

# WORKERS' Power

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# VICTORY TO THE MINERS!

The strike of 120,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America has become the most important event in the labor movement in years. The ranks of the UMW have made their weight felt, and businessmen and bankers are trembling as a result.

Determined opposition by rank and file miners has already forced the rejection of one tentative contract, and will likely lead to rejection of a second offer (details, page 8).

The miners' strike comes in the midst of deepening economic crisis. Almost 200,000 auto workers are now out of work. Layoffs are spreading to other industries and will accelerate in the coming months. Inflation continues to go up faster than wages. Everyone knows we are in for a serious recession or even depression.

To make matters worse, the Democratic and Republican parties are trying to make workers pay for the crisis. The Democrats are now openly calling for wage controls. The Republicans are demanding cut-backs in social services. The leadership of the labor movement is all too ready to cooperate with them.

There is a way out though, and the miners are showing us what it is. The way out is to fight back.

A big victory for the miners can cripple the government's plan to cut workers' living standards. A big victory for the miners will be an inspiration for workers in other industries. It will prove that victories can be won.

The miners' fight is our fight too!

## "This union is going to be run by the rank and file, even if that means throwing out Miller and a dozen more after him."

by Cal Williams

BELLAIRE, Ohio—Miners in the Bellaire-Wheeling-Moundsville area of the Ohio Valley are frustrated, confused, and angry.

They are frustrated because right now there is little that they can do to affect the course of the strike.

They have closed the mines. They keep the coal trucks off the highways, but mostly they just wait...wait for the negotiating team in Washington.

They are confused because they have no clear idea of what the real offer will be. Some miners say they saw the first agreement, the one the Bargaining Council sent back, but most rely on the press.

They thoroughly despise the press. At a mass meeting in Bellaire last week, angry miners threw the reporters and cameramen off the lot, though later they let them on, when they promised to

present the rank and file's point of view.

And they are angry, because everything points to a rotten contract. In the words of one of these men, "At the convention in Pittsburgh last year, they told us this was our year. They told us to go for the moon. And then they give us this. Well, it's not worth anything. It's not worth 15c."

Four problems stand out. First there is the money. Money was not going to be the big issue this year, and most miners are willing to sacrifice on wages if they could get what they wanted in working conditions and benefits. Nonetheless, they regard the reported wage package...9%, 3%, 3%...as an insult, even with the COL (cost of living).

Second, they wanted more vacation time. The union leadership went into negotiations demanding four weeks off each year. The

reported agreement, however, included a week's vacation at Christmas time, but no additional time off. Considering that many miners customarily take this week off without pay already, the agreement actually amounts to more work, not less.

They also wanted a bigger pension, and while the additional \$100 (\$250 total) represents an increase, they point to the fact that UAW members can retire at \$625. Anyway, in the words of one miner, "I've got a wife and two kids. I can't get by now on \$250 a week. How am I going to live on \$250 a month?"

Finally, they wanted the fight to strike. The Ohio Valley has been one of the strongholds of the wildcat movement. Many of these miners have spent time in jail. They've had to pay big fines, just because they led or took part in wildcat strikes.

Therefore, they want the right to

strike over grievances in the contract, because they hope that will give them at least a little legal protection.

The miners here promise that if Miller and the leadership come out to Pittsburgh with anything like the contract the press has reported, they will meet a lot of angry miners.

More than that, they predict that this contract, unless there are drastic improvements, will be rejected by the rank and file, even if it means a long strike and the use of a Taft-Hartley injunction.

At the 1973 UMW convention in Pittsburgh, Miller and the new leadership said that this would be the year of the rank and file. If these Ohio Valley miners are any indication, this may be far more true than Miller ever believed. For they are determined to get the contract they want.

And if Miller can't get it for

them, they will fight to get it themselves. "This union is going to be run by the rank and file," said one leader here, "even if that means throwing out Miller and a dozen more after him."

Complete coverage of the miners strike, see pp. 8-9.





# AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

# STARVATION IS BIG BUSINESS\$

The World Food Conference in Italy has ended, accomplishing nothing. Nothing, that is, except to give a carnival atmosphere to the plight of millions starving to death in Southeast Asia and Africa.

Delegates weighed themselves and paid a \$3-per-pound "fat tax" for extra volume. Others fasted—for one day. An actress trying to gain attention painted half her face like a skeleton.

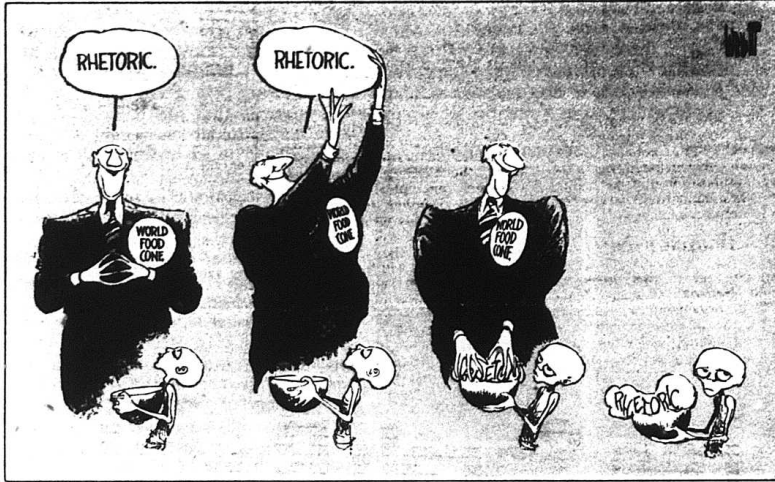
Delegates representing the US and the rest of the developed capitalist nations, and the bureaucratic collectivist states of Eastern Europe, filled the hall with hot air. They promised much, and did nothing—aside from scoring points off each other.

But the most revolting scenes of this gruesome festival were behind the scenes.

United States agribusiness and multinational corporations attended in droves. Present were makers of new foods, pesticides, fertilizers, mass feeding processes, mini-tractors for small farms, and countless other gadgets for modern agriculture.

For business, the Food Conference was a giant industrial exhibition—with the world's starving people as the buyers.

For the right price, the food industry would provide the starving countries with the technology to end famine. But only for the right



price—which is precisely the problem.

The relationships of imperialism assure that the countries most in need cannot have the funds to buy sufficient machinery and fertilizer to end starvation.

All of this is of no concern to business—they'll take their profit

wherever they can. So they hung around the conference corridors, corraling delegates and trying to relieve them of any financial aid they might have received.

There is one important lesson to learn from this obscene picture. It is that people are starving to death

because of imperialism and capitalism—not for any other reason.

The technology exists to produce abundant food for the world's people—but it will only be used for that purpose when it is taken away from those who control it for their own profit.

# FLOATING BANKS A LOAN

The American banking industry is reaping a financial bonanza from federal funds deposited in non-interest paying accounts.

Each week corporations deposit in banks the federal income taxes deducted from workers' paychecks. Eventually the money is passed on to the Federal Treasury. Until then, however, banks invest it at anywhere from 82% to 92% and keep the profits.

\$3.9—5 billion is deposited in these accounts at any one time.

If interest were paid to the government on these accounts, the Federal Government would receive

\$428 million a year, or well over \$1 million a day.

That is enough to pay the combined operating expenses of the Federal Trade Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Maritime Commission, Smithsonian Institute, Secret Service, the Senate and the Supreme Court!

These government institutions are there to serve the interests of capitalism and not working people. But as long as our tax dollars pay for them, we shouldn't get ripped off again in the process.

In fact, if the \$3.9 billion held in these accounts were passed directly to the Federal Government rather than collecting interest for the banking industry, the entire federal deficit incurred in the last fiscal year would have been covered.

Instead the government had to borrow \$3 billion from these same banks and pay them 8% interest. Working people are the ones who pay that interest, in taxes.

This giant boondoggle involves 95% of the nation's commercial banks.

The following banks, however, have the largest accounts, figured in millions of dollars: Chase Manhattan—\$177.3; Bank of America—\$149.7; First National City—\$139.5; Security Pacific National—\$109.9; Chemical, NY—\$102.5; Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.—\$87.2; Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.—\$75.2; Bankers Trust Co., NY—\$71.6; First National Bank of Chicago—\$68.7; and Mellon National Bank and Trust Co.—\$66.7.

Chase Manhattan and Chemical, NY, are both controlled by the Rockefellers.

One hand of the ruling class greases the palm of the other and it is all perfectly legal.

At the same time, the politicians whose laws set up this giant rip-off argue for cuts in social security, Welfare, Education, and other social services in order to solve the economic crisis.

# Ambulance Chasers

# human vultures

Last January, in Southern California, an old school bus plunged over an embankment into a water-filled irrigation ditch.

Eighteen Mexican workers were drowned, held captive in a tangle of flimsily anchored seats which had broken loose in the crash. The driver was also killed. 28 passengers managed to scramble to safety, their faces and limbs battered and broken from the crash.

For all involved the crash was another tragedy in a long life of poverty and unemployment in Mexico.

The accident set up the survivors, the families and the families of those killed, for a new round of victimization by the ambulance chasers.

Lawyers, their Spanish-speaking agents and others pretending to be lawyers, flock to any accident in Southern California and the Southwest. These parasites take advantage of the fact that their victims often know little or no English.

They intrude upon the tragedy of others by offering to act as translators and providing other services to the bereaved family. They pose as social workers, youth agents and even members of the staff of the United Farmworkers Union.

After building up trust, they convince their victim to sign a retainer for the lawyers they represent. Often these cases are then sold and resold many times between lawyers who then rip off their clients, taking an exorbitant

percentage of any settlements.

The bus crash in Southern California was no different. Ray Ramos, Sammy Chavez and Frank Herrera along with a woman named Tina hung around the scene of the accident, the hospital, and even the village in Mexico the workers were from, signing them up with a lawyer named Vodnoy. Vodnoy later denied any involvement, having already sold the cases to other lawyers.

Eventually members of the UFW discovered these crooks and brought in UFW lawyers to aid the grieving families.

For victims of less famous cases, a car accident for example, the ambulance chasers carry on their shady business unopposed, victimizing their clients a second time.

# Wallace and the Mineworkers

Sometimes the trade union leadership's policy of urging us to vote for the lesser of the two evils—Democrats or Republicans—becomes more than a little absurd. That was the case this election when the United Mine Workers of America endorsed George Wallace for re-election as the governor of Alabama.

The Wallace endorsement came from the same UMWA district—District 20—which is involved in what it claims is a fight against racism in South Africa. Their endorsement of Wallace shows this claim to be so much hypocrisy. The words about racism in South Africa are intended to cover a protectionist campaign against coal imports.

The Wallace endorsement is an insult to every black member of the mine workers union as well as to all

other workers, black or white, who have been looking to the UMWA for leadership.

Not only is Wallace a reactionary racist, but he has an anti-labor record that has kept Alabama near the bottom of the list in matters such as wages, unemployment benefits, workmen's compensation, and union rights, to say nothing of social services such as education and health.

As long as we have to choose between the Democrats and Republicans—the twin parties of big business—we'll end up voting for someone who stands up for exactly the opposite of what we want. The alternative is yet to be built, but the need for it is clear. We need a party that fights for the rights and interests of working people, not for those of our bosses.



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# AUTO LAYOFFS CONTINUE; TIME TO FIGHT BACK

by Moe Orlanski

**DETROIT**—As of this writing over 200,000 auto workers have been or are about to be laid off. The worst is not yet here. This winter, for many auto workers, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) will run out.

No matter how bad things were before, the companies and the UAW leaders could say with pride "at least we have SUB." This was the UAW's well advertised guarantee against economic disaster.

But the weakness of the SUB program lies in the fact that it is paid out of a special fund, not out of the general assets of the corporations. These funds can and are being exhausted. As of November 1, the GM fund was only 17% of maximum funding.

The SUB plan was fine for temporary layoffs or model change-over. Now, UAW leaders admit that the program can't deal with a full scale recession.

"It was never designed to meet a disaster," says UAW VP Irving Bluestone. Just when we need it most, the SUB will collapse.

## CHRYSLER'S SUB RIP OFF

The GM fund is not the only one in trouble. Chrysler Corporation, the smallest of the "Big 3," has racked up the largest unsold inventory in the industry. Chrysler had to cut back production and they have done it in the way most advantageous to their profits.

For weeks there had been rumors that Chrysler would shut down entirely for December. On Tuesday, November 19 Chrysler announced that for December, all but one of its assembly plants would be shut down. 60,000 workers, two-thirds of Chrysler's workforce, will be laid off, some permanently.

For Chrysler this is just fine. They will be saving 18 million dollars in holiday pay.

Chrysler workers will be paid out of the SUB fund instead. When auto workers need SUB the most, Chrysler has decided to use their workers' money to bail them out of their own inventory problems.

UAW VP Doug Fraser's response held no hope for UAW members he represents. At a press conference that afternoon he ranted on about Chrysler's "incompetency." He suggested that Chrysler management step down and be replaced by retired GM executive Ed Cole.

If Fraser defended the interests of the UAW membership as well as Townsend looked after Chrysler we would be very lucky indeed! Chrysler declined comment of Fraser's statement. It was a tough act to follow.

## BLUESTONE: "WAGE CUTS"

But on Thursday, Irving Bluestone, head of the union's GM department, came up with the first UAW proposal to save the SUB. At a meeting of the UAW GM Council, Bluestone, speaking for the International Executive Board declared that "We will have to ask workers to sacrifice."

Bluestone's suggestion is to take money from the cost-of-living escalator to fund the SUB. In effect this is asking employed workers to take a wage cut. Nowhere in his statement did Bluestone even suggest that GM make any sacrifices.

If he wants to pit employed against unemployed workers Bluestone's plan is well conceived. Although the UAW leadership

sometimes acts foolishly, these people are not fools. They understand the "economic facts of life" and the realities of the profit system. The problem is that they think this system is pretty good. They are quite willing to defend it no matter what the cost to auto workers.

This is why Woodcock said that the union would launch an advertising campaign calling on people to buy cars. This is why Doug Fraser called for a moratorium on federal safety regulations. This is why they will let the SUB plan go to hell.

This is why UAW members will build an opposition movement to replace this pro-company leadership with one which believes in the simple proposition that the worker comes first no matter what the cost to the corporations.

## FIGHTING BACK

In response to this crisis the United National Caucus of the UAW is organizing a campaign against the disastrous policies of the International leadership.

At a recent press conference, Jordan Sims, the President of

Chrysler Local 961 in Detroit, called upon all Local Presidents to join him in an anti-layoff campaign.

Sims urged emergency adjustments to the SUB fund to guarantee full payments, and an end to overtime during layoff, and a 24-hour work holiday in solidarity with laid off workers.

He also called for an emergency UAW Convention to be held in Detroit to work out a strategy for fighting the layoffs.

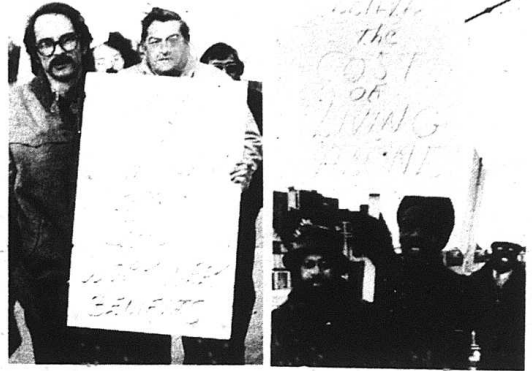
"There are some people," he said, "who are expressing great concern with poor Chrysler's profit picture. Giant Chrysler can much better afford to absorb losses, if that's what it comes to, than can any of my members, than can any working person afford to absorb losses."

Although response from other UAW Local Presidents was nil, many rank and file members were quite interested. The United National Caucus, of which Sims is co-chairman, has begun to mobilize UAW members to fight the layoffs.

Besides supporting Sims' proposal, the UNC is setting up a citywide unemployed workers' committee, similar to one Sims established in his local.

The committee will help laid off workers to find the services that can help them, will pressure the union to fight the layoffs, and will organize rank and file workers to wage an effective fight themselves.

One UNC leaflet stated, "It will take a program of action to stop all layoffs, stop all plant closings, and to guarantee that the total member-



On November 25, the United National Caucus sent a delegation to UAW Solidarity House to speak with the International Union leadership about problems resulting from the auto layoffs. The delegation called for the convening of a special Emergency UAW Convention to decide on a program of action for the layoffs. It also demanded union rejection of Vice President Bluestone's proposal to strengthen the SUB Funds by cutting the pay of those still working. The delegation was supported by a picket line outside the union headquarters.

ship will keep on receiving 40 hour paychecks no matter how badly auto sales drop."

"...the answer lies with a share-the-work program based on a shorter work week or a week on, week off with full pay. This will require 100% guaranteed SUB protection for the duration of all layoffs. If Chrysler claims they

cannot afford to pay, we should demand they open their books and prove it."

Members of the UNC have found support for this program in rank and file caucuses at several Detroit plants. Several such groups distributed the UNC leaflet under the masthead of their own newsletters.

# Free Sarah Bad Heart Bull



Sarah Bad Heart Bull (at far right) being beaten by South Dakota police. She was convicted of a felony, sentenced to 1-3 years.

by Karen Kaye

Sarah Bad Heart Bull is imprisoned in the maximum security wing of a mental hospital in South Dakota. She is sentenced to stay there for one to three years.

What crime was committed by this 46-year old mother of eight that requires such severe punishment?

She is an American Indian and a woman, who had the misfortune to have her son killed by a white businessman. And she wanted to find some justice.

On January 20, 1973, 20 year old Wesley Bad Heart Bull was stabbed to death in front of a bar in Buffalo Gap, South Dakota by Darald Schmitz.

Although four witnesses insist the attack was deliberate and unprovoked, Schmitz was charged only with second-degree manslaughter. That is the minimum homicide charge in South Dakota, and the usual charge when a white person kills an Indian.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull and the

witnesses to the killing went to the courthouse in Custer, S.D. February 6. They wanted to ask District Attorney Richard Gates to change the charge against Schmitz to murder.

200 Indian supporters led by Russell Means, leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), went to Custer with them. Means and four others were allowed to talk to Gates, while 50 supporters waited outside the court.

## POLICE ATTACK

Indians in South Dakota have organized a resistance against their continual racist harassment and oppression. The American Indian Movement (AIM) brought national attention to Indians in 1971. They took over the town of Wounded Knee and demanded that broken treaties be enforced. Working together, they could accomplish more than working alone.

They stood at the courthouse steps, surrounded by heavily arm-

ed police. Sarah Bad Heart Bull stepped forward to ask that she and the witnesses be allowed to enter.

She was grabbed by the police, who beat and choked her. Then she was arrested. The police attacked the crowd with clubs, teargas, Mace, and water hoses.

In the hours that followed, the Chamber of Commerce was burned to the ground. Two police cars and the courthouse were damaged by smoke and fire. Indians and police were injured.

Thirty Indians were arrested and charged with arson, felonious riot and assault against police officers.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull and four others were the first to come to trial. The Indian spectators in the court refused to rise when Judge Bottum entered. He ordered the court cleared, and left.

Before "clearing" the court, the Sioux Falls Tactical Police Force locked the doors and attacked the spectators with Mace and clubs. Several required hospitalization.

When the trial resumed, there

were only three defendants left. One was ill, the other had been too severely injured by the "court clearing" to continue his trial then.

The jury found the defendants guilty. Robert High Eagle and Kenneth Dahl got 5 - 7 years in prison. Sarah Bad Heart Bull was sent to the mental hospital for 1 - 3 years. South Dakota has no maximum security prison for women.

"I thought at least he'd give me probation," she said, "but he didn't. One to three years. And take her right now." And then my attorney stepped up and said she has children out in the car, which I did, four of them, and they bawled their heads off."

She was given only 24 hours to find homes for the four young children. The Welfare Department tried to separate them in white foster homes. But they were kept together and are being cared for by an Indian family.

Although the three Custer defendants have appealed their cases, they are not "out on appeal" like the Watergate defendants and many others always are. Bottum would not release them on bond.

Speaking of Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the judge said, "She is a dangerous criminal."

The only conclusion to be drawn from that statement is that it must be dangerous to capitalist society when an Indian woman dares to demand her rights.

"I'll never cry at what he sentenced me," she declared. "I never will. But when I'm in my own cell, I'll cry. I won't cry in front of Janklow [the prosecutor]. I'm woman enough. I can take what they give me..."

Two of her sons have been killed by white men. She's been beaten and jailed, and separated from her young children. They've given her a lot.

[Contributions for the Custer defendants may be sent to the Free Sarah Committee, National AIM, Box 3677, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101. Petitions and leaflets are also available.]



Angolan freedom fighters.

# WORLD IN CRISIS



## angola war goes on

Angola, the vital core of what used to be Portugal's African empire, is rich in diamonds, gold, iron ore, coffee and oil. Today, however, Portugal acts more and more simply as a policeman for American and West European multinational corporations to rip off this wealth.

The people of Angola inhabit one of the richest countries in Africa—and they live in poverty.

Now they are unwilling to continue accepting the benefit of Portuguese colonial rule, which rips them off and keeps them poor. The response their freedom struggle is getting is beginning to reveal a thing or two about the Free World.

A quarter of the country's export earnings come from oil. Its coastline has been carved up by US, British, Belgian and French oil giants. With so much to lose, these firms and their faithful policemen have fought stubbornly against independence.

Military and political pressure from the national liberation struggle on Portugal to decolonize is taking effect, but much more slowly than in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

A prime behind-the-scenes mover for a "peaceful solution" has been General Mobutu, the President of Zaire who hosted the big heavyweight championship fight.

Zaire borders the oil-rich Cabinda enclave and northern Angola. Since 1962 it has received over \$45 million in military aid and around

\$400 million in loans from the US.

One of Portuguese ex-President Spínola's last acts in office, before he was dumped by mass anti-fascist demonstrations, was organizing a secret meeting with Mobutu and "representatives" of the Angolan people—mainly tribal chiefs and white minority groups—aimed at setting up a provisional (and easily controllable) government in Angola.

Costa Gomes, the army general who replaced Spínola as President of Portugal, has been continuing these talks. The allegedly left-wing Provisional Government in Portugal itself has made no effort to oppose this blatant attempt to continue the enslavement of Angola.

In August, when Angolan students in Lisbon (Portugal's capital) defied a government ban and demonstrated in support of the liberation movement MPLA, riot police opened fire killing one student and wounding several.

The Portuguese government issued a statement saying that by continuing the armed struggle in Angola the MPLA was acting against the "best interests and wishes of the Angolan people," and that they were not prepared to allow such demonstrations in Portugal as long as the MPLA "maintained its warlike attitude."

In June Costa Gomes, then Spínola's Minister of Defense, stated: "I am convinced that Angola will decide to remain Portuguese. It should strengthen

its relations with South Africa and Rhodesia."

There are more than gigantic profits at stake here. There is also the question of who holds the balance of power throughout Southern Africa.

Therefore, the stranglehold of the West is being strengthened militarily through NATO.

The United States is negotiating to renew its base on Portuguese-held territory in the Azores. In Britain, although the Labor Party's election platform pledged support for the liberation movements, within days after taking power it sent the Royal Navy to participate in joint exercises with South Africa.

The French government intends to set up a new military base in Mayote, a small island off the Mozambique coast.

The South African Minister of Defense has hailed the presence of NATO forces in the Southern Atlantic as "a new gesture of military cooperation by the free world."

Black workers in South Africa, as well as Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Rhodesia, know all about this "cooperation of the free world." It has been spelled out to them with torture, starvation, bullets and napalm.

With strikes, with demonstrations, and with guns, they are fighting back. Their enemy is the same ruling class that confronts workers in Portugal—and in the United States. □

# FOOD RIOTS HIT ISRAEL

The last few weeks have seen rapidly accelerating preparations for the next Middle East war. The planes and missiles are in place, the tanks are ready, and the armies are set to be mobilized at a moment's notice.

No one knows whether Israel, Syria or Egypt will fire the first round. That will simply depend on which side stands to gain a military or political advantage by doing so.

There is no doubt, however, about what caused the latest brief war scare, and the partial Israeli and Syrian mobilizations, last week. The reason for this particular war scare was, quite simply, that the Israeli government desperately needed it.

Two weeks ago, Israel imposed on its own working class one of the most brutal austerity programs anywhere in recent history. Food and transport prices suddenly leaped by anywhere from 50 to 300%. At the same time taxes were dramatically increased.

A tank of gas now costs half an average week's pay. The estimated over-all cut in the standard of living was at least 17%.

For Israel, the general crisis in the world economy comes on top of the incredible cost of maintaining a massive war economy and an army to control the occupied territories. Israel's trade balance, as a result of its own inflation and disruption of production, has become disastrous.

The major aim of the austerity program—which included a sharp 43% devaluation of Israeli currency—was to restore the competitive position of Israeli exports in world trade.

The response was immediate and violent. In the slums of Tel Aviv, Israeli workers took to the streets.

Buses were overturned and policemen stoned in the riots. When Prime Minister Itzhak Rabin called in the union bureaucrats to help enforce the new program, the meeting broke up in fist fights.

### CLASS STRUGGLE

Class struggles in Israel, especially as sharp and violent as this, are a direct challenge to the ideology of the Zionist establishment which rules Israel.

This ideology, which is used to justify Israel's expansionist and racist policies, claims that Israel is a society in which Jewish national bonds and common interests are so powerful that they overshadow internal social conflicts.

Many enemies of Zionist ideology, including much of the revolutionary left, actually accept this assumption: that the power of Zionism is so great that the Israeli state can never be overthrown by its own working class.

Rather than calling for overthrowing Zionism through socialist revolution in Israel, they argue that



Israeli jets dumping bombs on Egyptians.

the Arab ruling classes must do the job instead.

The Tel Aviv food riots, however, proved one thing. When Israel's economy goes into crisis, it is the workers who are forced to pay. And today, more than ever before, they are ready to fight back.

The Israeli government, however, had one powerful card to play to divert the danger of working class upheaval. That card was to whip up the fear of a new war with Syria on the Golan Heights.

Intelligence sources conveniently discovered that Russian ships, two dozen or so of them, were unloading in Syrian ports. Whether or not these ships were carrying war material, the re-arming of Syria by Russia since 1973 is certainly no secret.

This very convenient announcement, however, served as a pretext for a partial war alert and big scare inside Israel. In fact, Israel began a mobilization which halted only when US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, fearing that a war might actually break out with consequences he couldn't control, warned both Israel and Syria to stop it.

While these events were taking place, other struggles have been growing in Israel's occupied territories. Arabs in the West Bank and Jerusalem, feeling much more self-confident, have launched daily demonstrations and strikes for Palestinian, self-determination which are regularly broken up by club-swinging Israeli cops.

The struggles of both Israeli workers and Palestinians, however,

suffered a sharp setback this last week when three Palestinian commandos took over an apartment building in Beit Shean and killed four Israeli civilians in a suicide operation.

This attack in no way weakened the Israeli government but only reinforced the violent anti-Arab chauvinism which already poisons the Israeli workers. Furthermore, it did nothing to advance the self-organization of Palestinians to struggle for liberation.

Both Israeli workers and Palestinians—though the vast majority do not yet recognize their common interests—have proven their ability to fight back. These are the struggles which revolutionaries in the Middle East must work to build, strengthen and unite. □



## SHAKEUP ROCKS IBT FIELD LOCAL

At least 29 of the 75 fulltime staffers of IBT local 1973, the Teamster unit set up to raid the United Farm Workers, have been fired in a "reorganization" of the local as new Western Conference head Andy Anderson moves to consolidate his control.

While all the implications of the shakeup in Local 1973 are not clear, they are related both to a power struggle among California Teamster bureaucrats and to lack of progress in the IBT "Organizing drive" among farmworkers.

Former director of organization Bill Grami has been kicked upstairs to head the warehouse division, where his empire-building will be held in check by powerful local leaders.

To replace Grami's control, Anderson has set up a new agricultural trade division (including cannery and other food processing workers as well as farmworkers) which will be headed by Ralph Cotner. Cotner was head of the IBT goon squad in last year's Coachella Valley disputes and reputedly one of the most virulently anti-Chicano of Teamster leaders.

Most of the fired 1973 staffers were Chicanos. They included Cono Macias, administrator of the Delano and Sanger area grape "contracts" and a longtime organizer of anti-UFW movements funded by the growers; Sid Lusca-toff, administrator of the 1973 medical plan; Beverly Freitas,

director of services; and (according to Macias) "most of the organizers and business agents in the Indio, Arvin, Delano, Fresno and Stockton offices."

Macias charged that the firings were a preliminary to dividing Local 1973's contracts among other IBT locals.

The local, which claims 50,000 members, has reportedly been having great difficulties with dues collection and the administration of its 350 sweetheart contracts with growers. Anderson, who played no personal role in the scabbing drive organized by his predecessor Einar Mohn, is rumored to be ready to scuttle the operation.

This rumor is reinforced by statements by IBT spokesman Jim Hanson, who said the "permanent lay-offs" of staffers were part of a drive to make the local "self-sustaining" and service existing contracts. Hanson stated that no elections would be held in the local until it was financially independent.

If the shakeup in 1973 does signal an end to IBT scabbing in the fields, it will be welcome. It should be remembered, however, that the Western Conference of Teamsters secured its present jurisdictions in cannery, brewing, warehouse and filling stations by strikebreaking and raids on other unions.

The one thing clearly demonstrated by Local 1973's troubles is that,

despite their huge paper membership, the Teamsters do not represent farmworkers, nor do they have the support of farmworkers. Only the UFW has the support and fights for the interests of farmworkers. □

Dorothy Arango

# Slim Gains In Transit Strike

SEATTLE — The local and national union officials of the Amalgamated Transit Union in Seattle did not want a strike to happen at all. But through the efforts of the union rank and file in the face of demoralizing tactics by these officials, the strike lasted for two militant weeks — the longest transit strike in Seattle since the local forced in 1917.

The membership had by a large margin overturned a recommendation by the leadership, on the eve of the strike, to vote to return to work without a contract. The leaders had made no preparations for a strike.

When they locked themselves into negotiations, never consulting the members during the strike, the ranks ran strike headquarters; setting up pickets, speaking to other unions, and preparing a leaflet for the public.

As more and more bus riders learned what the transit workers were demanding — full cost of living, revision of archaic work rules, sick leave, unemployment insurance, and larger wage increases for underpaid information clerks and mechanics — public sentiment shifted to the union.

The union ranks began to feel they were on the offensive. A breakthrough could be made. Unfortunately, the union officials'

desire to get people back to work prevailed.

At a meeting to vote on Metro's last proposal, one not much different from the one rejected by the ranks two weeks before, the officials cut off debate before it began and called for an immediate vote.

Some members trying to distribute a leaflet urging more deliberation were physically intimidated.

A demoralized membership voted 800-200, with many too disgusted to vote, to accept the three-year contract which failed to give full cost of living, has no provision for sick leave or unemployment, left work rules in the air, and actually increased the wage differential between drivers and other workers.

Drivers get 34% over three years, including regularly scheduled 6-mo. increments, including something like 16% now. Clerks get 12% the first year, and nothing committed for the following two years — just a reopener clause.

These slim gains were not won by the local leadership which tried its hardest to dampen the ranks' militancy.

They were won by a rank and file committed to the contract issues, organizing the strike and winning public support. □

## NE CLUW Meets

About 75 women from all over the Northeast came to an informal meeting of State Convenors of the Coalition of Labor Union Women on November 10. For some of them this was their first contact with CLUW women in other areas since the founding conference in March.

They found that despite almost no encouragement from the bureaucrats, the spirit of excitement that came out of the March conference still exists.

Every state in the Northeast except northern New England and Delaware has at least one CLUW chapter or group. Some of them have been very active.

Washington, D.C., and Long Island have had successful conferences on sex discrimination attended by 75 women each. Many chapters have done strike support, especially with the UFW boycott.

Members of the National Program and Activities Committee raised the idea of a regional demonstration against layoffs and inflation.

Unfortunately, Joyce Miller, CLUW East Coast Vice President and staffer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union did her best to squelch the notion of CLUW activities, including a campaign against lay-offs.

In fact, Miller has attempted to slow down the formation of CLUW chapters. Women at the meeting had a lot of questions about first getting started. Where could they get information? Miller said to write her.

But, someone got up and said she'd written Miller and never received an answer.

Miller tried to turn the discussion as much as possible towards questions like how to get trade unions to endorse CLUW. Miller and the other bureaucrats clearly want CLUW to be only a lobbying organization with an inactive paper membership.

But it was obvious that many women want more than that from CLUW and from the trade union movement.

This meeting gave them a chance to meet, to exchange ideas, and to begin to build a network that can seriously challenge the bureaucrats' conception of what CLUW should be and do.

Joan McKlerman

Frances Stone



Many CLUW chapters have begun activity. New York CLUW organized support for striking Harper & Row workers.

## CLUW Tops Won't Back Boston Rally

NEW YORK — As its first official action, the New York chapter of CLUW refused to endorse the rally against racism in Boston set for December 14. The demonstration has been called to oppose the institutionalized racism and racist mob violence against the black community in Boston.

The vote by the CLUW membership was the culmination of a day in which the bureaucratic leadership ignored every democratic principle in its efforts to squelch discussion and debate.

The demonstration has been called by many groups and individuals, including the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Several members of the CLUW National Coordinating Committee have also signed as sponsors, as have many unions.

The New York CLUW Activities Committee passed a motion to endorse the rally, and planned to

mobilize the CLUW membership and organize buses to Boston. The motion also called on CLUW members to go back to their unions to get support.

There was considerable opposition to this motion, mostly from union staffers from OPEIU, 1199, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the store workers. At the membership meeting Joyce Miller, Eastern Regional Vice President of CLUW, argued against any support of the mobilization.

The basis of this opposition was that this is what the CLUW leadership calls a "controversial issue." Some unions, they argue, do not support the anti-racist mobilization. Of course, all these leaders chorus, "we are against racism, but CLUW cannot do anything."

Miller said that CLUW members should go to our unions to get support — but keep it out of

CLUW.

The leadership argued that the most important thing was to "preserve unity" and build CLUW. They mean unity with the reactionary Shankerite forces who led a strike against New York City's black parents in 1968 and who have continually attempted to sabotage CLUW activity. They do not mean unity with blacks and whites fighting racism in Boston. The well-oiled Shanker machinery whipped its members into line to vote the motion down, 79-56.

This shameful decision follows a pattern already set by the CLUW bureaucracy — run away from anything considered to be "controversial." Farmworker support, organizing the unorganized, fighting layoffs, and now opposition to racism, are all on the growing list to things CLUW should not do.

What must be faced is the fact

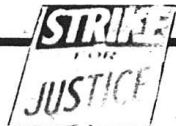
that the very reason for CLUW's existence — the need for women's liberation — is controversial. Everything women need in this society — equal pay, child care, better wages — will have to be fought for.

That fight will not be made by those union bureaucrats and their lackeys who refuse to fight on such a basic issue as racism.

Rank and file women in CLUW must begin leading the fight against racism and sexism. They should go to their unions and get support for this march. But they will also have to get rid of the rotten CLUW leadership, and begin now to build the kind of working women's organization that will support the struggles of workers and not run away from controversy. □

# labor notes

by Jim Woodward



Workers at the **Jawbone Mine** in Virginia have voted 44-19 to join the **United Mine Workers of America**. The mine is owned by the **Eastover Mining Co.**, the loser in the 13-month **UMWA strike** at its **Brookside**, Kentucky mine. Following the vote, **Eastover** signed the 1971 national **UMWA contract**, even though the contract was scheduled to expire a few days later. **Eastover** has already agreed to sign whatever contract emerges from the current miners' strike.

George Meany recently told a public employees' convention that public workers should go on strike "any damn time you feel like going on strike." Thanks, George. You might try telling your friend **L.W. Abel**.

Last January, before the **Amalgamated Clothing Workers** won their strike against the **Farah Manufacturing Co.**, a lower level official of the **National Labor Relations Board** issued a decision blasting the company. He said **Farah** acted as if there were "no Ten Commandments." The official should have known better. The full **NLRB** has taken it all back, saying it "disavows and repudiates" that language.

Collusion between **California growers** and the leaders of the **Teamsters union** against the **United Farm Workers** has been so blatant that in 1972 the **California Supreme Court** ruled that the growers had acted illegally in their dealings with the **Teamsters**. To avoid such inconveniences, the **Teamsters** recently got a **California judge** to issue an order prohibiting the **United Farm Workers** from filing suit in any state or federal court against the **IBT**. Lawyers for the **UFW** promptly violated the order, which has since been revoked. Although this court order was so clearly illegal that it couldn't be made to stick, it gives an idea of the way the courts are stacked up against the **UFW**.

Rank and file **Teamsters** who drive for the **Gallo wine company** are under pressure from the company. In the past several years, their heavier delivery loads have risen from about 250 cases a day to 400. Their wages, which used to be better than those of freight drivers, have deteriorated. The contract of **Southern California Gallo drivers**, members of **Teamsters Local 848**, expired November 1. As of yet they have not gone on strike.

At a recent meeting of the executive board of **UAW Local 235** (**Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Detroit**), **George Merrelli**, the **UAW Regional Director**, told the executive board that they should destroy the "Gear and Axle Justice Committee" and drive its members out of the union. The **Justice Committee** is a rank and file group which recently led a successful fight to retain the two-year term for stewards and committeemen in **Local 235**.

Eighty members of **Steelworkers Local 6787** at **Bethlehem Steel's Burns Harbor, Indiana** mill picketed the mill for ten days last month to protest unnecessary overtime scheduling and inaction on safety issues. Even though the informational picketing was perfectly legal, threats of reprisals were made. **Gene Moser**, a **Local 6786** committeeman, led the picketing.

The **Manitoba, Canada Federation of Labor** voted at its provincial convention to refuse to handle all non-**UFW** grapes and lettuce from the **United States**. Although the motion was passed overwhelmingly, implementing it will mean a struggle against any attempts of the **New Democratic Party** provincial government to enforce the **Manitoba hot cargo laws**. It remains to be seen whether **MFL** leaders will have the courage to break with **Premier Ed Schreyer**, who they have supported up to now.

During the first days of the **mine workers strike** in northwestern **West Virginia**, the **District** and the **International leadership** took a hands-off attitude towards picketing. Two rank and filers, however, were arrested for setting fire to a lumber truck they had mistaken for a coal truck.

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: **Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Or phone 313-869-3137.**

## On Taxi Drivers' Backs

# VAN ARSDALE RIDES AGAIN

Harry Van Arsdale, treasurer of **IBEW Local 3** and president of the **New York Central Labor Council**, has won himself another term as president of the **New York Taxi Drivers Union**.

Van Arsdale, who has never worked as a cab driver, was opposed by **Tom Jandoli**, the former secretary of the union, an opportunist who had expected Van Arsdale to step down this time, and by **Charlie Wertheimer** of the **Taxi Rank & File Coalition**.

The **Rank and File Coalition** said the union's officers "no longer live the lives of taxi workers... They wear suits to work, eat on expense accounts, and go to meetings with bankers, bosses, and other big shots. The only time they're in cabs is when they're in the back seat."

The **Rank and File** campaigned on a program to eliminate the privileges union officers have and "put control of the union in the hands of the members."

Van Arsdale received less than

half the votes, but with the fleet drivers split between the two opposition slates, he was able to get in on the votes of owner-drivers and pensioners.

There is some speculation that **Van Arsdale** will step down next year so that his son **Thomas Van Arsdale** who succeeded him as business manager of the **IBEW** can follow in his old man's footsteps again.

## NEW YORK TELEPHONE:

# Firing Backfires On Ma Bell



Picketing telephone workers demand re-hiring of fired militant.

**NEW YORK**—On Nov. 18, **Dave Newman** was fired by the **N.Y. Bell Telephone company**. **Newman** is a leader of **United Action**, a rank and file group in **local 1101** of the **CWA** in **New York**.

The reason given for the firing was that **Dave** had "entered a telephone building with the intent to deface company property". What he had done was to post copies of **United Action** leaflets in the locker room.

This latest attack against **UA** comes at a time when **UA** has been leading a fight against changes in the local bylaws. The changes proposed by the local officers will greatly increase the power of the executive board. Rank and file control of the union will be further eroded.

### FEWER MEETINGS

The proposed changes include reducing the number of membership meetings from four to two a year, reducing the number of local-wide steward's meetings from four a year to two, making it more difficult to get on the ballot for local elections.

The final change would set up a fund to provide \$1,101 to members when they retire. It is the only benefit to the membership contained in the proposal.

All the changes had to be voted on as a block and the local leadership was hoping that the retirement fund would assure passage.

**United Action** is leading the fight against these changes. It asked that its point of view be sent out to the membership along with that of the executive board.

This was turned down, so **UA** asked for access to the local's mailing list to put out its own mailing. The local offered to do it for a mere \$2500!

Thus the only way **UA** had to try

and get its view out to the membership was to try and post its leaflets in the locker rooms of the many buildings around **New York**. That's what **Dave** was doing, and what he was fired for.

### FLIMSY CHARGE

The charge was so flimsy that there was no doubt that **Dave** should get his job back. But the union would have to fight to defend him. This was not assured since the union itself has initiated many attacks against **Dave**.

This firing was just the latest of many attempts to weaken the **UA**. When the contract expired last summer the union decertified **Dave** as a chief steward because of the fight he was making against the sell-out contract.

Since then the union has notified **Dave** that it will never certify him again. They don't care how many times the members elect him. This is currently being appealed to the **International**.

Other stewards and rank and filers made it clear to the local leadership that it had to get **Dave's** job back. Failure to do so would be

viewed as collusion with the company.

Calls kept coming in to the local headquarters to make sure the union was doing something.

This solidarity paid off, and three days later **Dave** was back on the job.

When the vote on the bylaw change was taken, the executive board's proposal passed, 2,085 to 787 opposed. This is out of a membership of 12,000.

But the bylaws campaign has helped **United Action** to popularize its program for democratic control of the union as opposed to the more bureaucratic control the present leadership favors.

Key points in **UA's** program are: a delegate assembly elected by and responsible to the members; removal of the ability of the executive board to decertify stewards they don't like.

Despite the outcome of the vote, the campaign has increased the influence of **United Action**. Its ability to defend **Dave** means that the struggle will continue with renewed vigor.

A member of **Local 1101**

# Steel Profits Run Riot

We've heard it a thousand times—big unions are causing inflation by their "exorbitant" wage demands. **Steelworkers** today know how off-the-wall this kind of talk really is.

Last spring the **United Steelworkers of America** reached a settlement with the big ten steel companies costing an estimated 35%-40% over the three years of the contract.

Since then, the gains in steelworkers' wages, from both the **Cost of Living Allowance** and the contract, have been totally eroded by inflation. So excessive wage gains haven't come their way.

But the companies are a whole other ball game. They have raised their prices more than 44% in the last year. That's more than the rise in their wage costs over the next three years!

The explanation for these price hikes lies not in the wages of the worker, but in the greed of the companies. This chart of last quarter's steel profits shows what we mean.

### STEEL PROFITS

3rd quarter 1974  
Percent change vs. 1973

<b>U.S. Steel</b>	+144.7%
<b>Bethlehem</b>	+92.3%
<b>Armco</b>	+158.6%
<b>Republic</b>	+203.4%
<b>Inland</b>	+166.8%
<b>Jones &amp; Laughlin</b>	+331.7%
<b>Lykes Youngstown</b>	+1,905.4%
<b>Wheeling-Pittsburgh</b>	+706.3%
<b>Allegheny-Ludlum</b>	+136.5%

With companies like **Lykes Youngstown** [owner of **Youngstown Sheet and Tube**] raking in profits up nearly 2,000 percent, it is no wonder that inflation continues to plague the working people of this country.

Ironically, these steel companies are also major coal operators. They are the ones complaining about the coal miners holding the country up for ransom. Look at these profit figures and ask yourself, who's holding who up for ransom.

# TEAMSTERS AGAINST THE GANGSTERS

INDIANAPOLIS, IND. — On August 11, 1974 over 200 shop stewards and rank and file members of Teamsters Local 135 assembled in front of the local's headquarters here. The signs carried by many clearly showed the reasons they were there and how they felt about Loran Robbins, the president of 135, and his handling of the local's affairs.

One sign read: "Which comes first, the needs of the membership or Robbins' personal revenge?" Another: "Three of a kind, Hitler, Stalin, Robbins."

The demonstration was called to protest the arbitrary firing of Business Agent Dick Spurgeon.

Spurgeon was fired for being a conscientious and aggressive B.A. and fighting for the interests of the people he represented.

Spurgeon had embarrassed Robbins by winning the reinstatement of two office-clerical employees of Local 135. The two had been fired with Robbins' approval for trying to gain union representation for employees of Local 135.

Spurgeon had also exposed Robbins' plot to frame up another of his opponents for stealing \$1000 from the union's safe.

What Robbins has managed to do by his Watergate-type tactics is to plant the seeds of an organized rank and file revolt which represents a real threat to him. The arbitrary firing of Dick Spurgeon was only the spark that has kindled the long smouldering resentment to Robbins' dictatorial rule.

## RANK AND FILE COMMITTEE

Robbins has consistently sold out the interests of Local 135's 17,000 members. He has repeatedly demanded that members accept contracts he has negotiated or else the company would leave town. Over 95% of all the contracts he has negotiated contain no cost-of-living provisions. Many grievances

are ignored.

Coming out of the protests to reinstate Spurgeon has developed the rank and file Freight Committee to End Corruption in Local 135. The Committee is presently organizing a campaign to oust Robbins and his administration in the upcoming local elections in December. They are running a ticket of rank and filers, with Spurgeon for President, based on a platform of restoring democracy in the local.

The most important planks in their platform include election of stewards and business agents, and creation of Stewards' Committees to direct the political affairs of the local.

In response to this grass roots campaign, Robbins and his goons have stepped up their campaign of fear, lies, repression, and terror.

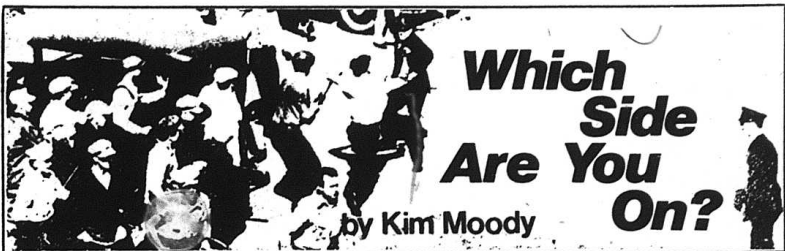
Spurgeon's wife barely escaped serious injury or death when one of Robbins' assassins fired a shotgun through the front door of their house. Another opponent was shot at while getting into his truck. Almost everyone active in the campaign has been threatened in one way or another.

But Robbins' gestapo-like reign of terror has actually been counter-productive. Rather than being intimidated the ranks have instead responded to these acts of violence with increased activity and militancy.

The situation facing Teamsters in Indianapolis is similar to that faced by members in other cities. Many of the larger locals throughout the country are ruled by corrupt officials who back up their undemocratic policies with threats and intimidation.

As isolated individuals the ranks will remain susceptible to this terror and will continue to see their interests sold out. As an organized fighting force they can successfully defend themselves and drive these cheap hoodlums from their union. □

Jake Easley



Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

# Open the Books

By the second week of November, the Big Three auto companies have already laid off 62,000 workers indefinitely and thousands more temporarily. No one believes that the future holds anything but more and more layoffs.

Thousands of these workers are not even eligible for Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) which, added to regular unemployment benefits, would bring eligible workers' incomes to 95% of their basic wage.

Even for those lucky enough to get SUB, the fact that no overtime exists on a lay-off, while inflation continues to grow, means a tighter and tighter belt. For GM workers, the SUB fund is running short. GM workers laid off a year ago during the oil crisis will soon run out of SUB payments.

Who is to blame? What is the answer?

In the last issue of Workers' Power, we pointed out that two way for the United Auto Workers union to fight these lay-offs would be the shorter work week with no reduction in pay (30 for 40) and a ban on all overtime so long as anyone is laid off. These demands would spread the work throughout the industry and help prevent layoffs and plant closings—like the imminent closing of Chrysler's Jefferson Assembly plant in Detroit.

When the UAW was still a militant union it did put forward these demands. But as the Reuther leadership became more and more conservative and more and more bureaucratic, it abandoned these demands, just as it abandoned the fight against speed-up.

## OPEN THE BOOKS

Another demand made by the UAW in the 1940's was for the companies to open their books to the union and the public. By opening the company books, the union would have a chance to see if the lay-offs (or resistance to wage increases) was really justified.

At least in theory, the union reserved the right to point to areas of fat or waste in the company books. Instead of a cut in jobs, the union might demand a cut in the bloated salaries of management, or in bonuses to company officers.

The UAW leadership soon abandoned this demand for the same reason it gave up 30 for 40, Reuther, Woodcock, Fraser and all the rest of the top UAW leaders accepted the capitalist profit system and all the "rights" and "perogatives" that management needs to operate under that system.

Today, the UAW bureaucracy would not dream of even mentioning the idea of cutting into the profits of the Big Three in order to save jobs.

## PROFITS FIRST

Like all capitalists, the auto bosses lay off workers when their profit margins begin to fall. Profits come before everything.

To protect profits, the first things the auto companies did was to raise prices. They could

WE MADE G.M. THE RICHEST CORPORATION IN THE WORLD!



Retired General Motors workers picket for better pension benefits. In 1973 GM Chairman of the Board drew \$923,000 in salary and bonuses. In the first nine months of this year GM made \$442.3 million dollars profits.

have saved jobs by lowering auto prices thereby increasing sales. But profits were more important. The next step in saving profits is to cut costs. That means cutting production and giving workers the boot.

Keep in mind, the auto companies are not broke. They are still making profits, even as sales fall. The profits are smaller, even much smaller, but they are still coming in.

For the first nine months of this year, GM's profits were down 76% from 1973, but they still made \$442.3 million. For Ford the figures are: Profits down 60%, but total profits \$338.8 million. Chrysler profits dropped 88% and totalled \$22.6 million.

Chrysler, the worst off of the Big Three, kept its chin up and continued to pay its regular 35 cents a share dividend to its stock holders - as it coolly laid off thousands of workers.

Now, if you are a fan of the profit system you may be weeping and shuddering over the fact that the Big Three only made hundreds of millions of dollars in profits instead of billions like they did in 1973.

If, on the other hand, you are an unemployed auto worker you may ask whether or not these profits couldn't be used to keep you at your job.

## MILLIONS TO SPEND

After all, the spending of all this money is carried out by human beings. The laws at work here are not the laws of nature, like gravity, but the laws of economics, of capitalist production. As such, they can be broken.

If the workers and their union had the will they might very well compel the masters of capital to break those laws or suffer even worse consequences.

So, if the union was really up for a fight to save jobs, they could demand that the books be opened and be prepared to make some bosses unhappy.

Without even opening the books, we have already discovered that these companies have hundreds of millions to spend. We, who don't give a damn for their profits, prefer to spend this money on saving our jobs.

Without looking much further, we can uncover some more money - the fantastic incomes of the top bosses.

Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of GM made \$923,000 in salary and bonuses in 1973—that's just about the average wage of 100 auto workers. Henry Ford II, chairman of Ford made \$865,000. Lynn Townsend, chairman of poverty-stricken Chrysler, made "only" \$672,000.

The bonuses paid out by GM to some 6700 management personnel in fiscal 1973 came to \$113,000,000. That is just bonuses; it doesn't include salaries. Those bonuses, earned for butt sitting, paper pushing, and harassing, could keep 1,100 GM workers on the job at \$10,000 a year.

The top 50 officers and directors of poor old Chrysler received \$7,847,000 in salaries, fees and incentives for their entirely parasitic contributions to auto production. The top six officers of GM made \$5,229,942 in salaries and bonuses. You can be sure these gentlemen will not face lay-offs or serious pay cuts. And, by the way, these fantastic incomes do not count as profits, but as costs of production.

These figures are all a matter of public record. Imagine what kinds of "costs of production" one could uncover in the non-public books of the Big Three.

What about the millions wasted on executive expense accounts or on advertising? How much does poor little Chrysler spend to foist Alex Karras and "Mean Mary Jean" on the public?

Jobs could be saved. But the union will have to be willing to attack profits and private wealth to do it.

[Next column: "And if they are broke—confiscate them."]

# Teachers Shut Jersey Schools

Three thousand teachers at all eight New Jersey state colleges are on strike. It is the first state-wide strike of college teachers in U.S. history. The strike is also important for the wage pattern it can set for other New Jersey public employees.

The strikers are represented by American Federation of Teachers locals at the eight colleges. Since it began Nov. 18, the strike has been quite effective. 80-85% of the teachers are on strike at most campuses.

The immediate cause of the strike is a wage reopening provision in the teachers' contract. Since October 1, the state Department of Higher Education has refused to bargain seriously.

"They're willing to have breakfast with you, but won't negotiate," one striker told Workers' Power.

In addition to the question of wages, the question of union busting is an important issue in the strike. One teacher at Montclair State College said that the administration was expecting only 20-30% of the teachers to support the strike.

They had hoped to force a strike, smash the union, and establish a low wage settlement as a pattern for other public employees.

Support for the New Jersey

teachers has come from as far away as California. An AFT local at UCLA wired: "Stand together in struggle. Keep together for victory. No cutbacks. No layoffs. We will win."



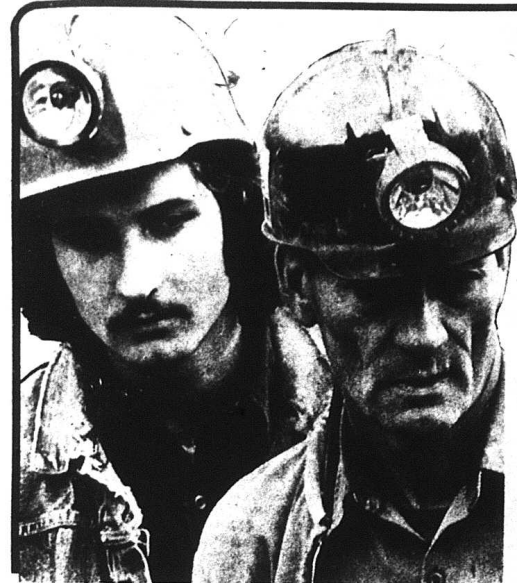
Struggle in the Coalfields

by Kim Moody

Sun Press 30c postpaid

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

# THE SELLOU COULDN'T B



by Kim Moody

Seldom has a union had better conditions for winning big gains than the United Mine Workers of America had this year.

Coal prices are up 61% nationally and as much as 400% in some places. Coal profits are up 181% and rising. The present and future market for coal in the US seems limitless.

On top of all this, the fears of the big coal-owning steel and metal companies that a long coal strike will ruin their business and plunge the country into a depression make them much less willing to take a strike than in normal times.

Yet the reform leadership of Arnold Miller, Harry Patrick, and Mike Tbrovich seems to have given in to the bosses without a fight.

Although these leaders had the backing of the militant UMWA membership for a real fight, the Miller leadership fell back on the traditional bargaining method of such unreformed union leaders as Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, and the rest of what passes for a labor leadership these days. That method is simply to accept what the bosses are willing to offer.

Arnold Miller could not get the tentative offer he accepted from the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) past the union's 38-member Bargaining Council. The Bargaining Council is composed of delegates elected from geographic regions.

## POLITICAL SUICIDE

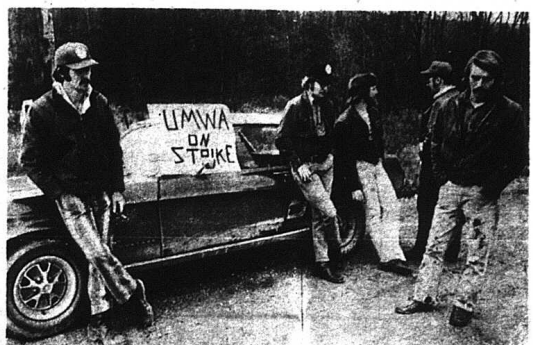
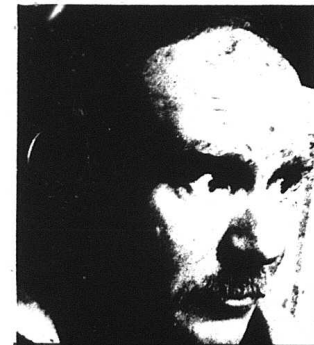
It was obvious to the Council members that the ranks would not accept the original package and that the leadership would be committing political suicide to try to sell it to them. As one Council member put it, "We have to live with these people," meaning the

rank and file.

Both the original package and the second, slightly improved contract, fall far short of what the Miller leadership had pledged itself to fight for.

Whether the Bargaining Council has the continued good sense to reject the modified version of the original contract remains to be seen. But the second version is so little different from the first that the chances of winning rank and file ratification on it are quite remote.

The wage increases are below even the poor settlement forced on telephone workers earlier this year



by Glyn Carver

At the start of this year, the British miners were on strike. A month later, their action brought down Britain's anti-labor Tory government.

The British coal industry was nationalized in 1948. The National Union of Miners took no positive action to stop the loss of hundreds of thousands of jobs. Wage rates eroded and production sped up. Indeed it wasn't until 1970 that miners as a group began to put up any sort of fight on their wages and conditions.

How did they so quickly change their union from a weak to a strong one? How this movement got underway shows remarkable similarities with the development of militancy in the same period among American miners. In both cases the movement came into being before the 'energy crisis' put coal mining back in the center of the capitalist stage.

In both cases any movement at all was only possible after the bureaucracy of the union had been made more responsive, to the wishes of the rank and file by the election of new leaders.

In both cases, particularly in the Yorkshire field in Britain, unofficial wildcat actions pre-dated the massive official strike. In both cases the question of safety at work was a key issue.

With all these similarities and the fact that workers all over the world are now reacting to the same crippling inflation, there are lessons in the British miners' experience of mass action which will be valuable to American miners today.

## SOLIDARITY

The impact of the 1972 miners' strike in Britain was immediate and devastating. In their determination to make the strike effective, the rank and file miners were prepared to go against the wishes of the union officials and apply the most militant tactics.

These tactics include secondary picketing, flying squads, and mass picketing. As soon as the strike began the miners set up pickets to shut down the power stations and prevent any movement at all of coal already mined.

Such secondary boycotts and strikes, against scab goods and companies, are powerful weapons which could be used to win strikes here in the United States. But secondary boycotts are outlawed here under the Taft-Hartley Law—and more important, the union leaders in this country have for many years refused to organize to win them back.

British miners appealed to other workers to refuse to touch any coal. Where the appeal failed they brought thousands of miners from hundreds of miles around to enforce their wishes in militant mass pickets. In a matter of days the production of electrical power over the whole country was seriously cut back.

Wherever they came up with stiff resistance from the police they never backed down. At the Salley coal depot in Birmingham, after they had failed to close the gates after days of mass picketing, they made an alliance with the militant rank and file leaders of the metal-workers and called a one day strike of over 60,000 from the

## metal-working industries.

Tens of thousands of these strikers joined the miners at the picket and the police were forced, despite their massive turnout, to order the depot closed for the duration of the strike.

British miners had probably never heard of John L. Lewis' famous phrase that "you can't mine coal with bayonets," but they understood it none the less.

When miners arrested on picket lines in Scotland came up in court the Scottish miners threatened to strike every day they were in jail. Not surprisingly, the judge hurriedly declared them innocent.

## SECOND ROUND.

The victory of the miners in 1972 helped millions of other British workers to smash through the government's wage guidelines, frustrating the bosses' attempt to cut real wages by using inflation. Their victory also convinced the government that the only way of holding down wages in Britain was to pass strict wage control laws.

These laws came in 1973 and despite many hard-fought struggles, no section of the British working class was able to break them.

But in late 1973, the rank and file miners made it quite clear that if the price of winning their demands was the overthrow of the Conservative government, then that's what they would do.

This time they started their campaign by banning overtime and running down stocks to an all-time low. The government went as far as locking-out other British workers for two days a week in an effort to

isolate and break the miners. British workers, however, had learned the lesson in 1972 that a miners' victory was good for the whole working class.

When the miners' action escalated into a strike, the Conservative Government called an election, asking the question "Who rules the country?" The answer came with the defeat of the government on March 1st.

Over the last few years the miners have been in the lead of the British working class. Their fighting example has worried not only the bosses and the Conservative government but also the trade union leaders and the Labour Government.

Even the leadership of the National Union of Mine Workers is bent on trying to disarm the rank and file. As a first step, in the 1974 strike, they banned mass picketing on the excuse that it would embarrass the Labor Party in the election.

Since then they have attempted to make an agreement with the National Coal Board which will bring back productivity deals into the mines, and thus undermine safety, create many different wage levels and break the fantastic solidarity of the miners.

They have attempted to do this but the rank and file has over-ruled them. By a two-to-one majority mineworkers rejected this new agreement last month and the way is now open for another confrontation between mineworkers and the state.

This will be one more step in convincing workers in every industry that workers have both the power and the right to exercise control over their own working lives.

This is the political contribution that the miners have made to the British Labor Movement. American mine workers can make the same contribution over the next few weeks here in America. □

## Harlan County Judge Drops Charges

Judge F. Bryd Hogg dismissed charges against the eleven leaders of the Brookside Women's Club and UMWA local 1974, Brookside, Ky., on Wednesday, Nov. 13. He had kept them in jail for nine days despite the fact that both the UMW and the Eastover Mining Co. asked that all charges be dropped.

The Brookside Mine in Harlan County, Kentucky, is working despite the national strike and the fact that many miners there feel that they are being forced to act like scabs. Their new contract included a provision denying them the right to take part in any contract strike. □

# A Political Strike

The attack on the miners is not limited to collective bargaining. Shortly after the strike began, the Ford Administration delivered a real slap in the face to the UMWA by resubmitting the nomination of James Day for head of the Federal Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration.

The UMWA Journal has documented that Day was blatantly pro-company and was not enforcing mine safety laws.

On November 20, a three-judge Federal court struck down certain sections of the Mine Safety Act of 1969 dealing with compensation for Black Lung. This ruling upheld a suit filed by 22 coal companies.

The sections struck down had protected benefits claimants from counter-claims by the companies. Now, many claimants can be denied benefits, while others have their cases tied up for long periods of time.

The timid posture of the Miller leadership will prevent it from using the strike as a political action, in addition to an economic one, directed against these attacks. UMWA Locals and rank and file organizations, however, can broaden the current economic fight into a political defense of health and safety conditions. □



# T THAT E SOLD

The original vacation proposal amounted to a rip off, depriving the miners of one of the two weeks they previously had for summer vacation. In the modified contract, the second week of summer vacation was restored, so that there is no gain over previous contracts.

The companies did grant the right of any miner to walk off the job in the case of imminent danger. However, the union negotiators did not win the right for the union safety committee to close down a mine until such hazards are removed.

## RIGHT TO STRIKE

Neither did Miller fight for the right to strike over local grievances. This demand is crucial to the miners because it is the only way they can defend militants who are disciplined or harassed by the bosses. It is directly related to safety measures because a militant who leads too many perfectly legal walkouts over safety may be victimized by the bosses on other issues. In rejecting the first offer, the council simply had the good sense to go along with the rank and file. But it is not clear that the council feels as strongly as the ranks or even shares their concern for all the same issues.

The emphasis of the council's statement was on money and vacations. Little mention was made of the right to strike over grievances. It would be a mistake for the ranks to put any more faith in the bargaining council than in the top negotiators.

Rank and file opposition to the proposed contract is universal and massive. Its most organized expression so far is in the District 29 (southern West Virginia) based Defend the Right to Strike Committee, which submitted a petition with thousands of signatures demanding the right to strike over grievances.

Under pressure from the ranks, UMWA and industry negotiators quickly came up with the slightly modified contract. This time the union leadership will make a more determined attempt to get the contract ratified.

## GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

To begin with, they have broken with the sound UMWA tradition of opposing any sort of government intervention. The second contract was negotiated with the assistance of top Federal mediator, W.J. Usery.

Usery undoubtedly has played a role in convincing Miller that he couldn't get any more from the coal bosses. It's reported that Miller may now bring in Usery to try to sell the new contract to the Bargaining Council.

Usery's skills are formidable. This year alone he has helped engineer the defeat of telephone workers, football players, and United Parcel Service workers.

Behind his skills, of course, stand the even more formidable powers of the US government—not the least of which is the possibility of a back-to-work injunction under the Taft-Hartley law.

None of these tools would be sufficient to break the strike if the leaders were as determined to fight as the ranks. But Miller has ended an already strained honeymoon with the ranks by his early collapse before the bosses. He now seems determined to get the contract ratified and the strike ended

whatever the cost to the membership, whatever the cost to union democracy.

The union leadership is considering cancelling the second step in contract ratification—the planned meeting of 830 rank and file representatives in Pittsburgh after the Bargaining Council approves a contract. They are talking about holding several regional meetings instead of the one national meeting.

The idea is to make it more difficult for the opposition to organize for a rejection. The Wall Street Journal reported the Miller leadership is afraid "that a few dissidents could poison the overall tone of a large meeting and thus imperil the ratification."

With these steamroller tactics and the contempt they indicate for the ranks, the Miller Administration begins to look more and more like its predecessor rather than a "reform" leadership.

## THE PROFIT MARGIN

Miller's problem, like most American labor leaders, is that he really puts the needs of the bosses before those of the workers. Miller and his advisors accept the limits of the profit margin.

Indeed, one of his aides complained that the ranks just didn't have a realistic conception of what the companies could give: "The trouble is that there is a tremendously overblown conception of what can be taken from the industry simply because they are right now having these enormous profits."

This Miller aide obviously understood and respected the needs of the coal companies. But what about the needs of the miners?

Apparently a couple of years in Washington, D.C., away from the coal mines and with all the other conservative labor bureaucrats, industry experts, and capitalist politicians has been enough to turn the heads of the UMWA's leadership.

## ORGANIZATION

The miners can win. They can win the contract they need and beat back the Ford Administration's offensive. They can do it for themselves and for the rest of the working class. But they will need organization.

The Defend the Right to Strike Committee is a start, but a national organization is needed. Drawing on the tradition of the Miners for Democracy that brought Miller to power, the UMWA ranks can organize their present strike movement into a rank and file organization.

Notice must be served on Miller or any other UMWA leader, that either they deliver or they go.

The concerted efforts of the coal bosses, the steel, copper, and utility giants that own half the coal production in the US, and the Ford Administration to defeat the miners, represent an attack on all workers.

First of all, if the miners are forced back to work on the basis of the existing offer, it will help put a brake on the growing wage demands of other workers.

If the miners, facing good bargaining conditions, can be defeated, other unions, facing lay-offs, can be pushed into defacto wage cuts.

A UMWA defeat will also be a set-back for rank and file move-



ments in other unions. Seeing a supposedly rank and file leadership like Miller, Patrick and Trbovich sell out on their first try—and get away with it—will certainly demoralize many militants throughout the labor movement.

## LAY-OFFS

The bosses know this and have already taken the opportunity to use the miners' strike to split, confuse and demoralize workers in other industries. The big steel companies are trying to spread demoralization with phony lay-offs.

US Steel laid off over 13,000 workers on the first day of the strike, long before it was due to run low on coal.

The capitalist press is telling workers that a longer miners strike will put thousands of workers in dozens of industries out on the streets. They are trying to blame things on the miners.

But even when the miners' strike does begin to cause real lay-offs, as it will if it goes on for long, it will not be the miners' fault, but the bosses' fault.

Why should the miners accept

the certain death of Black Lung? Why should the miners face incredible danger so the bosses can have bigger profits? Why should the miners watch their wages shrink before inflation and have their vacations chiseled away?

No! The miners deserve everything they are fighting for. It is the profit-hungry corporate giants of the coal industry that are to blame.

Fortunately, many rank and file militants realize this and have started to give the miners support.

The leaders of Rank and File Team, a steel workers opposition group, have aggressively fought steel company propaganda. United Steel Workers Local 65 in Chicago passed a resolution supporting the miners.

Rank and file groups in the United Auto Workers, including the United National Caucus, have declared support for the miners and warned the UMWA ranks not to rely on the phony "support" offered by the UAW bureaucracy.

With support from other workers and organization among themselves the rank and file miners can win. And the entire working class will be better off for that victory.

# Sacrifice Profits, Not Pay!

WHAT

The last auto company figures released before Thanksgiving promise that 200,000 auto workers will be laid off in December. 85,000 of these will not be back after the holidays.

The whole U.S. economy has entered a sharp tailspin which is likely to bring unemployment to 10% next year. The mass layoffs now hitting auto workers are the first indication of what lies ahead for millions of workers in other industries. And equally important, the response to this crisis by the leadership of the United Auto Workers is a good example of the policies that will be adopted by the well-fed bureaucrats who run the trade unions today.

The whole union leadership in this country is rapidly moving to the right. To protect capitalism in this country, they are now prepared to slash their own members' standard of living.

UAW Vice-President Irving Bluestone, of the GM department, set the tone for the UAW leadership with one of the most scandalous proposals in the union's history. "We have to ask workers to sacrifice," announced Bluestone, "not only for workers already laid off but for those still employed who may be idled in the future and need SUB benefits."

Bluestone might have been talking about the need to "sacrifice" in order to build solidarity between employed and unemployed auto workers. This would mean, for example, a complete union ban on all overtime working while workers are laid off. It would also mean concerted strike action to force companies to keep plants open, with a shorter work week at the same pay. This solution

would, in fact, help build up the nearly bankrupt SUB fund instead of destroying it.

Bluestone, however, meant something entirely different. His proposal is that employed auto workers take a pay cut—up to 10c an hour, as a first step—in order to enable the companies to keep money in the SUB fund for the unemployed!

This idea is incredible. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler would never have dared to suggest it—even though cutting wages is exactly the way they would like to stop inflation and stabilize profits. At this particular time in this country, only the union leaders themselves can get away with openly proposing that workers' wages be cut.

The UAW leadership has another brilliant idea, too. They have been distributing a red and green sticker, copying a slogan they learned from Gerald Ford. The sticker reads "WIN-BAC" and spells out: "Whip Inflation Now—Buy A Car!"

When you put it all together, the message is clear. The UAW's "WIN-BAC" means, very simply, "GIV-UP".

There is only one explanation for this type of behavior. The UAW leaders have the interests of the auto companies—these privately owned, multinational corporate monopolies—at heart. To lead a fight for their members' needs, against the interests of these corporations, is beyond their wildest imagination.

This example can be generalized throughout the labor movement. It is no different than Steel Workers President I.W. Abel giving up the right to strike until 1980. It is no different from teachers' union President Albert Shanker calling

statewide teachers' strikes "fascist."

There is, however, another side to what is happening in the unions today. The Mine Workers rank and file are organizing to prevent their newly elected "reform" leadership of Arnold Miller from selling out. Many miners are beginning to understand that the struggle to transform their union means a fight against the new bureaucrats.

The miners have also shown that workers today are prepared to strike, to fight and fight hard, even with a depression looming ahead. United Parcel Service workers in New York proved they were willing to continue, and spread, their strike even when UPS threatened to close its New York operation completely if its "final offer" were rejected.

In auto, individual militants and small opposition groups—in particular, the United National Caucus—are beginning to organize demonstrations, meetings and struggles in UAW locals.

There is no reason, aside from cowardice and pro-capitalist politics of the union bureaucrats, that workers cannot challenge the corporations during this depression. Powerful rank and file organizations in auto, steel, the mines, and other industries, must be built to fight the layoffs and to demand the right to a job for all. Failing to organize this struggle now will mean that the depression is the beginning of a catastrophe for all working people. The miners are leading the way. □

## Dear Workers Power, I have just

### The People's Champ

Slaus is right. Ali's the peoples' champ. Where I saw the fight most people were milling around and drinking before the fight started.

But when the announcer mentioned in the pre-fight chit-chat that Ali had been "inactive" during '67-'70, the crowd began booing loudly.

They knew Ali's title had been stolen and their champ taken away.

Needless to say, the crowd went hysterical when Ali won. Men were hugging each other. Blacks and whites were slapping hands.

Ali had defied those with power and influence and had won. It was as if every rotten foreman I had known was laying on that canvas. Going to work the next day was a little easier.

Ed Karney  
Louisville

### New Reader

I have just read for the first time an issue of Workers' Power. I found it to be a very informative piece of literature. I would like to

get involved in some way in this wonderful cause.

I am working as an electrician here in Charleston in a local chapter of the IBEW and I have become very disillusioned with much of their operation.

I am in great need of an education in socialism and I would appreciate anything that you could send me.

P. K.  
Charleston, W. Va.

### Carmen Castillo

The show of international solidarity for the Chilean left after the death of Miguel Enriquez was important for proving to the MIR that they had support, and to the junta that the world is watching them.

The article and the photo in Workers' Power showed the efforts of the I.S. to participate fully in this action.

But, the omission by Workers' Power of any mention of Carmen Castillo, left me surprised and angry.

She was one of those other people involved in the gun battle,



Soldiers of the Chilean junta guard political prisoners in Santiago. Many of these prisoners are now dead.

who, for whatever reasons, deserved no notice in the description of the event, or subsequent consequences.

Carmen was not in that house at that moment by coincidental accident. She has been actively involved in the MIR for quite some time and went underground with others of the MIR after the takeover of the junta.

As a revolutionary woman Carmen's activities in the MIR are noteworthy, but as a victim of the junta's terror, she must not go unnoticed. Wounded and 8 months pregnant [also the mother of a 5 year old child], Carmen was detained in a Santiago military hospital, totally incommunicado, for weeks after the shoot out.

It was rumored she received no medical attention, but her connection with Enriquez and the MIR exposed her to the possibility of torture that is now notorious under the junta's rule.

France, England, and Sweden offered her asylum and there were demonstrations in the U.S. and abroad. This international support is most likely responsible for her most recent appearance in France.

It remains essential therefore that organizations such as the I.S. and other left-groups take on the responsibility of informing us of the entire situation, as well as taking efforts to act on it.

The lack of recognition for

Carmen Castillo is inexcusable, not only in terms of what could have happened if others ignored her situation, but also as a conscious effort to dispel the notion of exclusively male cadre in the struggle for socialism.

Identifying women revolutionaries throughout the world helps fight sexism, as well as advancing the struggle.

Teri Mersky  
Berkeley, Ca.

### From Leavenworth to Marquette

Sorry that I haven't been able to keep in contact or read Workers' Power. I became a victim of the Federal Bureau of Prisons ongoing plot that not only extends prisoners' sentences, but brings with it long periods of punitive segregation and transfer.

With my release date tentatively set for March, 1975 the Director decided to have my body placed in the "hole" at Leavenworth in July.

The following morning I was placed on the prison bus headed to the US Prison, Terre Haute, Indiana. Upon arrival, I was singled out among 24 prisoners and found myself again confined to segregation.

After five days, I was again transferred, this time to the US Prison at Milan, Michigan and

## 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.

confined to what they refer to as the detention unit.

And three days later, I was transferred to the Oakland County Jail in Pontiac, Michigan. This jail happens to be one of the more oppressive jails in the country. It reminds me of a crematorium—the beautiful grounds and the modern type structure that cost the People millions of dollars to build.

Yet, inside are confined humans whose guilt in many cases is the failure to pay a traffic ticket, or as in the case of one young prisoner, drinking a bottle of beer in public.

After spending three weeks at the Oakland County Jail, a subpoena arrived calling for my appearance as a defense witness on behalf of the Leavenworth Brothers, those prisoners pre-selected to stand trial on charges stemming from the Slave Revolt at Leavenworth Prison on July 31, 1973.

[continued next page]



Muhammed Ali arriving in Zaire for heavyweight fight.

FROM LITTLE ROCK TO BOSTON:

# Why Socialists Back Busing

by Mary Gates

Boston, 1974: race riots, Ku Klux Klan, American Nazi Party, racist demonstrations of thousands and racist attacks on black men, women and children.

On September 18, the Ku Klux Klan rode through Columbia Point, Massachusetts (a project in the Boston area), terrorizing blacks.

When the tenants of Columbia Point called on the police there was no reply. When the blacks of Columbia Point armed themselves in defense, the police responded with attacks and busts of black tenants and community.

A 1000-car demonstration against busing and in support of the racist demonstrations and acts of violence against blacks caravaned through South Boston. 8000 racists cheered on the sidelines.

On October 7 a black parent was attacked by a racist mob when he went into South Boston to pick up his daughter from school.

Looks bad for the working class. What, then, do the so-called leaders of the black community (NAACP) call for? The troops! The black community knows whose heads will be busted and whose people will be imprisoned. The police, national guard and armies have never entered the black community as defenders, but as attackers and non-wanted occu-

pants in force.

**WHY BUSING?**

Boston, 1974: are we for busing or against? We are for busing, but not because it is the law (the working class must look at what is in our interests and not what are the laws under capitalism—our strength is in our numbers); nor are we for busing because it is the best solution.

We are for busing because to be against busing is to be on the side of the racists. We are against racism! We are also against black children being kept in the worst schools.

Busing was not instituted or implemented by the working class; we are not yet in control of this society. Busing was instituted and implemented following US Supreme Court decision of 1954 in Brown vs. the Topeka Board of Education, where separate, but unequal, school systems were declared illegal and had to be overcome.

The racist attacks of the vicious white mobs in Little Rock, Arkansas and Columbia Point, Massachusetts, drew the lines for the fight—to be for busing is to be against racism; to be against busing is to be on the side of the racists. We are against racism! To abstractly talk about quality educa-

tion is to avoid the issue.

**BOSTON AND LITTLE ROCK**

There are analogies between Little Rock, 1957, and Boston, 1974, but they are also two very different incidents and situations.

The economic circumstances of capitalism are different in 1974 than in 1957; the politicians (who move in the interests of capitalism and usually against the interests of the workers) have different reasons for the way they moved in 1957 and 1974.

First, in 1957, the economic expansion (boom) of capitalism required more workers (black, white and chicano) to handle the speed-up in production and the expansion of industry. Then, black workers were brought from the South to the North and West, trained to work in certain industries and, thereby, were able to move into better housing areas (previously limited to white workers of a certain income).

At that time it was not to the advantage of capitalism to have black and white workers continually fighting one another. They had to work together for the expansion and benefit of industry.

The black movement was also growing in numbers and strength. The United States was involved in the Cold War. The failure to grant

minimal concessions to the demands of blacks hurt US prestige abroad and presented a threat to stability at home.

It was thus to the advantage of capitalism to force busing on white workers—they had to accept it or move from the neighborhoods.

Either way, the migrations of blacks to industrial cities and industrial jobs meant blacks would be working by the side of whites whether white workers liked it or not.

In 1974, however, the economic conditions of capitalism are in a turmoil, inflation-ridden and heading for a depression. A slow-down in production combined with inflation (which causes an even greater decline in production because consumer goods are not bought at a regular rate) causes lay-offs, plant closings and mass unemployment. (The auto industry is laying off by the thousands which will affect other industries, such as steel and

rubber.)

At a time when black and white workers should be pulling together, fighting for their jobs and against the attack on their living standards, the politicians are successfully pitting blacks and whites against each other. By playing on the racism of white workers they are able to use the busing issue to further divisions within the working class.

Unlike Little Rock in 1957 the capitalists want black and white workers fighting each other to divert attention from the economic situation at hand.

Looks bad for the working class. Are we for busing? Yes, we are for busing. It is important that workers (both black and white) come out for busing. This is the only way that we, the working class, can defeat the politicians who are out to use busing to divide and demoralize workers.

*read hor.*



Four of the Leavenworth Brothers were found guilty of charges of assaulting prison guards during the slave revolt. Hopefully the verdict will be reversed on appeal.

The federal bureau of prisons is under the impression that the transfer of federal prisoners to State prisons will eliminate the voice of the dissidents. Tyrants always attempt to isolate individuals from one another, seeking to create a feeling of helplessness. But until there exists a true program of reform within the prison system—the continuing program of terror by the keepers will not crush the voice of dissidents.

Under King Richard the wire-tapper, the bureau of prisons, operating under the bureaucratic control of Mitchell, was permitted a free reign which continues even today. We have yet to see one of those who have been convicted in matters related to Watergate, enter a US Prison.

These Blue Ribbon prisoners are confined to camp programs where they are not subjected to the every day life of prison. To place them in a prison is to subject the prisons to a policy change because of the connections that still exist.

The public had damn better well be aware, that under the new "Compact Agreement" a person can be arrested (State or Federal) and be confined to a prison almost

anywhere in the United States. It's like the ole pea under the shell game, where is the body hidden. This law was intended to prevent visits from family or attorneys, by placing many miles between both.

In the struggle,  
John P. Alkes  
Marquette, Michigan

**Lavender & Red Union**

This letter is addressed to those people on the left who take a position in support of Gay Liberation or have not, as far as we know, taken a reactionary position.

The Lavender and Red Union for those who have not heard of us is a Gay Liberation-Communist organization.

About four weeks ago we became aware through a public leaflet of a demonstration in LA in support of Puerto Rican independence.

Since L&RU considers anti-imperialism and especially the struggle against US colonialism to be priorities in our work we requested of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee that they allow us to organize a Gay contingent in the

parade. This request was turned down on the basis of the objections of three organizations: Free Los Tres, La Raza Unida Party, and Puerto Rican Socialist Party; the silence of a few others including the October League and the Socialist Workers Party; and over the approval of the New American Movement and International Socialists.

Among the negative arguments given were that the representative of PSP had never been confronted with the concept of a Gay Marxist-Leninist, that our presence would offend their constituency and that in fact it would offend them that Gayness in Puerto Rico is a product of US imperialism and bourgeois decadence and would disappear after liberation.

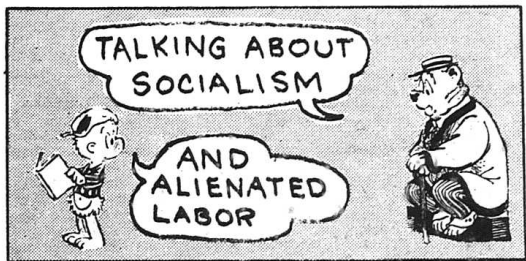
We take offense to all of these arguments. More importantly we take offense to being denied the right to participate in the march.

We call on other left groups to isolate, repudiate and struggle against the ideas put forward by these groups concerning Gayness as well as by the Revolutionary Union, The October League, Communist Labor Party, Communist Party USA, etc.

We further call on all groups to publicly declare their support of Gay Liberation and to expose the positions of these other organizations as reactionary, divisive, non-dialectical and anti-Marxist. And to make the right of any progressive group to participate openly in any such events a point of unity in the future.

Let this letter serve notice that we have absolutely no intention of politely arguing out questions that are basically genocidal in character and which are basically the same as those of the ruling class, and let this also serve notice that we have no intention of being excluded from other such events in the future.

In love, solidarity, and RAGE,  
Lavender and Red Union  
Los Angeles



**BERNARD O'HIGGINS**

"Of course my supervisor's always telling me to do things the wrong way. But I don't care, I just do it the way he tells me to. Because if I do it wrong he's responsible, not me."

I think everyone who has ever worked has heard this comment, or made it themselves, over obviously messed-up instructions from know-it-all supervisors and foremen who really didn't know what they were talking about.

It's no accident that things like this go on in every work place every day of the week. They don't happen because of the individual problems and peculiarities of foremen and supervisors (as many as I've observed them to have). It's tied up with the whole way work is organized in a capitalist society.

**"ALIENATED LABOR"**

Marx described the kind of work we perform in a capitalist society as "alienated labor." Work isn't something we control, something that's a real part of our lives. We don't look forward to work.

Instead we drag ourselves to the factory or warehouse or office in the morning and try to endure eight or more hours of boring, degrading, alien activity.

We only put up with it because we have to in order to get the money we need if we want to get by in this society. We'd never do it if we didn't have to.

"Alienation" and feeling alienated aren't just psychological states. Alienation—which really means "separation"—is something very material and very real, something that dominates the one-third of our lives that we spend at work.

Workers—precisely because they are workers, not capitalists—are separated from ownership of factories, machines, and other means of production. All they have is their ability to work, which they have to sell to the capitalists who own those factories and machines—which were

also produced by the labor of workers.

For the capitalists, the reason for hiring workers to run the machines is to produce new value. Without living human labor, the world's fanciest machine can't produce anything!

Most of this new value—in the form of cars, steel bars and whatever has been produced—is surplus value, which is taken by the capitalists as profit. Workers are once again separated from what they have produced.

Because our work is set up to produce surplus value for capitalist profit, it's unavoidable that our work lives are not something we control, but are imposed on us. We don't control our day to day activities as workers—what kind of work we do and how we do it are decided by the capitalists who own the industries in which we work.

Their orders are then enforced by a whole army of managers, supervisors, and foremen.

**WORKERS' POWER**

The powerlessness and helplessness that working people often feel reflect the fact that we really are helpless and powerless—as long as we accept the capitalist system as something that can't be done away with and replaced by something better.

The only real power we as workers have is to revolt against that capitalist system, and eventually replace it by a society in which workers, collectively and democratically, decide what is going to be produced and under what conditions and at what speed it's going to be done.

Workers' control of production is basic to the idea of socialism. It can be achieved only if workers democratically decide upon the overall direction of the economy.

Our ability to control conditions in a single plant can only be real when we have made the larger decisions that cause that plant to be doing what it is doing.



Leavenworth Brothers Alf Hill, Odell Bennett, Jesse Lopez and Alfred Jasper.



# The Gorillas Are Among Us



Fidel Castro with General Pinochet in Santiago, December 1971.

[Chile: The Gorillas Are Amongst Us. By Helios Prieto. Published 1974 by Pluto Press. 89 Pages. Translated and introduced by Mike Gonzales.]

More than a year after the military takeover in Chile the left has offered many explanations, but few answers as to the cause of this defeat.

The Communist and other reformist parties in Chile and throughout the world explain the devastating end of the "peaceful road to socialism" as caused by the CIA, IT&T, and Kennecott, and feel that now is not the time to discuss the mistakes of the Chilean left.

Helios Prieto's short book *Chile: The Gorillas Are Amongst Us* makes a powerful case that now is the time to probe the real causes of the military coup.

Writing in the terrifying month immediately following the September 1973 military takeover, Prieto points to Chile as "another classic example of the fate that awaits the proletariat under reformist leadership." He shows that while the role of the CIA was important, the fundamental cause of the coup was the program and actions of the Popular Unity government in the three years of its existence and the illusions it fostered.

As a result, "it was the Chilean army, that 'democratic' and 'constitutional' army of Communist invention, led by generals who were Allende's ministers, that carried out the coup."

Throughout the book Prieto documents with chilling accuracy the events that were to lead to the inevitable coup. He begins his analysis with the second half of 1972 when the class struggle begins to intensify.

From there until September of 1973 he documents a policy of appeasement of the armed forces and the Chilean bourgeoisie, at the expense of independent working class action.

When the truck owners went on strike in October of 1972 the government of Allende placed thirteen major provinces under direct military control — that same military is today engaged in a

campaign of genocide against the Chilean working class.

In June of 1973 when the El Teniente copper miners went on strike, they were labeled aristocrats of labor, though before 1970 they were recognized as among the most militant of Chile's workers.

The government accused the miners of economism and proceeded to repress them. Yet, at the same time Allende was sending an urgent proposal to Congress to give salary increases to the military, that were large enough to be defined as state secrets and never divulged.

Even after the abortive June 29 coup Allende countered earlier orders and told workers to remain calm and "have faith in the patriotic armed forces."

## GOVERNMENT'S TIMIDITY

The government's incompetence and timidity culminated on the day of the coup. It called on a proletariat it had helped to disarm to, in the words of Prieto, "carry on a war in which it would confront a modern army equipped with artillery, tanks, supersonic aircraft and combat helicopters."

Prieto does more than catalogue a series of grim mistakes and betrayals; he draws an important political conclusion from them. He portrays the events in Chile as "what happens when the 'revolutionaries' forget that the problem of power, that is, of destruction of the bourgeois state and its organs of domination, comes before the problem of a policy for economic reforms."

He represents the U.P. as hopelessly committed to winning the bourgeoisie over to an "advanced democratic" program and then supposedly overthrowing that bourgeoisie through its own laws. The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), he portrays as personally heroic but politically confused and vacillating — a political appendage to the U.P. rather than a pole of independent attraction.

Not only was it incapable of providing revolutionary leadership to the Chilean workers, but the MIR also misunderstood the nature and function of the industrial rank and file organizations called "cor-

donees."

Although writing soon after the takeover, Prieto already sees the popular front politics of the U.P. again manifesting themselves in the resistance to the junta both in Chile and around the world, with a continuous reliance on "democratic sectors of the bourgeoisie and the church."

Although limited by time and space, Prieto still accurately con-

veys some of the important paradoxes of the intensified class struggle in Chile between the end of 1972 and September 11, 1973. He explores the contradictions between workers who were seizing factories and a government to which workers looked for leadership that was returning these plants to their former owners.

Prieto sees as the greatest tragedy of Chile the fact "that a

combative, socialist working class, though one full of reformist illusions, found no Marxist revolutionary leadership capable of offering proletarian politics."

Chile: The Gorillas Are Amongst Us, although short and somewhat incomplete is an important contribution to the struggle that is to come in Chile.

Mario Scotti

# 'Free to be'



[Free To Be... You and Me. Marlo Thomas and Friends; Bell Records, 1110.]

My son was two years old when the women's liberation movement began gaining momentum and I found myself caught up in it. From that moment on, I vowed not to raise my son to be a male chauvinist.

I was terrifically naive to believe it was possible to raise a son to be non-sexist in a sexist society. At the time, I didn't stop to think about school and peer group pressures and television and all the other ways Christopher would learn to be sexist despite my careful efforts.

Now, I am aware of the reality, but I still don't accept it. I am still fighting sexism in my son. But it's an uphill battle. Yes, he sees his father washing dishes and cleaning the toilet bowl. Yes, he sees me working on the car. But what does he see in his books and records?

Until I came across Marlo Thomas's recording "Free To Be... You and Me" I thought non-sexist children's records were an impossibility.

In this collection of songs, stories and poems, Ms. Thomas has made

a fairly successful attempt to give children a glimpse of the world the way it ought to be, rather than the way it is.

Carol Channing recites a poem explaining that the women doing housework on television are smiling because they are getting paid to. Rosey Grier's song says it's all right to cry because it might make you feel better.

The album tries to cover all the areas where children see sexism going on and offer some comment.

Originally written for a television special, the songs are written with simple lyrics and melodic tunes which Christopher could hum after the second listening. Listening to the record with a child gives adults an opportunity to discuss how sexism shows its ugly head in their lives.

I don't pretend that owning this album has erased my son's sexism overnight.

But the experience of listening to this album and talking about it with me has begun to make Christopher question some of the assumptions of a sexist society. And questioning is the beginning to finding some answers.

Mary Franklin

## Arabs or Oil Barons?

# WHO STOLE AMERICA

The other night I turned on my TV a little too early and caught the end of the Sonny Bono Comedy Revue.

On the screen people were dancing on a giant map of the United States, singing Woody Guthrie's popular song, "This Land Is Your Land, This Land Is My Land." There were also oil wells and other signs of prosperity on the map.

Then some people dressed in dark clothing stalked in and carried off the dancers one by one. They

also took the oil derricks and everything else as the audience laughed and applauded.

I couldn't figure out why the audience was applauding, but blamed it on my coming in late. But I figured the skit must have something to do with things getting worse in America, since everything had gone off the map.

Then there was a close-up of the dark-clad figures, the only ones left. They were rubbing their hands with glee, and they were supposed to look like Arabs!

Aha! Good old all-American Sonny Bono is trying to blame all our problems on "those greedy Arabs." He's saying the Arabs are going to take over America.

Well, Sonny, America is already taken over... by the capitalist class. This land won't be your land and my land until the working class takes back what it has made.

Which is what Woody Guthrie was talking about when he wrote the song.

Karen Kaye

## The "Professional Armed Forces"

"We continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions. Their enemies are not amongst the ranks of the people but in the reactionary camp."

Luis Corvalan, Secretary-General, Communist Party of Chile, July, 1973.

"And yet, despite all the evidence, U.P. in its suicidal frenzy went on asserting its belief in the myth of the professional, democratic, and constitutional character of the armed forces."

Helios Prieto, Chile: The Gorillas Are Amongst Us.

# BUILD WORKERS POWER!

The fund drive is now entering its ninth week. As we go to press, we've collected a total of \$14,183 or 63% of our quota.

The state of the economy certainly hasn't helped in our drive to solicit funds. Most of our members (like our readers) work in factories and have been hard hit by the wave of mass lay-offs in the auto industry. Yet I.S. members have donated over \$13,000 of the money we've collected so far.

We feel that Workers' Power is the best alternative to the bourgeois press. We try to present news about and of concern to workers, blacks, women, and other oppressed groups.

Workers' Power ties together the struggles of these groups, here and internationally, in our efforts to build an international revolutionary workers' party.

Our coverage of rank and file workers' struggles helps militants all over the country (and overseas) to link their struggles to the struggles of their brothers and sisters in other industries, in other countries.

We try to make Worker's Power a paper of the working class. A paper that presents the latest events from a revolutionary workers' point of view. A paper that's informative, interesting and attractive.

To help us make this fund drive successful, we are appealing to our readers for support. The costs of producing Workers' Power are rising along with everything else. But your donation to the fund drive will keep Workers' Power alive.

If you haven't yet sent us a contribution, please do it as soon as you can. Make checks or money orders payable to: International Socialists. Send to: I.S. Fund Drive, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203

## FUND DRIVE TOPS 63%

Branch	Quota	Collected	%
Bloomington	500	330	66
Boston	400	115	25
Chicago	1,300	727	55
Cleveland	1,850	1,135	61
Detroit	3,500	2,975	85
East Bay	2,400	1,221	50
Los Angeles	2,500	1,305	52
Louisville	800	510	63
Madison	150	170	113
New York	2,700	1,820	66
Portland	300	70	23
St. Louis	900	450	50
San Francisco	500	200	40
Seattle	1,700	1,439	83
MAL's	1,200	717	59
National Office	1,500	997	66
Totals	22,500	14,183	63



## What We Stand For

The International Socialists is a revolutionary socialist organization. We are open to all who accept our basic principles and work as a member of our organization to achieve them. These principles are:

### INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Socialism must be achieved by the independent action of the working class. The liberation of the working class can be won only by the struggles of workers themselves.

### SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

Both capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism (the system of dictatorship in Russia, China, and the other so-called "Communist" societies) must be replaced through working class revolution. This will create a socialist society, controlled democratically by mass organizations of all working people. The wealth produced by labor will be controlled collectively by workers and used to produce a decent life and freedom for all.

### THE CAPITALIST STATE

The state is a weapon of capitalist class rule. Its institutions like the legislature, army, police and courts cannot simply be taken over by the working class and used to build socialism. The working revolution must destroy the old state and create one of an entirely different kind. It will establish direct rule by the masses of people based on workers councils elected at the workplace.

### MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The trade unions are today the only mass organizations of the working class. To make the unions fighting instruments of workers against the employers, we work to build their struggles, and fight for rank and file control.

### INTERNATIONALISM

The socialist revolution must be international. We fight for solidarity with workers in other countries. We oppose all racism and imperialism, and fully support the struggles of all oppressed peoples, in this country and worldwide. We call for international solidarity and cooperation among unions in different countries. We oppose all immigration controls, protectionism, and strike-breaking by workers in one country or one union against those in another.

### BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVISM

The first successful socialist revolution was made by the Russian working class in 1917. But the revolution was isolated, and destroyed by a counterrevolution led by Stalin. Today Russia, China, and the rest of the "Communist" countries are not socialist, but bureaucratic dictatorships. We support workers' struggle in these countries for democracy and freedom and call for revolution against the bureaucratic ruling class.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To create socialism, the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The party does not represent an elite to rule over the workers "in their interests." It is a political force helping to organize workers and leading them to take state power and control society as a class. The activity of the I.S. is directed toward building such a party. Building a rank and file movement based on the principles described here strengthens the consciousness, self-confidence and organization of the working class, and is the road by which a revolutionary party will be built.

### WHERE WE STAND

- \*For rank and file control of the unions. No secret negotiations. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight, and national rank and file opposition caucuses in the International unions.
- \*For class struggle unionism. Abolish all anti-labor legislation. No restriction on the right to strike, picket or boycott.
- \*Defend working conditions. No control on wages. Against unemployment, layoffs, and speed-up. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.
- \*Equality for all oppressed peoples. Full support to their liberation struggles. For the right of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, police harassment and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

- for their own demands. Independence for Puerto Rico.
- \*Abolish all forms of sexual oppression. For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion. For a working class women's liberation movement. End discrimination against gay people.
- \*Against imperialism, East and West. Against all nuclear weapons and imperialist alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. For unconditional support to all national liberation movements, against both US and Russian imperialism. We support the military victory of the National Liberation Front over US imperialism in Vietnam, but we give no political support to the anti-working class dictatorship the NLF represents.
- \*No support to Republican, Democratic and Wallace parties and candidates. For an independent political party of the working class, based on the unions and controlled by the rank and file, to struggle against the capitalist parties.

### I.S. BRANCHES

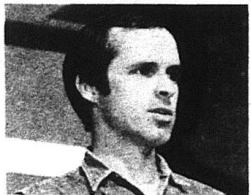
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### Louisville Forum Enthusiastic

LOUISVILLE—A small but enthusiastic crowd of 35 heard talks and songs at a rally here in support of the striking miners. Two local shop stewards spoke on the importance of the miners' fight to other workers.

The speakers emphasized that a miners' victory would be both a victory for the rank and file movement and a defeat for those who want workers to pay for inflation.

— Suggestions were made from the audience for further actions to support the miners.



NEW YORK—Close to 70 people attended a forum here on the miners' strike. Kim Moody, I.S. National Industrial Secretary, emphasized that a victory in the coalfields will mean a victory for all workers.

### Cleveland Forum Supports Strike

CLEVELAND — Sixty people attended an I.S. meeting here November 16 to support the miners strike. The featured speaker was Ken Doran, a leader of the Rank and File Team (RAFT), an opposition group in the United Steel Workers.

Also speaking were Glyn Carver, a member of the British I.S. who pointed out that British coal miners had brought down the conservative government there recently, and Cal Williams, a reporter from Workers' Power. Williams called for the formation of a committee to support the miners' strike.

### What's On

Detroit, Sunday, December 8, "The Layoffs: How to Stop Them," Woody Keyes, former member of Socialist Collective, Executive Committee Detroit I.S., Jack Weinberg, unemployed member UAW Local 212, Glyn Carver, organizer British International Socialists. 14131 Woodward Ave., Room 225, Highland Park, Mich. 7:30 P.M.

The Popular

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### Pittsburgh Workers' Power Forum

PITTSBURGH — Forty people attended a Workers' Power forum here November 15 on the miners' strike and its importance for steel workers. Called "Strike in Coal. Layoffs in Steel — Same Bosses. Same, Struggle," the meeting was attended by coal miners, steel workers, a few Teamsters and other union activists.

The first speaker was Ed Mann, President of United Steel Workers Local 1462 (Youngstown). Mann said that although the Abel administration of the USW was officially supporting the miners' strike, they were not doing so actively. He said the reason for this was fear of the

effects of a successful miners' strike on steel workers.

"If the mine workers have the right to ratify, we're going to be next and I think they're afraid of this," Mann said. "If they can send their negotiators back to the bargaining table, we're going to be next."

Some of the discussion centered around the possibility of government intervention in the event of a prolonged strike. The miners in the audience felt that an injunction would not be effective. "I'm not going in there to fix machines with a gun at my back," said one.

Cal Williams, a Workers' Power reporter, spoke about the need for rank and file organization in the unions. This includes the United Mine Workers, he said.

## International Socialists



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# ITALY: WEAKEST LINK IN A DECAYING CHAIN

Italy today is facing the worst economic and political crisis in the industrial capitalist world. Not only is Italy's industrial slump the worst, and its inflation almost the highest in Europe—but its central government is paralyzed.

For nearly two months, in fact, Italy had no national government at all. After the last Cabinet collapsed, the conservative Christian Democratic Party was unable until this week to form a new one. The reason is simple—Italy is bankrupt, and its capitalist political parties can't agree on how to re-float the economy.

In two years the price of gasoline—a price fixed by the Italian government—has doubled to over 2.00 a gallon. Public transportation prices have also gone up 100% in some cases.

The price of electricity—also government controlled—has increased 40-50% for families, although industries have only had about a 7% increase.

The sales tax on beef has recently risen from 6% to 18%. Overall inflation is now running at 2%.

Not only have the Italian workers had to put up with tremendous rice increases, but they have seen in the past couple of years periodic shortages on items such as sugar, salt, pasta and even vaccine.

Riots broke out in Naples not too long ago when there was not enough cholera vaccine to deal quickly with an epidemic.

This runaway inflation has met stiff resistance from Italy's powerful, militant working class. In fact, a wave of strikes throughout the country has raised real wages by 5-20% in the last year. But now the full force of the crisis has hit. Italy relies on imports for raw materials to a larger extent than most of the advanced capitalist countries. With world-wide inflation these raw materials cost more now than ever before.

In order to get the money to pay for these imports Italy must export. And the type of industry that was developed in Italy after the Second World War depends on a large foreign consumer demand for articles like electrical appliances and automobiles.

Since the economic crisis is worldwide, workers in Germany and France, for example, are less likely to buy these Italian goods.

So Italy's industries—and along with them, the country's finances—are facing bankruptcy.

## WHO PAYS?

Last winter the Italian government arranged a loan of 1.2 billion dollars from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Now, similar large loans must be negotiated every month just to meet the balance of payments.

The IMF, whose policies are controlled by the largest capitalist powers, gives loans to countries which need help with their balance of payments (when the value of exports exceeds the value of imports).

The IMF agreed to the loan on the condition that the Italian economy institute sharp austerity measures. These measures would sharply cut workers' standard of living, through less spending in the non-profitable sectors of the economy such as housing, health, and the development of Italy's poor south.

The IMF also demanded measures to balance the budget and tighter control on credit.

The political parties making up the government at that time—led by the Christian Democrats and the Socialist Party—could not agree on

whether to accept the IMF conditions.

The problem was not that they were against austerity. All the parties had supported tax increases and other laws that would cut the purchasing power of the workers' pay check.

However, the workers were then having a series of regional and national general strikes. It would be very dangerous to confront this activity head-on.

Some conservative members of the leading Christian-Democratic party developed a strategy for

could be used to fight the increased exploitation and the layoffs that everyone knew were coming.

The reaction of the Italian workers to this capitalist offensive has been wide-spread and strong. Factory occupations, especially in the smaller and medium sized industries that went bankrupt because of the credit squeeze and the economic situation generally, spread throughout Italy.

Housing occupations of unrented luxury apartment buildings by poor workers, often from the south, spread from Rome to Milan, Venice

Brescia, bombs planted by fascists exploded, killing four anti-fascist marchers—two Communist Party members and two members of the revolutionary organization Avanguardia Operaia.

Yet the Communist Party has only one answer to this threat: namely, bring the CP into the Italian capitalist government.

CP entry into the government is supported by some of Italy's largest capitalists, including the chairman of Italy's largest bank and the director of the Fiat corporation.

ing to do so would have lost much political support.

To further enhance its respectability, the CP has also dropped its demand for Italian withdrawal from NATO.

The majority of organized workers still support the Communist Party, but are more and more demanding that the CP go beyond its parliamentary activity. As the CP refuses to do this, the possibility for building a genuinely revolutionary left in Italy becomes greater.

Political groups to the left of the CP are gaining greater influence in



Mass mobilization in Italy

pushing political consciousness to the right.

In order to set the scene for more stringent economic cut-backs, they decided to use the issue of divorce to whip up right-wing sentiment.

Divorce had only been made legal in Italy a couple of years earlier and the Christian-Democrats tried to use their alliance with the Catholic Church to stir up support for God, Country, and the Christian-Democrats and against immorality and the left by using the issue of repeal of the divorce law. This was a power play against the working class as well as an attack on women's rights.

Almost everyone—except the Christian Democrats, the Pope and the fascists—opposed the campaign. When the vote was taken last May, the conservatives were soundly defeated, even in the most conservative areas of the country.

## NEXT STEP—DEPRESSION

This defeat, however, didn't stop the capitalists from attacking the living standards of the workers. They had already decided to slow down the economy by first restricting credit in those sectors where they wouldn't directly confront the strong Italian workers' movement.

At the same time, workers in the well-organized industries were being subjected in an attack which all capitalists everywhere use in times of crisis.

Speed-up was used to increase productivity and to demoralize the workers. Transfers, fines and selective firings were used to break up shop floor organizations which

and other Italian cities and demonstrated the pressing need for adequate low-cost housing.

Soon demands were heard that the national unions call a national general strike. These demands were being made by workers organized on the shop floor, by some local union organizations and by revolutionary groups which saw the need for a national response to a national attack.

These demands for a national general strike were resisted by the union leaders, who wanted a stable situation to deal with the employers and government.

It was only the announcement that Fiat, one of the largest privately owned industries in Italy, was putting thousands of workers on a short week (thus beginning a broader attack on the workers) that forced the unions to call a national strike—and even then it was only a four-hour one.

The Communist Party, through its control of the largest union in Italy and through its national and local party organization, has consistently tried to hold back militancy by saying that too much disruption can only lead to right-wing reaction.

The threat of the fascist movement in Italy is a real one. Especially in the south and in Rome, where workers' organizations are less strong, strikes and demonstrations are regularly attacked by thugs from the fascist organization MSI (Italian Social Movement).

Fascist groups openly take credit for the bombing of passenger trains. At a demonstration in

Others, however, are violently opposed to this—as is the United States government and the CIA.

The CP is going out of its way to prove that it can discipline Italy's workers and bring stability to the political scene—by carrying out the austerity program which the capitalist parties themselves cannot enforce.

The CP opposed many of the housing occupations by homeless tenants, and only agreed to a national general strike when refus-

workers' struggles, and are rapidly being transformed from small sects into serious poles of attraction.

Two such groups—Il Manifesto and a small left-wing socialist party—have recently united. Revolutionary groups—in particular Avanguardia Operaia and Lotta Comunista—are also growing. The need for a revolutionary party to lead the struggle for workers' power in Italy has never been more urgent.

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# RECESSION - LAYOFFS OR LABOR ACTION

# Workers' Power

by Gay Semel

Before the elections, President Ford presented us with his WIN program. He admonished us to clean our plate, share with our neighbors, save, and be generally thrifty.

Now that the elections are over and Ford no longer needs to worry about the election results, he has discovered that we are entering a recession.

When asked why Ford did not see this until after the election, his Press Secretary Ron Nessen stated, "These figures are just beginning to come in." (Workers' Power finds it hard to believe that White House economic sources are not as good as ours.)

Along with Ford's belated discovery came his real economic programs for fighting inflation and recession, presented by Roy Ash, Federal Budget Director.

Ash announced that he and Ford had agreed on the "philosophical perspective" for budget decisions to be made.

Not surprisingly the "philosophical perspective" agreed to by Ford and Ash amounts to an all-out attack on the living standards of working people, while promoting the interests of big business and the military.

To fight the recession Ford proposed to ease what he sees as a squeeze on big business. Tax cuts and reforms favoring only corporations, not individuals, will be considered, stated Ash.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

One month ago Ford's economic advisors presented him with a "confidential report" forecasting that unemployment would hit at least 7% this year. This report was kept confidential so that Ford could continue saying that we were not in or entering a recession until after the election.

In the month of November alone, over 100,000 auto workers have been laid off, bringing the total to over 200,000 in the auto industry alone. Yet the budget proposals discussed by Ford and Ash say nothing about easing the effects of unemployment.

But if Ford's program against recession leaves out working people, his program to fight inflation centers on us.

Specifically Ash proposes to cut back on aid to education, health care, welfare, food stamps and possibly Social Security. These are the very services people need the most during hard times.

The massive arms budget of \$88 billion—which is inflationary—would remain untouched.

Ford's proposed budget will have difficulty passing the Democratic Party dominated Congress. They will be less willing to attack programs like Social Security and aid to education.

## WAGE CONTROLS AHEAD

But the program of these so-called "Friends of Labor" is every

bit as much an attack on the living standards of working people as Ford's.

The economic program of the Democratic Party is wage controls.

They too will not challenge the whopping arms budget. They may haggle over a billion or two but they are for a huge military budget.

Their solution to the economic crisis is to restrain wages, allowing corporations to increase profits through higher prices. The Republicans want to increase profits through large scale layoffs.

Either way, the program of both capitalist parties is to make working people pay for the crisis.

Nor are the programs of our so-called labor leaders a way out. They have proven themselves

totally unwilling to fight. When layoffs hit auto, the UAW filled the papers with hot air and then proposed that the UAW use its money to advertise cars.

When the Democratic-controlled Congress manages to re-establish wage controls, those same labor leaders will serve on the control boards no matter what they say today.

## WORKERS' PROGRAM

But there is a way out. It is building a rank and file movement that can lead a fight for a workers' anti-recession program.

This movement would demand: no lay-offs; all overtime should be refused while any worker is laid off;

work should be shared; and the work week should be reduced at no loss of pay, so that full employment is possible.

This program views the recession from the point of view of what working people need, not what the corporations need, it does not worry about their profits.

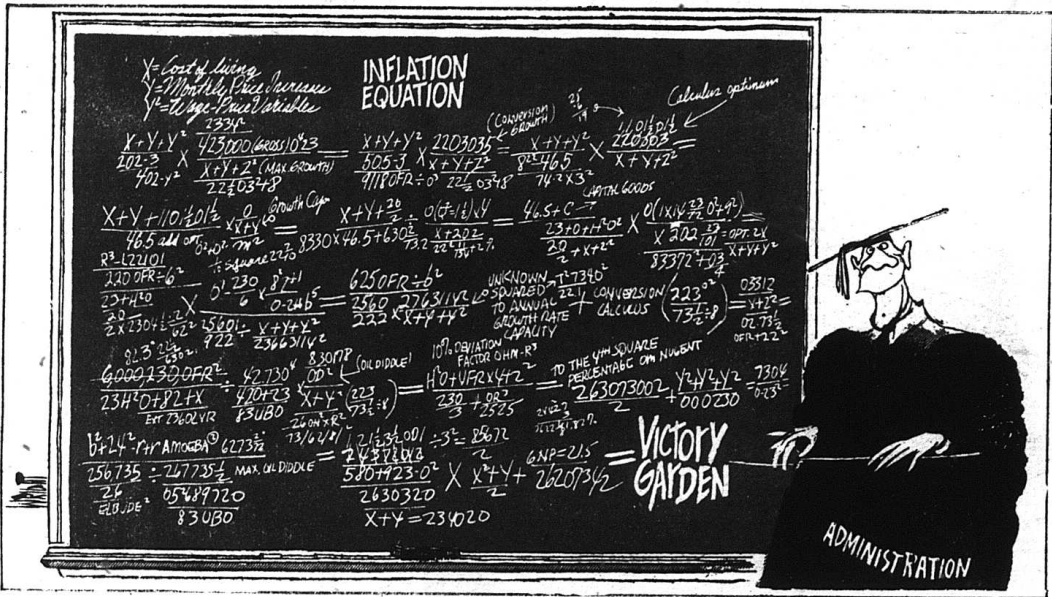
If they say it can't be done, we demand to see their books.

If they cannot provide us with

full employment at a living wage then they should be nationalized with no compensation. Working people will run the factories in our interests.

This is not the kind of program that the labor bureaucrats will raise as they cover before the needs of big business.

It is a workers' program and it can be won. But it must be fought for.



## SADLOWSKI WINS

# Steel Vote: Ranks Gain

by Jim Woodward

Ed Sadlowski, opposition candidate for director of United Steel Workers' District 31, has been elected by a 2-1 margin. Sadlowski's victory is a clear defeat for the machine of USW President I.W. Abel. It is a thorough repudiation of Abel's leadership and of his no-strike agreement with the steel companies.

With 130,000 members, District 31 (Chicago-Gary) is the largest

district in the USW, with 10% of the total union membership. Sadlowski defeated the incumbent director, Sam Evett, by a vote of 39,637 to 20,158. Evett had strong backing from Abel.

This defeat for Abel can be a significant step in the fight to turn the United Steel Workers around. It will certainly be a spur to the development of the rank and file movement in the USW.

The steel companies are already concerned about this possibility. Business Week magazine reports: "Major steel companies, which watched the rank-and-file movement within the United Mine Workers...see too many parallels for their comfort."

It was a militant rank and file movement in the UMW which threw out the corrupt leadership of Tony Boyle and laid the basis for the current miners' strike.

## ANOTHER MILLER?

There are indeed parallels, although there are also important differences. The parallels extend to the role that Arnold Miller, the reform leader of the mine work-

ers, has recently been playing in attempting to sell the UMW membership a poor contract.

Should a bureaucratic opposition to I.W. Abel develop by the time of the 1977 USW elections, there is little doubt that Sadlowski would jump on that bandwagon, leaving the interests of the rank and file behind.

The possibility of such a development is very real. Abel himself came to power as this sort of oppositionist, defeating David McDonald in 1965.

Abel must retire in 1977. With no clear successor, it is quite possible that a section of the present leadership will try to take advantage of growing rank and file discontent and run against the machine.

Such an opposition would do the rank and file about as much good as I.W. Abel's opposition to McDonald did.

## MOVEMENT

The importance of Sadlowski's victory does not lie in his personal future.

Sadlowski's victory is important

because it drives a major crack into the monolithic leadership of the USW. It can strengthen the various rank and file groupings that do exist by demonstrating that the rank and file can change their union leadership and the policies that go with it: the no-strike agreement, consent decree, inadequate contracts, and so on.

What is needed in the United Steel Workers is not just one or a few new leaders, but a rank and file movement that can return the union to the membership and make it into a fighting organization.

Such a movement exists in the miners' union, although currently in unorganized form. But the results of that movement are clear: the miners' struggle has not ended just because their leadership sold out.

Sadlowski's victory can be a step in building a similar movement in the USW. If Sadlowski is serious when he says he is "determined to take our union back" for the rank and file, he can take the initiative in organizing a national rank and file opposition to the Abel machine. But with or without Sadlowski, that opposition must be built.

## QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"If George Meany, 80, ever decides it is time to begin a second career, perhaps he would consider a job writing editorials for this newspaper. Then again, if he does not read us regularly, he may not realize that in recent years his view of the world has frequently come to coincide with ours."

-The Wall Street Journal  
November 21, 1974