Rock. The actual number of participants was only 1,500.

With this obvious disaster staring the black politicians in the face, the Assembly, its leaders and its strategy should be keenly evaluated.

## Black Democrats Make Move

The organizers and leaders of the Gary convention in early 1972 were mostly Democratic Party politicians, with the Congressional Black Caucus as the power center.

It wasn't chance that the first convention occurred at that particular time. With militant and revolutionary black forces disorganized, there was no effective challenge to the liberal policies of the black Democrats.

The absence of leadership in the black community, after the defeat of the radical black movement of the late 1960's, gave black Democrats a chance to bid for political control. Gary was part of that process, but on a national level.

Black politicians are in a contradictory position. In order to win concessions in the Democratic Party, they must organize their base - the black community. But while they are rallying black people for their support, they must also dampen black militancy - keep black people's justified anger quiet and within the safe confines of the Democratic Party where the politicians' gravy is.

## Black Party Tabled

Thus, the black Democrats welcome the fiery speeches of people like Imam Baraka in their coalition.

When Baraka gives fire-breathing speeches about socialism as he did in Little Rock, he makes the black Democrats look very militant indeed.

But Baraka's speeches don't stop him from holding hands with the Democrats. Baraka chaired the session at the Gary Convention that tabled a motion calling for an immediate break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of an independent third party.

At the Little Rock convention a similar motion was tabled again.



Delegates at the 1972 Black Convention in Gary

By their agreement to shove independent political action and organization under the table, most of the black leaders at Little Rock demonstrated some important things.

They don't want black people organized as anything broader than their own supporters; they are interested not in a fighting black political movement, but only in a black pressure group fighting for crumbs in the Democratic Party; and whenever the needs of black people are opposed to the desires of the powerful Democrats, the black officials will cave in to the Democrats.

Where have Mayor Hatcher of Gary, Mayor Jackson of Atlanta, Representative Conyers of Michi-

gan been during the Watergate mess?

Why didn't they organize Congressional opposition to the nomination of Gerry Ford for Vice-President? Ford is a dyed-in-the-wool racist - his voting record alone makes that clear.

Yet without a peep from these "militant black leaders," let alone the Democratic Party, Ford is slated to replace Nixon in the White House.

Where have these leaders been while inflation has forced real wages down to 1965 levels? While Nixon says "there will be no recession," a depression is going on in the black community today.

Black unemployment is soaring,

and the Mayor Coleman Youngs (Detroit) and the Tom Bradley (Los Angeles) sit quietly in the Democratic Party - the party that voted in wage controls and that has had absolutely no alternative to Republican economic policies.

Why did black mayors invite and then applaud notorious racist George Wallace at a meeting earlier this year? Because Wallace is a Democrat - just like they are - and that fact alone is a powerful indictment of this so-called liberal political party.

From Gary to Little Rock, in two years, the one and only gain for black people has been more elected black officials. Those officials have sat quietly while the oil companies held American people to ransom, the cities continue to decay because of racist government and corporate practices, inflation destroys all wage gains, violence and crime rack the black community and black unemployment reaches new heights.

The pressure-group-within-the-Democratic Party strategy is a dead end for black people. Just as black Congressmen like having Baraka around to make them look more militant, the Democratic power-brokers like having some token black Congressmen around to attract votes and make them look more liberal.

## Even a Failure for Them

The Little Rock convention exposed one other significant fact. The black politicians' strategy is not only a failure for black people, it is also a failure for the politicians. Nobody came.

The National Black Assembly was formed in the wake of the black liberation movement. Most of these black politicians played a part in breaking up the movement and channelling its remains into the Democratic Party.

For a while they could gain

concessions from the Democrats by talking big and bad and threatening to lead black voters out. But those days are just about over. The organized black movement has been dismantled - and the Democrats don't need to scramble to throw it crumbs anymore.

In the two years of its existence the National Black Assembly hasn't accomplished a single thing.

It's no wonder nobody is interested in it anymore.

The response of the stalwarts who remained was to move even further to the right politically.

"Floyd McKissick, where are you?" Gary's Mayor Hatcher said; Floyd McKissick, ex-CORE chairman stumped for Richard Nixon. Roy Wilkins (NAACP) and Vernon Jordan (Urban League) were also called upon to "return to the fold."

## Militant, Fighting Unity

California Representative Ron Dellums called for unity; Atlanta Mayor Jackson called for unity. Unity was the pathetic refrain of the prominent delegates - unity on any basis, on the most minimal political basis, any kind of unity at all.

Unity and organization are both needed for black people to struggle successfully. But the unity has to be political unity - militant blacks must build a political movement that will break with today's liberal leadership. And that fight can never be organized within the Democratic Party.

Blacks today must have an independent political organization, one that can wage an uncompromising fight against racist repression and the rapidly accelerating capitalist decay of American society. A black political party is the only way lasting political gains can be won in the struggle for black liberation.

Kay Stacy

# D.C. 10: PROFITS THAT KILL



The 346 people who died when a Turkish airlines DC10 jet crashed into a forest outside Paris in March were victims of the profit hunger, according to astonishing facts revealed recently.

McDonnell Douglas, the 43rd biggest company in the US with sales last year in excess of \$2.5 billion, was so anxious to mop up quick sales from the newly-produced DC10 in 1972 that it did not modify its airplane in line with recommendations of the National Transportation Safety Board.

On June 12, 1972, the rear cargo door of an American Airlines DC10 came off in flight over Detroit.

The cabin floor collapsed, the controls jammed and the plane would have crashed but for some

good luck, good weather and expert piloting skill.

On July 6, the Safety Board, after an investigation of the causes of the disaster, recommended substantial changes to the floor and cargo door. The very next day the Federal Aviation Administration announced that the changes were "not feasible."

The decision of the government not to order the modifications was taken, according to a spokesman, because the company had "appealed."

McDonnell Douglas did not want any delay in its hectic overseas sales drive for DC10s.

The modifications as recommended would have held up the flight of "Friendship 72" - a sales plane

which was to travel the following week around the world hawking the DC10.

So the government was "persuaded" not to order the modifications. Friendship 72 took off.

First stop was Istanbul, where McDonnell Douglas sold three DC10s (unmodified) to Turkish airlines. The first plane, delivered a year later, was the one which crashed near Paris this month.

All the evidence now available shows that the crash took place because the rear luggage door came off, the floor collapsed and the controls jammed.

In other words, if the modifications had been made after the Detroit disaster, the Paris "accident" would never have happened.

# WORLD IN CRISIS



## African Revolts Spark Crisis

### Portugal



Portugal's position as a great colonial power came to an end way back in the seventeenth century. Today, the international oil giants - most of which are actually US corporations - are trying to help Portugal's rulers reclaim that position.

For the last thirteen years Portugal has been fighting African liberation forces in the nations of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau. These enslaved colonies are called "overseas provinces" by Portugal's ruling class and military elite.

The failure of these dirty wars has recently caused the greatest crisis for Portugal's right-wing dictatorship in the last 45 years. One of the leading generals, Antonio de Spinoza, the military commander and governor in the territory of Guinea-Bissau from 1968 to 1973, publicly declared that Portugal's military policy was doomed to hopeless failure.

Spinoza did not advocate that Portugal withdraw her troops or recognize self-determination for the people of Africa, but rather that a federation be set up which Portugal could control through obedient client regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

Even this neo-colonialist proposal, however, sent shock waves through the entire Portuguese army. The reason was that Spinoza had touched on the raw nerves. Portugal's armies are being bled white fighting well-organized liberation armies with overwhelming popular support, and the resources of Portugal itself are being destroyed by the war effort.

Spinoza's dismissal led to a near-revolt among junior officers. Although the revolt was crushed for the moment with a show of force by the government of Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, its effect will undoubtedly weaken Portugal's ability to carry on the war.

In fact, the only reason that Portugal has been able to carry on this far has been US aid for the dictatorship. Portugal is one of the pillars of the United States' so-called "Free World." It was practically the only NATO country which allowed US planes to refuel during the massive airlift of

equipment to Israel last October.

Helping Portuguese colonialism murder black people in Africa is not only good politics for the US, it will also bring in profits to the oil corporations. The major oil firms, including Exxon, Gulf, Texaco, and Shell, are negotiating for offshore drilling rights off the coast of Portugal and her colonies. Contracts for 40 offshore wells in the next three years (at an investment of \$120 million) have been signed, and that is only the beginning.

Portuguese big business is entertaining dreams of a return to colonial greatness for Portugal. The director of the Portuguese Fuel Board, Luis Felipe Moura Vicente, glows with enthusiasm: "Export oil could one day turn Portugal into another Rotterdam" (the Netherlands port where oil arrives for shipment to Europe).

And the basis for this prosperity is to be overwhelming the oil resources which rightfully belong to the African nations of Angola, Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau), and Mozambique, as well as several smaller islands.

These oil resources stolen from Africa are expected to be the basis for building heavy industry on the cheap for Portugal - refineries, petrochemical plants, steel mills, and a deepwater port to handle 500,000 ton tankers.

In the US, supporters of liberation for Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are calling for a total boycott of all Gulf Oil gasoline and products. Supporting the boycott is one means of demonstrating solidarity with people fighting against Portuguese and US imperialism.



## Militants Map Fighting Strategy



**BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND** - More than 500 trade union delegates attended the First National Rank and File Conference held here on March 30.

The delegates came from union branches, shop steward committees, trades councils and other official union organizations. But they did not represent Britain's trade union officialdom.

The delegates at this workers' conference were rank and file militants from nearly all of Britain's important industries and unions. Many of them were veterans of the hard-fought industrial battles of the last few years.

### Strong Stewards' Movement

In particular, the delegates represented the cutting edge of the fight against the anti-labor Industrial Relations Act and the wage controls introduced by the Conservative Party and continued under the new Labor government.

The Industrial Relations Act was designed to break the strong shop stewards movement that exists in Britain. For years, the shop stewards have had a measure of control over working conditions and have been able to push wage levels continuously upward.

The British employers and the Conservative government introduced the Act to shift power from the stewards to the more conservative top-level officials.

The delegates adopted a program to guide militant workers in

continuing their fight under the Labor Government:

"This Conference opposes all attacks from the government and employers on hard won trade union rights.

"It affirms its total opposition to the Industrial Relations Act, conspiracy laws and any restriction on the right to picket and organize.

"It pledges to work inside the trade union movement and on the shop floor for industrial action to ensure the defeat of these policies, and for support from the whole movement for those workers who find themselves in the front of these attacks."

While the delegates present represented many political points of view, there was agreement that the fight could not stop just because the Labor Party was in power. A number of speakers pointed out that the Labor Government has not repealed the Act or rescinded wage controls.

### I.S. Builds Conference

The organizers and leaders of the Conference were mostly members of the British International Socialists. The I.S. in Britain has been in the forefront of the fight to defend trade union rights and workers' living standards.

The Conference was seen, by its organizers, as a first step in building a powerful, organized rank and file movement in Britain. It was sponsored by ten rank and file newspapers, including among others *Car Worker*, the *Collier* (coal miners), the *Hospital Worker*, *Platform* (bus drivers), *Redder Tape* (civil servants), and *Rank and File Teacher*.

Kim Moody

## Uruguay: Oil Crisis Spells Disaster

The effect of world inflation and the oil crisis has been devastating on smaller, less developed nations. They cannot make up for the skyrocketing cost of imported oil and industrial goods with their own exports of agricultural products. This is graphically illustrated by the case of Uruguay.

Uruguay was once famous for its prosperity, its high standard of living and its democratic political system. But those days are gone forever. Rising oil prices have not been the basic cause of economic crisis and paralysis in Uruguay. This crisis has been getting steadily worse for over four years.

During this time beef and wool exports stagnated, and prices of consumer goods rose by 1,000

percent. But the price of oil has accelerated the pace of this crisis and helped bring the economy to near-collapse.

The cost of oil imports will triple this year, from \$50 to \$150 million. The cost of gasoline has gone from 50c to \$2.30 per gallon, and cars may be driven only every other

This frightful drain on the economy can only cause even wilder inflation, even though unions and strikes have been banned for the last year.

The government has tried to compensate by exporting more beef to Europe. To accomplish this, a three-month ban has been ordered on domestic consumption of beef! But the ban has only left the farmers with an excess supply

of cattle and put them in danger of complete ruin.

Uruguay is ruled by a dictator named Bordaberry, who after being elected in 1971 took complete power last year with the support of the military. He has effectively suspended the Constitution. A massive campaign of repression has not only crushed the Tupamaros guerrillas - who, like the Symbionese Liberation Army, thought they could bring down capitalism with spectacular kidnappings and assassinations - but also the country's best writers, the left press, and all workers' organizations.

Today, the military itself is becoming discredited because the economic situation is so much

worse than before. Its response will probably be to dump its puppet Bordaberry and take complete power for itself. But the only measure the military could take would be to savagely attack workers' pension funds, turn state-run industry back to private hands, and drastically alter the tax structure to favor the wealthy.

In Uruguay and other Latin American countries - including Brazil, Chile and Argentina - the oil crisis and the world recession are creating acute crises at a much more rapid pace than in the more prosperous nations like the US. Until workers can rebuild powerful organizations to defend themselves, repression and poverty will intensify.

# Historic Union Women's Conference Draws 3000



**CHICAGO — 3000 women standing, arms outstretched and hands clasped, singing "Solidarity Forever" is a truly beautiful sight. So ended the founding convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago March 23-24.**

CLUW represents an historic first step for the millions of women workers oppressed on the job and in the unions.

Many ideas of the women's liberation movement have gained increasing support among women workers. Demands for equality at the workplace; for equal pay and equal work; for equal access to all jobs, childcare and paid maternity leave - these are some of the more important issues around which women workers have begun to organize.

There is a central question facing this new national organization of union women. Will the potential strength represented by this proud body be mobilized to fight for the needs of women workers?

Or will its place in history be a set of glossy photographs decorating the union press while advancing the careers of its leaders?

**Originally called by a handful of top women trade union leaders (there only are a handful), the conference drew a response which far outstripped their expectations.**

Over 3200 women from 58 different unions registered, 1000 more than expected. Most of these unexpected numbers were rank and file union members, many of them militants and radicals.

Olga Madar, UAW Vice President and newly elected chairwoman of CLUW, stated in a UAW caucus that they were surprised to see so many rank and filers. Thus Madar unwittingly gave voice to the underlying tension at the conference. For whom will CLUW fight, and how?

## Who Will Run CLUW?

Madar and other CLUW leaders, among whom the most prominent was Addie Wyatt of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, want a pressure group fighting primarily for more women inside the existing trade union leadership. They are not willing to seriously challenge the conservative, bureaucratic and male-dominated policies of that leadership - just flex a little muscle and hope they'll move over a little.

As Myra Wolfgang, vice president of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders said, "Men aren't going to resign their

posts. They're going to have to make room for more people on the boards."

The idea of a different kind of union leadership - that would fight for the needs of women and minority workers while opening the unions to real control by labor's ranks - is definitely not part of their program

This conflict between the aspirations of women trade union bureaucrats and the needs of rank and file working women came through clearly on the issue most hotly debated at the conference: the question of support to the United Farm Workers.

Point 14 of the CLUW guidelines, proposed by the conference planners, stated "National CLUW and area CLUW chapters shall not be involved in issues or activities which a union involved identifies as related to a jurisdictional dispute."

Leaders of the Teamsters, who have allied with Agribusiness in an attempt to smash the UFW, threatened to walk out if the conference took a position in support of the United Farm Workers Union.

The conference planners, rather than buck the blackmail of the IBT officialdom, attempted to bar the question of farmworker support from the conference altogether.

**The majority of the delegates felt differently and moved to delete Point 14. Rank and file Teamsters, carrying bumper stickers proclaiming, "This Teamster supports the Farmworkers," braved threats of expulsion from the IBT to express their solidarity with the UFW on the conference floors.**

Most delegates agreed with the point made in a leaflet issued by the International Socialists in support of the UFW. "The United

Farm Workers is the union in the United States most aggressively organizing the unorganized. A victory for the United Farm Workers is a victory for all women workers, as it advances the task of organizing the unorganized."

The organizers lost and Point 14 was deleted.

Later on, however, in the closing plenary session, the leadership successfully and heavily-handedly stopped a resolution of support for the UFW from coming to the floor (see adjoining article).

Thus on the question of the farmworkers, a stalemate was reached between the leadership and the rank and file.

The vigorous debates over structure and membership requirements for CLUW also point to the existence of differing needs and ambitions.

The leadership proposed: a

National Coordinating Committee (NCC) of over 200 women, composed of up to four representatives of each International union, plus local CLUW conveners, an executive committee and officers elected by the NCC, membership open to trade union women only, charters granted only to bodies of 15 or more trade union women representing at least five different unions and sponsored by two members of the NCC.

**In the workshops discussing structure many militants argued that this proposal gave more power to the union structures than to the local CLUWs, and therefore would not allow the rank and file of CLUW to control the leadership.**

They also argued that the leadership proposal would limit CLUW's growth potential, and that

[Continued on page 14]

## CLUW & THE UFW The Real Story

**Long before the 23rd of March the question of support for the United Farm Workers threatened to explode the Coalition of Labor Union Women.**

Teamster leaders threatened to walk out, dragging other unions with them, if CLUW passed a resolution supporting the UFW.

In the months preceding the founding convention in Chicago, the conference planners attempted to dissuade boycott organizers from asking for CLUW support.

At planning meetings around the country attempts were made to sweep the issue under the rug.

Rank and file militants and radicals became increasingly alarmed as rumors of the attempted suppression spread.

**The UFW is one of the few unions organizing the unorganized, a major question for any organization representing women workers.**

The UFW is also one of the few unions actively fighting for equal rights for women workers.

Support for the UFW posed an important test case for CLUW. Would the coalition fight for the needs of rank and file women, or would it collapse under pressure from the union bureaucrats?

Rank and file delegates came to Chicago determined to fight for a resolution of support, and the leadership came determined to stop it.

The opening round began with shouts of "Viva! Viva! Viva!" as half the body rose applauding the mention of Dolores Huerta at the first plenary.

**UFW supporters moved to delete Point 14 of the proposed rules (see accompanying article) in workshops and the Saturday plenary. Deletion of Point 14 passed overwhelmingly.**

Now the way seemed clear to pass a motion of support for the UFW in the Sunday workshops and plenary.

The Teamster leaders began to counter-organize. Pictures were taken of Teamster women mem-

bers who had publicly supported the farmworkers. IBT rank and filers were threatened with expulsion from the union and denunciation as "outside agitators."

The conference leaders, fearing the IBT would walk out, attempted to work out a compromise between the UFW and the IBT. Sunday morning, no agreement could be reached.

**Immediately before the closing plenary on Sunday, Olga Madar, newly elected CLUW chairwoman and UAW Vice President, approached the UFW leaders, stating that the first order of business would be support of the UFW.**

Madar stated she supported the UFW resolution and would urge support from the huge UAW contingent.

Just before the final plenary session opened, Edith Van Horn, also from the UAW, told the body that one of the most important questions facing

[Continued on page 11]



# labor briefs

Almost 1,000 members of the **United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers** union picketed the White House late last month. They were demanding a roll back of all prices to their 1971 levels, 52 weeks of unemployment coverage, and nationalization of the fuel industry.

**You can't have it both ways:** In recent testimony to a Federal District Court, **Bernie Kleiman, General Counsel for the United Steel Workers**, described the 1971 steel contract as "fabulous — the best ever negotiated in American industry." But **USW President IW Abel**, in his column in the March issue of *Steel Labor* admits that in the last three years, workers' real purchasing power has declined. Now ain't that something — a historic, fabulous agreement in which you make less at the end.

In case you wanted to know, as of March 1st the cost of feeding a family has gone up 55 percent under Nixon's wage-price controls.

The **International Longshoremen's Association**, representing East and Gulf Coast longshoremen, is demanding a 34.4 percent wage increase in a one-year contract to replace their current pact which expires September 30.

Supporters of the **United Farm Workers at the University of Washington** (Seattle) won another victory — the University food service agreed not to serve scab lettuce. The victory followed a month-long boycott of the food service and a sit-in in the president's office by Chicano students. Scab grapes have not been on the campus for several years.

The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health has released a study showing that coke oven workers in steel plants are far more likely to die of lung cancer than other steel workers. These jobs are the worst in the steel industry and are almost always given to black workers. Of workers whose jobs are on top of the coke batteries, **15 out of every 132 will die of lung cancer**, the study reports.

Los Angeles **Teamsters Local 640** has just elected its first woman officer, **Dixie Youts**, a taxi driver and women's liberation activist, will represent the local at the Joint Council of Teamsters.

US auto workers could take a lesson from their Canadian brothers and sisters. In Windsor, Ontario an **Unemployed Committee** has been formed. The committee helps workers get unemployment benefits and fight evictions, foreclosures, and gas cutoffs.

Workers at the **RG Sloane Company** in Sun Valley, California, on strike for over a year, have begun to carry their fight to the rest of the Los Angeles labor movement. Members of **United Rubber Workers Local 621**, the Sloane strikers have begun doing plant gate leafleting and strike fund collections at Los Angeles auto, steel, and rubber plants. The Sloane workers, 90 percent Latin and many women, say the victory of the Farah strike was a great inspiration to them. They remain determined to carry on their strike.

AT&T should be ready to give telephone workers a decent settlement in contract negotiations this year. The company reports that its net income for the three months ending Feb. 28 increased 12.1 percent to \$760.6 million — a new record. **For the last year, total profits were \$3.1 billion.**

**United Action**, a rank and file publication in **CWA Local 1101**, reports that New York Telephone's affirmative action hiring program is a fraud. Only 146 women, it reports, have been admitted to craft jobs in the year or so the plan has been in effect. And most of these women have been hired off the streets rather than being upgraded from traffic. What this means is that women in traffic — mostly black and Latin — stand little more chance of getting the better plant jobs now than they did five years ago. Since most of the 146 women who have been hired are white, the phone company's "affirmative action" is serving as another device to keep minorities out of the better jobs.

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

# Teacher Meeting Flunks Test

**MONTREAL — The New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) AFL-CIO, NEA, held its convention here March 21-24. It was the second convention since the New York State AFT and NEA merged, and was marked by increased tension inside the union.**

Serious problems faced the convention. Teachers' real salaries are falling (the average pay increase this year was just 4%); strikes are longer than ever and doubly punishing as New York's Taylor Law fines teachers two days' pay for every day on strike; and state aid to education has been falling, resulting in increased unemployment and insecurity.

To top it off, the union leadership has bitterly resisted all proposals for instituting a strike fund.

## Grassroots Gains Support

As a result, many resolutions presented by the opposition Grassroots Caucus (GRC) received considerable support at the convention. Resolutions for a strike fund, for state-wide action, including state-wide strikes, and for forming coalitions with other public employee unions for joint action won 40 percent of the votes in committee.

A resolution calling for strong action to force repeal of the Taylor Law received one-third of the committee votes.

But the failure of these resolutions was due in part to the strong machine run by Albert Shanker of New York City. Shanker controls all the New York City delegates, one-third of the total, and votes them as a block.

Another difficulty was that a number of delegates who participated in the GRC last year when the primary issue was union democracy were unwilling to confront Shanker on issues such as the Taylor Law, a strike fund, and the need for state-wide action. These delegates did not see the connection between these issues and union democracy and so fought an independent campaign around the single issue of democracy.

The leaders of the GRC made repeated, but unsuccessful, efforts to heal the rift with these delegates. It will be a major task to repair this breach during the coming year.

The GRC did not field a candidate for the top offices in the union, but instead ran a partial

slate for the Executive Board. This slate generally received 17 percent of the vote, although some individuals did considerably better.

Alma Cormican of White Plains, chairperson of the GRC, received 29 percent. The independent candidates running solely on the issue of democracy, who were supported by the GRC, polled 25 percent.

In regional elections, GRC candidates did better, receiving from 25 percent to 42 percent of the votes. GRC leader Paul Rubin of Local 1401 (Plainview), received 32 percent. Tom Mullen of Local 280

was a Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Congressman Ogden Reid. Reid's position on the Taylor Law was virtually identical to Wilson's.

Consequently, the Grassroots Caucus will soon face the need to propose an alternative to the anti-teacher and anti-labor Republican Wilson and Democrat Reid. How the GRC responds to the idea of an independent labor campaign will help determine its future as an effective caucus in NYSUT.

In an end-of-convention press release, the GRC warned that it would hold the re-elected team of

## toward teacher power

STEVE ZELUCK



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(New Rochelle), won 42 percent against a particularly strong leader of the official team, AFT Vice-President Walter Tice.

The Convention was addressed by Governor Malcolm Wilson, who may well be endorsed for reelection this fall by the state AFL-CIO and even NYSUT. Wilson's only promise on the Taylor Law was to establish a committee to consider revision of a minor detail of the anti-strike law. As for the penalties of the law, the worst in the country, Wilson had nothing to say.

Also present at the Convention

President Hobart and Vice President Shanker accountable for solving the problems facing teachers.

Indeed, a test of the union leadership's methods of "playing it cool" and "influencing the Legislature" came up immediately after the convention. The courts declared unconstitutional a source of funds which provides 20 percent of the school revenues in most of the small cities of the state. Unless decisive action to counter this ruling is taken, it will spell disaster for New York State's teachers.

David Miller

# Court Backs Steel Sellout

**A federal judge in Pittsburgh has ruled against 35 rank and file steel workers who challenged the legality of the steel industry no-strike plan, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.**

The ENA, signed last year by Steelworkers President IW Abel and major steel company executives, gives up the right to strike when the steel contract runs out August 1. Instead, any issues which remain unresolved by April 15 are to be submitted to binding arbitration.

Members of three rank and file Steelworker groups brought the suit. They pointed out that the right to strike had been given away without a vote of the rank and file.

The judge, however, ruled that the Steelworkers union is not "a pure democracy, but rather a republic, a representative democracy." And so while he politely noted that the agreement was "rammed through without serious debate or discussion, he ruled that this procedure was "valid and legally irrevocable."

# THE SUB FUND: HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

Over 150,000 auto workers have already suffered some form of lay-off. For those with over one year seniority the SUB Fund (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) provides some relief. But the question in the back of everyone's mind is, "How long will the Fund last?"

It's an important enough question that Timothy Nalty, UAW Research Director, stated that the GM SUB Fund could begin to reduce payments as early as the beginning of April. After three years of record profits a few months of lay-offs have put the funds in trouble.

But SUB is more than just a benefit. One of the reasons auto workers put up with all the harassment - on the line, in the stamping plants, in the forges and foundries - is because there is some protection against lay-offs. SUB is an auto worker's right!

The companies and the union have succeeded in keeping the facts about the SUB a deep secret. All information about it is hidden behind a tangle of words, figures, secrecy and legal talk.

• An auto worker with one year's seniority is entitled to SUB benefits when laid off. SUB supplements unemployment checks to total 95% of regular take-home pay minus \$7.50. With under a year seniority, the present plan provides no benefits.

• Auto workers with over two years seniority are entitled to 52 credit units. If layoffs are low a worker can count on 52 payments, at a rate of one credit unit per week.

The catch comes when there are tens of thousands of auto workers draining the fund, as at present. The GM SUB Fund has about a quarter billion dollars in it. But even that vast amount can't last too long at the current level of GM layoffs.

Of course, the SUB Funds (each company maintains its own fund) are still getting money put in - a certain amount for each auto worker still working. But nowhere near enough.

A comparison of the original terms and the newest terms show just how seriously the companies and the union take the whole thing.

	Original	Present
length of benefits	3 months	12 months
amount	80% of regular pay	95% of regular pay
payment into fund	5c to 10c per hour per worker	7c to 12c per hour per worker

So while the funding may have been sufficient for the three month benefits, high unemployment means that the SUB Fund is heavily drained and faces the likelihood of running out. The Fund was set up to deal adequately with small layoffs, but it is too weak for massive unemployment.

• When the Fund goes below a certain point, each payment costs more credit units. For instance, the Fund will pay one check, but will charge 1.11 credit units. At that rate, full seniority workers would get at most 48 payments.

• As the Fund gets lower, the number of credit units charged increases: 1.25, 1.33, 1.67, 2, 2.5, 3.33, 5 and finally 10 units for one small payment.

• When the Fund drops below its final limit, it stops paying until it rises above a certain level. How fast these drops occur depends on seniority - lower seniority workers suffer faster drops.

The GM Fund is in the most trouble. It is in real danger of cutting payments and charging more credit units for them. But without a computer and a lawyer, it is impossible to say exactly how much money or how many people this may affect.

Neither the corporations nor the union are talking. Which may lead many to wonder why. Every month each company sends the union a full report. It is only the members who are kept in the dark.

If the various SUB Funds were fully funded, the chances of having payments slashed would be less. But Ford and Chrysler funds are only about 50% of the maximum called for in the union-management agreement.

The GM Fund is around 30% funded. After three straight years of record production and profits, the plans are still not fully funded! The right to SUB - to protection against unemployment - is not taken very seriously by the corporations or the union, which has not pressed for adequate Fund resources.

Workers who give their labor and their lives to the auto companies - some of the richest and most powerful corporations in the world - are not the ones who should pay for the problems in the economy or the phoney energy crisis.

Workers should be guaranteed work at a reduced week with no loss in pay, or full SUB payments from the corporations. If after three years of record sales and profits, the Funds are not fully funded then the plan set up is inadequate.

The SUB payments are an auto worker's right and should be paid, no matter what. If necessary, the money should come from total corporate funds.

But as with any such "right," auto workers will have to fight for it.

Bill Hastings

# WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Kim Moody



# WAGING A WINNING STRIKE

In March 30,000 coal miners struck for more than three weeks in protest over gasoline shortages and won. Three years ago, these same West Virginia miners struck for a better health and safety law and won.

In both cases, these miners, without the backing of their union, faced down and beat all the coal bosses and the state and federal governments.

In 1937, the automobile workers in Flint, Michigan struck, sat down and seized plants to win union recognition — and they won. They were backed by their union, the young and then weak United Auto Workers.

The coal miners of the 70's and the auto workers of the 30's fought to win. That meant the workers did whatever was possible to hurt the company, or the government, until they had to give in to the workers' demands.

The labor leaders of the 70's don't even think of striking to win. Their strike strategies, or their opposition to strikes, are based on a concern for the welfare of the companies.

Steel Workers' President I.W. Abel was quite open about why he signed his no-strike agreement with the big steel companies. He said: "We (the companies and the union) mutually agreed, at that time, that we had to solve the twin problems of stockpiling and imports."

Stockpiling means that the company over-produces for a few months before the strike. Abel's answer to this tactical problem is to give up the strike altogether.

If Abel were interested in striking to win, he would look for answers to the stockpiling tactic.

For example, the union could order the union members not to

work any overtime in the months before the strike — or, if that wasn't enough, call or otherwise approve a slowdown or work-torules.

Another example of how the union leaders avoid winning strikes is the "Apache Strike" strategy dreamed up by the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Under this "strategy" you strike only one plant at a time, rather than a whole company or division. This strategy produced defeats following long strikes at the Norwood and Lordstown General Motors plants.

The two-fold purpose of the "Apache" strategy, aside from wearing down the ranks, is to save strike funds and to avoid hurting the company too much. Now, if you want to win, you want to hurt the company — and you also want a strike fund that doesn't run out every time it is used.

The struggles of the auto workers in 1937, and the West Virginia coal miners in 1971 and 1974, point to important elements in a winning strike strategy.

First is the understanding that a strike is a battle in which enemies face each other. If you want to win a battle you must hurt the enemy — in every way possible.

To be effective, solidarity must be maintained from the beginning to end. The way to do that is to actively involve people in the strike.

When the union leaders send everyone home to sit out a strike they undermine solidarity and plant the seeds for a back to work movement — even before the strike is underway. Mass actions and rallies are, therefore, essential even when they aren't needed to stop scabbing.

Mass action is important for another reason as well.

The employers and the government fear mass action that is beyond their control, that is beyond the framework of "orderly" collective bargaining procedures. That was the "secret" behind the victories at Flint and in West Virginia.

Effective mass action requires organization, which is one reason why workers always need unions. When the union leaders won't act, however, the ranks must organize themselves to fight.

The Flint strikers of 1937 controlled their young union. The miners, however, did not have the support of their union leaders in 1971 or 1974.

The Black Lung strike of 1971 was called by the Black Lung Associations, composed of union militants but not officially part of the union.

The strike, however, was effective because it was led and supported by local rank and file leaders. These leaders included local officials who are working miners, not full-time bureaucrats.

The state-wide organization was, in effect, an unofficial co-ordinating body of rank and file union leaders. No International Reps, over-paid bureaucrats, highly educated experts, or million dollar computers were needed to "organize" the miners' strike.

Today, striking to win usually means that rank and file leaders must take matters out of the hands of the union bureaucracy. To win a strike, these rank and file leaders must involve the ranks in organization and mass action, and seek to spread the strike and broaden support. That miners did it shows that others can do it too.

# Transit Union Wins COL

NEW YORK — Negotiators for this city's bus and subway workers reached agreement on a new two-year contract seven hours before an April 1st strike was scheduled to begin. An agreement so far ahead of the deadline is unusual for New York's transit negotiations, but with one exception, the provisions of that agreement are no surprise at all.

The new aspect of the transit contract is a cost-of-living clause which takes effect in the second year of the contract. Although transit workers will lose a considerable amount to inflation during the first contract year, the cost-of-living provision is a real break-

through. During the last two years, New York transit workers lost 16.4 percent to inflation. Cost-of-living will be a goal of all other New York City employee unions in upcoming negotiations and of transit unions throughout the country as well.

Other provisions of the contract are considerably less favorable. It contains a productivity clause - the provisions of which have not yet been detailed - which could lead to fewer jobs, speed-up, and more dangerous subways. And the wage increases - six percent now, three percent in December, and five percent a year from now - do not even make up for the inflation of the last two years.

# DAY CARE- Child's Need, Woman's Right

Last fall in Forest, Mississippi, four small children were burned to death. They had been left in the care of babysitters while their parents were at work in a chicken processing plant.

County and state officials immediately tried to blame the parents and the babysitters. News coverage warned parents to leave children only in licensed day care facilities. The union representing the parents explained that parents are forced to leave their children in the care of others because day care facilities are not available.

In a leaflet the union said, "Why can't the chicken plants here in Forest provide proper day care facilities. They would not be giving

us a day care center, because we have earned it, by all the long hard hours of work we have put in, at these chicken plants. It is the right of all of us workers to have a day care center for our children."

## Could Happen Anywhere

The tragedy at Forest could have occurred anywhere because very few working mothers have good quality day care centers available. One of the results of the massive influx of women back into the work force since 1948 is that six million children under the age of six have mothers who work. There are, however, only about 900,000 licensed child care places available.

1½ million "latchkey" children

care for themselves. ¾ million under age three are cared for by brothers and sisters. Under these conditions fatal accidents happen every day, but don't make the newspapers as the Forest tragedy did.

Most women have to cope by themselves with the problem of finding and paying for a babysitter while they work. They receive little or no help from the government, from their unions or employers. Women are told it is a mother's responsibility to take care of her own children, and that childrearing should be a woman's major job.

But millions of women are working today only because they must. Many are raising children by

themselves. As the cost of living jumps many others are finding it impossible to get by on what their husbands make. All have to struggle with the enormous burden of finding adequate child care.

Lack of child care facilities, and the mistaken idea that women's jobs are "second income" and unnecessary, are important factors in trapping women into marginal jobs. In most industries, women who take time off to have children lose all benefits and seniority, and usually their jobs as well. The millions of women who work part-time (because they cannot find afterschool child care) are also excluded from benefits, promotions, and usually from union coverage. All this means that women are effectively excluded from access to the higher paying jobs, pension benefits and the advantages of acquiring job experience.

## Society's Responsibility

The lack of decent child care limits women in other ways as well. Society's failure to take responsibility for children is a major cause of women's oppression. As long as women's lives are considered bound to their children's, and as long as women are totally responsible for raising and caring for children, women's possibilities are drastically limited.

Liberation for women means the freedom to grow as a full independent being, able to pursue all interests. Under capitalism that freedom exists only for the wealthy.

Childcare should also be society's responsibility to children. Children have not always been raised in what society now considers a "normal" way, that is, two

or three children with one mother all day, supported by their father whom they may see for about an hour a day. Good 24-hour parent/staff controlled child care can be a good opportunity for children to learn more than they might at home.

Many people active in promoting child care have been concerned because child care is often treated as a custodial parking lot - just another babysitting service. Day care should mean child development - a program to foster the emotional, social, intellectual and physical growth of the child.

Many mothers are understandably reluctant to leave their young

## ONE WOMAN'S NIGHTMARE SEARCH



[Iris is a young South American woman, the mother of two children, who wants to go to work. Workers' Power reporter Diana Olivieri interviewed her to find out the problems a working class woman faces when she tries to get day care in a large city like New York.]

There were several reasons I decided to look into day care. First of all, our income is not sufficient. Things haven't gone well for us recently. Jim hasn't been at a steady job for two years. We had three to four weeks with no money coming in and bills piling up.

Now he works at a large factory but he is not yet in the union. He has been laid off three times so far, for one or two months at a time.

But besides wanting to help out with the finances, I also wanted to work to get out of the house. No one should have to spend twenty-four hours a day at home with kids. It's not a matter of not loving your children, but most people need other interests and stimulation as well.

I wasn't looking for day care to get away from my children, but to broaden my life. I thought it would be good for them also because I figure they need to be with other children, all kinds of children. Since getting babysitters is really difficult and expensive, I decided to look into day care.

My family was upset that I would leave my children for a job and this bothered me to the point where I hesitated doing it. They said they could catch diseases, pick up bad language, be exposed to cold weather and that being away from their mother might be a shock to them.

I was almost convinced it was the wrong thing to do, but Jim made

me realize it was our children, our life, and we had to choose what was best. It couldn't be wrong for children to be with and play with other children.

I think that day care broadens a child's way of life, teaches them to be with other children, to be more flexible and to share.

Unless you're in a neighborhood with a lot of children or they are in day care, they don't get a chance to meet other kids. All these things convinced me it was foolish not to do it, and Jim was all for it, too.

Through a friend whose child is in day care, I got a suggestion to contact a center financed by the city.

It took four weeks to get an appointment to speak to them. I was asked everything under the sun, from salary, sicknesses in the family, marital status, family backgrounds, apartment, number of rooms, whether we had a bathroom, kitchen, etc. The interviewer then wanted to speak to my husband to see if he approved.

They asked his salary and how much I would be making when I worked. I told her Jim made \$160 gross but that it would go up when he got into the union. I would be making on the average of \$120 before taxes.

At that time she said if it all averaged to \$250 between us that I had a chance. She was trying to say that if I lowered the amount I would be making, I might get into the day care program, implying that I should work part time or get a job that paid less.

She wouldn't definitely tell me how much I would be paying. I brought pay slips and everything from Jim's job, but I couldn't get the exact figures on what they would charge me for day care.



She asked me how I felt about going to work and why I wanted to work. I got the impression that having to work was what they considered important, not wanting to work.

It goes on and on and you really feel that you're being questioned to be put in jail, like you're a criminal and you've done something wrong. They want you to think they're doing you a great favor considering you for day care.

I also asked about racial problems in day care centers because I am a Latin woman married to a North American. When she asked me if I was married to a black man, I said no, and this seemed to make



children in poorly planned, unproven day care centers which seem to offer little developmental experience for their children. It is extremely important that federal support be given to develop quality programs for all care outside a child's home.

A quality child care service should provide:

- \* a strong educational program geared to the age, ability, interests, and temperament of each child;
- \* adequate nutrition;
- \* a free health program and health services when needed; and
- \* parent/staff control of the service.

Unfortunately the government and business groups who are involved in supporting and promoting day care have little interest in either women's liberation or child development. Day care is used to expand the workforce, when women workers are needed. When unemployment is high funds are cut off and women are sent back to the home.

The first known publicly sponsored day care in 1938 was for children of seamen's wives and widows who had to work. During World War II federal funds were given to states and corporations to provide day care so that mothers could work on the assembly lines in wartime industries. Two of the most extensive company-run centers were at Kaiser Portland shipbuilding facilities where cheap, not free, facilities were available for over 800 children. Once the war was over, the women were fired and the daycare funds were withdrawn.

#### Governments Day Care Club

Again today the government is funding day care only for its own concern. The most important factor promoting federal involvement in daycare is the government's welfare and manpower policy. The government is using daycare as a means of forcing welfare mothers off the relief rolls and into low paying jobs.

During the past few years building a childcare movement was attempted across the country to fight legislative cutbacks in federal childcare support. Groups mobilized marches on Washington and on state capitals to pressure the President and legislators.

In New York City community groups were active in attempts to

keep open the many independent, parent-controlled centers that were threatened with loss of funds. In an effort to publicize the threatened cutbacks, some of these groups even stopped traffic on highways and bridges leading into Manhattan. These efforts were successful in delaying cutbacks for one year. They now go into effect at the end of 1974. That child care movement has since disintegrated. What exists now is small groups lobbying in Congress or in state capitals to prevent further cutbacks.

These community centered groups were limited in their success because they did not have the power to back up their demands. They received little support from labor unions which do have power to act now to force free quality daycare for all parents.

#### Union Builds Model Center

Women trade unionists meeting in recent conferences have been discussing daycare, both for work and for union meetings. Some unions have begun to plan day care facilities for union meetings.

A good beginning has been made by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 70% of whom are women. In Chicago the union has set up a quality daycare center free to union members, financed by employer contributions to the union's social benefit trust fund. The center, which accommodates 60 children, is a model for future centers planned by the union which will be built near the clothing factories.

The center provides a full educational program, free medical service, hot lunches and full professional staff. Run by the union, it has regular meetings of



parents to discuss center policy and the progress of the children.

Though a model for daycare, this center is just a beginning. It is limited to union members while they are working. Last year when the factories closed for a two week vacation/layoff, the center closed as well. This center barely touches the needs of parents and children in Chicago. There are 38,000 preschool age children who could use daycare and only 4,000 spaces. Most of these spaces cost \$20-35 a week, out of the range of many working people.

However the Amalgamated has set an example of what women in unions could achieve. Unions can begin to pressure the government to provide the funds necessary for quality daycare for all parents who wish to use it. Unions can mobilize their members and organize joint demonstrations to publicize both the need for day care and the

government's recent attacks on women and children.

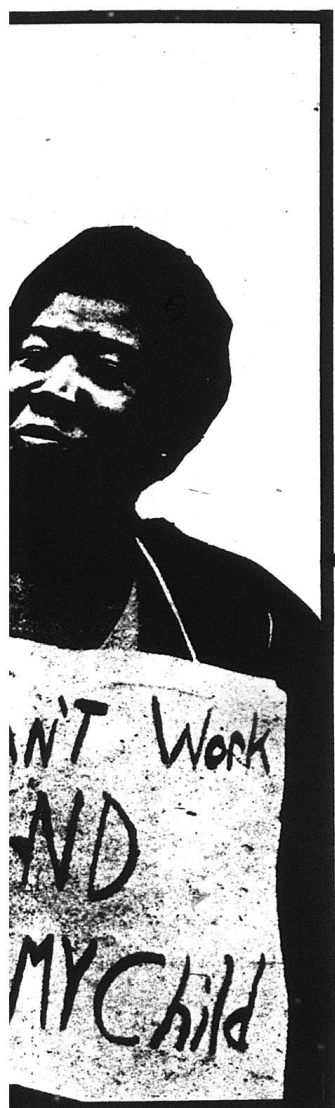
Childcare is a necessity for all women and must become the responsibility of society as a whole.

Women in unions have the organized strength to lead the fight to make society undertake this responsibility.

Women trade unionists in organizations like the recently organized Coalition of Labor Union Women and in women's caucuses should demand the trade unions fight for childcare.

Unions could mobilize demonstrations in every city publicizing the need for childcare and demanding federal funding. Unions could fight for contract agreements providing company funded/union controlled daycare.

Decent childcare is essential to free women. The struggle is enormous - but so is the need. We must begin now.



their children away as soon as they can.

She also seemed surprised that Kathy was such a smart child, as if how is that possible from a mixed marriage.

They say they'll get back to you in four weeks while they look around for the most convenient place to put the children, but after four weeks, they didn't yet have any place. I would have to wait some more. They would have to keep checking.

Meanwhile, I did have a job lined up that I could have taken immediately. Even after four weeks, the job was still open, but I still had no day care.

The city keeps a constant check on any salary changes and an interviewer must come to the house to see what your home is like, what environment you live in, how you handle yourself at home.

After the interviewer visits, she must report to the city whatever she found out. That's when the city would approve you. She then requested that Jim come, preferably by himself, but I went too because she was so insistent on Jim's coming alone.

She asked Jim all the questions but not as many as she had asked me. Jim told her his salary and how it would change. Then she figured that it would cost about \$40 per child per week because we would be making "too much money."

That would be about 80% of my take-home salary if I worked full time. Right on the spot, she didn't think that day care would be good for us. It would be best either to get a babysitter or look around for some miracle, I guess.

She could have told me that four weeks before. I had told her what Jim and I would be making. Yet he

had to take a day off from work and lose a day's pay for the half hour where she told us it wouldn't be good for us.

She is in the field and really couldn't give any alternatives except ads in stores or look for a babysitter. She wasn't helpful at all. She didn't have any ideas for us, we would have to do it ourselves.

I was very surprised at the price I would have to pay. I figured I would be willing to pay \$25 a week,

but not anything like \$80.

The whole experience was really depressing. You wait to speak to them, you wait to find out anything, you wait for them to call you and you must figure that after a while you're not going to find anything.

I must say that by now I'm not too sure of getting them into a center because after speaking to a few people I now know how difficult it really is to get children in.

Also, I had heard that a good way

to get better service from a day care center would be to lie - to say you are emotionally disturbed, or that the situation between you and your husband is so terrible that it's really bad for the kids, or that you are afraid to be alone with the kids because you aren't sure what you will do, etc. and so if you really know the ropes you have a better chance of getting in.

But if you are ordinary working people who need day care to work, your chances are smaller.

## DAY CARE FRANCHISES - CHAINS FOR CHILDREN



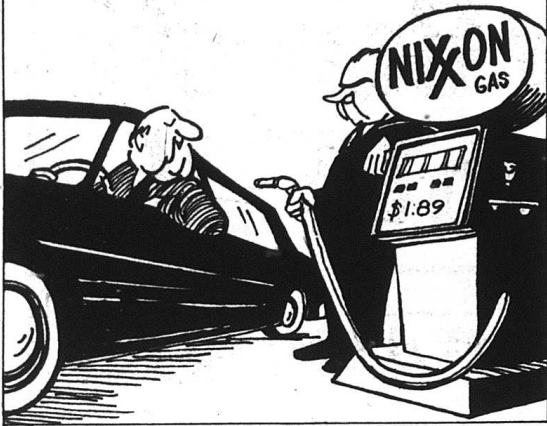
"The nice thing about the educational business is you get your money in front. You show cash flow right away." So said one of the businessmen who have jumped into the day care business to get their cut of the available federal funds and the new market.

Businesses are offering franchises to set up local daycare centers. These companies promise a return on investment of 12-20%. There is no guarantee on the benefit to be received by either child or parents who can afford to pay for centers such as Mary Moppett, Pied Piper, We Sit Better, or Kinder-Care run by General Electric, Gerber Products and others.

Over 150 plants, using federal funds, have set up day care centers at work. These are mainly hospitals, but also include many southern textile mills and telephone companies, which depend on women working at low paying jobs. Many mothers are happy with this type of arrangement because they are near their children. But most have to worry about long commuting trips to bring their child to work.

Parents do not have control in determining the policies of the centers. Further, when the company decides to lay all the women off, or when the women go on strike, there is no more childcare available.

"WELL, WELL! NO MORE LONG LINES AT THE PUMPS - NOW THAT THE RIFF RAFF ARE RIDING BIKES."



When Nixon calls off the oil crisis, gas lines shorten, Sunday sales reappear, and Czar Simon counsels caution, what can it all mean? It means that the price of fuel will go up. Yes, that's right. Up.

"The President wanted some good news," an Energy official politely explained. He wanted it so badly that he released the oil supplies long before a single barrel of Arab crude was shipped to the US.

In a less publicized statement, Nixon added that the easing of restrictions must be "kept in perspective." He expected fuel price increases and shortages to continue later this year. And Simon predicted separately the retail price of gasoline would be 65 to 75 cents per gallon "when the whole thing settles down."

In other words, consumers are not to start thinking the time for sacrifice is over. Nixon said "conservation measures" should continue. A Feb. 1 report of the President's Council of Economic Advisors put the matter more bluntly. It said rising energy costs should be "reflected in the prices paid by consumers to insure that they economize on energy use."

So, although Gulf Oil lowered its prices by one cent a gallon with much fanfare, it hardly signaled the end of the consumer's crisis. Especially since gasoline prices went up 5.7% in February alone, and fuel oil prices were 58.8% higher than a year earlier. Higher fuel and food prices were chiefly responsible for the recent spectacular surges in the cost of living.

Nor is Nixon finished fixing things up. He has several bills before Congress which he claims will solve the non-crisis. His proposals include freeing natural-gas prices from federal regulation, producing oil on US Navy land (at Teapot Dome, Wyoming, no doubt, although Nixon seemed reluctant to mention the name), and "relaxation of environmental restrictions."

The oil companies are already starting to excuse future price increases by blaming them on the higher price of Arab crude. But Senate investigators have recently disclosed that the profits of the world's largest oil company and the four US firms that own it have risen in direct proportion to "Arabian" price increases.

Energy Office investigators are finding evidence that some companies have "paid" excessive prices to foreign corporate affiliates for crude oil, then raised prices to customers to cover the higher "costs." This last violation may

involve more than \$100 million.

The high price of oil, a direct result of higher profits, is a crisis all by itself. An end to shortages will not solve it. It is the price of fuel, not the shortage, that has been eroding real wages by driving up the cost of living. And it does this not only directly, but by driving up the price of every commodity which requires the use of petroleum products in its production (nearly everything).

But the oil conglomerates aren't jacking up prices all by themselves. There is a hard economic fact behind the lack of competition in the oil industry. A few banks own all the potential competitors. A report of the Federal Trade Commission, released in February, says that the ties between the companies and financial institutions "are so strong, that, in a real sense, the banks and major oil companies enjoy an identity of interest." For example, the report says, the Chase Manhattan Bank "is both the largest shareholder in Atlantic Richfield and the second largest shareholder in Mobil." Clearly it isn't in Chase Manhattan's interest to promote vigorously competition between them.

Nobody trusts the oil companies. But many Americans still hope that the government will protect the little consumer against the giant multinationals.

The catch is that the government and the oil companies are in some ways identical. The Federal Energy Office, for instance, is supposed to regulate industry prices and oversee government oil policy. Yet more than 100 FEO employees, most of them in high ranking positions, formerly worked for the oil companies. They will probably return to the oil companies when they leave the government, and they aren't going to cut off their own exits.

The oil companies also control key members of Congress, through either direct contributions or indirect pressure ("What will the folks back home say if we close down the refinery and they lose their jobs?"). This influence enables the oil companies to maintain favorable government policies at the consumer's expense. To name a few:

\* **The oil depletion allowance** allows the companies to write off 22% of gross income of oil and gas properties from their taxes. The Ways and Means Committee voted to phase out the depletion allowance, but only if prices rise. In exchange, the Committee offers a unique "windfall profits tax." The companies need never pay a penny of it to the government. They can plow the "tax" money back into investments, and thus generate more profits. (An equivalent policy for workers would mean the

government would allow you to skip income tax if you promised to buy yourself a new car.)

\* **Foreign tax credits** allow the oil companies to deduct foreign taxes from their US taxes - dollar for dollar. This giveaway originated during the Cold War because the US government wanted the oil companies to pay lots of money to Mid-Eastern governments in order to woo them away from Russia. The Cold War is no longer with us, but foreign tax credits are.

\* **Import quotas** "protect" domestic oil prices from cheap imports. They kept the price of fuel in the US artificially high for many years.

\* **Demand prorationing laws** also keep prices high by preventing increases in domestic supply. These laws originated during the Depression, when displaced farmers turned to drilling oil wells without consulting Rockefeller. The government sent in the Texas National Guard to cap the independents' wells. The federal administrator who gave the order was a former oil executive. The head of the Texas National Guard also happened to be president of Humble Oil. Demand prorationing laws are still in effect.

The scope of government charity toward the oil companies can be guessed from the taxes they pay. Aramco's 1972 taxes amounted to

less than 1/100 of 1% of its profits; in 1973 less than one-tenth of 1%. Compare this with a minimum of 20% of income paid by the average American worker.

Even if Congress should suddenly break all ties with the oil companies and try to curb profits, the oilmen are ready. The American Petroleum Institute (oil lobby) threatened the Ways and Means Committee with cutbacks in exploration for new supplies if windfall profits were curbed (*Houston Chronicle* 2/6/74). In that event, Congress will back down just as it did when other industries created shortages to break price controls.

Oil prices will certainly rise, and the effect could be disastrous. Brandeis Economics Professor Anne P. Carter, in a paper to a Senate subcommittee, found that a doubling of all energy prices would result in an average eight point increase in the rate of inflation. Added to current levels, that would be over 12%.

She found that while the inflation rate for those with incomes of over \$20,000 would increase from 4% to 11%, it would rise from 4% to 16% for those with incomes under \$8,000.

Did somebody say the crisis is over? ■

Marie Pielka

# OIL CRISIS: PHASE 2 TO COME

## 750 Meet On Immigration Laws



**LOS ANGELES** — The defense of immigrants without documents and US immigration legislation were the major topics of a conference called by the National Coalition on Immigration for Fair Practices and Laws. It was attended by 750 delegates and observers.

Delegations of Latinos came from Denver, Chicago, New York, the Pacific Northwest and all parts of California as well as Mexico. There were 16 workshops ranging from job security for workers without visas, to obtaining union organization and union benefits, to legislative bills and proposals.

Speakers from various unions and rank and file groups were heard during the conference. At a plenary session the body adopted resolutions setting forth a bill of rights for immigrants and calling

for full vesting in social security, and other pension plans for immigrants who leave the US or are deported.

### End Racist Harassment

An end to all immigration laws would prevent the continual harassment of Latino workers in the US without "legal" Department of Immigration papers. Tens of thousands of Mexicans, driven from Mexico's poverty, have come to the US in search of livelihoods. Continually they run the risk of being snatched off the street or a job, and dumped on the other side of the border in the desert. Many of the so-called "illegals" have lived in the United States for decades. They cannot participate in any community struggles, union organizing, or job actions for fear they may be deported.

One of the major themes of the conference was defense of workers without documents on the job. Burt Corona, leader of the workshop on that question, stated that victimization of "illegals" weakens the entire working class, and requires action by all workers. He called for rank and file committees to defend workers without documents from attacks by employers and the Immigration Service directly, through strikes or slowdowns, and by pressuring their unions to do likewise.

Many workers participated in the conference as well as representatives from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Crusade for Justice. About a third of the delegates were Chicanos, who led several workshops. ■

Dugan Wheeler

# Losing Secondary Boycott- What It Means to UFW



George Meany and several AFL-CIO unions have put heavy pressure on the United Farm Workers union to drop one of its most important weapons - the Secondary Boycott.

Just how important the loss of the secondary boycott is to the UFW can be seen from statements Cesar Chavez has made. Since 1969 Chavez has argued against Democratic Party politicians and the AFL-CIO officials who want the farmworkers to be covered by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

Coverage would guarantee union elections on the ranches, which the UFW would certainly have won. But it also would have meant the union could no longer use the secondary boycott or the threat of the secondary boycott.

Chavez argued that even after

the union is established, farmworkers need the secondary boycott. Most agricultural work is not highly skilled and there are huge pools of unemployed workers in the Southwest and Mexico. Growers might thus attempt to get through the short harvest season by recruiting scab workers.

The union needed some economic pressure to bring on the growers after the harvest season was over. And while Chavez may have overestimated the power of a consumer secondary boycott, he knows that a simple product boycott permitted by the NLRA is very difficult to make effective.

Chavez wanted legislation guaranteeing free union elections on the ranches. Wherever free elections were held the UFW has won. But Chavez was unwilling to give up one of the major weapons of the

UFW - the secondary boycott - even for guaranteed elections.

Now the AFL-CIO leadership is forcing the UFW to give up that weapon without getting guaranteed elections in return.

For all its limitations, a consumer secondary boycott can have considerable effect. For products like lettuce, grapes, and wines (bought in small quantities through hundreds of thousands of stores), a product boycott requires enormous resources for very small effects.

In a secondary boycott a few people picketing a store can cause the store to lose thousands of dollars of business. It then becomes bad business to carry Gallo wine. When the store cancels a \$10,000 order of Gallo wine, Gallo feels it and the pickets can go on to the next store.

#### Product Boycott Limiting

But when the same pickets are restricted to a product boycott, the store loses almost nothing. Those respecting the boycott just buy other brands. The pickets can't cover many stores constantly, not everyone will honor the boycott, and the amount Gallo loses is much smaller.

Furthermore, stores which do remove Gallo can't be rewarded by pickets telling customers to go there instead.

It becomes even harder if the union signs some growers while it is fighting others. In this case a media or general campaign is extremely difficult. You can't just say "Don't buy grapes." Now the task is to try to make customers conscious of brand names or union labels. Hard enough normally, the task is enormous when the names and union label are in back rooms and not where the produce is displayed. ■

James Morrison

## TEAMSTERS IN NEW DRIVE TO CRUSH UFW

The Teamster Union is trying to change its image in a new drive against the UFW. It has hired public relations firms, opened seven offices in agricultural areas of California with a full time staff of over 100, and it is now going to "appeal to the farm workers" rather than the growers. To do this the IBT is spending over \$100,000 each month.

But the important asset of the Teamsters remains that the growers prefer them to the UFW because the Teamster Union does not require a hiring hall and does not interfere with the growers' labor discipline, mechanization, or pesticide use.

For several years the Teamsters have not even bothered to contact workers. Instead they met secretly with the growers and signed sweetheart contracts. Where legitimate elections have been held among field workers, the Teamsters have not won a single one against the UFW. But the sweetheart agreements have resulted in over 50,000 workers under Teamster contract.

Now the Teamsters say they are appealing to the workers. The reason for this change of image is

to try to put some facade of union legitimacy over their blatant union-busting sweetheart contracts, and to try to deal another blow this summer against the UFW which is being attacked from all sides.

It is one thing though, to hire a public relations firm and take the old AFL-CIO name "Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee." It is quite another to hide the crude reality.

Obviously the Teamsters had to find a Mexican American to head their new campaign. But the best they could find was Cono Macias whom the Farm Workers call "Tio Taco" (a Mexican-American version of Uncle Tom). Before he started working for the Teamsters, Macias fought the UFW in his position as chief supervisor for Bianco Corp., a large vineyard. According to Macias, the growers "generally are very honest and they absolutely live up to our contract."

The Teamster public image change itself may be a real joke, but the Teamsters still have the money, goons and grower support. The only thing the UFW has is the farm workers. ■

## CLUW & UFW

[Continued from page 5]

CLUW had obviously been the question of farmworker support. She called on the sisters from the UFW to address to body.

Josephina Flores gave a moving speech on the struggles of the farmworkers. She had been led to believe that she was motivating a resolution of support.

Clara Day, a Teamster leader,

then embraced Flores for the press, stating that the Teamsters supported the sisters in the field.

As the farmworkers left the stage a motion was made from the floor to suspend the rules and take up resolutions of support for the UFW.

Then Olga Madar neatly slipped the knife in. She took the mike, telling the body that they had heard the farmworker sister tell of the struggle and that "the farm workers do not want this question to continue to divide us." She continued, "Let us move forward."

By the time the farmworkers returned to their seats, Madar had successfully moved the body.

The farmworkers had been double-crossed, but by the time they realized what had happened,

amidst all the noise and confusion, it was too late.

Even though no resolution of support reached the floor, local CLUWs will still be able to support the farmworkers because Point 14, barring such activity, was defeated.

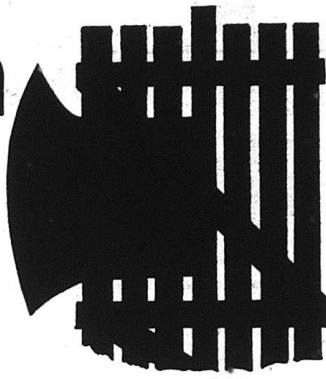
What is most important here is that rank and file union women understand the disgraceful and heavy-handed role played by the CLUW leaders, especially Madar, and are better prepared in the future.

CLUW's leaders will move only so far and in the end will not buck the trade union bureaucracy of which they are a part. At that point the rank and file must be prepared to sweep over them. ■

Rose Veviaka



# How Fascism Began: Italy 1920



In the years before the Second World War the scourge of fascism swept across half of Europe. The crudest barbarities became official state policy. Basic democratic rights were crushed. Trade unions and Labor parties were completely destroyed. Millions of people were swept into concentration camps. In the end more than five million Jews were exterminated.

Today respectable politicians and historians treat the whole episode as a peculiar break with normality, a nightmarish interlude in the forward march of society. On the left, on the other hand, there is a tendency to treat every unpleasant measure by almost any government as "fascist." A fight against any recurrence of such horrors demands a more exact understanding of what fascism is.

## Socialist Movement Grows

Mussolini established the first fascist regime after his "March on Rome" in 1922. Yet only three years before the general feeling at all levels of Italian society was that socialist revolution, not fascism, was near at hand. The socialist and trade union movement was gathering tremendous strength while Mussolini had few supporters and little backing.

This period saw an upsurge of militancy among workers that had led to repeated strikes, demonstrations and bloody conflicts with the police. In June, 1914 and again in August, 1917 only vigorous intervention by the army had been able to put down an almost revolutionary wave of strikes and factory occupations.

But force could not end the conditions that were giving rise to the strikes and militancy of the workers. Nor could the army and police, for all their viciousness, destroy the ability of workers to organize for renewed struggle.

In 1919 the workers' movement went from strength to strength. There were massive strikes against the cost of living, in solidarity with the German and Russian revolutions, for the eight-hour day and for the recognition of workers' committees in the factories.

In the first half of 1920 there was a general strike of half a million workers in Turin, followed five months later by the workers occupying their factories throughout heavy industry.

At the same time, the peasants of the countryside, who then made up the majority of Italy's population, were involved in repeated battles with the police as they fought to seize the large landholdings for themselves.

The Socialist Party had grown to be the biggest political party, with more than 200,000 members, controlling more than a quarter of local councils. And officially the party was committed to "revolution."

The ruling class despaired of keeping the situation under control. They could not afford to give reforms to placate the workers. The international condition of capitalism would not permit it.

But workers were not prepared to put up with their miserable situation any longer. "Peaceful co-existence" between the organizations of the opposed classes in Italian society was no longer possible.

But this did not mean that a workers' revolution was inevitable. An organized and directed movement was necessary to channel the energies of the workers in a fight to destroy the employing class.

But that direction did not exist.

## Speeches, But No Action

The leaders of the Socialist Party claimed to want a revolution. And they certainly made many speeches that frightened the middle classes.

But they did nothing to turn their words into action: They refused to break with members of Parliament and union leaders who were openly against revolution.

When the mass strikes took place, they considered the most important thing to do was to arrange a compromise with the employers that would improve workers' conditions slightly. But this left the employers with the power to fight back against workers later, when conditions favored them.

Workers never enjoy going on strike indefinitely. It means hardship and shortages for themselves and their families. Workers in Italy at this period were no exception.

But though they were tired after so many years of struggle and so many sacrifices, in 1919 and 1920 they were prepared to put in one last great effort. They believed, from the speeches of their leaders, that the result would be the complete transformation of society they desired and the beginning of a new world they ardently longed for.

But after the occupation of the factories, the greatest movement Italian workers had ever participated in, this new hope was not fulfilled. Instead they were told to go back to working for the bosses, to clocking in to the factories day after day under the eye of the same foreman as before, tied to speed-up and threatened with unemployment.

No wonder that many felt it was not worth going on strike in the future.

But the discontent throughout Italian society remained. Tens of

thousands of former soldiers found that the promises made to them in the war were not being kept.

In the countryside the peasants remained in poverty, often without land. The middle classes felt their conditions being depressed. Everywhere fear and anxiety predominated.

In 1919 and early 1920 many of these groups had been willing to accept the idea of socialist revolution as a way of solving their problems. After all, they had little reason to love big business and its politicians.

Now, however, they looked elsewhere for salvation.

## Business Supports Fascists

Mussolini took advantage of the opportunity. His propaganda argued that Italy needed a "revolution" - not a socialist one but a "national revolution," directed against the working class organizations as well as against capitalism.

The attacks on big business were to be in words only. But such ideas appealed particularly to the worse-off sections of the middle class who disliked the power of big business, but felt a cut above manual workers.

The Italian ruling class had got the scare of their lives in 1919 and 1920. They had not been able to destroy the organizations of hundreds of thousands of workers with a few tens of thousands of police and regular soldiers. But Mussolini was talking of building his own mass organization to accomplish this task.

Money began to pass from the coffers of big business into the pockets of Mussolini's newly formed fascist movement. The employers were prepared to risk Mussolini's attacks on capitalism in the hope that he would turn his attention to the left.

Mussolini put the money to good use for them. A motley collection of middle-class elements, rural landowners, ex-army officers and even unemployed workers, had rallied behind his banner.

All of them wanted to fight to give new meaning to their lives. Mussolini told them they could do so by "cleansing" Italian society of its "rotten" elements. He provided them with arms, uniforms, and cash hand-outs.

The fascist movement started in a few localities, far from the centers of the workers' movement. Fascists would travel around the countryside and pounce on outposts of the socialist movement - trade union halls, co-operatives or socialist cities, burning them down and shooting anyone who resisted.

The frustrations of the middle-class rank and file found an outlet in the intimidation and bullying of others. And a service was provided

for which the ruling class was prepared to dole out large sums of money.

Such expeditions were carried through on a bigger and bigger scale in 1921 and 1922. Their success provided fascism with more support. Mussolini could provide no solution to the problems of Italian society, but he could give many of his supporters money, excitement and jobs as they took over the position of socialists who were forced to flee.

Mussolini promised his supporters an attack on both capitalists and socialists. But he was careful to attack the capitalists with words only, and the socialists with deeds. This guaranteed that the police were rarely ordered to interfere with the fascists' actions.

The working-class movement tried to fight back. But it faced immense difficulties. The role of the leaders of the workers' movement was the most important factor in the fascists' victory.

The fascist leaders knew what they were after. They wanted to build a mass middle-class movement that would prove to big business that it could smash the workers' organizations, so that the ruling class would give it political power.

The official workers' leaders, on the other hand, thought that they could peacefully build up the strength of the workers within capitalist society, without ever really raising the question of who had power.

So they "respected the law," and refused to organize a proper fight back against the fascist attack. They gave no support to the workers' defense groups, organized independently by rank and file

workers. They even tried to sign a peace treaty with Mussolini.

A large section of socialists had split away from the old leadership to form a genuinely revolutionary Communist Party. Unfortunately, they were so embittered with the betrayals of the official socialist leadership that they did not see the need for united action to protect all working-class organizations.

By 1922 the fascists had taken control of most of the countryside and small towns. Now they began to attack the main centers of the workers' strength in the industrial cities.

In general the Italian ruling class was delighted with the results. Politicians who had always proclaimed their dedication to "liberal" ideas, applauded as the fascists "taught a lesson" to the left.

Finally, in October 1922 they decided that Mussolini had proved both the effectiveness of his methods and his trustworthiness to big business and they agreed to make him Prime Minister.

But Mussolini had to give the impression to his followers, many of whom genuinely hated big business and the official politicians, that a "revolution" of some sort had taken place. So he organized a mass fascist "March on Rome" - even though the city had in reality already passed into his hands.

In the years that followed the fascists operated against the working-class movement on an unprecedented scale. The official army and police were now at Mussolini's disposal and he waged a reign of terror against socialist and trade union organizations.

The Italian left rapidly learned the difference between fascism and other forces of dictatorial rule. Previously the police and army had been used against strikes, pickets had been shot down and leaders imprisoned. But the ruling class had not had at its disposal a vast mass of activists in the civilian population dedicated to the destruction of workers' organizations.

Mussolini exploited the frustrations that capitalist society itself had bred among hundreds of thousands of middle-class people to build his movement. He was then able to destroy completely the labor movement, from the smallest local branch to the biggest national union.

Once in power, fascist policies helped big business, not the middle classes. But the followers of Mussolini learned that at great cost when it was too late.

Chris Harman



Mussolini takes power in Rome in 1922

# reviews

## books

# Love And New Morality



[Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle; Love and the New Morality, by Alexandra Kollontai; translation and introduction by Alix Holt; Falling Wall Press, Bristol, England; 26pp.; 60c.]

"Throughout the long journey of human history, you probably won't find a time when the problems of sex have occupied such a central place in the life of society; when the question of relationships between the sexes has been like a conjuror, attracting the attention of millions of troubled people; when sexual dramas have served as such a never-ending source of inspiration for every sort of art."

These words, and the two remarkable little essays that follow them, sound as modern and relevant to 1974 as anything yet produced by the modern women's liberation movement. Yet they were written in 1919 by a leader of the Bolshevik Party and organizer for women's rights, Alexandra Kollontai.

She wrote the essays as a contribution to a debate taking place in Russia after the revolution of 1917.

**Kollontai argued that the Bolsheviks, and all socialists, must tackle immediately the problems of relations between the sexes, and not tell people that solutions are**

**impossible until socialist reconstruction of society is complete. She attacks the idea that "sexual problems" are relegated to the realm of 'private matters' that are not worth the effort and attention of the collective."**

In this aim she succeeded in her own time, in her country, but only briefly. Through her efforts, and those of the working class women's movement the new revolutionary government established laws and organizations which began to liberate women, although these gains were soon reversed under Stalin.

### Experiments in Living

Her concrete proposals for simple divorce procedure, for communal laundry and cooking, for childcare which freed the mother but did not estrange the parents from their children, all came from a deep and incisive analysis of the miserable state to which relations between men and women had been reduced in capitalist society.

It is this analysis which is outlined in these essays. Much of what she says may be controversial but very little can be dismissed as outdated.

Kollontai writes of a period in which people are experimenting with personal relationships. She describes legal marriage and its counterpart, secret adultery; "free

unions"; "wild marriage" (today's "living together"); marriage in threes and fours; and prostitution.

And yet, she says, despite all these attempts to circumvent the family structure of official bourgeois morality, relations between men and women continue to result in misery, to impoverish the soul instead of enriching it, to lead to brutalized conceptions of love and sex.

The cause, she says, is fear of the "gloom of inescapable loneliness," of people imprisoned in their own individuality. Competitive capitalist society has created a psychology of intensely private individualism, and the only escape is to possess another person.

This concept includes but goes beyond the idea of the man possessing the woman, which today anyone touched by the women's liberation movement proudly rejects. "The modern lover," she says, "would forgive physical unfaithfulness sooner than 'spiritual' unfaithfulness. . . two people who love each other are in a hurry, before they have gotten to know each other properly, to . . . look into the innermost corners of their partner's life."

Just as the bourgeois family developed out of the victory of the progressive capitalist class over feudalism, so, says Kollontai, will

the new liberating relations between men and women come from today's progressive class, the working class. For, despite the fact that in her day, as in ours, the middle class intellectuals were "experimenting" with new forms of relationships, the development of the class struggle and the pressures it will create in the working class will generate new forms that are more solid than "experiments." She cites as an example that during periods of class struggle, wives of class conscious workers emerge from the kitchen and participate as equals. This is even more true for working women.

Space does not permit any discussion of other areas examined by Kollontai, such as the effect of prostitution on men's psychology, or her concept of "erotic friendship" as an alternative to possessive false love. But hopefully this review will intrigue the reader, woman or man, enough to read the pamphlet itself. He ideas on "possession" are as exciting, and far more relevant, than those in "The Exorcist."

Karen Kaye

[This pamphlet is available from the I. S. Book Service. Please add 10c for postage.]

## books

# The War In Cambodia

[Cambodia in the South-East Asian War, Malcolm Caldwell and Lek Tan, Monthly Review Press, 446 pp.]

If it is ever translated into Vietnamese, this book will find a good market in Hanoi. And that should give you some idea about the political limitations of what is otherwise a well-written, seriously researched though over-long analysis of imperialism in Cambodia.

The book opens with a dedication to Prince Sihanouk and the "peasants and workers of Cambodia" but in the 446 pages that follow there is hardly a hint that there could be any clash in real interests between the good prince and his loyal subjects. Great play is made of the self-critical declaration made by Sihanouk at the time of his overthrow by Lon Nol and on the occasion of his taking up residence in Peking. In fact, this self-criticism is reproduced in full in Appendix 5 and turns out to be nothing more than an appeal to Cambodians to join the liberation forces, newly unified under Sihanouk's command plus a passing mention of the new commander's "unpardonable naivete and misjudgement" in the past.

This cosy acceptance of Sihanouk coupled with an uncritical view of North Vietnam's Stalinism means

that the authors never get down to the key problem of building socialism in SE Asia and instead seem content merely to make occasional mention of the "progressive policies" of the increasingly successful Peoples National Liberation Armed Forces.

However, the weakness of the book in analyzing the role of Sihanouk and the North Vietnamese is almost compensated by the strength of the authors' understanding of French and then American imperialism in Cambodia. The first chapter and the last two are exceptionally good in this respect and although the filling of this sandwich gets somewhat boring at times it is worth munching through in order to get a clear impression of modern imperialist domination.

### Imperialism's Chains

Anyone who thought that imperialism had changed its spots need only read through chapter one to see the amazing parallels between French colonization of the last century and America's policies in Cambodia. In both cases the takeover of Cambodia occurred as a direct result of their commitment to holding Vietnam. Both used the excuse of "protecting" Cambodia from its more powerful neighbors. And in both cases the result was a

fantastic upsurge of national resistance which even encompassed sections of the previous ruling class.

The authors go further and show that in the corrupt application of financial "aid," the creation of a refugee problem and the assumption of cultural and racial superiority over the oppressed Cambodians, the Americans can learn nothing from the French of the 19th century. Indeed the only real difference that emerges is that the Americans are defeated much more quickly. . . and Caldwell and Lek Tan explain that too.

Having laboriously dealt with the myth of Cambodian neutrality, the final chapters deal with the 1970 coup, which finally made Cambodia the complete puppet of the US, and the subsequent development of the liberation movement. Many interesting facts emerge and the book is worth reading for this section alone.

The massive American role in the coup is fully documented as is the attempt by the Soviet Union to send Sihanouk back to his death in Cambodia immediately after Lon Nol had taken over and was engaged in massacring thousands of opponents.

Glyn Carver

## International Socialism

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66

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# Alioto In Wonderland: The Walrus The Carpenter



The role of Mayor Joseph Alioto in the San Francisco city workers' strike should be viewed very thoughtfully by revolutionaries. Many workers will be favorably impressed by Alioto's refusal to use court and police repression against strikers. The idea of the lesser evil, always strong in the US labor movement in the absence of a real workers' party, will be given new impetus by Alioto's cronies as they still votes for him in the unions.

Certainly no worker can fail to see a difference between the position of Alioto, two-faced as it was, and that of Ronald Reagan or the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, slaving to loose the police and the National Guard on the strike. Yet Alioto never supported the strike, was enraged that he could not prevent it from occurring, and forced a settlement that amounted to a real wage cut.

How is Alioto's behavior to be explained?

In Lewis Carroll's poem, The Walrus and the Carpenter, these two worthy figures invite some fat young oysters to take a walk with them. The oysters accept, despite some contrary advice from the eldest oyster. The Carpenter cares only for himself; he says nothing but "cut us another slice" and "the butter's spread too thick," as he gobbles the oysters down.

The Walrus cares;

"I weep for you," the Walrus said:

"I deeply sympathize."

With sobs and tears he sorted out

Those of the largest size."

Clearly the Walrus has better

values, but he eats the oysters too. In fact he eats twice as many. The best that can be said of the Walrus is that he represents a different strategy for eating oysters.

For an oyster, strategy doesn't count. He has only one interest, if he wants to become an old oyster: don't get eaten.

Joe Alioto and Ronald Reagan represent two different strategies for the ruling class. Reagan, and the Chamber of Commerce, check the working class with repression - either naked through the police, or veiled, through the courts and legal system. Alioto, and other liberals, rely on dealing with the labor bureaucrats to police the workers and keep them in line. This is the strategy of class collaboration. For workers, both strategies mean defeat.

The importance of the city workers' strike is that for a few days workers were not being disciplined either by repression or class collaboration. Workers will remember that fact. The city strike represented the strategy of class struggle, the only strategy that doesn't result in workers being robbed.

Class struggle unionism means opposing all forms of capitalist robbery. It means organizing a break with the two parties of capitalism and building a workers' party based on the rank and file in the unions.

Neither the Walrus nor the Carpenter represents an alternative for the working class. In its struggle for freedom, the working class will fight against both Alioto and Reagan.

Emmet Casey

## CLUW

[Continued from page 5]

CLUW should be open to all working women in order to build as big and powerful a movement of working women as possible.

Amendments to the leadership's position were passed in many workshops, calling for opening CLUW to all working women in unions and those wishing unionization, dropping the need for five unions and top-down sponsorship.

Many of these ideas were taken from a structural counter-proposal presented by women from the United National Caucus (a rank and file opposition group in the UAW). None of these amendments reached the conference floor.

The conference leaders skillfully overscheduled the conference assuring that most resolutions coming out of the workshops would be tabled to the NCC - which they control.

Unfortunately, many radicals played into the hands of the leadership by continually hassling over procedural points, thus dragging out the business at hand endlessly.

Delegates grew increasingly frustrated as hours passed and little seemed to be accomplished.

Late Saturday night a motion to adopt the leadership motion and table all amendments to the NCC met with overwhelming support by the exhausted body.

Sunday was like a movie run at a faster speed. The schedule was even more jam-packed, as state and union caucus meetings originally scheduled for Saturday night were moved up to Sunday. Following the caucus meetings were workshops on what CLUW would actually do.

Delegates ran around the Hotel Pick-Congress never quite catching up, finally arriving at the closing plenary session at one o'clock (the conference was scheduled to end at 2:00).

With only an hour left resolutions coming out of the Sunday workshops never reached the floor. Many excellent proposals on organizing the unorganized, childcare and fighting the layoffs were tabled to the NCC and probable oblivion.

Addie Wyatt, elected co-chairwoman, gave the closing address reciting the words of "Solidarity Forever" and leading the body in song.

All the excitement and hopes of the weekend were captured in that moment of solidarity.



Addie Wyatt

An evaluation of the conference shows that in one way or another, for almost all involved the founding convention of CLUW was at least a partial success.

The leaders got the kind of structure they wanted, and successfully stopped action resolutions and motions of support to the farmworkers from coming to the floor.

At the same time the rank and file came in unexpectedly large numbers, large enough to defeat Point 14 and allow local support work of the UFW.

Rank and file union women, who have rarely had a voice of their own, also got a sense of their potential strength. Issues that speak to the real needs of working women can unite rank and file militants and radicals, and turn CLUW into the fighting organization so desperately needed.

### Statement a Fighting Start

While no resolutions on action came to the floor, a Statement of Purpose was passed calling for among other things organizing the unorganized, equality on the job, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, childcare legislation and improved maternity and pension benefits.

The statement also strongly supports working within the trade union movement, fighting for union democracy and support for organizing women's caucuses in the unions.

The Statement of Purpose is an excellent starting point. It will be up to the rank and file women to turn these words into decisive action.

Gay Semel

## Black Students Fight Cutbacks



Black students in Detroit, Michigan are marching against proposed school cutbacks aimed at reducing the number of available classes and transferring teachers to other schools in mid-year.

The major issue is that cancelled classes may make it impossible for some students to graduate in the spring as planned because of inability to take required subjects.

Six hundred black students marched from Chadsey High School, a nearly all-black school on Detroit's west side, to the Region II school board office. Two days later another 400 black Chadsey students marched to the City-County Building in downtown Detroit.

These student actions, coming at a time of a crisis in funding for education at every level, are far in advance of anything the teachers' own union has done to fight the cutbacks. They illustrate the possibility of a fighting alliance among students, teachers and the black community for decent facilities and quality education.



# FEEDBACK

## Vinyl Deaths

I was glad to see the article in **Workers' Power** #93 on the deaths from exposure to vinyl chloride at the Goodrich plant in Louisville. It's most unfortunate that few unions have chosen to take seriously the extreme threat to their members' health and safety that exists from exposure to such chemicals.

For example, the government's National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) has determined that there is **no safe level of exposure** to vinyl chloride, and is recommending that the federal standard for exposure to vinyl chloride be set at zero. The current standard - 500 parts per million - is widely violated as it is. Industry is asking for a compromise at a level of 50 parts per million - an exposure level that would guarantee continued deaths from liver cancer.

In the past, NIOSH and the Occupational Health & Safety Administration, which actually sets the standards, have shown considerable willingness to yield to pressure from industry, ignoring the recommendations of their own professional staff. This was particularly true in the well-publicized hearings on exposure to asbestos dust.

Coal miners in West Virginia several years ago found that there was only one way to deal with the problem of exposure to coal dust, which causes black lung disease. In 1969 they staged a massive strike which forced the West Virginia legislature to pass their black lung bill. Other workers might take a lesson from this example.

Jerry Wheeler

## Oil Giant Mess

Your front page story of **Workers' Power**, entitled - Oil Giants Create Massive Fuel Mess - has finally spurred me to give an opinion I've suppressed long enough.

I find this profit seeking creation - the much publicized energy crisis - an appalling, flagrant and sheer sickening, misguided mess!

With inflation nourishing the rampant high cost of living, we the poor are asked to use less fuel to heat a hideously unhealthy dwelling.

We have suffered the atrocities of profit-seeking long enough. It's time (past time) for us to regain our powers of this so-called democratic government that is presently in the hands of the wealthy capitalist few!

As a beginning solution, I suggest we pour gasoline over them and ignite it!

J. P.

## Serpico - Another View

Your **Serpico** review says the film "brings home the power of the system to swallow up any one individual 'reformer.'" While the film shows the reformer being destroyed, it takes the opposite view of his crusade. The point of **Serpico** is that One Man Can Make a Difference, even if he must suffer.

**Serpico's** testimony before the Knapp Commission is revealing. He does not conclude the police force is shot through with corruption. He does not conclude the system is hopeless. He says there are lots of honest cops, only they are afraid to come forward.

The film shows **Serpico** being forced into the role of reformer against his will, because of just this motive: "I only wanted to be a cop"; "I only wanted to do my job." The film sees nothing wrong with his job.

In the movie, Frank **Serpico** is never called upon to bust a harmless person as part of his job. He is never even required to bust a poor person for shoplifting or a hippie for smoking grass. He never shoots a black in an urban riot, clubs a demonstrator, escorts a scab through a picket line, or arrests picketers for violating an injunction.

In real life, the police protect people only incidentally. They have done a notoriously bad job of protecting poor people, as anybody who has ever been mugged in a poor neighborhood can tell you.

The chief function of the police is to protect greater thieves from lesser thieves. Real life cops understand, correctly, that they perform a much more important function for the ruling class than they get paid

for, and they take money on the side.

From the lofty heights of filmmaking or big city newspapers, the liberals can look down on the people protecting them with disdain. They can see that their police force is made up of thugs, crooks, and sadists, and they don't like it. No doubt they would rather be protected by legions of charming hippies like Frank **Serpico**. But the only people they can recruit to their goon squads are, in fact, goons.

Marie Pielka

## Student - Teacher Unity

The article in **Workers' Power** #93 on teacher layoffs was interesting, but the conclusion was, if not wrong, misguided. While stressing the importance of parent support of teachers, it totally ignored the most important constituency of support for teachers, namely students.

In teacher strikes in Los Angeles, for instance, it was not parents, but students who walked out in support of teachers. This has led to the formation of permanent and semi-permanent groups of student activists.

There is also the question of who should run the schools. In my opinion this should be mainly a question of students and teachers on a democratic basis. This does not exclude parent participation, but it means that students and teachers should bear the main burden of decision making. It is they who must sit through it everyday, and it is students who especially are affected by what they get or don't get in school.

As far as I can see, parents have often played a reactionary role in matters such as student rights. On many occasions these have been the hottest student issues in schools, in black and chicano schools as well as white.

A lot of times the IS tends to refer to the problem in schools as consisting of only a lack of funds. But if the same crap is taught in schools about social conditions, sex roles, etc., then new buildings will only allow these lies to be expressed and learned in pleasant surroundings.

We have to put more emphasis on the role of schools in today's society, i.e., that it "educates" students to fit into the economy and politics of the system under which we live.

M. L.

**Workers' Power** wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper - and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people. But please be brief.

# International Socialists

We stand for:

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

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

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

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# WHAT'S ON

**Bloomington, Ind., April 10—** "Pentagon Capitalism: the American Arms Economy." **Charlie Leinenweber**, contributor to **Workers' Power**. Ballantine Hall, Room 240, Indiana University, 8:00 pm.

**Cleveland, April 13—** "Agribusiness, the Farmworkers, and the Future of the Struggle." 2728 Lanshire (Unitarian Society). 7:30 pm.



## UNITED FARM WORKERS FUND RAISING CONCERT

Sunday, April 21 8:00 pm Detroit, Michigan  
Wayne State University - University Center Bldg.  
Room 275 (Ballroom)

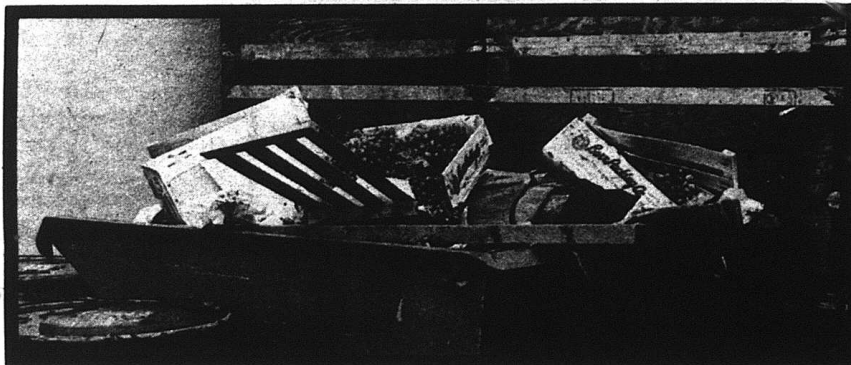
Music by The Bob Hopkins Big Band Admission: \$3

## Meany Pressures Farm Workers To Drop Secondary Boycott

The top leadership of the AFL-CIO is stepping up its pressure on the United Farm Workers Union. The UFW is faced with continued grower opposition and collaboration with the Teamsters, and with the lack of money to carry out an effective strike. As a result it is about to make major concessions in exchange for AFL-CIO endorsement of the boycott of non-union grapes and lettuce.

George Meany and the leaders of several AFL-CIO unions have been demanding that the UFW give up the secondary boycott it has been aggressively pursuing since last summer. The secondary boycott means urging consumers not to shop at stores (especially large grocery chains in major cities) which refuse to remove scab products from their shelves.

Negotiations between the UFW and the AFL-CIO on this question have been going on for some time. But the results have been rigged.



The negotiating committee appointed by the AFL-CIO executive council consists of the leaders of those unions most hostile to the UFW. These are the Distillery Workers, Glassbottle Blowers, Retail Clerks, and Meat Cutters.

The leaders of these unions have used the UFW boycott to cover their own failures to protect their own members from unemployment and speed-up. They claim the boycott threatens their members' jobs. While the farm workers' boycott has not caused the loss of jobs in these unions, their leaders have attempted to create hostility among their members toward the farm workers and their supporters.

In Washington March 26, Cesar Chavez announced that the UFW would be willing to give up the secondary boycott if the AFL-CIO would endorse the product boycott of non-union grapes and lettuce.

At Workers' Power press time, a formal agreement along these lines appears imminent. Meany will endorse the grape and lettuce boycott (but not the highly effective Gallo wine boycott, which the Distillery Workers union objects to). The UFW will agree not to pursue secondary boycotts at stores which have unionized Meat Cutters and Retail Clerks.

### Harvest Strikes Next Step

What will AFL-CIO endorsement mean for the Farm Workers? By itself, not much. Meany has promised no money or organizational support.

But Chavez hopes that AFL-CIO endorsement will make it easier to raise money from affiliated international unions to conduct a strike.

part on the UFW's ability to raise money for a strike fund.

On their low wages, farm workers have no savings, and the UFW must be able to support the thousands of strikers who will be involved.

Whether the UFW will be able to raise enough money from other unions is not certain. But one thing is clear: what George Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership's actions are leading to is the piecemeal sabotage of the farm workers' struggle. Meany has made it clear that he has contempt for any attempt to organize the unorganized into another union which is not going to bring in more dues to the already established unions.

There is nothing new or surprising about this attitude. Meany himself said it best when asked over a year ago why the union movement in this country has stopped growing: "I don't know, and I don't care," he said.

A strike in the fields at harvest time is, of course, the most important weapon farm workers have. But its effectiveness depends in

Almaden Wines has agreed to a new three-year contract with the United Farm Workers which provides for increased wages and medical benefits, a pension system, and protection against pesticides and arbitrary mechanization as well as maintaining the union hiring hall.

Almaden had invited Teamster organizers into the fields but they couldn't sign any of the UFW workers. Under threat of a secondary boycott, like the one which is hurting Gallo, and a full strike at the next harvest, Almaden decided to sign.

# Victory! Winery Signs With UFW

### What Losing the Secondary Boycott Means; New Teamster Drive Against UFW — page 11.

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