

Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NO. 82 SEPTEMBER 14 - OCTOBER 4, 1973 15¢

PRICES, PROFITS SOAR!

On September 7, the Government announced what we already knew all too well: price increases in August broke almost every record on the books.

Wholesale farm prices went up by 26.1%—double the previous record for a single month. The price jumps in some individual categories were beyond belief: grains up 69%, poultry 42%, eggs 35%, livestock 22%.

Over the last year, farm prices as a whole have gone up 66%. Grains are up 167%, poultry 153%, eggs 111%. What does it all add up to? The largest jump in farm prices in this century.

Moreover, the worst is yet to come. These statistics reflect August price increases only—before the freeze on beef prices was lifted, and before new "price control" regulations went into effect, which allow processors, wholesalers and retailers to pass on more of their costs to the consumer.

Wholesale Disaster

So far as most people are concerned, of course, the prices they have been paying at the supermarket are intolerably high right now. Yet the Government's figures involve wholesale prices.

Thus, most of the August inflation explosion is still to be felt at the retail level.

And if that weren't enough, the leap in farm prices is only part of the story. The overall wholesale price index climbed by 6.2%—the greatest increase in a generation and the third largest jump in the 60 years since monthly records have been kept.

The previous inflation records were set in 1946, right after years of wartime price controls were lifted. The dramatic price jumps in the summer and fall of that year were a special short-term effect of the shortages imposed by World War II.

But the disastrous increases that have been battering American working people for month after month threaten to become a permanent fixture. Even the conservative economist Milton Friedman has been forced to admit:

"Another two years of substantial inflation is now nearly inevitable and a much longer period of inflation is highly likely..."

of inflation is highly likely..."

We are deep into the most severe, most prolonged inflation in American history.

The summer plague of prices comes near the end of a national round of contract negotiations—negotiations that have produced one sell-out after another. In steel, in rubber, in chemicals, in every major industry so far, the

companies and the union bureaucrats have forced the ranks to accept a wage "increase" that does not even equal the rise in the cost of living.

Even those contracts which include cost-of-living clauses have been rigged so they fail to provide adequate protection. Only the autoworkers still have a chance to break this pattern

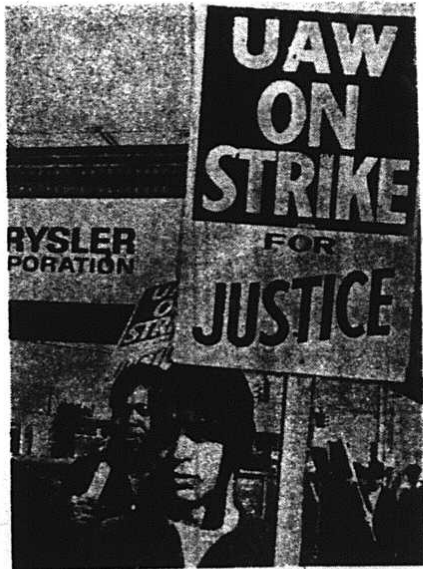
and fight for a contract that puts inflation in its place.

A few weeks ago, Herbert Stein, the chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisors, called a press conference. He announced that the sharp fall in living standards that we have experienced over the last few months is actually imaginary—

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Woodcock Bargains Sellout As UAW Ranks Begin Chrysler Walkout



AUTO STRIKE '73

(Just as *Workers' Power* went to press, the UAW leadership announced their "tentative agreement" to end the strike which had just barely begun. While terms have not yet been announced, it is almost certain that the proposed contract represents a complete sellout on every major demand pushed by the rank and file of the UAW.

The following article, written before the settlement, discusses the main issues in the contract fight and the role of the Woodcock leadership in preparing the sellout. Rank and file militants should organize a fighting movement to vote down any contract which fails to meet the minimal demands which Woodcock and the UAW "leaders" promised to fight for.)

With the greatest inflation in 20 years and no end in sight we need large pay increases, better cost-of-living protection and pension benefits.

With working conditions the worst they've been in 30 years we need an all-out fight for union control over speed, safety and other working conditions.

With racist oppression a continuing sore, we need to win full equality for black workers so the company can't divide us.

With unending forced overtime we need a fight for a real 8-hour day, not 10 hours with extra pay for overtime — including high enough wages in 8 hours so no one will have to work overtime to make ends meet.

Dozens of workers were fired this summer. We must fight to get their jobs back as a contract demand. They were workers who fought for better working conditions and against racist oppression for all of us.

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Farmworkers Face Goons

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Editorial

Moscow Trials: New Brezhnev Frameup

Article 125 of the Constitution of the USSR states: "In conformity with the interests of working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law: freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly."

Just what these constitutional guarantees are worth in practice is shown by the trial and conviction of Yakir and Krassin for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Their "crimes" amounted to criticizing the government and the set-up in the USSR and to circulating their "slanders" in typewritten broadsheets. They also committed the horrible offence of talking to foreign newspapermen.

What sort of a society is it that finds it necessary to send men to prison and exile for "offences" of this sort? Suppose for a moment that everything Yakir and Krassin said was nonsense. Brezhnev and the other rulers of the USSR have at their disposal television, radio and the entire press. Powerful enough weapons to refute the "slanders," if that

is what they are, that appear in obscure, secretly circulated sheets. But of course the fact that Brezhnev and his associates are afraid of a handful of open dissidents is proof enough that what the "slanderers" are saying is what ordinary citizens of the USSR know to be the truth -- namely that the regime is an oppressive tyranny whose bosses will not permit any criticism of their rule.

Three arguments are commonly used by supporters of the "Stalinism without Stalin" that exists in Russia. They point out that laws like Article 70 of the Penal Code of the USSR (under which Yakir and Krassin were convicted) exist in other countries too. Well, it is true enough that people are sent to prison in Spain for attacking Franco, that people are sent to prison in Greece for attacking Papadopolous and similarly in a host of other reactionary dictatorships.

Are these then the models for an allegedly "socialist" society? What sort of "socialism" is it that deprives working people of rights that they enjoy even in openly capitalist countries like Britain and the USA?

It is argued that the USSR has to use these savage laws to protect itself against "counter-revolutionary elements." But why should these be a serious threat after half a century of "Soviet" rule? This argument is really an admission that the mass of the citizens of the USSR would get rid of their rulers if they could -- and the rulers know it very well.

But then, we are told, the accused confessed and repented of their "crimes." Surely that proves that the government is right to prosecute them? Now, as it happens, we know why political offenders who are put on trial always "confess" in Russia. We know it from an unimpeachable source -- namely, N. S. Khrushchev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party and top boss of the USSR for nearly ten years until 1963. Speaking to the twentieth congress of the party in 1956 he said of the political trials of the Stalin period: "All their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many arrested and charged with hostile activity were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures." Those who held out under torture, and Khrushchev quoted a number of cases, were simply shot or imprisoned without a public trial. That was and is the reason why few political offenders ever plead not guilty in a Russian court.

This barbaric tyranny has nothing whatever to do with socialism. That it is called socialist has done more damage to the cause of socialism than anything else. But it will not last forever. The fact that political "show trials" are being staged again is a sure sign that there is massive discontent underneath the surface of Brezhnev's despotism. When it explodes, the way will be open for a new workers' revolution for socialist freedom in Russia. ■



Lyons
WITH THANKS TO GEORGE PRICE

Workers' Power 82

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Editorial Board: David Finkel, Joel Geier, Bill Hastings, Michael Stewart, Jack Trautman, John Weber.

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14131 Woodward Avenue., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.
Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year.
Supporting subscriptions: \$5.
Institutional subscriptions: \$5.
Foreign: \$5. Domestic first class (sealed): \$7. Foreign first class: \$10. Foreign air mail (unsealed): \$15. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months.
Bundles of 10 copies or more:

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

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

Workers' Power is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and micro-filmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Serials Number (ISSN): 0019-0636.

AFT Meet: No Threat To Shanker Rule

David Miller

The August convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held in Washington DC, was a bust. Even more than at previous conventions, the AFT leadership was unable to offer real solutions to the critical issues facing teachers—the decline in real income, rising unemployment and worsening working conditions.

This convention, again more than any in the past, was dominated by Albert Shanker, President of the 65,000 United Federation of Teachers in New York City. As a result of the merger between the AFT and the National Education Alliance in New York state, fully half of the AFT membership is from New York State, and about 55% of the convention delegates represented New York State locals.

The main theme of the convention was "Return a veto-proof congress in 1974." This slogan expresses the policy of the Shanker leadership that the only solution to teacher problems "lies through the legislative process."

Strikes, except in the most extreme, defensive cases, are "futile." Teachers have no choice but to campaign for our "friends" in the coming elections if we want to improve our lot.

No Strike Pledge?

In one of his rare appearances on the convention floor, Shanker bitterly opposed resolutions which favored a policy of state-wide and national strikes as an essential part of any strategy to win increased state and federal aid for the public schools. He opposed such a policy on the grounds that, if successful, it would mean that one part of society, the teachers ("and later maybe others") would be imposing its own will on the legislature, "which represents everyone, not just teachers." ("This would be Fascism," said Shanker).

What a policy which rejects strike action in favor of political lobbying really means in practice was demonstrated this year in New York State. The state legislature not only refused to vote

real aid to the schools, but actually voted to *cut back* teachers' pensions (and those of all other public employees as well). The union refused to rally its 200,000 members into any form of action whatever. Instead it relied totally on lobbying. Result: a defeat, which Shanker is trying to pass off as a victory since "we got hit a lot less than we expected...because the Legislators feared our political clout."

Nor is Shanker deterred by the fact that, on the national level, even liberal congresses have never voted one cent for general purpose aid to the public schools. "Such money," according to the liberal Senate caucus of the Democratic Party, "would only go into the pockets of teachers." Even the 1972 Democratic Party platform, which as usual promised just about everything, was silent about such aid to the schools.

The AFT leadership was careful to suppress any potential threat to its alliance with George Meany, the President of the AFL-

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Teachers in Detroit, 10,500 strong, returned to school with picket signs instead of lesson plans this year.

Their union, the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT), is making only modest demands. The three major ones are a wage increase to make up for purchasing power lost over the past two years, a quarterly cost of living adjustment in wages, and a reduction in maximum class size.

The Board of Education's response amounts to one big No; no wage increase, no cost-of-living clause, and no effective limit on class size.

The Board's attitude, climaxing several years of attacks on teachers' living standards and worsening conditions in the schools, cemented teacher unity. The strike is 100 percent solid in the face of strong efforts by the Board of Education and politicians to promote scabbing.

In addition to Detroit, 32 other school districts in Michigan are on strike. Locals of both the American Federation

of Teachers and the National Education Association have thrown up picket lines.

A major factor in all these strikes is the demand that teacher salaries reflect increases in the cost of living. Proposals for cost of living escalator clauses are appearing for the first time as serious demands in some places and catch-up wage hikes are crucial issues in all districts.

New Militancy

In contrast to this fall's events, Detroit teachers last year accepted a contract which allowed no wage increase. This year's wave of strikes, stretching into their third week shows that teachers aren't willing to be the fall guys in the current economic mess.

While the buying power of teacher wages falls, the State ran a surplus last year, and corporate profits are zooming.

The number of students per class has also increased steadily at the same time as books and other supplies have become harder to get and the school

buildings themselves have suffered from lack of maintenance. These conditions have made the teacher's job an impossible one, reducing even the most dedicated and able to the role of babysitter to frustrated and understandably hostile children.

Detroit schools mirror the problems of other urban schools and big-city life in general: inadequate services, underpaid workers, racism, and bureaucrats and politicians who heap all these on the backs of workers and the black community.

One of the major features of the strike has been the attempt by the Board and some politicians to enlist Detroit's black community on the side of the Board against the teachers.

Everyone in the city recognizes that the schools don't provide an education for our children, and people are angry that they pay taxes for a system that doesn't do the job. The Board tries to put the blame for this onto the teachers.

They imply that teachers

[Continued on page 10]

Detroit Teachers Strike To Fight Inflation

Mike Connolly

The Teamster Watergate-

One by one, the growing Watergate scandal has blown off the masks of the outfits that run America. The latest ugly face to be exposed is an alliance between the government, the Teamsters Union bureaucracy and the mafia, to keep down the rank and file of the IBT.

The Teamsters' role in Watergate was outlined in the testimony of Charles Colson, a former presidential advisor. Colson specialized in political fixing through the Department of Labor for various pro-Administration labor unions.

Colson made the deal that won Nixon the support of the Teamsters Union. He arranged for former Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa to be paroled, thus pleasing the rank and file—who rightly saw the jailing of Hoffa as really an attack on their union. At the same time, he worked out the provision that barred Hoffa from running for union office until 1980, thus pleasing the Frank Fitzsimmons bureaucracy—who fear that Hoffa wants to replace them with his own regime.

When Colson quit the White House and joined the law firm of Colson & Shapiro, the Teamsters promptly hired him as counsel at \$100,000 a year. This proved to be a bad investment as it turned out, since Colson's influence has dropped steadily since the entire Watergate picture emerged. Harold Gibbons, a Teamster Vice President and head of the Central States Conference, was a McGovern supporter, and appeared on the Nixon "enemy list." When Colson became the Teamster lawyer, the word went out that Gibbons had to go. Gibbons was a Hoffa man besides, so Fitzsimmons was happy to oblige. As soon as Colson gave the word, Gibbons' days in the bureaucracy were numbered.

President Godfather

Nixon's biggest cover up of the corrupt activities of Fitzsimmons came to light when disgruntled FBI men leaked the story to the newspapers. It seems that Fitzsimmons made an arrangement to turn over \$1 billion in Teamster Welfare Fund money to a Mafia-connected medical program, and the Administration found out. But Attorney General Kleindienst squashed the phone taps that had uncovered Fitzsimmons' actions because further investigation would have been too embarrassing to Fitzsimmons and thus to the Administration.

The FBI had been tapping the phones of the "People's industri-

al Consultants" of Los Angeles, a Mafia front set up to handle the Teamster welfare money. On February 8, an FBI informant saw Frank Fitzsimmons meet with Peter Mitano, Sam Sciotino, and Joe Lamandri, identified by the FBI as members of the Mafia. They presented Fitzsimmons with a proposal for a pre-paid health plan under which Teamster members would be provided with medical care by a group of doctors headed by Dr. Bruce Frome of Los Angeles.

After a 15-minute meeting, Fitzsimmons gave his tentative approval and sent the three to meet with Allen Dorfman, who

informants at La Costa heard Rosanova boast of a future pay off, split between him and Fitzsimmons. The Chicago Mafia would get a 3% commission, so the fund would pay a total of \$1 million a year to the Mafia.

When the court-authorized wiretaps expired, the FBI submitted an affidavit to the Justice Department asking for continuation of the taps for another 20 days and installation of new taps on a public phone and the office phone of a mobster involved in siphoning off Teamster money. But Attorney General Kleindienst and Assistant Attorney General Peterson refused an application

The Government keeps a constant watch on the IBT and its pension fund, but not to prosecute for wrongdoings. They just want some leverage to make sure Fitzsimmons stays a faithful friend. By protecting Fitzsimmons from prosecution for the crimes he and his underlings commit, the Administration not only wins favors from him in turn, it also keeps Fitzsimmons on good behavior. He always knows that if he breaks from Nixon, he can only too easily be prosecuted.

The type of favors the Administration seeks in return are well illustrated by a special conference for several hundred Team-

ed that the large Teamsters' contribution to Nixon was a direct payoff to the Administration for keeping Hoffa on parole and unable to challenge Fitzsimmons' power.

But Hoffa, for his part, is just as loyal a Nixon supporter as Fitzsimmons and just as closely tied to the Mafia. Hoffa doesn't disagree with Fitzsimmons' rotten methods of "leading" the Teamsters Union—he just wants his old job back.

Many rank and file Teamsters still support Hoffa, on the grounds that he got decent contracts. "I don't care if he gets a million, as long as I get mine" is a common argument. But Hoffa's millions and the giant IBT payoffs to the Mafia come from the Teamster pension and welfare funds and will eventually effect every Teamster member and family. Further, the persistent corruption of the Teamsters Union opens it both to government attack and to making deals with the employers and the government against the rank and file.

Know Your Enemies

So what do the Watergate revelations prove about the Teamsters Union? First of all, they prove that Hoffa is no alternative to Fitzsimmons—they were both stamped out by the same die. Their hostility toward each other is topped only by their shared contempt for the rank and file.

More importantly, the Watergate/Teamster scandal demonstrates once again that the Government is no friend of the ranks.

Colson's testimony proves that the Government is not interested in cracking down on either the corrupt Teamster leaders or the Mafia. It gathers information on Teamster gangsterism only to reinforce its hold on Fitzsimmons. And Nixon values Fitzsimmons not simply because he raises money or rounds up political support for the Administration but because he works very hard to keep the rank and file of the Teamsters in line.

Some rank and filers are always running off to the Government trying to get it to intervene in this or that matter. The lesson of Watergate and the Nixon Administration's cover-up of Teamster corruption is that going to the Government for help is like going to the Teamster bureaucracy or the company and begging for favors. The better we understand what the Government is up to with Fitzsimmons the better we can organize independently against them.



was soon to go to prison for receiving a \$55,000 kickback from a \$1.5 million pension fund loan. The next day, Fitzsimmons met with Lou ("The Tailor") Rosanova, executive director of the Teamster-owned Savannah Inn and Country Club, "the mob's Southern watering hole," and a representative of the Chicago syndicate, who wanted a percentage of the Los Angeles mob's take. On February 12, Fitzsimmons met with Rosanova again, this time at the La Costa Country Club, another Teamster financed "R & R" (rest and recuperation) center for the mob. A few hours later Fitzsimmons boarded Air Force One with President Nixon for a flight to Washington.

People's Industrial Consultants was to get a 7% commission on the possible \$1 billion a year business. On February 27, FBI

for renewal of the court order okaying the taps.

Just one week earlier, acting FBI director L. Patrick Gray had said before the Senate Judiciary committee that FBI agents would "strike organized crime where it would do the most damage." But obviously the Justice Department and Nixon Administration were much more interested in maintaining control over the Teamsters Union than in fighting organized crime.

As was mentioned, other Justice Department favors to Fitzsimmons included keeping Hoffa on a parole that prevents him from engaging in union activity until 1980, so he can't run against Fitzsimmons for IBT President. Also, the Justice Department has refused to prosecute Richard Fitzsimmons, Frank's son, for credit card fraud involving the Detroit local.

ster lawyers held in August 1972 at the Playboy Club at Lake Geneva, Washington. Attorney General Kleindienst, Labor Secretary Hodges, Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board Edward Metler, and the General Counsel of the NLRB met with the top Teamster leadership for five days in the private meeting—giving them advice on how to bypass the new Federal Election Campaign Act and how generally to avoid trouble with the Government.

The Teamsters used this advice well, not only collecting hundreds of thousands of dollars for Nixon from Teamster officials through the usual bureaucratic arm twisting, but also getting \$600,000 out of various recipients of Teamster pension funds in Las Vegas, usually of a shady character. Jimmy Hoffa held a press conference where he charged

Fitz and the Plumbers

Kevin Bradley

Labor In Brief



Canadian rail strike broken by Parliament

Fifty-six thousand non-operating railway workers in Canada have staged a week-long nationwide strike, crippling industry and agriculture all across the country.

A special session of the Canadian Parliament was convened to end the strike, but rank and file resistance to the government's strike-breaking decree kept railroads in many parts of the country closed for another ten days.

The strike came against the background of sharply rising living costs for Canadian workers. As in the U.S., inflation is at its highest peak in over 20 years.

Canadian workers, however, have responded with more militancy than their U.S. counterparts. In addition to the railway strike, airline workers have been conducting their own strikes off and on in recent months, and many other industries have also been affected by the rising labor militancy.

The railroad strike was unavoidable after management of the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific refused to increase their wage offer above 6%.

The unions demanded at least 10% to offset the effects of inflation and to catch up with the wages of other industrial workers. With an average wage of \$3.50 an hour, railway workers are behind many other Canadian workers.

Part of the reason for this wage disparity is the action of

the Canadian government, which for the third time since 1950 passed a law ordering railway workers back to work.

This time, the workers were prepared to resist, but the determination of their leadership cracked almost from the beginning.

On the first day of the Parliament debate, several thousand workers picketed in Ottawa, with their leaders announcing that they would not obey any special legislation unless it met the union's demands. Hundreds of workers stormed through police lines and invaded the Parliament buildings.

Later, after an all-night session, the Members of Parliament responded with a bill giving the workers a 34¢ per hour first year raise, and 7.5 percent additional in the second year. After prompt approval by the Queen of England, the bill became law.

Richard Smith, chief union negotiator, promptly capitulated. He explained that the choice facing the union leadership was to put a "militant and valiant" fight against the law or to obey it.

"After serious and soul-searching consideration," he said, "we have decided the second course is the best one."

Many union rank and filers, however, did not agree, and pockets of resistance sprang up all over the country, concentrated primarily in Ontario and British Columbia.

The resistance generally included the running trades (operating workers) and shopcraft workers as well as the "non-

ops," who had initiated the strike.

The important centers of Thunder Bay and Capreol were tied up, stopping all cross-country traffic. Workers in Fort Erie kept the border traffic to the US at a standstill, and virtually all of the province of British Columbia was shut down.

At New Westminster, B.C., only two out of 1,000 workers at a mass meeting voted to return to work. Reports were circulated that workers from Thunder Bay were travelling to other rail centers, organizing resistance.

Workers in British Columbia asked the Canadian Labor Congress to hold mass meetings across the country in support of the strike. A thousand workers in Windsor joined the strike, demanding that their union president, Richard Smith, resign.

But after ten days of strike, pressure from the government and from the union leadership have forced most back to work. Six workers near Vancouver were charged with "defying an act of Parliament," and the government announced it was preparing to bring charges against 423 more.

With workers throughout the country returning to work, those in British Columbia were forced to return also. They began a slowdown, however, and threatened to strike again if any of the six arrested workers "receive so much as a 10-cent fine."

At this writing, the situation is unsettled, with cross-country railroad service sporadic at best. The government seems to have gotten most back to work for the time being, but rail workers are far from happy and more strike action could occur at any time.

"Participation" shuck no substitute for control

Every day, there is more and more talk about worker participation in some new plant or office that has been put into effect to solve some of the ever-present problems facing most corporations—high absenteeism, low productivity, and worker's discontent.

Usually these plants allow a certain degree of the determination of working conditions and work procedures to be left up to individual workers or to the workforce collectively. Many have, in fact, had some highly publicized success in solving some of the problems for the time being.

However, in none of the plants are the workers involved in making the real decisions—what is produced, what hours are worked, and so on.

Now it is coming out that a return for the improvement in working conditions where that actually takes place is paid for by the workers' wages. In the Kennett, Missouri plant of Uniroyal, for example, a plant that replaced a much older plant in New Jersey, the wages are far below those of the old plant.

The company uses the "worker participation" scheme to beat back union organizing drives by the United Rubber Workers.

So these new "worker participation" programs are designed to not only beat off the "blue collar blues" but also to hold down wages and union organization. The companies want to force a choice: livable working conditions or decent wages and a union organization. Instead, the fight for human working conditions, for workers' control of production, and for higher wages and militant unionism must be part of the same struggle.

Nixon's Labor Toad lauds attack on longshore jobs

Labor Secretary Peter Brennan, former building trades leader from New York State, has applauded the construction of a new wharf in New Orleans. The new facility is designed to reduce the number of longshoremen needed for work.

Brennan spoke at the opening of the new wharf, but failed to mention its threat to jobs in the area. Afterwards, he mentioned that laid-off longshoremen "should be offered retraining."

Longshore jobs all over are facing threats due to automation and containerization—the loading on board ships of pre-packaged, uniform containers. The failure of the ILA (East Coast longshore union) in particular to organize a fight against this attack has severely weakened the longshoremen's position. Much of the problem has been the failure of the union to overcome the reactionary policy of having two separate locals—one black, one white—in many of the important southern ports.

Recent joint actions of black and white longshoremen, however, show that overcoming these divisions and taking militant action to protect jobs are the only way forward for longshoremen.

Caution: Working may be hazardous to your health

After all the publicity about the danger of cigarette smoking to your lungs and heart, it has finally come out that there is an ever bigger danger that seems to have been causing many of the respiratory illnesses up till now. Work.

A study made by the Health Research Group, one of Ralph Nader's projects, tested about 500 Detroit auto workers who had applied for Workmen's Compensation. The outcome of the study shows what many workers and unions have been claiming all along.

According to the study, those workers whose jobs require that they be exposed to dust, dirt and smoke have a 50% greater chance of developing certain chronic lung disorders as do those whose jobs are relatively "clean." Non-smokers and smokers alike who worked in the auto plants showed about the same instances of such things as chronic bronchitis.

Additionally, the study has shown that exposure to gasoline exhaust on the job greatly increases the chances of some lung diseases. In the auto industry this affects a large number of workers due to the refusal of the large corporations to replace their gas-powered fork-lifts with electric ones.

The recent wildcats in Detroit auto plants have shown already that working conditions and health and safety on the job are one of the issues most on the minds of the rank and file today. This contract must begin to deal with these problems before new work procedures are introduced along with new diseases.

In Columbus, Ohio, nerve disorders have stemmed from the work being performed in the print shop of the Columbus Coated Fabrics plant. At least 11 employees have suffered from the disease, which caused difficulty in walking and a weak feeling. The ailment attacks the nerves in the arms and legs.

After State Health Department officials began investigating the occurrence of the nerve disorder, Local 487 of the Textile Workers of America began advising employees to stay off the job.



Striking Quebec workers picket railway station

UAW Tops Cancel Auto Strike

Jack Trautman



The UAW leadership's treatment of voluntary overtime is just further proof of the phoney way they are running the strike.

As everyone knows, winning voluntary overtime is a means of giving us freedom to plan our lives, and freedom to have lives outside of eating, sleeping and working.

The 40 hour week was supposedly won years ago. It was the product of great struggles and many workers gave their lives for it. Today we supposedly have it -- but we don't.

Real voluntary overtime would mean *no overtime*. No one wants to work overtime. No one gets a kick out of it. Many of us do it because, whether or not the company requires it, we cannot survive without it.

To really make overtime voluntary we would have to demand and fight for a wage rate that would provide us with an adequate standard of living for a five-day, eight-hour week. There is no talk of that.

But even the fight against compulsory overtime is being

compromised away. The September 5 issue of the *Detroit Free Press* listed the compromises the UAW leaders were starting from. From these they would get worse.

1. Overtime would be voluntary after nine hours instead of eight. This was the *best* of their compromises.

2. Leave overtime mandatory -- have it cost double time instead of time and a half. The theory behind this proposal is that overtime would then be too expensive for the company. But, they pay no fringe benefits for overtime, so even at double-time it costs them very little more than straight time and will cut down on overtime very little.

3. Limit the days we have to work to thirteen in a row. Only thirteen in a row! What an improvement!

4. Overtime *voluntary*, but workers can be excused. In other words, the decision is the company's again.

Underlying all of these proposals is the UAW guarantee that any right of voluntary overtime would apply only to individuals and not to groups.

Serious penalties for group

(Continued from page 1)

If we don't fight for them we are allowing the company to pick off those who fight for all of us. An injury to one is an injury to all!

If these needs were really fought for it would mean a greater battle with the auto companies than we have seen in decades. But they won't be.

In fact, many people are surprised that there is a strike at all! After all, 6 months ago at the special UAW Collective Bargaining Convention held in Detroit, Woodcock said he wanted no strike.

He said it would be irresponsible for auto workers to go on strike. (He meant irresponsible to the auto companies, to the government, to American capitalism. He didn't mean irresponsible to auto workers.)

Since then the auto negotiations have been interrupted three times by major wildcats at Chrysler plants in Detroit. These strikes made national news headlines.

They were punctuated liter-

ally dozens of times by other unpublicized wildcats. These wildcats continued right up to the contract expiration. On Thursday night, September 13, two Chrysler plants in Belvedere, Illinois and in Windsor, Canada wildcatted in protest over forced overtime.

On Friday morning two other plants in Detroit, Dodge Main and Warren Truck, walked out. And, on Friday afternoon the Jefferson Assembly plant in Detroit went out early.

Long Hot Summer

It was this continuous direct action of auto workers and especially the three mid-summer Detroit explosions that forced the hand of the UAW leaders.

They were forced to pick Chrysler as the target because those of us who are Chrysler workers were the angriest. If a contract could be gotten safely past Chrysler workers it could sail through ratification at GM and Ford. But a contract that Ford workers bought, Chrysler workers might not buy.

The wildcat at the Detroit Forge, coming right after the Jefferson sit-down, forced Doug Fraser to tour the Detroit plants and at least *pretend* to be concerned about working conditions.

The Mack wildcat guaranteed that the UAW would strike Chrysler. The UAW bureaucrats organized a goon-squad scab operation against the Mack workers. They threatened all other auto workers with similar action if the workers tried to win their demands by direct action.

Having beaten the workers the UAW leadership now had to go on strike. They had to do so in order to appear as though they were really ready to lead a "militant" fight for workers' needs. In other words, they had to prove that they were more than just scabs.

They also had to go on strike because only by means of a strike could they sell to the Chrysler workers the lousy contract they are undoubtedly going to have. The contract will not deal decisively with any of

action would be permitted by the union. The UAW leaders are willing to give up our right to act together -- to act like a union!

Any two or more people getting together and agreeing to refuse overtime could be penalized. Think that's far-fetched?

In July a steward was fired at the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant in Detroit. Two skilled workers punched out after ten hours of work, the last two of which were voluntary. When asked why they were punching out they said the steward told them to.

The steward, Malcolm Woods, was promptly fired. The UAW bureaucrats have done nothing to get his job back. Why not? Because they were trying to prove their good faith to Chrysler that they would not permit or defend joint action in the use of voluntary overtime.

This is how the UAW bureaucrats treat an issue that they are "deadly serious" about. How do you think they treat other issues, like workers' control over working conditions, that they have no interest in at all? ■

Woodcock's Overtime Swindle



UAW Must Demand: Re-hire All Fired Militants!



This summer dozens of workers were fired for participation in wildcat strikes -- for fighting against rotten, unsafe and racist working conditions. Over the years many, many others have been fired for the same reason.

Everytime the company fires someone for fighting back, we all lose. Everytime the company fires a rank and file militant and gets away with it, it becomes more difficult for those of us who are left to fight for better conditions. It becomes easier for the company to put the squeeze on us all.

The workers who were fired this summer must be rehired. Getting their jobs back should

be a major concern for us and for the union.

Winning their jobs back means putting the company on notice that the union will protect those who fight for us. And it encourages the rest of us to fight.

Unfortunately, the union "leadership" doesn't fight to get their jobs back. The UAW bureaucrats were pleased they were fired.

During the Mack strike, Doug Fraser encouraged Chrysler to hold tough! He said the company had given in too easily to the Jefferson sit-down.

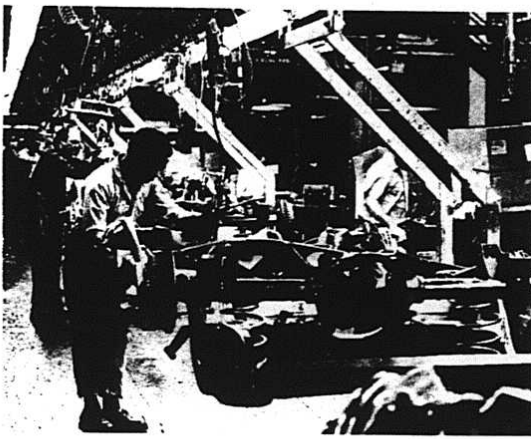
They don't want us to fight because that means we act independently. They want us to

"go through channels," although doing so is thoroughly ineffective.

The union leadership isn't fighting for their jobs, but we can. We must make the rehiring of the fired workers a condition for ratification of the contract. We must do so because not to get their jobs back would be a defeat for all of us.

Vote no on the contract if it doesn't require the rehiring of all those workers fired for fighting for better working conditions.

Remember: AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL! A VICTORY FOR ONE IS A VICTORY FOR ALL! ■



the serious issues facing auto workers. If they tried to get it past Chrysler workers today they would get spit in their faces.

What the UAW bureaucrats are hoping, what they are counting on, is that after a strike of a few weeks or a month Chrysler workers will be tired enough to say "uncle" and vote for their contract. They are also hoping that getting Chrysler workers out of the plants for a while will cool them down.

They want us to go back to work after the new contract is signed and not cause any trouble. They figure that a planned strike is better than unplanned continuous interruption of production—better for Chrysler, that is.

These are the reasons we are now on strike against Chrysler. It is not because of the "courageous" leadership of Woodcock, Fraser and the others. There is not even any pretense of a determined battle.

We will win very little by the strike, just as the GM workers won very little in 1970. William Serrin, in his history of the 1970 strike, described accurately what took place then:

"The strike was... not to win agreement but to win ratification. General Motors would have signed the same agreement if the UAW had made known that it was prepared to settle. But Woodcock was unsure whether the final settlement could have been ratified without a strike."

The lesson is not that we should not have strikes, or that nothing can be won from them. For instance, the contract will undoubtedly be better because of the July and August wildcat strikes in Detroit. Those strikes told them they must give us concessions.

But we will win little, and no real victories without a knock-down, drag-out fight. And we won't get that fight so long as the phonies who control this union are at its head. ■

Demands for a Decent Contract

The International Socialists believe that a rank and file movement in the UAW can turn back the corporations' attack and win many important gains which auto workers need. The 1973 contract fight could help to start such a movement. The demands we believe the auto companies should be forced to grant include:

We should demand that the contract state as a principle that every employee has a right to a safe and healthy work environment. To enforce this, we need:

- Union health and safety committees with the right to shut down the plant, with no loss in pay, for safety violations. Regular heat passes during the summer and automatic plant shutdown at 90 degrees.
- The right to refuse any unsafe job. Fire any foremen who violate safety regulations.
- Safety rules to be set by union committees in every plant and department, based on local conditions.

End racist and sexist discrimination in the plant.

- Fire racist and sexist foremen.
- Preferential hiring into the skilled trades for blacks and women. All hiring into the skilled trades to come from production.
- End the 90-day probationary period.

Control of working conditions must be in the hands of the workers.

- A steward for every foreman.
- Workers' control of line speed—the right of the stewards to stop

the line at company expense for unauthorized speedup.

- Unrestricted right to strike over local issues.

- Rehire all workers disciplined for fighting for decent working conditions.

Auto production is going to hit some new records this year—record numbers of cars; record overtime; record speedup; record injuries; and, of course, record profits. Yet in the middle of this big economic boom, we've got about 9 percent unemployment in Michigan and 4.8 percent nationally—and these official figures always underplay the actual unemployment. Think that's bad? There's a recession coming next year and it's going to get a lot worse!

- Break the wage guidelines—an immediate 15 percent increase to make up for losses suffered in the past.

- 100 percent cost-of-living protection

- Full SUB benefits for the duration of layoff, regardless of seniority.

- Ban compulsory overtime—the first step toward a ban on overtime with no loss in weekly pay.

- Wage increases with no price increases
- Freeze profits—open the company books to inspect profit figures.

- Real progress toward a short-work week, not tied to any money-coated "absentee control" procedure—the first step toward a 30 hour week for 40 hour's pay.

Phase 4: Prices Run Amok

Kit Lyons

[Continued from page 1]

it's all in our minds, he said.

Stein's research staff has discovered, he declared, that the total per capita after-tax income of all individuals from all sources, allowing for inflation, was actually 5% higher this spring than a year ago.

Stein's staff failed to include the inflation of June and July in their computations (not to mention that of August). But that's not the half of it.

What Stein's precise economic jargon hides is the fact that corporation executives, bank presidents, financiers, agribusiness magnates, real estate speculators and all the other rich and near-rich—not to mention their well-paid servants like industry scientists, government lawyers, politicians and union bureaucrats—are counted in along with the rest of the American people.

The "after-tax per capita income from all sources" of the people Stein represents may well be 5% higher than a year ago, may well be a lot more than that. But our real wages—the per capita income of the American working class—are falling, and there is no end in sight.

The contracts our "leaders" have signed for us this year merely pave the way for their continued decline.

Killing Grind

The fall in real wages is merely one element of an across-the-board attack on the quality of life of American workers. The growing gap between average income and inflation would be even greater except that many workers have been working endless hours of overtime.

The killing grind of overtime has made the demand for voluntary overtime a major issue in the auto contract negotiations.

But at the same time, it has helped cushion the impact of inflation on many families.

To defend themselves against rising prices, many workers have been forced to trade away part of their lives.

Since inflation has consistently gotten worse under each succeeding phase of Nixon's "New Economic Program," most people have decided that his economic controls have been a flop. But in fact they have served their basic purpose quite well.

As *Workers' Power* has argued from the beginning, the real purpose of Nixon's program was to boost profits, not control prices. What Nixon has controlled very effectively—with the help of the union bureaucracy—is wages. Meanwhile, profits, like prices, have soared to record levels.

The present boom got into high gear in the first quarter of 1972, when U.S. business earned more money than in any previous three-month period in its history. Record profits continued well into this year, paced by the auto industry. Overall rise in profits this year is expected to be around 29%.

Boom to Bust

Capitalism's drive for higher and higher profits is the basic cause of all inflation. Capitalist economists used to argue that higher wages were the cause of higher prices. But the experience of the past many months has blown away that myth forever.

The relative economic stability of the 1950's and early 60's was made possible by America's dominance over a Europe and Japan devastated by World War II. Bloating cold war defense spending was used by the government as a tool to regulate the economy.

Now we have entered a new

period of instability. U.S. business faces strong competition from Japan, Germany and other capitalist countries. The arms race continues despite the detente with China and Russia, but defense spending is no longer capable of regulating booms and busts.

To meet the foreign competition and shore up its position, U.S. capitalism has launched an offensive against the U.S. working class. Rising prices, forced overtime and speedup are all fronts in this offensive.

Despite growing resistance at the rank and file level, so far the employers have pretty much had things their own way. What is hitting us in the supermarket and happening to us on the job are the fruits of their victory.

Instability

Next year, unless something is done, things will only get worse. The interest rates which are breaking records just like prices and profits—not to mention Nixon's talk about a so-called "soft-landing"—are a warning that the boom is about to become a bust.

The overtime that helped shield some of us from inflation will come to an end. Many of the wives and young people who helped their families stay afloat by getting jobs will be dumped onto the welfare rolls.

Unemployment—which never did go down very much, so far as the black community and women were concerned—will start to climb toward 10%.

But one thing that won't change very much is the rate of inflation. More and more economists are starting to predict a recession, yet no one expects inflation to get much better. We will simply return to the "stagflation" of 1969-70—high unemployment and high prices.

Well, what can be done? For openers, we need a wage and working conditions offensive—a national, no-holds-barred wave of strikes to break the wage controls and smash the employer of fortune.

Second we need a total, top-to-bottom, across-the-board freeze on prices. If any corporation, any industry, any agricultural factory says it can't make a profit under these conditions, too bad. Let it be nationalized and turned over to be run by its workers. The needs of the American people must come before the profit lust of US capitalism. ■



FARMWORKERS FACE GI

Marie Pielka

Chavez Calls Off Pickets As Deputies Shoot To Kill

Cesar Chavez has called off all United Farmworker picketing, except at a few melon farms and wineries, and has sent thousands of strikers into the cities to build the boycott of grapes and lettuce. "We are taking our case to the cities where the power is," Chavez said. "We will listen to the reactions of the consumer to our boycott before we decide exactly what to do next."

Expanded Boycott

Between one and two thousand farmworkers are heading across the nation to promote the boycott. They will attempt to visit 63 cities.

The boycott was highly successful in past years in forcing growers to sign with the union. Since then the farmworkers' cause has not attracted as much popular attention, not retained the cooperation of organized labor that it once had. Dolores Huerta, United Farmworker organizer, claims the boycott was effective with the Coachella grape harvest, but not since because of the confusion over union labels on boxes.

Chavez says he called off the picketing because of violence in the fields. Two U.F.W. members

have been killed in the dispute so far, a few have been wounded, and several others fired upon.

Other factors may have influenced the decision, however. The \$1.6 million donated by the AFL-CIO has been exhausted, so the union can no longer pay strike benefits in most cases. Chavez said he has not even asked George Meany for additional funds because of violence on the picket line.

Other sources say that picketing has not been effective since the Coachella harvest, anyway.

Open Season

Chavez described the situation in the fields as "open season on farmworkers." He said the union will concentrate on the boycott and will not resume picketing unless federal officers are sent "to take arms away from the growers and their agents."

That seemed to put picketing pretty far in the future. Justice Department sources say that unless the situation "deteriorates" and the California National Guard is called in, there is not likely to be an influx of FBI agents or US Marshals.

Thousands of UFW members and supporters marched in fune-

al processions for the two slain farmworkers. Nagi Daifullah, an immigrant from Yemen, suffered fatal head injuries inflicted by a sheriff's deputy. Juan de la Cruz, a member of the union since its founding, was shot to death from a passing truck while picketing. A local newspaper noted as typical of the times the fact that, while there were ten priests at de la Cruz's funeral, there were only two labor representatives.

Chavez announced a three-day fast to commemorate de la Cruz and to recommit his own union to non-violence.

The UFW, which once held over 180 contracts in the Central Valley, now has only 12, only nine with table and wine grape growers. Its official membership has shrunk to 6,500 from 40,000. The Teamsters Union has signed sweetheart contracts with 80 grape growers that once held UFW contracts.

Teamsters' "Image"

The Teamsters also hold 180 lettuce contracts, covering 30,000 workers, won during other raids on the Farmworkers. They have repudiated 30 additional contracts with Delano table grape growers.

Several possible explanations have been advanced for the Teamsters' repudiation of the Delano contracts. One theory holds that the Teamsters' image has suffered from the raids on the UFW and association with Nixon's Watergate Party. Teamster President Fitzsimmons wants to "attain respectability," said one AFL-CIO official. "He doesn't want to be branded as a hog. He wants to be branded as a labor statesman." Fitzsimmons could also profit from a reconciliation with George Meany, especially in his power struggle with Jimmy Hoffa.

According to this theory, the

repudiation of the Delano contracts means the Teamsters are really starting to back down. Meany himself seemed optimistic about this kind of development. He said all the Teamsters have to do is write the growers saying, "We have no interest in organizing your farm workers." A spokesman for Meany denied, however, that Meany has used anything but "moral persuasion" in his talks with Fitzsimmons.

News Gimmick?

But it is also possible that Fitzsimmons repudiated the Delano contracts simply to make it appear that he is backing down, and thus undercut the UFW's support. Chavez' first reaction to Fitzsimmons' announcement was to denounce it as a "news gimmick."

"The Teamsters are trying to get in the news to offset what is happening here," Chavez said. "But the fact remains that the Teamsters, the growers, and the cops are equally responsible for these deaths. No amount of news gimmicks can change that."

After Chavez talked to Meany's representative, he changed his opinion to say that the repudiation was a "first step." But the Delano growers are preparing to sue in order to keep the contracts. And even if they are nullified, the growers still may not sign with the UFW.

The day after Fitzsimmons repudiated the Delano contracts, the Teamsters announced the beginning of an organizing drive in San Diego County. They have also started to move in on tomato pickets near Gilroy.

A Teamster spokesman claimed "...there has not been any union activity before" in San Diego County. But a UFW official denied that, saying the Farmworkers have organized all over the State, including San Diego County, and that the Teamsters have

organized only where the UFW has contracts or is organizing.

Other Farmworker sources would not comment, saying that the UFW cannot engage in a verbal battle with the Teamsters because of the hoped-for peace settlement. The UFW called a strike against Eggerghio Farms in San Diego county in 1971, but the strike was broken.

Broken Pacts

Rumors accompanying Fitzsimmons' announcement said that an "accommodation" has been reached between him and Meany. An observer close to both feuding unions noted that an agreement signed by Chavez in early July, allowing Meany to arbitrate any contract disputes, helped pave the way.

But then, the Teamsters have already signed two "no-raiding pacts" with the Farmworkers, the first in July 1967, and the second in March, 1971. The second was to be enforced by Meany and Fitzsimmons, but the top arbitration mechanism was never employed. The Teamsters have of course violated both pacts.

Violent confrontations occasionally break out in the fields where Farmworkers continue to picket. Sixty-eight persons were arrested and 11 injured in a clash between strikers and scabs at the Gallo vineyards August 29th.

The UFW is demanding that Gallo repudiate contracts it has signed with the Teamsters, stop the evictions of Farmworkers' families, and recognize the UFW.

Sixteen UFW pickets were arrested when 150 pickets rushed a cantaloupe field in Fresno County August 22. Farmworkers claim they were fired upon outside the Giumarra vineyard and the Franzia Brothers' Winery.

The UFW seems to have stopped fighting anti-picketing injunctions for the time being. It has advised those arrested in mass protests not to get arrested again. Gallo secured an injunction limiting the number of pickets August 31, and while the local UFW director denounced the order as unconstitutional, he said the picketers would obey it for the time being.

"We Have the People"

Neither Republican nor Democratic Party politicians are likely to help the Farmworkers. An anti-UFW legislative measure has at least been delayed in the State Assembly. But California's Democratic Senator Alan Cranston could only suggest that "a solution come from those involved." For the good of the economy, he said, "We can't let production be stopped by these disputes." He said full production is the key to halting inflation.

Chavez insists that his union can hold out "20 to 30" years against the growers and the Teamsters. "The Teamsters may have the contracts," he says, "but we have the people."



GROWER—COP VIOLENCE

How Top-Down Rule Hurts Farm Workers' Struggle

James Morrison

The commitment and dedication of the leadership of the United Farmworkers Union to the cause of the farmworker are beyond doubt. For years they have worked, at huge personal sacrifice, to organize farmworkers against what seemed unconquerable opposition — the huge and powerful California agribusiness, the state and federal government support to the growers and now the Teamsters, the largest single union in the country. And despite this opposition, the UFW has won real victories.

When compared to the Teamsters or other AFL-CIO unions, the membership of the UFW can and does take real pride in their union. The union has consistently fought for the real needs of farmworkers.

The UFW has fought for hiring halls to replace the degrading and exploitative system of labor contractors. It has fought to protect farmworkers from dangerous conditions such as pesticides and it has fought for the dignity of the field workers and protection against the arbitrary policies of the growers and their foremen.

To the credit of the UFW leadership, it has refused to sell out the farmworkers just to get "peace" with the growers and a regular dues income. Some growers have indicated that they would be willing to sign with the UFW if it would give up the demands for hiring hall and controls over working conditions (pesticides). The UFW has flatly refused.

No wonder that the growers so strongly prefer the Teamsters Union to the UFW. And for that same reason, most farmworkers want the UFW.

Bureaucratic Top

At the ranch level, the UFW is extremely democratic. The field workers elect their own ranch committee which actively organizes and defends the workers. Because they are elected by and responsive to the needs of the field workers, the field workers in turn respect the lead of the ranch committees.

The growers despise the success of these committees since the defense of the workers often means that things don't run as "smoothly" as before. One fore-

man at a Salinas ranch explained that he was for the Teamsters because they did not prevent the foreman from firing workers he thought didn't do the job well.

But most UFW policies are made at the top of the union. Even though the leadership is extremely dedicated and talented, the young UFW is already heavily bureaucratized at the top—decisions are made basically by Cesar Chavez and the "brain trust" and staff in La Paz. There is no way that the UFW membership, the field workers, can change decisions and this shows up in UFW policies.

The Union has rightly made the hiring hall one of its most important issues. But there are some policies connected with the hiring hall which, while "technical," have lost some significant support among farmworkers.

The Union requires that farmworkers must pay three months dues in advance to join the UFW and be sent out from the halls. But for farmworkers, just before harvest begins, that is a lot of money and many just do not have it. But these workers must have jobs and are pushed by this policy into scabbing on the union.

The union also has a state-wide seniority system for the hiring hall. Since California agriculture is state wide and field workers move up the state each season, some kind of state-wide policy is necessary. But the specific policy of the UFW has created some problems.

Contracts were first signed in the south, where the harvest season begins. Thus, the workers in, say Coachella, including those who were not union supporters until after the contracts were signed, have higher seniority (and therefore first right to jobs) than workers who start work further north.

Justified Resentment

The UFW's failure to correct these problems has created much justified resentment on the part of many field workers. Since there are no democratic channels within the union to voice criticism and change policies, the problems in the present hiring hall system give the growers and the Teamsters ammunition for at-

tacking the hiring hall generally.

Sometimes poor decisions are made because Chavez is out of touch with what may be happening in the fields. And sometimes decisions may be different from what is needed by the struggles of the farmworkers because Chavez has a different point of view.

The problem is that there is no way of correcting mistakes or changing union policy except by convincing Chavez. Union members and staff who disagree with Chavez and the top leadership are often moved around and are sometimes forced out of the union.

This hurts the union in three ways. First, it prevents some mistakes from being corrected. Secondly, the union is weakened because it is hard for those who

In response to the recent murder of two union members, the union could have called on farmworkers to organize their own defense. Or, it could have appealed to California labor tradition for a massive labor defense of farmworker picket lines. Instead, Chavez's policy of non-violence meant calling off the mass picketing until the Justice Department or FBI defends the farmworkers.

To the extent that the farmworkers stop relying on their own strength and organization and that of the labor movement and start depending on US government agencies, they give up their real power. And while many workers in the union question the effectiveness of non-violence, they have no way to bring

responsibility directly to the top of the union. These offices vary greatly from city to city, in some places reflecting the worst aspects of the bureaucratization of the farmworkers.

In Oakland California, for example, the boycott activity is organized strictly from the top down. One boycott leader, reflecting union policy, has spent valuable boycott time trying to quash any independent support for the UFW because "it's not in the chain of command." Caravans bringing food and money, organizing support in trade unions, demonstrations backing the UFW, even Safeway boycott leaflets are all attacked as "anti-farmworker" if they are not first organized by the boycott organizer—regardless of the loyalty of any given group to the farmworkers.

That is partly why the boycott in the San Francisco Bay Area is weaker than in many other places, despite the liberal and trade union atmosphere, the significant Latin population, and the many excellent boycott workers in the area. Because of the bureaucratic nature of the union, the top leadership backs up its bad organizers as well as its good ones.

UFW Convention

The first UFWU convention in Fresno this month will be the first opportunity for farmworkers to elect their leadership. Unfortunately, the slowness of the UFW leadership in organizing this convention means that it is being held in a period of crisis when the union is under heavy attack and the pressure will be strong to line up solidly behind the leadership.

For the Farmworkers Union to grow and win its struggle with the growers and the Teamsters, it must become internally democratic in a real way, not just on paper. This is the only way to correct wrong policies of the union and maintain the allegiance and active support of the ranks for the long struggle ahead.

The union must have a democratic structure which permits and even encourages open criticism of and opposition to the policies of the leadership. Many of the field workers and staff who oppose some of Chavez's policies are afraid to speak out. The union must have area committees and conventions which have real decision making power and which represent the field workers and not the union staff and boycott committees.

The problem of the growing bureaucracy of the UFW will not be solved at the coming UFW Fresno convention, but the solution may begin there as farmworkers from all over the state meet and begin to deal with common problems. The struggle to democratize the union will go on as the field workers recognize that a democratic union is necessary to wage a successful struggle against the growers.



Teamster goon eyes United Farm Workers picket line

Rick Tejeda-Flores

disagree with particular policies to work actively for the union as a whole. Thirdly, because there is not an atmosphere of free criticism, it is harder for the union to draw on the experiences of its members and learn from both its successes and failures.

Non-Violence

Cesar Chavez has been personally committed to the principle of non-violence. But non-violence isn't much help against Teamster goons. In most union struggles the first step is to try to win scabs over. But it is also necessary that employers and scabs not be enabled to break strikes with impunity.

Non-violence is a tactic which should sometimes be used. But at other times, against the violence of the growers, police and the violence of starvation and oppression, it may only leave workers defenseless.

up their differences. So on this critical question Chavez's pacifist policies prevail, and the union is thereby weakened.

Boycott Strategy

Rather than focusing on the strikes in the fields as its major weapon, the UFW tends to rely on the consumer boycott in the cities to force the growers to bargain. Many workers in the field offices consider the boycott to be a valuable support for the strikes but feel that the union has put too much of its resources in the boycott and has not budgeted enough leadership, money and staff for the struggles in the fields. Because there is no democratic way of resolving this disagreement within the union and no sense that the members are making the union decisions, one result is demoralization.

In urban areas the boycott "houses" are official bodies re-

New Frameup Hits P.R. Militant

Carlos Feliciano is once again in court on trial. The State of New York, starting on September 5, is continuing its vicious frame-up of the Puerto Rican national.

Three years of harassment, trumped-up charges, offers of deals accompanied by threats, seventeen months in prison unable to raise up to \$275,000 bail -- all this ended in a great victory for us last year. The Bronx County jury declared Carlos "Not Guilty," having been convinced, as one juror said, that the entire case was a "put-up job."

Yet even after the Bronx victory, Carlos Feliciano remains charged in Manhattan with attempting to bomb the General Electric Building in 1970, and with possession of explosive materials.

Frameup

Why is the State continuing the persecution of Carlos, even after the prosecution has failed, again and again, to produce any evidence linking him to bombings, clandestine terrorist groups, or "affiliation with an unfriendly foreign government" (Cuba) -- all part of the original charges?

During the Bronx trial, at a pre-trial conference, one of the arresting officers, Det. Zimmerman, had accused the other arresting officer (Gutierrez) of lying, stating that he could not possibly have made the observations leading to the search of Carlos' car and the arrest. Assistant District Attorney John Fine had then offered Zimmerman a promotion if his testimony corroborated Gutierrez's, and threatened to start perjury charges against Zimmerman if he refused.

It was later discovered that Detective Gutierrez, a nineteen-year veteran of the police force and the Bureau of Special Services and Investigation (the New York City Red Squad) was suspended for taking a \$15,000 bribe from a drug-pusher.

State Conspiracy

Last July, prosecution witness Sergeant Dunn of the Police Department admitted the existence of a conspiracy to falsely arrest Carlos Feliciano. Included in this scheme were the New York City Police Department and Bureau of Special Services, the CIC of Puerto Rico (a parallel to the US CIA), the FBI, and a special security service responsible to President Nixon. This unit was originally set up by Watergate defendants John Caulfield under the direction of Presidential Counsel John Erlichman, and later with John Dean, and received

money directly from Nixon's attorney Herbert Kalmbach.

This combination of organizations of repression were engaged in a massive "investigation" of Puerto Rican nationalist and socialist organizations, both in the US and Puerto Rico. Carlos' persecution, arrest and trial are just a small part of their plans to intimidate and destroy all organizations fighting against oppression and exploitation in this country, and for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The frame-up of Carlos Feliciano is thus another part of the entire system of espionage, repression and corruption which have been revealed by the Watergate scandal.

Until he wins unconditional acquittal and freedom, Carlos Feliciano still needs support and aid. The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano is asking all those who wish to fight the frame-up to remain active in publicizing and protesting the case.

[For further information or to send contributions, contact: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.]

Australia Labor Party Weighs Freeze

[The following is a report from Australia.]

The Australian Labor Party government has begun to drop hints about a wage freeze. When he took office, we indicated Whitlam would find it difficult to reduce unemployment without "reving up inflation." We were right: Whitlam provided jobs in two ways—cutting immigration, and inflating the economy.

That's worked for a while, but by July the rate of inflation had reached 13%. Now faced with public discontent and pressure from big businessmen, Whitlam now has to face the traditional dilemma of a "reform" labor governments: to fight inflation at the expense of business profits, or at the expense of workers' wages and jobs.

Whitlam first tried another dodge, cutting tariffs. This reduced the prices of imports, and appeared to put at least part of the burden on business. But the unions immediately recognized that business would respond by "rationalizing" production, that is with layoffs.

Regressive

Whitlam's next step was a mildly "deflationary" and regressive budget, weak on social welfare expenditure and placing a heavy tax burden on working people. While well received by the business community, this does little to advance Labor's "progressive" reform image.

None of these measures have begun to seriously curb inflation. So Whitlam began to make very loud noises about price controls. But to do this, he must get the power to impose such controls from the various States.

Some of these States have Liberal governments which insist that price controls be linked with wage controls. So Whitlam finds it easy to play the role of an honest Labor man "forced" to link price curbs with wage controls.

Basically, Whitlam is using the Liberal State governments as an excuse for a wage-price freeze that will really only be a wage freeze. The stage is slowly and carefully being set for the imposition of this sort of incomes policy. Only the timing is still very vague.

The more militant Australian unions can be expected to fight the freeze when it comes. Sadly, the presence of revolutionaries in these unions is minimal to say the least.

Perhaps the best hope for revolutionaries to intervene in such a struggle in the next year or two lies in the Labor Party itself, where, in Victoria at least, they have a bit of experience and credibility. ■

Ron Flaherty

AFT Convention, cont'd

[Continued from page 3]

CIO. Cesar Chavez, President of the United Farm Workers Union, was invited to address the convention, but the AFT refused to vote funds to support the farmworkers' strike, and voted down a proposal urging the AFL-CIO to step up its token financial aid to the UFW.

A resolution from the Oakland local calling for a Labor Party received about one-third of the votes in the Resolutions Committee, but it never reached the floor of the convention.

Opposition

But while the leadership side-stepped all key issues, there was organized opposition within the convention.

The Grassroots Caucus—an opposition caucus within the New York State union—had delegates from about a dozen locals at the convention and functioned as an open opposition group. Grassroots, small as it is, is probably the only state-wide opposition caucus within the AFT today.

The official national opposition, the United Action Caucus, which last year had opposed merger of NEA-AFT, this year changed its mind and endorsed merger. It also endorsed the concept of national strike action. But, as usual, it did not fight for any of its positions within the convention.

The UAC did run a slate for AFL-CIO delegates, which par-

nered 10% of the votes. One of the candidates on the UAC slate, Joel Jordan (Oakland), was prominently identified as a pro-Labor Party candidate. Jordan ran particularly well among independents.

In addition, Action Forum, a national monthly newsletter within AFT, held several meetings which resulted in the calling of a conference of East-coast rank and file opposition groups within AFT. Representatives from Boston, Washington, New Haven and New York state are expected to attend the conference in November.

The AFT has always had socialists among its delegates. A meeting of some 40 socialist delegates was held one evening during this convention. An informative exchange took place on the problems of teachers and the AFT as seen from a socialist perspective. ■

Detroit Teachers Strike, cont'd

[Continued from page 3]

aren't interested in education and that white teachers are racists who don't care about black kids. In this way the Board hopes to get public support for its hard-line stand.

The issue has been injected into the contract talks by the Board's proposal on "accountability," a system which would provide for discipline and discharge without a hearing for teachers who do not meet an administration-approved "plan." This proposal would gut the current tenure system.

Racism

Racism is a problem in Detroit schools, as it is in every aspect of US society, and teachers and their union leadership have not reached out to the community as they should. But the real obstacles to education are those who pack our children 40 to a classroom without books or supplies.

The real racists are those, black or white, who run a system which sends black children to the most crowded classes in the most run-down buildings. Striking teachers are not hurting education in Detroit because education is impossible under those conditions.

In fact, the teachers union has provided almost the only organized opposition to a Board of "Education" which believes that as long as the schools are open everything is OK. The DFT should, however, be doing more to ensure public support, especially from the black community, for the strike demands.

The class size demand, which is likely to be dropped by the leadership in spite of rank and file anger at the crowded condi-

tions, should be seriously fought for and extended to a demand for an average class size of 20. This would permit teachers to really provide education.

Secondly, instead of arguing about the details of the Board's "accountability" proposals, the union should be calling for Parent-Teacher-Student control of the schools. This would give both teachers and the community real power over the schools.

No Scabs Here

The DFT's failure to do these things has given the Board an opening to pose as the defenders of education. They attempt to keep schools open with administrative staff and encouraged teachers to cross the picket lines, and the media joined in with enthusiasm.

A group called the "Black Teachers Caucus," which no one had ever heard of before but which claimed to represent black teachers, got front page coverage with its call to black teachers to cross the lines and "teach black children."

But the response to this campaign was that large numbers of teachers -- both black and white -- came out to man the picket lines while almost nobody crossed them. On the fourth day of the strike the Board gave up and officially closed the schools.

At one high school a sizeable group of black and white students has been picketing in support of the teachers.

Teachers in Detroit and other Michigan communities are demonstrating their willingness to fight, both to defend their standard of living against inflation and for improvements in the quality of education.

However, local school boards don't have the ability to grant teacher demands unaided. If real gains are to be won, teacher unions must band together. A statewide campaign must be conducted to force the State government to come up with the needed funds.

As it is now, local boards, with their strings pulled from the State capital, plead poverty and threaten their communities with more regressive taxes.

Decent living standards for teachers and quality education for students are not impossible dreams. Responsibility for them must be put where it belongs: on the state and federal governments.

The resources can be found to achieve these goals. If current revenues are not enough, and they will not be if real progress is to be made, then plenty of money is available from the gigantic profits of the big corporations.

There is no need for us to pay for improved education out of our grocery money while enormous profits are being made out of our sweat.

The failure of local Boards' demagogic and racist appeals to succeed in dividing teachers is a good sign. Now all teachers must continue to move forward. The alternative is a forced step backwards, for teachers and for education. ■

Battle of the Sexes?

(or, how to make \$300,000 without really trying)

Kay Stacy

In the sports world and in the media, the Bobby Riggs-Billie Jean King tennis match is being billed like no sports match since Ali challenged Frazier for the Heavyweight Championship.

Riggs, as just about everyone who's written about him has noted, is "the happy hustler." Fifty-five years old, he is rightly considered one of the tennis greats.

Since retiring from the professional tours he has made a second career out of taking on younger, and supposedly better, players in freak matches -- sometimes playing with one arm tied behind his back or a chair in the middle of his court. The bets are usually large, and Riggs almost always wins.

After beating Margaret Court a few weeks ago, Riggs really became big-time. He now makes the rounds of the talk shows, and has an autobiography published, touted as written by "the male chauvinist of the century."

In addition, the Court defeat by Riggs became a "legitimate" go-ahead for the rottenest, most blatant, "I'm a male chauvinist and proud of it" attitude -- not just in sports, but throughout society.

King, on the other hand, has been quoted as taking Riggs up on this match in order to protect the reputation of women tennis players. The top-seeded, meaning best, woman tennis player, King played a major role years ago in breaking the barriers against women competing professionally in any matches at all.

The current furor grew out of the increasing dissatisfaction of women tennis players over the down-grading of their matches, and the consistently smaller purses in women's tournaments.

King is a professional, and the object of professional sports is

to provide a show and make a big profit. She has willingly participated in all of the pre-match publicity stunts that have overbuilt this particular meet into the spectacle it has become.

This routine is known as "hyping the gate." As the match was quite accurately described by one columnist: "Coined as the battle of the sexes, it's really just another of life's money-making enterprises. More than \$750,000 was paid for TV rights to the match. The loser will go home with \$100,000; the winner, \$200,000."

Both King and Riggs are pros in every sense of the word. While Riggs is an accomplished master at "psyching" his opponents, King has demonstrated that she can give as well as take. She responded to some of his more outrageous comments with "I don't care if you show up in a jock strap." Riggs promptly retaliated by having photos taken of himself in a jock strap -- for publication of course.

None of this is to say that women athletes do not have serious gripes about the way the sports world treats them.

Both professional and amateur competition require long years of rigorous training. The period when an athlete peaks, performs best, and makes the most money or takes home the most medals is relatively short.

Women athletes have legitimate complaints that the discrimination they suffer in the sports world deprives them of both equal honor and prestige, and an equal slice of the pie financially.

King may beat Riggs. Then again she may not. In any case, it is little more than a symbolic victory. Real equality cannot be won without much, much more than is at stake here.



To begin with, the battle so far has focused around women being treated equally in today's sports world, that is, equality within an arena that is, in essence, a commercial and exploitative industry. Within that industry it is obvious that women get the short end of the stick, but real equality involves changing the industry as well as the discriminatory aspects of it.

Small gains have been made. A woman now holds the record by four minutes for swimming the English Channel. A woman won the gold medal in the Olympic Games in mixed archery competition.

A woman beat out a man for a position on a previously all-male hockey team in Atlanta. Women jockeys have won numerous races, in many cases

leaving their male competitors in the dust.

The gaps appear to be narrowing somewhat and in some areas -- most noticeably in "non-contact" sports like archery and shooting. The gap, however, will never close completely.

Barring the development of a strain of "super-women" athletes (biologically feasible, but socially unlikely), biological differences will continue to give men a strong edge over women in sports, especially those involving brute strength, physical stamina, and a larger muscle mass.

What can, and must, be eliminated is the consistent under-training of women athletes -- where the Syracuse Board of Education can allocate \$98,000 for male coaches and \$200 for female coaches.

What must also be challenged is the continual de-emphasis of sports women can biologically excel at -- gymnastics is the only sport widely practiced that utilizes women's special strengths. Our unique flexibility because of our lower muscle mass, and better balance (a result of a lower center of gravity) are two such biological advantages.

What can and should be encouraged today is a positive self-image of women towards their bodies; the equal and concerted development of women athletes who choose to devote long, arduous years of training for the joy and glory of excelling in their chosen work; and a continual fight against social attitudes that encourage passivity and inactivity.

That encouragement must begin early -- climbing trees is fun no matter the gender. Why shouldn't girls be encouraged to take pride in active and strenuous use of their bodies? Why should girls' gym classes focus on dancing, floor exercises and sometimes half-court basketball, instead of football, soccer, and baseball?

In particular what must be eliminated is the present stress on "grunt" sports involving proofs of toughness and displays of aggression. ("Let the best man win!") This cannot and will not be eliminated in capitalist society which socially creates the need for such outlets, and then builds them into incredible money-making enterprises.

Rather, and potentially under a different social system, sports should be an arena of creative expression, where both men and women can find vehicles for the joy of testing their own bodies' strengths without crushing someone else's.

Feeling good about one's body -- competent, strong and healthy -- is an important step towards developing a confident self-image. This kind of confidence would aid people in developing their own individual assets and potentials -- physically, socially, intellectually -- as actively creative human beings. ■

Can't Win 'em All

That American sports is an industry, and that individual teams are run like any other corporation was underscored recently with the firing of manager of the Detroit Tiger's baseball team, Billy Martin.

While keeping a tight reign on the hair lengths and shaving techniques of his players, Martin was known throughout the baseball industry as a rebel. He's been arrested after arguments with his players that "got out of hand." He's fired many a blast in print at higher-ups like Baseball Commissioner Bowie-Kuhn. He quit for one day in the middle of spring training.

Now managers come and go, and it is indeed true that the Tigers have not been doing at all well this season after missing the American League pennant by one run last year. But Martin was hired specifically to fire up the lethargic team.

And the Tiger's General Manager Jim Campbell made it very clear that the firing was a result of not fitting in with corporate image rather than the Tiger's tailspin.

He cited "breakdowns in company policy matters" as the sole factor in his press conference announcing the decision. He went on to explain that there were a whole lot of

people involved in a major league baseball team, and that Martin's actions were "a danger to the efficiency of the whole operation."

The fans backed Martin in spite of the Tiger's record. Some picketing went on, most noticeably a man with a sign reading "Campbell's makes good soup, but lousy General Managers." Within the corporate structure, however, displays of outrage by the consumers make little impact.

Martin immediately signed with the Texas Rangers, the worst team in baseball, who immediately won two games under his coaching. ■

CHINA: PURGE HITS COMMUNIST PARTY

The official report of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, held August 24-28, reported a "Congress full of vigor," meeting "in an atmosphere of unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness." It is far more likely, however, that the sentiments of 1,249 top members of China's bureaucratic ruling class were suspicion, resentment and political tension.

In the past ten years, three of China's top ten leaders, Liu Shao-chi, Chen Po-Ta, and Lin Piao have been denounced as "capitalists, fascists, renegades, revisionists, Trotskyites" and expelled from the party and from government office.

At the height of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Piao loomed as the new red superstar on the Chinese horizon. He was written into the Chinese constitution to indicate his place as Mao's successor.

In astronomy, however, red stars are not long lived, but represent the final stage of a star's decay and collapse.

Reports on the recent Congress of the Chinese Communist Party say that Lin Piao was there expelled "once and for all." Now Hsinhua, the official Peking press agency adds that the army is "making good use of Lin Piao as a teacher by negative example."

Lin, of course, is presumably dead. He was killed, we are told, in an air crash, while fleeing to the Soviet Union following an abortive assassination attempt on Mao.

But his fall from power has never been adequately explained in the Chinese Communist press. Peking's foreign fellow travellers must take it on faith that Lin, as announced in Chou En-lai's report to the Congress, was "a bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double-dealer, renegade and traitor."

Permanent Crisis

Guided by Mao Tse-tung Thought, the Chinese Communist Party and government has moved in the last ten years from one crisis to another, changing its line from "left" to "right" and back again. At each turn a section of the bureaucracy was sacrificed.

China's crises of the last few years included the terrific upheaval of the Cultural Revolution, strike waves, virtual secessions and near civil wars in some locations, and an attempted palace coup.

While the Congress may have claimed unity, the underlying sources of disunity remain. There is still a lack of basic, heavy industry and a barely adequate agriculture while the population grows steadily.

The result is a lack of na-

tional unity, an inability to control border provinces and potentially rebellious conquered states like Tibet.

The Congress had several objectives. The first was to present the picture of a unified ruling class to the Chinese people and to the rest of the world. Despite its own internal struggles, the Party bureaucracy wishes both to show its unity to the working and peasant classes in China and to other nations.

Secondly, the Congress was legitimizing the changes in leadership and line since the 9th Congress in 1969 following the Cultural Revolution.

In particular this means the expulsion of Lin Piao and the denunciation of his followers, and the dropping of Lin's slogan of "People's War" against US imperialism.

It also means accepting the new view that China's former "socialist" ally, Russia, now called "social imperialism," is the number one enemy, while peaceful co-existence with the US is possible.

Implicit in all of this is the recognition that Chou En-lai is the actual leader of the Chinese ruling class at present since these are the policies he has pursued. Enfeebled, apparently senile, Mao Tse-tung appeared at the Congress merely to wave at the crowd.

Democratic Process?

The official commune indicated that the 10th Congress was the result of an "extensive democratic process" which included repeated deliberations and consultations about the candidates and seeking the opinions of the masses both inside and outside the party.

In reality, the Congress was in fact completely the product of the top levels of the bureaucracy. In the first place, though the Communist Party is the only party in China, this is only the third Congress since the Party took power in 1949. The 8th

was in 1956, and the 9th was in 1969.

The Chinese parliament, called the National People's Congress, doesn't meet regularly either. And the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has been retired. It represented old political groups, religious bodies, national minorities and Chinese immigrants.

Where the "extensive democratic process" took place is a mystery. The Chinese workers, who are not allowed to organize independent unions, publish their own leaflets or newspapers, or form their own workers' parties or factions, have no independent voice -- either inside or outside the ruling Communist Party.

This Congress must be seen as the latest event in the on-going struggle which the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have never accomplished: the creation of a unified ruling class and a unified nation based on an industrialized and militarized society.

Following the defeat of the Chinese Communist Party and working class by Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1920's, Mao Tse-tung and his followers rebuilt the CP on the basis of a huge peasant army, mobilized in a war of national liberation against the Japanese.

In 1949, the Communist Party came to power with the collapse and defeat of the rotten, corrupt, pro-US Chiang Kai-shek regime.

Mao and his fellows modeled the new state and Party on the society of total control that Stalin had created in Russia.

Once in power, Mao tried to overcome China's underdevelopment by building a unified political and economic apparatus, based on the example of Stalin's Russia with a concentration on heavy industry. The aim was to consolidate CP rule and keep the country from flying apart

into the nationalities, regions and social groups that comprised it.

When this failed, because of China's greater population, and its weaker industry and agriculture, a turn was made in the late fifties to more agricultural development. But this shift only caused further problems: slower economic growth and the threat of regional disintegration.

Regardless of the potential benefits of a planned economy, the bureaucratization of China and the Communist countries makes the economic structure notoriously inefficient. It also drives down the masses' standard of living.

The populations of those countries both feel and resent that fact. Hence struggle of any kind which seeks to mobilize mass support within these societies must raise the slogan of purging the bureaucracy.

The masses are offered the illusion of thorough-going reform to win their support for one section of the reactionary bureaucracy against the other.

"Cultural Revolution"

Because the Stalinist social system fuses both the political and economic power of the society in one central organ -- the Communist Party and the functionaries who serve it -- any political struggle inside the party of serious propositions threatens the social system itself. This is exactly what happened in China.

By the mid-1960's, Mao felt it necessary to strengthen the center in order to keep the country from flying apart, and he inaugurated the so-called Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to carry out this centralization.

Mao turned not to the party, which was riddled with factions, and not to the proletarians, the workers who are his subjects, not his allies, but to teenage Red Guards and later to the army.

The Red Guards were sent into schools, factories, urban centers, military posts, and even shipped to some outlying states to denounce factions opposing Mao's new centralism as "capitalist roaders."

There was a terrific upheaval in several areas of China. Schools in some areas stayed closed during the entire period, some factories closed for a short time, armed conflicts took place in several areas.

When the turmoil in the country threatened to bring the real discontent among the peasants and workers to the surface -- some "extremists" going so far as to organize independent unions and strikes -- Mao called out the People's Liberation

Army (PLA) under Lin Piao to put things back in order.

Turmoil continued and in some areas even worsened in 1967-68. Over a period of time, however, the Army and Party were able to regain control through the establishment of "Revolutionary Committees," based primarily on the Army. At this point Lin's star reached its Zenith.

Long-term Fear

The aftermath of the Cultural Revolution has brought back to light all the basic problems of the Chinese economy. In agriculture, growth is barely large enough to keep up with population increase. As a result, very little surplus is left to serve as a base for expanded industry.

All the tensions between agricultural and industrial regions, between city and country, between the peasants' desire for higher consumption and the demands of the state for the surplus product, and -- most important -- between the needs of the workers and the failure of the system to provide sufficient jobs or an adequate living standard -- continue to fester.

The central bureaucracy, led by Chou En-lai, has tried to solve these problems in part by adopting a new stance in world politics. China's turn toward greater trade with the West has required a sharp turn away from Lin's line of "People's War" to surround and strangle Western imperialism. Instead, Chou and Mao now speak the language of harmony, cooperation, and "peaceful coexistence" with America's rulers.

As the leading spokesman for the old line, and as the most powerful figure in the Army which holds the crucial balance of power, Lin had to go. Perhaps Lin actively opposed the new policies, or possibly he was simply too symbolic of the revolutionary facade of the Cultural Revolution.

In any case, his usefulness as strongman behind the central Party leadership rapidly became outdated.

The Tenth Communist Party Congress thus came at a time when China is getting friendlier publicity in the United States than any time in the past 25 years.

The American press now lauds the "stability" of China and the "hard working, self-sacrificing but satisfied" workers in contrast to the discontent and revolt in the factories here.

The real prospect facing the Chinese Communist Party rulers, however is for new shake-ups, factional struggles, and the long-term fear of increasing unrest and an independent working class upheaval. ■



Chou En-Lai, Mao and Lin Piao

international report



Wildcats against speedup shake German auto giants

[This article is translated from *Le Nouv. Observateur*. Within the past month walkouts of 50,000 German workers, and foreign workers working in German plants, occurred at Ford and Opel auto plants. The walkouts were spurred by the "overheated" German economy, with prices rising at 7.5% this year. The upsurge of class struggle in West Germany is a product of the inflationary "boom" which is affecting many leading capitalist European countries.]

The Ruhr is boiling. All at once, without consulting their union, tens of thousands of metalworkers stopped work.

To explain these wildcats, one thing is generally agreed: "The prices," says a union delegate from German Ford, "have made a fantastic leap."

He adds, "Unfortunately, our union, in place of fighting to get more from the bosses, preferred giving in to government pleas. At our place everything rests essentially on the extended network of elected plant delegates. In their majority they are very conservative and always careful to settle disagreements in a friendly way."

This network, apparently tried and tested, has just yielded to pressure from the workers. For a while already, the metal union has been trying to get closer to their base. Breaking with tradition, it has installed in the plants some "confidence men" with the assignment of building a link with the rank and file.

But they haven't been enough of them, at Bochum, explains the reasons for the present explosion: "When prices rise straight up, all over the Ruhr, women form associations to defend the consumers; when working conditions become worse and worse, it isn't possible to tell the men to be 'wise.'"

And the bosses? With overflowing order books, they have given almost everything they've been asked for: pay increases of 15, sometimes 20%.

In Cologne, Ford workers asked and got a slowing down of line speeds. In several plants, at Duisburg, Oberhausen and Hagen, they imposed a new system of job posting, which ends up narrowing the wage spread.

A new spirit is being born in Germany. It's the first time in the history of West Germany that the workers are making "qualitative" demands. And it's also the first time that many foreign workers are playing a role.

In spite of Chancellor Brandt's

calls for "wisdom," the Social Democratic youth organization has taken sides with the strikers. And, astonishingly, the proposals of the communists and extreme left groups have met certain echos among the workers. Finally, everywhere, it's the young workers who are found in the lead.

In September negotiations for new pay contracts begin in the chemical industry, in public service, and then in the metal industry. Under pressure from below, the unions are going to demand pay increase of from 13 to 15%. The autumn may be hot.

The Italian ruling class, led by the Fiat Motor Company, is attempting to force the unions to "solve" the crisis by ending strikes and increasing productivity. Fiat is demanding an additional 500,000 cars production—nearly a one-third increase—from its 195,000 workers.

Fiat hopes to capture a larger share of the European auto market, in competition with other European auto producers, at the expense of its own work force.

In Britain, food prices rose 11.5% in the last year and nearly



Striking Ford workers outside the gate at a Ford plant in Germany

Inflation crisis sparks unrest throughout Europe

An important aspect of the instability of world capitalism is the spiraling inflation which has spread across the major countries of Europe.

The economic and social crisis is perhaps most acute in Italy, where inflation has accelerated the decay of social services and living conditions in every sector.

Rent strikes, building occupations, food price demonstrations and militant supermarket boycotts, transportation strikes, school occupations, and prison rebellions have been sparked by these conditions.

Wage struggles, resulting in one strike after another, have been publicized as an almost permanent feature of life.

8% in seven months. The result is growing popular discontent and dissatisfaction with Britain's membership in the Common Market.

The Heath government has fought, with some success, to suppress wage increases during this same period. The refusal of the official trade union leadership to fight back against these policies has sparked independent initiative by the workers in auto, the mines, and other industries.

In all these countries, the result has been more than a growth in militant trade union activity—there has also been a significant growth in the influence of revolutionary ideas and organizations.

The deepening and radicalizing of the struggles now taking place in industry is laying the basis for the re-birth of independent revolutionary workers' parties.

Poverty, pollution triggered cholera outbreak in Italy

Italy's cholera epidemic is a striking result of the living conditions produced by the decay of capitalist society. The sudden outbreak of this dread bacterial disease in Italian cities is not a "natural" disaster. It was caused by the overcrowding and filth in the cities and the unbelievable pollution of coastal waters where shellfish and other seafood staples live.

During the nineteenth century, major outbreaks of cholera, spreading from the Indian subcontinent to Europe, devastated whole regions and made cholera one of the "dread diseases" of that time.

Until this August, however, medical experts believed that improved sanitation and living conditions in the Western world had isolated the disease "in the teeming, backward countries east of

Africa: New developments in black liberation struggle

The past month has seen several important developments in the African Black liberation struggle.

In South Africa, the Ovambo people in the territory of Namibia carried out a boycott of local "elections" for the Ovambo "legislative council", a device set up by the South African government as part of its plan to create nine provinces based on tribal divisions in Namibia.

The boycott was organized by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Democratic Development Cooperative Party (DEMCOOP), which advocate the formation of an independent nation in Namibia. Reports indicate that the boycott was over 98% effective among the 50,000 voters.

The racist South African government took over the territory of Namibia from the former German colonial rulers during World War I. Since then the territory and its people have been ruled under the vicious apartheid laws of South Africa, which have deprived them of social equality and of all national and political rights.

In white-ruled Rhodesia, 155 black students of the University of Rhodesia were jailed after coming to the defense of six fellow students, who were expelled from the university for organizing a protest against racism.

At the same time, the Rhodesian regime announced plans to proceed with plans to diversify the country's export program in order to stabilize the economy. In addition to chrome (of which the U.S. has been a major importer), the regime intends to branch into cotton products, jewelry manufacturing and other industries.

Like the entire Rhodesian economy, all these industries are based on black slave labor. Black workers in Rhodesia work 14 hours a day in the mines to produce wealth for the tiny white ruling minority.

In Mozambique, reports continue to emerge showing that the Portuguese military forces there are using biological and chemical warfare to destroy crops and people in regions which support FRELIMO, the Mozambique national liberation movement.

Defoliant planes, preceded by war planes which blanket whole areas with machine gun, rocket fire and bomb attacks, imitate American tactics in Vietnam by spraying plant-killing chemicals into corn, bean, peanut and banana fields.

Like the U.S. government, the Portuguese colonialists hope to destroy the national liberation forces through starvation, poisoning and terror.



I.S. Holds Fourth Convention, Maps Tasks Ahead

The International Socialists held our fourth national Convention in Detroit, September 1-3. Delegates representing branches and organizing committees across the country met to set our tasks and perspectives and to elect the National Committee that will guide and direct the work of the IS for the next year.

Key to understanding the tasks of socialists today is the analysis of the developing international economic crisis facing capitalism and the effects of this crisis on workers and oppressed peoples. The long stable period of capitalism that began following World War II is ending.

Replacing it is growing instability reflected in the recurring monetary crises, uncontrollable inflation, and the current boom that will end next year in a deep recession.

No longer able to direct the economy, the bourgeois economists and the capitalist governments jump from one "solution" to another: from wage-price freezes and controls to no controls, from devaluation of currencies to trade and tariff barriers, from inflationary actions to higher and higher interest rates.

None of these is a real solution to the decaying system, although in their fumbling way the bourgeois governments can play off one problem against another, thereby keeping the system intact. The system today is in trouble, though not yet on the brink of a total collapse.

Crucial in bringing about the end of the system is the development of a movement that represents a revolutionary socialist alternative, and that by its actions narrows the room the capitalists have to maneuver.

This emerging economic crisis, together with the activity of conscious revolutionaries in today's struggles, will be key in laying the basis for these developments.

What is beginning to happen today -- and what the revelations about Watergate and the role of the US in Cambodia only add to, is a breakdown in the belief that

the government and the national leaders have the answers -- a growing breakdown in people's confidence that the government knows what it is doing about anything.

This change in how workers and others view the government and its ability to effectively deal with the problems opens up the possibility of real alternatives to the capitalist parties and the existing bureaucratic union leaderships.

The developing rank and file movements among workers, and the growing movement among blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos are concrete evidence of this. The slow and uneven, but measurable growth of militant opposition in the unions and the explosive wildcat strikes in Detroit's auto plants are signs of the changing consciousness of American workers.

It is these movements that hold the promise of building a

workers' movement that can begin to fight for the real interests of the working class, that can begin to pose workers' power and socialism as the only real solutions to the developing crisis.

To participate in and build these growing movements is the cornerstone of the perspectives of the IS today. To play a conscious role of developing a leadership based upon the activity and interests of the rank and file workers -- and counterposed to the sell-out union bureaucrats and the government -- is crucial to building a movement that can overthrow the reactionary capitalist system.

Likewise the role played by socialists today in these movements will help to organize the most conscious militants into the revolutionary party that will play the key role of leading the American socialist revolution.

Because of the central importance of this work to the IS, the convention spent a significant part of its time discussing the current activity of the membership in industry.

In the last two months, IS branches have engaged in campaigns around the coming auto contract expiration, and the life and death struggle of the United Farmworkers Union against the Teamster bureaucracy.

The discussion around the UAW campaign focussed in on the wave of militant actions led by black rank and file workers at Chrysler's Detroit plants, and

the effect of the struggles on the union bureaucracy and the militancy of the workers.

In the farmworkers' struggle a key part of the activity of the IS membership in this fight has been in helping to build support in the Teamsters union for the farmworkers against the Teamster bureaucracy.

Members involved in the United Auto Workers, Teamsters, American Federation of Teachers, Communications Workers of America and the farmworkers' struggle also met to discuss specific problems and perspectives for their activity in those unions.

A highly gratifying aspect of the Convention to many of the delegates was the growth of our activity in the union movement and the active commitment of a substantial number of members to our two major campaigns.

While our forces and political influence are still very modest, our members have made important contributions in a number of real struggles in industry and have won the respect of militants for our participation in struggle and for our political ideas.

The discussions of labor and general tasks included discussion of the struggles and special demands of black workers. The black liberation movement, the persistence of a high level of radical black consciousness and the centrality of racism to all aspects of US life makes the black movement a priority concern of the IS. For us, black liberation is central within our direct labor work.

In addition to the overall industrial work of the organization, the Convention voted to commit the IS to paying special attention to increasing our involvement in the struggles of working women.

Wherever possible, IS branches will attempt to participate in building independent working women's committees with the aim of building a women's liberation movement inside the labor movement and within the rank and file struggle.

This convention was particularly important in demonstrating the renewed determination and commitment of the membership to increasing our activity, establishing a strong political leadership and building the IS as a cadre organization.

The Convention discussions and debates showed clearly that our members share and have developed a greater understanding of the basic perspectives of the organization -- especially our goal of building broad rank and file national opposition movements in industry.

The commitment of the delegates to defending and moving ahead with this perspective -- the perspective that was the center of the faction fight and split in the IS a few months ago -- showed that the IS has consolidated as a national organization and is prepared to take on the challenging tasks that lie ahead.

Key to these tasks will be the improvement of our newspaper, *Workers' Power*, and strengthening the IS by recruiting working class militants to the organization.

Australia: Toward A Leninist Perspective

The Australian Socialist Workers' Action Group (SWAG) conference on August 25-26 represented an important step forward for the group.

The conference reflected modest but significant numerical growth for SWAG, but also the increasing seriousness of its members and political orientation. Both the level of discussion and of participation by all members in discussion were high.

At the end of the final session on Sunday evening, the vote was nearly unanimous for the establishment of a political leadership body to initiate discussion to develop a political line.

Coupled with this was the decision to move in the next year toward greater organizational cohesion leading to a democratic centralist structure as the development of satisfactory majority political positions allows.

The first discussion dealt with the nature of the present period, characterized by the increasing economic crisis of western capitalism. Such developments are gradually becoming apparent in Australia but were less advanced here than internationally.

The history and perspectives of the group were discussed in this context. SWAG began as the loose Marxist Workers' Group which carried out a long debate, first over the anti-Leninism of anarchist members, then over the differences between the Red Inc. tendency and some members who have since left to join the Spartacists. From the debate emerged the existing Socialist Workers' Action Group, firmly rejecting sectarianism and moving toward adopting a Leninist orientation.

The group is now numerically smaller than in the days of the MWG, but immeasurably more active and beginning to grow on a solid basis. Our most notable weakness remains the lack of a blue collar base, a problem which will be a discussion priority in the next six months.

The second discussion, and one which pervaded the conference, was the proposal for establishing a political leadership. The group recognized the reality of a process of leadership in SWAG and determined to make it accountable to the rank and file.

The conference recognized the pragmatism of our function-

ing in the past -- a necessity then because of the widely varying politics represented in the group -- but no longer necessary or desirable. We view the transformation to democratic centralism not primarily as a question of efficiency of organization, but of the ability to develop as a distinct political tendency able to consistently test our ideas in practice.

The conference went on to discuss SWAG's work in five areas. These included the task of building a revolutionary Socialist Left opposition inside the Australian Labor Party; fighting in the student movement around women's liberation, black liberation, and education reform issues; helping to create a radical rank and file teachers' movement; and developing perspectives for women's liberation and white collar union activity.

Fraction discussion reflected at least modest successes in all areas in the past year or so. In some areas, particularly among students and teachers, our successes and those of people working with us have been considerable and we have been able to recruit among students and clerical workers.



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CHILE

[Continued from page 16]

had been willing to support the government.

Allende's response to these developments was disastrous. Instead of taking advantage of these situations to combat the right wing conspiracies, Allende disavowed the workers in the naval yards and sailors and said that they were ultra-leftists linking up with the ultra-right!

He always opposed attempts to organize the enlisted men to defend their rights and involve them in the class struggle going on in Chile. The Communist Party echoed Allende: "We continue and will continue to support keeping our armed forces strictly professional."

But in spite of this government policy of maintaining the "neutrality" of the armed forces, the enlisted men continued to mobilize against the rightist attempts to undermine the Popular Unity coalition. When ordered not to organize or participate in the popularly controlled supply and price control boards, many rank and file members of the military broke discipline and disregarded the order.

The handwriting was on the wall: the generals had to strike

before they faced a full scale rebellion from their own ranks.

While these developments in the military probably provided the immediate pretext for the coup, the greater threat to the right was the growing independent activity of the Chilean working class.

In response to the attempted coup on June 29, the workers organized on their own in *cordones industriales* (workers' control groups) and began to strengthen and arm defense committees. They guarded the factories around the clock.

In the Vicuna MacKenna Cordon in Santiago, workers seized a noodle factory and a powdered milk plant and took responsibility for distributing the goods to the people. Workers in the state-owned Vinex factory (also in the Vicuna Cordon) demanded that the Socialist Party manager be fired.

While the government vacillated, the Cordon itself appointed the manager after he was nominated and approved by the rank and file workers of the factory itself. For the first time a cordon actually assumed the responsibility for running a factory and keeping production going.

These were not isolated cases, but examples of the growing independence of the Chilean working class. These instances of workers' control, although still small, indicated the increasing unwillingness of the workers to rely on the government to carry through its program of parliamentary "socialism."

But more to the point in the immediate context, these developments also demonstrated to the military that Allende's ability to control the working class was rapidly eroding.

The most spectacular development in the period just before the coup were the 47 day-old truck owners strike and the week old, and growing general strike of the middle classes. Against a backdrop of economic chaos with inflation at 300%, economic growth at a near standstill, and food shortages beyond the critical point, the second bosses' strike had a devastating effect.

The political nature of the middle class strike was clear. Its aim was to bring down the Allende government and to put in its place a right-wing conservative government that could restore law and order to Chile.

The middle classes provided the civilian shock troops for the military coup. Their mobilizations, organized by the extreme right wing forces in the country, gave the military the necessary

"popular" support for its overthrow of Allende.

In their fury at the Popular Unity government, these groups literally tore apart Allende's home in Santiago during the early hours of the coup.

It is these same middle classes that some left theoreticians today have called the "new working class." But if there was ever a clear demonstration of the reactionary role that these professionals—doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc.—can play in a revolutionary situation, it is the case of Chile.

Without an independent working class movement, that can provide alternate leadership, these sectors will always offer the mass support for the reactionary forces. Uneasy about their own class position, jealous of the big capitalists above them and yet frightened by the working class below, they move in a crisis toward the strongest political pole.

The Chilean working class is fighting back. As we go to press, fierce fighting continues to rage in the working class districts of Santiago, as the workers who control many of the factories fight to defend them.

The military has resorted to strafing factories and other atrocities in order to defeat the workers. Yet the generals, despite their overwhelming military superiority have so far not been

able to establish firm control in Chile. In some areas the workers have attempted to take over police stations in order to organize broader defense of the working class districts.

The militancy and combativity of the Chilean workers today only shows what we knew to be true: that the Chilean workers were willing and able to seize control of Chile. They were being held back only by the lack of independent political organization and revolutionary leadership.

The possibility of civil war is opened up. There are rumors of defections in the military. No matter what happens, there can be no return to the status quo. The Chilean workers must seize power or go down in defeat. It is now a question of socialist revolution or military dictatorship.

We call on those who wish to defend the interest of the international working class to support the heroic struggle taking place in Chile today. Mass demonstrations have taken place in Rome and Paris in support of the Chilean workers. From demonstrations, to sympathy strikes, any and all means of support must be marshalled to defend the Chilean workers, whose goals are the same as ours—a society based up on human need and not private profit. ■

ARMY COUP LAUNCHES BLOODBATH IN CHILE

Marilyn Danton

On September 11, the Chilean military openly shed its "neutral" stance and overthrew the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. Allende is dead, according to the military by his own hand. Naked class warfare rages in the streets and factories of Santiago.

Without leadership, largely unarmed, against overwhelming odds the workers are battling the rich, the military and the middle classes in a life and death struggle over who will rule Chile. At press time over 4,000 people have been killed and thousands more arrested.

The military junta, composed of the leaders of the three branches of the service and the head of the national police have vowed "to exterminate Marxism in Chile." They are threatening to blow up whole buildings if necessary to end the sniping.

Made in USA

The military, acting in the interest of the capitalist class has attempted to take control of the Chilean state. But no one should be under the illusion that this is purely a Chilean question.

There is little doubt that the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the plot and the final coup. The US still has investments valued at \$70 million in Chile. Throughout Allende's term in office and right down to the day of the coup, the US continued to give substantial military aid to the Chilean armed forces. Already it has been revealed that some high officials in the US government knew of the coup 48 hours before it took place. The left in Chile and throughout the world knows that the ugly hand of US imperialism was involved, especially in light of the recent revelations about the CIA/ITT plans to intervene in Chile to prevent Allende's election.

US imperialism is not indifferent to who rules in Chile. The coup is a victory for the US and the entire capitalist system. The handful of statements by US officials deploring the overthrow of the democratically elected government in Chile are feeble camouflage.



The military coup should come as a surprise to no one. Allende's appeasement policy toward the right and the military, and his repeated denunciations of the actions of militant workers laid the groundwork for these events. Allende provided the nails for his own coffin.

The new ruling junta, composed of officers Allende himself brought into the cabinet two short weeks ago, clearly stated the reasons for the coup: "the constant increase of armed paramilitary groups organized by the 'pro-Allende' Popular Unity which will bring the people of Chile to an inevitable civil war..."

The workers, tired of sell-outs and defeats, were arming and beginning to act independently of the government. The Army's last reason to keep Allende in power—his hold over the masses—was eroding. Better to secure

power now, before the working masses were sufficiently organized to provide a concrete political pole in the power vacuum.

Allende's "Peaceful Road to Socialism" has borne fruit in the bloody slaughter of the working class. Unwilling to call on his only base of support, the working class and the peasantry, in the deepening polarization, he stood alone before the wrath of the middle classes and the armed forces.

Popular Unity Fraud

But why was Allende afraid of the workers, whose interests—as the "Marxist President"—he supposedly represented? The key to this apparent contradiction lies in Allende's brand of "socialism."

What Allende called "socialism" in an actual fact has nothing in common with revolution

ary socialism, with Marxism, at all. Socialism, in Marxist terms, means democratic workers' control of the economy and the government through the conscious mass revolutionary activity of the working class.

Allende's program in practice—his rhetoric aside—meant not socialism but merely another state regulated form of capitalism—more "rational," "efficient," more independent of US imperialism, but still capitalism, an exploitative class society.

Allende and his Popular Unity Coalition were a fraud. The coalition was composed of parties representing two hostile class forces, the owners of Chilean industry on the one side, and representatives of the working class parties on the other. The fact that Allende was willing to agree to a constitutional guarantee that no independent military forma-

tions be organized should have left no doubt on what side of that class line he stood from the beginning. He had agreed in 1970 not to allow the workers to arm.

Even his seemingly progressive steps, like the extensive nationalization of basic industry and agrarian reform programs that he attempted to carry out, though they enraged the rich, were only halfway measures.

Nationalization came to mean that foreign imperialists could only own 49% of an industry instead of maintaining total control of it. Workers' control was reduced to "workers' participation" with a government veto.

The agrarian reform measures did not involve breaking up the large landed estates and dividing the land among the peasants. What it amounted to was mild, snail's-pace moves toward dividing some of the land into state-owned and controlled farms.

When the peasants and farm workers did seize the land, they were denounced by Allende and the Communist and Socialist Parties.

Every initiative taken by the exploited workers and peasants in their own interests was attacked and disavowed by Allende as extremist, economist or ultra-left. Allende never represented the interests of the working class in Chile.

Unrest in the Ranks

In this general political context there are concrete and specific developments that led to the coup at this particular time.

The increasing role the military played in the government made politics an important question inside the armed forces. Sporadic revolts led by supporters of Allende against the officers meant that the leadership had to act quickly while it still maintained control over its ranks. The naval revolt in Valparaiso in late August was only the most spectacular of these revolts.

The first official reflection of this turmoil within the military was the resignation in early September of those top military leaders like General Prats, who

[Continued on page 15]

