

Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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WE'VE BEEN HAD!

Facts Expose Giant Oil Hoax

Like all the oil mysteriously "leaking" into the United States despite the Arab boycott, the truth about the energy crisis is beginning to bubble to the surface despite the Nixon/oil company propaganda campaign. The truth is that there is no real oil shortage at all, and that the worldwide energy crisis is a gigantic international rip-off, an artificial crisis created by the oil companies in the interests of bloating their profits.

There is more than enough oil available to meet present world demand. When Saudia Arabia announced a 10% cut in oil output in October, every government in Western Europe went into a carefully orchestrated tizzy.

They studiously ignored the fact that for the previous four months or so, Saudia Arabia had been spewing out eight and a half million barrels a day — so much more than Europe needed that the excess had to be diverted to the United States.

As if to make certain that no real shortages might develop and spoil the charade, other Middle-Eastern countries — Iran, Libya and Iraq included — increased their oil production while King Faisal's noisy cutback was in progress.

At no time did oil reserves in any European country fall to dangerous levels, and now of course nearly full Arab oil production has been resumed.

Meanwhile, the United States,

like the Netherlands, remains the target of what is officially a total Arab embargo, and is supposed to be staring a near-disastrous shortage in the face. But, as even the government has been forced to admit, Arab oil is still flowing freely into American refineries.

Public outcry has begun to squeeze the facts about the "shortage" out of the oil companies. Reluctantly, the oil industry's American Petroleum Institute first revealed that imports of both crude oil and refined products were in fact much greater during the last three months of the boycott than they were during the same period in 1972!

Crude oil imports in December averaged 2.9 million barrels a day — an increase of 26 percent over the 2.3 million barrels a day imported during the same period in 1972.

Massive stockpiles

Then the *Philadelphia Inquirer* charged that the oil industry has actually been stockpiling oil all the time it has been wailing about a shortage. It revealed that gasoline supplies are at least equal to those of last year and that near record levels of heating oil and jet fuel have been accumulated.

Industry spokesmen at first tried to deny the charge, but now, led by Texaco, the companies have begun to shuffle forward to confirm it.

In short, there is no real oil shortage, and there never has been.

In April of 1971, the oil industry began drawing up the plans for the multimillion dollar

media blitz that was launched in the spring of this year. Before this, the companies deliberately dragged their feet on expanding U.S. oil production and refinery capacity in order to level off the domestic oil supply and create the appearance of shortages.

The massive, coordinated campaign was designed not just to convince the American people that the oil shortage was a reality, but to blame the "greediness" of American consumers for the crisis and portray the oil companies as oppressed by misguided price controls and fanatical environmentalists.

Finally, early in 1973, Aramco — a consortium owned by four U.S. corporations, Exxon, Mobil, Standard of California, and Texaco — began to pressure Saudia Arabia to increase oil prices.

This is not to imply that U.S. oil companies directly engineered the Arab oil cutbacks and boycott that grew out of the October War in the Middle East. No doubt they were a little taken aback by the enthusiasm which King Faisal displayed in com-

plying with their request for a price hike.

But the fact remains that the doubling in the cost of Arab oil will shortly be used by the oil companies to justify still another increase in the price for domestic oil.

At the same time Aramco will get a huge chunk of the profits from the new prices of Arab oil. Besides their own percentage, they are allowed to deduct the increase in their royalties to the oil-producing states from their U.S. taxes, dollar for dollar.

Meanwhile, by hurting Europe and Japan a lot worse than the U.S., the new prices have helped strengthen the dollar and will soon improve the U.S. balance of payments.

Record prices

All in all, the oil companies' strategy has worked like a charm. Gasoline already costs over 50¢ a gallon; oil company optimists think a dollar a gallon may be within reach. Heating oil prices have already almost doubled since August, and there is no ceiling in sight.

Preliminary estimates show

total oil earnings for 1973 of 9.5 billion dollars — almost 50% greater than in 1972. 1973 profits are expected to add up to almost 14% of the net worth of the oil companies — up over four percentage points from a year ago.

Super-profits

On top of that, the profits the oil companies expect to reap in 1974 are almost beyond belief. The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that 1974 oil industry profits may total almost 23 billion dollars — 13 billion dollars above 1973's record-breaking levels — and that estimate takes into account the new excise tax that Nixon is proposing on windfall profits.

In fact, oil profits this year are expected to more than offset the total expected decline in profits for the entire year of the economy. 1974 is expected to see the first recession in U.S. history in which the total mass of profits actually rises — because of the super-profits of the oil industry! ■

Kit Lyons

Murdered For Profits

An elderly couple froze to death on Christmas eve in this Schenectady, New York house when the electric company cut off their electricity for non-payment of a \$250 bill. The bodies of 93-year-old Frank and 92-year-old Catherine Baker were discovered huddled together on the floor of their home. The Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation expressed regret for the Baker's deaths, but denied responsibility. "We're running a business," said a spokesman.



Which Way For Mine Workers?

p.8-9



Editorial

UNION TOPS ECHO NIXON

Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, has released a position paper on the fuel crisis. It's a textbook example of how not to respond effectively to the situation.

The paper (released December 20) represents, we are told, the "intensive and thorough study of the entire energy problem" by the UAW Research Department and no doubt comes only after long and thoughtful deliberation at Solidarity House. It contains exactly one concrete proposal: a one-third cut in the use of automobiles, primarily in the use of cars by workers for recreation.

The rest of the paper consists of generalities which vaguely point the finger of blame at the government and the oil corporations. It also calls for some higher unemployment benefits, fair distribution of gasoline, and rebuilding the railroads and mass transit.

Most of these ideas sound nice, as far as they go. They might even be interesting, if Woodcock gave any hint that his UAW leadership intended to make any serious effort to fight for them. But if that's what he intended, he wouldn't make his one and only real proposal a demand that workers cut their automobile use by a third!

The real joke, however, is that it evidently took all the substantial resources of the UAW Research Department, paid for by auto workers' dues money, to discover that the oil companies (with the government's blessing) brought on the oil shortage to maximize profits. Everyone who watches the news on TV already knows this! Woodcock and his friends could have found this out just by asking any of their members who buy gas for their cars to drive to work - or who did before they got laid off.

So what's the point of this paper? Well, Woodcock's approach to the energy crisis is called "courageous" and "statesmanlike" by the big corporations and newspapers. Woodcock not only released his statement for their benefit, he's saying exactly the same thing they are!

It was the corporations which first announced that auto production would be cut. Then it was the government which closed gas stations on Sunday and told everyone to use ten gallons or less a week. After this, Woodcock comes out with his identical "statesmanlike" proposal for workers to sacrifice!

Woodcock and all the union officials like him - including Abel of the Steel Workers with his no-strike pledge, Meany of the AFL-CIO, and the rest - are not workers' leaders at all. Their solutions are always those of the corporations: sacrifice the workers for the health of profits. To reject the notion that workers must pay would mean a serious fight between the unions and the companies. The present union leadership is committed to prevent those kind of fights.

Socialists believe that the only alternative is a fight to take over the unions from below, to replace the bureaucrats with a new leadership committed to fighting for their members' needs with no regard for the companies' profit margins.

We need real wage increases, not cuts: 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, not layoffs; a freeze on gasoline prices, not giant increases to enrich Exxon and Mobil.

The rank and file of the mine workers' union took the first step in this direction when they threw out a gangster regime and elected a slate pledged to both union democracy and a militant fight for miners' needs. This year, miners are determined that they will not be the ones to pay for the shortage of oil and coal fuel. Their determination sets the example for other union members to follow.

Workers' Power

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No Case or Evidence Sostre Gets Life

Martin Sostre's fight for freedom has recently been dealt another setback. Sostre, a black Puerto Rican, has been imprisoned in upstate New York since July 1967.

Framed on charges of selling heroin, Sostre had been sentenced to a virtual life sentence of 30-41 years in prison.

A recent appeal for a new trial, based on the obvious railroading of Sostre in the first trial, was denied. However, "in the interest of justice," the appellate court reduced Sostre's sentence to 25-30 years. Sostre is now 50 years old.

At the original trial, Sostre attempted to represent himself. Judge Marshall did not like the job he was doing and therefore had Sostre bound and gagged. The trial then proceeded virtually uncontested and Sostre was "honorably" shafted.

Now the fat cats who preside over the appellate court are protecting the scandalous behavior of their own kind, while Sostre remains behind bars.

Sostre was railroaded because of his political views and activi-

ties. He had been highly active in the struggle for the liberation of blacks and all oppressed peoples.

Out of his own pocket, and living on subsistence, Sostre opened the Afro-American Book Store in Buffalo. The book store carried literature on black liberation, the Vietnam war and Marxist literature.

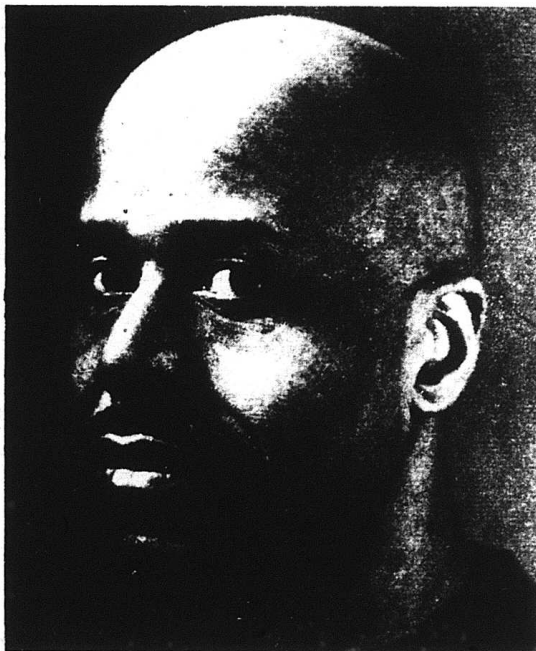
The Afro-American Book Store soon became a center for discussing the ideas of black liberation and socialism in the black community.

Then the Buffalo ghetto rebellions occurred and harassment of blacks was stepped up. The Afro-American Book Store, in particular, became a target for Buffalo's police and Sostre was framed.

Sostre's conviction rested on the testimony of Arto Williams, a police informer, who testified at the trial that he had purchased narcotics from Sostre at the book store.

The three police witnesses claimed only to have seen Sostre give Williams a "white glassine envelope" or "something."

Without Arto Williams' testimony there is no case against Martin Sostre.



Framed black revolutionary Martin Sostre

On April 8, 1971, in a sworn affidavit, Arto Williams stated that his testimony against Sostre was false and that he had helped frame him.

Williams, then a heroin addict, faced conviction on a second felony and was used by the Buffalo Police to get Sostre in exchange for dropping their case against Williams.

Since then Williams became a member of TUUM East, a drug rehabilitation program in California, and is no longer willing to be used to railroad Sostre. That was in 1971.

There is no case against Martin Sostre. It is now 1974 and Sostre remains in jail, because of testimony sworn to be false.

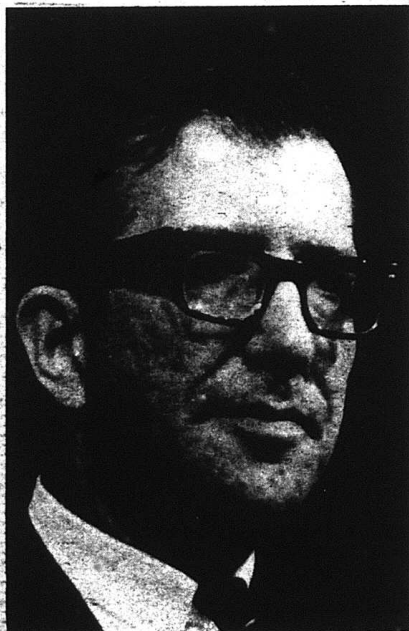
Appeals for a new trial based on Williams' repudiated testimony still have not been granted while scores of self-confessed Watergate crooks go about their business unchecked.

Martin Sostre is a political prisoner and must be set free!

Rose Veviaka

[For more information, write to: Martin Sostre Defense Committee, Box 327, Glen Gardner, New Jersey 08826.]

AFT: Shanker Axes Selden



Albert Shanker

A special meeting of the American Federation of Teachers Executive Council has called upon AFT President David Selden to resign. The action was prompted by Vice President Albert Shanker, the real power in the AFT and a long-time associate of Selden.

The charge was that Selden had conducted unilateral, unauthorized negotiations with the National Education Association (NEA) which is engaged in merger talks with the AFT. Selden categorically denied any such actions. All the evidence offered against him, in secret, was hearsay.

Why this drastic action by Shanker in the middle of the merger negotiations, and a mere seven months before the scheduled August elections for AFT President? And what will be the consequences of this action for the merger with NEA and for union democracy?

First, the plain fact is that Shanker had earlier announced his own candidacy for AFT president. Shanker and Selden

know that should Selden come up with an acceptable merger agreement, or make real strides toward one, then it would be near-impossible, politically or organizationally, to dump Selden, or replace him as a possible co-president of a merged AFL/NEA. So Shanker's personal political future requires that Selden be dumped, now.

Secondly, it is widely known that one part of the NEA ranks resists the merger for understandable reasons, namely, opposition to the "conservative" policies of George Meany and his protegee, Shanker. Shanker's recent appointment by Meany as AFL-CIO vice president can only strengthen this feeling, and benefit Selden who has a more liberal image, and has on occasion differed with Meany. So, "Selden must go."

Thirdly, Shanker has since his appointment to AFL-CIO vice president, taken an increasingly hard line on AFL-CIO "affiliation" as key to merger. Shanker has not done this for reasons of principle. As late as the 1973 AFT convention, Shanker op-

[Continued on page 15]



David Selden addressing AFT Convention



British Miners Take On Tories



The first major confrontation of the 1974 world recession is taking place in Britain. The Tory government of Edward Heath has launched a three-day work week and a massive propaganda campaign to break the miners' ban on overtime work to back up their wage demands.

The three-day week and accompanying layoffs have created unemployment approaching the one million mark. If the situation continues as at present for another six weeks, the results will be disaster for British industry.

Despite all this, the truth is that there is no real shortage of fuel at all. The "crisis" in Britain is as much a politically motivated fake as the one in this country.

Government lockout

As the paper of the British International Socialists explains: "It's a lockout. There is no other word for it. Three-day working is *not* necessary because of any shortage of fuel. The facts that have now come out in spite of the government's propaganda smokescreen prove it to the hilt.

"Heath has taken a cold calculated decision to cripple British industry in the hope of turning workers against the miners."

Coal stocks at power stations on January 1 amounted to 14 million tons, more than they were at the beginning of the

all-out 1972 miners' strike. 10½ million tons have been mined since the ban began, while only one to 1½ million tons are used per week by power stations in the winter. Meanwhile, coal is imported from Poland and oil continues to arrive from Arab oil ports.

Capitalist crisis

What lies behind this national lockout is the crisis of British capitalism, and the employers' efforts to enforce the British Phase 3 wage guidelines which the miners are fighting to break.

The over-all balance of payments deficit in Britain now exceeds \$7 billion, and the higher price of oil could add another \$5 billion to this staggering sum. Inflation has been 10% in a year of "counter-inflationary policy." Capital investments have been very low in British industry in the last 18 months.

Tony Cliff of the I.S. writes: "With 1974 a year of declining rate of growth of world capitalism, a catastrophic balance of payments deficit, roaring inflation and stagnating investment will push British capitalism into an ever deepening crisis.

"There is only one way for British capitalism to overcome its crisis: to slash workers' real wages radically. And as Lenin put it, capitalism always has a way out of every crisis if the workers are ready to pay the price."

Militant miners are demanding that the union leadership turn the overtime ban into an all-out strike. To continue the present policies gives the government "a bit of breathing space,"

in the words of one miner from South Wales. "They are taking full advantage of it to maneuver. Every minute we delay is used to turn public opinion against us... to divide the unions and to create bad feeling between us and other workers."

The confrontation has a significance that goes beyond the boundaries of Britain. Every day, American television echoes the Tories' claims that the miners are "ruining the country." They are warning, in effect, that American workers must not be allowed to do the same thing here. A victory for the government over the miners would encourage every other government to crack down in this year of recession and fuel crisis.

Revolutionary alternative

The International Socialists in Britain are intensifying their efforts to build a revolutionary alternative, to challenge the capitalist government and the union leaders who promise action but deliver only compromises and sell-outs. In the last year, the I.S. has been able to expand its fight to build a revolutionary socialist workers' party with real connections to all the struggles of the working class.

In the present crisis they are calling for resistance to the government by *all* workers, not just miners: for a full week's pay for all workers, for resistance to speed-up and deteriorating working conditions under the "fuel crisis," and militant defense of the right to strike and picket. ■

Shah Gets By With A Little Help From His Friends

The Shah of Iran has been a busy man on many fronts in recent months. First, he has been putting himself forward as a hero of oppressed, underdeveloped third world nations by announcing large increases in the price of crude oil agreed upon by the oil-producing states of the Middle East.

Even before this, the billionaire Shah was already hailed by China's *Peking Review* for the July 1973 agreement between the National Iranian Oil Company and the western oil companies, with whom the Shah has always been on the friendliest of terms.

Peking Review (August 17) hailed this as "another victory chalked up by the people of Iran in their protracted struggle to protect their country's oil rights and interests."

So it seems that the Shah gets along fine with the Arab regimes, the oil companies and China, all at the same time. But a closer look reveals an even more complicated picture.

War of extermination

At the same time, the Shah has sent in an additional 3000 Iranian troops to join several thousand already fighting in the Arabian Gulf district of Dhofar against the Sultan Qabus bin-Said of Oman. The troops, drawn from the Shah's elite Special Forces, are launching a drive to exterminate the rebels led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf. They are backed up by 30 helicopter troop carriers and artillery.

The Shah's very good friends in the ruling bureaucracy of China have never seen fit to mention or denounce this imperialist invasion of the Arabian Gulf by the Shah. Nor have they mentioned the fact that the guerrillas whom the Shah is fighting to exterminate are, in fact, supporters of China and the Maoist "people's war" ideology!

The Shah has backing from other sources as well. Britain has supplied airmen for training and bombing missions against the insurgents, while the kingdoms of Jordan and Saudi Arabia also provide military aid to the Sultan.

To top it off, the feudal regime of Oman is also getting aid from the loudest "anti-imperial-

ist" Arab ruler of them all — Muammar al-Qaddafi of Libya! The Arab leaders make loud noises about liberating Palestine — then quietly make deals with the pro-Israel Shah of Iran to crush every liberation struggle by their own peoples in the Middle East.

So the Shah of Iran, who runs a savage internal regime in which workers, students and oppositionists are tortured and shot by the dozens for opposing his dictatorship, is part of a "popular front" that stretches from the Chinese Maoists to Saudi Arabia and Libya. But even that's not all.

Guns and oil

Where does the Shah get the arms and the money to supply his army, his air force, and his secret police? Why, from his other very good friend — the United States, of course!

Just last week, the Shah closed a deal with the U.S. for 30 F-14A fighters at a cost of \$900 million, including spare parts. Eventually, he wants to pick up about 80 of these and similar advanced fighter planes, in order to become a first-rate "great power" in the Middle East. This perfectly well suits the U.S. government, which already has one armed client state in Israel to help maintain Washington's concept of "stability."

And how is the Shah going to pay for this? With the increased revenue from higher oil prices! This is how the U.S. government will recover its balance of payments losses, the oil corporations will get rich, American workers will pay skyrocketing prices on oil *and* taxes to underwrite the production of the fighter planes — while Iranian and Arab peoples never see a penny's worth of the riches earned from the resources which are rightfully theirs. ■





BIG BUSINESS IN THE DOCK

Joel Geier

As a result of the Watergate scandals a searchlight has been thrown on the activities of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP). It was CREEP that arranged the Watergate break-in. Most attention has been focused on the small fry. But a little of the glare has caught some of the people who really run this country — the respectable folk who don't do such things themselves, just finance them.

CREEP had a kitty of over \$60 million to put over Nixon's election. This money came from the giant corporations — which is illegal. By law corporations are not allowed to donate to candidates because they might be able to buy the favors of the government and bribe government officials.

But no one pays any attention to this law. In reality all corporations make large donations to the two capitalist parties, buying up government officials and the government. Now the Watergate scandals have brought some of this to public light.

So far eight corporations have been convicted of making illegal campaign contributions: American Airlines, Braniff Airways, Phillips Petroleum, Gulf Oil, Goodyear Tire, Ashland Oil, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing and Carnation. As the truth about Watergate continues to be revealed, many more corporations will be brought into court before they finally cover up the scandals.

System of corruption

The testimony of the corporations shows not only widespread corruption, but how the system runs.

Claude Wild, a vice president of Gulf Oil, testified that Gulf had no option but to make an illegal contribution to CREEP. They were told by Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans to come up with \$100,000 and they did. If not, Wild said, he feared that Gulf would wind up "on a blacklist, low man on the telephone pole."

He testified that Gulf broke the law because, "I just wanted someone to answer my telephone calls once in a while." Wild explained why it was worth \$100,000 to have his calls an-

swered. Sixty-one government agencies affect Gulf's business. For Gulf's money all 61 government agencies respectfully answer the phone.

This is the key to why the corporation made illegal contributions to President Nixon's favorite charity. Under imperialism and its huge military budget, the state and the monopolies are drawn even closer together. All the large corporations use campaign contributions to bribe the politicians who give out these contracts and run the regulatory agencies.

Gulf Oil is the 11th largest industrial corporation in the country. It has assets of over \$9 billion and sales last year of over \$6 billion. Many of its sales were to the Defense Department, and with what we now know about gasoline prices, Gulf has a friend in the President.

One hundred thousand dollars is a small price to pay for what Gulf will make in inflated gasoline prices this year, regulated by government agencies under the control of a President whose campaign they helped to illegally finance.

Orin Atkins, president of Ashland Oil, disputed Wild's testimony. He maintained that Gulf did not have to make illegal contributions because large companies "have no difficulty in making their points of view heard" in the government. A

corporation the size of Ashland Oil, however, had to contribute money "to assure ourselves of a forum where we would be heard."

Ashland, you see, is only number 70 in the list of giant corporations, with assets and sales both a mere billion or two. So it bribes the President to get a forum for its views. Think of it that way, when you fill up your car tank.

These respectable executives prove what revolutionaries have always maintained — no real democracy exists when giant corporations can buy and control the politicians. Whoever controls the economy around which the system runs, can and will control the government also. Working people will never have political democracy so long as they allow the capitalists to control the economy.

Greased palms

The Watergate testimony has also shown how the corporations make illegal contributions without anyone knowing about them except those whose palms are greased.

Gulf got the illegal \$100,000 contribution in cash from a Gulf subsidiary in the Bahamas. This company, wholly owned by Gulf, was told to charge the \$100,000 to its miscellaneous expense accounts.

Similarly, Ashland Oil listed its bribe to Nixon as a capital

expense for its subsidiary in Gabon, Africa. It took its \$100,000 bribe in cash from a Swiss bank account so that no questions would be raised by a large withdrawal from an American bank.

The power of the corporations to charge illegal bribes to expense accounts in Africa, and to transfer the funds from secret bank deposits in Europe, shows how international capital functions, making laws which no government controls.

Pathetic schemes

It also shows how pathetic the liberal reform schemes are for public financing of campaigns. Can anyone really believe that money won't still go from country to country until it finds its way into the right pockets so long as the capitalists are allowed to own the factories and natural resources of the world as their private property?

The billion dollar private corporations will continue to make "contributions" to their deserving collaborators in the government who serve their interests and protect their system.

The eight corporations, thus far brought to court, have all been found guilty of violating what is passed off as a democratic election process. Each of these billion dollar corporations has been fined a measly \$5000 and an additional \$1000 fine has been levied against the responsi-

ble corporate official.

Even the clean-up shows how corrupt the system of class justice is under capitalism. For these millionaires a \$5000 fine is chicken feed, a mere rap on the knuckles. Tony Boyle, the crook who ran the miners union for the coal bosses, got one year in jail and a \$150,000 fine for exactly the same offense.

Class justice

There is one sort of justice for the capitalists, and another even for their flunkies in the union bureaucracy. And of course still a third class of justice for ordinary workers, like our brother George Jackson who got ten years for stealing \$89.

Even when caught the rich and powerful are protected under their system. When Nixon is finally dragged into court, he too will only get a rap on the knuckles as did Spiro Agnew.

Already the Watergate cover-up is in motion, papering over the corruption, placing all the blame on a few individuals, those miserable excuses for government leaders like Agnew, Mitchell and Nixon. Meanwhile the real culprit goes scot free. The real criminal is the capitalist system which must and does corrupt the political process so that it faithfully reflects and resembles the drive for profits of the monopolies that run this country. ■

Blues For Fun City

Since the beginning of the Watergate scandal, *Workers' Power* has pointed out that the corruption in the Nixon administration is not exceptional, but an example of the normal workings of capitalist enterprise on all levels of government.

Recent scandals in the Administration of newly-elected New York City Mayor Abraham Beame make this clear.

Late last month, before he even took office, Beame withdrew his nomination of Seymour Terry for a top city office after publication of a letter Terry sent to clients of his insurance agency. In the letter, Terry,

Beame's campaign manager, said that his "new circumstances" would enable his clients to gain "even greater benefits."

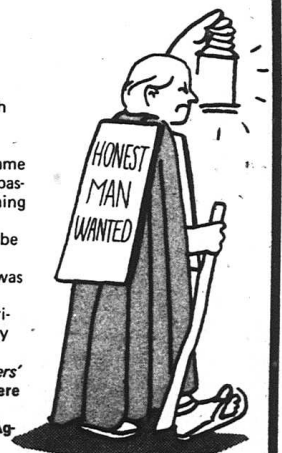
The next day, Beame accepted the resignation of another of his appointees. David Dinkins, who had been slated to become Deputy Mayor, withdrew when it became known that he had not paid his income tax for four years.

In a tearful press conference, Dinkins asserted: "I haven't committed a crime; what I did was fail to comply with the law. . . . I can only say that I have done it, as have many others."

Beame then began a search for another Deputy Mayor, finally settling on Joseph L. Galiber, a State Senator. Beame announced that Galiber had passed his anti-corruption screening process "with flying colors."

But just as Galiber was to be sworn in, the ceremony was abruptly postponed when it was revealed that Galiber had accepted illegal corporate contributions in a campaign for City Controller last year.

Upon investigation, *Workers' Power* has discovered that there is no truth to the rumor that Beame plans to name Spiro Agnew the next Deputy Mayor.



Bring Back The Boycott

labor briefs

In Baltimore rank and file members of **Local 333 International Longshoremen's Association** refused last month to unload a shipment of chrome from Rhodesia in protest of that nation's white-supremacist government. The ship, the African Don, was forced to leave port with its cargo unloaded.

Blacks and other minority workers stand to lose most due to the energy crisis. Walter W. Heller, a leading capitalist economist, predicts that unemployment among nonwhite workers — already twice as high as among white workers — will double in the second half of 1974.

Women workers are also being hit hard. The December increase in unemployment from 4.7% to 4.9% was due entirely to a drop of 200,000 in the number of women employed. Male unemployment for December actually rose, while employment of teenagers remained unchanged.

At Chrysler's **Detroit Mack Avenue stamping plant**, one department which used to employ 150 women workers now has only 75.

Chrysler's French subsidiary is also making cuts because of reduced demand for automobiles. **Chrysler-France** will cut the workweek by one hour, but *without loss of pay to the workers*. Workers at Chrysler's **Linwood plant in Great Britain** have decided to sit-in until Chrysler agrees to pay full wages for a week they are being laid-off.

Local 32 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has asked that its contract be re-opened to deal with the sharply higher cost of living. Other ILGWU locals across the country are expected to follow Local 32's lead.

Rheingold Breweries has announced the closing of its plant in Brooklyn, New York. Rheingold's action will leave **1500 workers without jobs**. Only last May, Teamsters Locals 3 and 46 signed a three-year contract with no pay increases in an effort to keep the plant open.

The **United Farm Workers Union** has won a big boycott victory in Jackson, Mississippi. After a four-week picketing campaign, Jackson's largest food distributor has agreed to remove scab lettuce and grapes from its stores throughout Mississippi.

The **Farah boycott** has also had new success. As a result of reduced demand for Farah pants, Willie Farah has had to close two of his manufacturing plants in San Antonio, Texas. In November, he closed plants in Victoria, Texas and Las Cruces, N.M.

A new union of Chicano workers, **Los Obreros Unidos Independientes**, has won a representation election at the Del Monte canning plant in San Antonio. The plant was previously organized by the Teamsters, but the workers felt they were not well represented by the white Teamster bureaucrats.

Andy Hardy, president of UAW Local 3 in Detroit, has dropped union principles to a new low. He personally escorted trucks across a picket line of white collar UAW members who were on strike at his plant. The striking workers, members of **UAW Local 412**, were engaged in a legal strike, sanctioned by the UAW International.

The **Fifth Wheel**, a California rank and file paper, asked Teamster truck drivers what they thought about the energy crisis. One reply: "I think the little energy we have left should be spent impeaching Nixon."

The Army Corps of Engineers recently said that **fourteen dams in Eastern Kentucky** are "extremely hazardous." These dams are used by coal companies as dumping grounds for waste material, and are similar to the dam on Buffalo Creek, West Virginia which collapsed two years ago killing 120 people.

What's going on where you work? Please send items for inclusion in this column to: Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

The strike is the main weapon working people have to win our battles with the bosses. But there is one form of strike which adds enormous muscle to local, isolated strikes and that is the **secondary boycott** which official labor leaders refuse to use.

In a secondary boycott, if a company producing, say tires, is on strike, then no other workers will handle those tires. Teamsters will not transport them. Auto workers will not put them on new cars. Union sales people will not sell them.

The powerful Teamsters Union was built by using this tactic. That is how the union grew from 70,000 to over 500,000 members in six years during the 1930's. But today, even the IBT has surrendered this weapon.

Consumer boycotts weak

Several nationally important strikes have failed, or are failing today because of the union-movement's refusal to use the boycott.

The strike by **8,000 Chicanos**, mainly women, for union recognition from the Farah clothing company is now almost two years old. But Farah is still making clothes with scab labor. Those clothes are being transported by union truck drivers and railroad workers. They are being sold by union sales people. A strike which should have been over in weeks has no end in sight, despite official AFL-CIO "support."

The farm workers strike is another example of a strike which is floundering. In this case, the union is pressing for a **consumer boycott**. It is asking individuals not to buy non-union grapes and lettuce.

Even though rank and file railroad workers have sabotaged efforts to move non-union grapes and lettuce, Ceasar Chavez, president of the farm workers union, is unwilling to ask the AFL-CIO railroad unions and grocery unions to refuse to

move and handle scab produce. Chavez is unwilling to ask because he knows that Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy will refuse, despite AFL-CIO "support" of the farm workers.

Similarly, just a few years back, the steel workers union called a strike against all the copper mines and mills in the country. But the strike had little effect on the companies because they imported copper from their mines abroad, and continued to supply copper to fabricators. So why should the copper companies settle? They didn't. After dragging on for eight months the union gave up on its chief demand, a common contract expiration date for all the companies' contracts.

Where was the AFL-CIO's Longshoremen's union (ILA)



while copper was being imported to bust the strike? Nowhere. The ILA leadership has, at the drop of a hat, directed its members not to load material for Arab countries in the recent mid-East war, or, not to load Russian ships. But when it came to refusal to unload copper ingots, the ILA leaders simply weren't there, and AFL-CIO leaders kept quiet.

The labor bureaucracy refuses to use the secondary boycott because they say "the Taft-Hartley law forbids them." This answer is 100% fraud. The AFL-CIO does not even seek repeal of this law. They are in fact so pleased with it they are trying to persuade the farmworkers union (which is not covered by the law) to accept the Taft-

Hartley anti-boycott provisions in exchange for the right to hold collective bargaining elections in the fields.

Perhaps the most important of all cases in which the secondary boycott could help win a giant victory and help organize the unorganized is in the case of the Textile workers of the South. Of 700,000 workers in the industry, less than ten percent are organized, despite hard campaigning by the TWUA.

In these heroic efforts, the TWUA has received no real help from anyone. But if labor chose to ignore the boycott (as teachers and other public employees ignore laws forbidding them to strike), then it could break the Textile Barons who not only prevent unionization but also practically run several entire states of our country in the interests of the corporations.

What could be done is, in case of a strike in a mill, all textile fabricators could be instructed to refuse to use fabrics from that mill or from any other mill which tries to take up the slack of the struck mill.

Two-pronged attack

If it's O.K. for teachers and garbage men to strike against the law, then why can't the mighty AFL-CIO do the same in the interests of organizing the unorganized?

The right to use the secondary boycott must be restored. This means the unions must launch a two-pronged attack on the law.

First, of course, would be a massive campaign for repeal of the law. But after 25 years, this *by itself* would probably fail. Action is also needed. So the law must be challenged by launching a secondary boycott in, say, the case of the Farah strike, in defiance of the law. Properly organized and fought, such a struggle could restore to labor's arsenal one of its most powerful and neglected weapons for waging the struggle against the bosses. ■

David Miller

Flash: Housing Crisis Solved!

If you live in the New York area and have had trouble finding decent housing, you can consider your problem solved. Well, almost. *All you need is \$1,550 a month for rent*, and you can move into New York's newest apartment building, The Sovereign.

For \$1,550 you get a two-bedroom apartment (three bedrooms, if you count the maid's room) on a private street, separate service elevators, 24-hour doorman, "the lobby of a great hotel," 9-foot ceilings, and Italian marble in the bathrooms.

At the Sovereign, says an ad, "you're within a short walk of the finest department stores, cinemas and corporate headquarters. Everything and everyone is next door or nearby."

The price tag may sound steep at first, but all utilities are included. And if it's still too much, there are also one-bedroom apartments available.

Most important says the Sovereign management, the neighbors are all high quality. "Not just anyone will live at the Sovereign." ■



REMEMBER ATTICA!

Rahaam Karanja, spokesperson for the indicted Attica Brothers, has announced the formation of the Attica Brothers Speakers Bureau.

The Speakers Bureau is a vital component of the defense of the Brothers. This is a means of educating the public to what happened at Attica September 9-13, 1971, why it happened, and what has been happening since.

Through the Speakers Bureau, interested organizations, schools, and community groups can ar-

range for an indicted Attica Brother to speak. In addition, former Attica Observers, who were at Attica during the 1971 rebellion, and lawyers presently working for the defense are available for speaking engagements.

The Speakers Bureau also distributes a feature-length color film, "Attica," which vividly portrays the conditions at Attica during the rebellions and the ensuing massacre by the state.

Attica Brothers Legal Defense (formerly Attica Defense Committee) views this project as an

important part of the campaign now underway to defend those Brothers who are facing legal reprisals for having participated in the rebellion. ■

For further information, contact Ann Clark, Attica Brothers Speakers Bureau, 1370 Main St., Buffalo, New York 14209, or phone 716-884-4423.

Contributions to sustain this important project should be sent to Attica Brothers Defense Fund, c/o the Challenger, 1301 Fillmore Ave., Buffalo, N.Y. 14211.

Tax Advice: Rich Get Richer

Here's a few items you might clip to use for reference next April when figuring up your income tax.

One thing you might try is to save up all your old scrap paper, bills and Christmas wrappings and see if you can donate them to your local historical archives (Richard Nixon called this his "vice presidential papers" and took a small \$500,000 deduction).

But it's not as simple as it looks. What you can and can't deduct, and how much of it, depends on how much you make and above all on your class position. Here's a quick review of some recent cases that might give you the lay of the land.

If you're a waitress or a cab driver: the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) penalized a group of waiters and waitresses in Ohio who understated the amount of income they earned in tips, even

though everyone knows that people who depend on tips have to understate them because they're so badly paid. The Tax Court upheld the penalties. If you work for a living, don't cheat!

If you're a wealthy professional: you've got a good thing going, if you don't overdo it. A doctor tried to avoid paying taxes on the earnings of a company he owns by giving his children 90% of the stock in the company (the children received just enough of the company's earnings to pay their small share of the taxes, while the doctor kept the rest).

The Tax Court made the doctor pay taxes on the company's full earnings — but unlike the waiters and waitresses he evidently wasn't penalized. On the other hand, Richard Nixon was involved in a far shadier (and larger) manipulation with his

daughter Tricia, which they've gotten away with so far.

If you're an executive or a capitalist: now you're going places. Like Charles I. Brown of Denver, who got to deduct \$37,796 payment he made to prevent a suit charging him with profiteering from illegal inside stock trading. Or a Louisville company which avoided paying the accumulated earnings tax (a penalty tax assessed when companies dodge personal taxes by putting profits into a slush fund instead of paying themselves dividends), because the court ruled the company needed its earnings for new construction.

Unlike the waitresses, who used their earnings only to eat.

If you're really rich, like the President: lots of interesting possibilities here. Unlike Mr. Brown, for example, Richard Nixon won't even have to claim the expenses of his Watergate defense as a deduction — it's all being paid for, by the government, at taxpayers' expense!

Unfortunately, I don't have much inside dope on how the super-rich and super-powerful prepare their returns. But there is a retired distinguished public servant who has lots of spare time and can probably answer any questions you have.

His name is Spiro Agnew, and you can write him c/o the White House, where they're keeping an office and staff open for him, paid for with your tax money. ■

David Finkel

Truckers Call New Work Stoppage

Following massive highway blockades and a two-day strike in December, independent truck drivers are making plans for another one-week work stoppage to begin January 31.

This strike has the same purpose as the highway blockades — to fight the effects of Nixon's energy crisis. The crisis has meant one thing for independent truckers: either fight back, or lose their livelihood. They have been hit hard by lower speed limits and price gouging by the oil monopolies.

The Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH), Mike Parkhurst of *Overdrive* magazine, and another dozen trucker organizations have called the January 31 action.

Long-haul Teamster drivers who work for wages are upset also. They face a wage cut of up to twenty percent since they are paid per mile and cannot travel as far with lower-speed limits.

After considerable delay, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has contacted the trucking companies, announcing the IBT's intention to reopen the Master Freight Agreement. The contract will be re-opened in mid-February to discuss increasing the rate of pay per mile.

But unless rank and file Teamsters are on guard, a re-opening of the contract might cause as many new headaches as it cures.

While drivers might well get a higher per mile rate of pay, the trucking associations are likely to press Fitzsimmons for productivity concessions in return. The companies want to introduce bigger equipment, including the use of "triples" — one driver pulling three semi-trailers. They might also want to cut down delay time pay — that is, com-

ensation for any time that a driver is unavoidably delayed while making a trip.

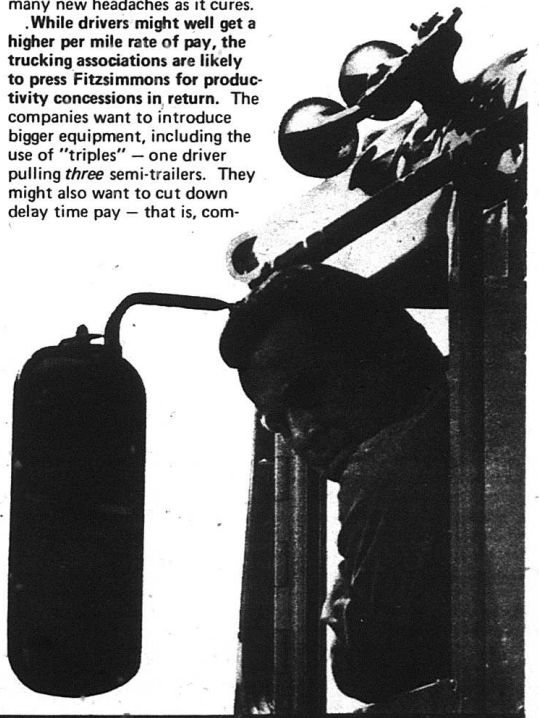
The Teamster officialdom might well go along with such concessions, feeling that an increase in the per mile rate may ease the pressure from the ranks, regardless of what productivity concessions are made.

Already Teamster officials have been slow in pressing delay time pay grievances involving drivers who were delayed last month in the independent drivers' highway blockades.

It took an angry rank and file to force Fitzsimmons to reopen the contract, and it will take a lot more pressure to get him to fight for a decent settlement.

The *Fifth Wheel*, a California Teamsters rank and file paper, outlined in its latest issue what a settlement that would protect drivers against the energy crisis should include:

- A re-negotiated Master Freight Agreement to compensate drivers for any wages lost because of the fuel shortage — higher mileage or hourly rates.
- No speed-ups, no lay-offs.
- No sacrifice in safety. No triples. Supplemental unemployment benefits equal to 100% of wages for anyone laid-off.
- Freeze fuel prices at 1972 levels. Roll back prices and keep them there. ■





COAL FIELD FIGHT SHAPING UP

Brian Mackenzie

In mid-December, the United Mine Workers held its first convention under the new reform leadership of Arnold Miller, Mike Trbovich, and Harry Patrick. The convention was pretty democratic and the delegates mostly rank and file miners. The UMW's ancient constitution was rewritten and an aggressive bargaining program for 1974 was passed.

The bargaining program calls for a substantial wage increase, paid sick days, a cost of living clause, and a tripling of the employers' contribution to the union pension fund — an increase from the current \$.80 a ton to \$2.40. In addition, the

UMW tightened its own safety enforcement mechanism by establishing elected safety committeemen for each local.

The feeling on the floor of the convention was that the energy crisis, the growing "shortage" of oil, would help the miners win their demands. The new UMW leadership agrees. President Miller pointed out that coal prices were rising and that "the energy crisis ensures that it will be a sellers' market (in coal) for years to come." Cut off from needed oil, Miller argued, the country will turn to coal.

Furthermore, various UMW publications point out, the coal companies are now owned by the big oil, steel and utility companies. These companies are making windfall profits by restricting out-put and raising pro-

fits. So, the reasoning goes, they can well afford to meet the just demands of the miners. Indeed, if justice, or even just dollars, were all there were to it, then the miners could expect an easy victory when their contract expires in November.

Miners vs. profits

Working one of the most unhealthy jobs around, miners receive no sick pay. Unlike almost any other industrial union, members have no cost of living clause to protect them from today's insane inflation. Though years are taken from their lives by black lung and other diseases, their pensions are only \$130 a month for bituminous miners and \$30 for anthracite miners — both lower than any unionized and many

non-union workers. If justice were concerned, the miners would not even have to demand, let alone fight for, these things.

If it were simply a matter of dollars, the corporations that control the coal industry would hardly be hurt by meeting these demands. The price of coal rose \$4.23 during 1972 and more since. That price increase would be enough to absorb the cost of most of the union's demands. Leaving that aside, the big oil, steel and power companies that control coal made enormous profits in 1971, '72 and '73 — many billions of dollars all together.

But whether it is mining coal or building a better mouse trap, capitalist production has never been concerned with justice or even simply dollars. The giant

corporations that mine coal, refine oil, produce steel and electric power want not only a big chunk of profits but a bigger one each year. Most importantly they want a large and growing profit margin — that is, percent of profit in return for investment.

Coal producing corporations of all types have made their view of the energy crisis clear as well. Last November, just before the miners convention, the *Wall Street Journal* put forth the employers' point of view. The 300 billion tons of unmined, available coal were "the best, perhaps the only, answer to the nation's energy crisis...."

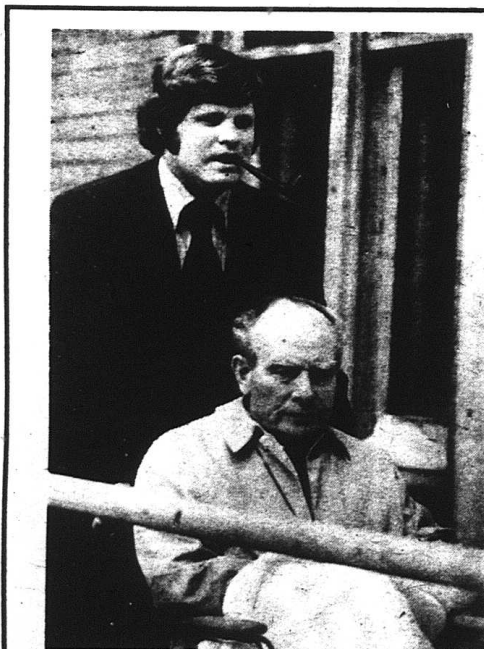
But, they tell us, there are problems. Foremost among these problems are the health and safety laws and, above all, the miners themselves. The bosses insist that the new safety laws and "rampant wildcat strikes, that the industry calculates will cost it 540,000 man-days" in 1973, are the major causes of declining productivity. Industry productivity has dropped 17% since 1969. In underground mines alone, it has dropped 25%.

Ranks want victory

From U.S. Steel to the few independent coal operators left, the bosses are saying they can't and won't give in to the UMW's bargaining demands. Rank and file miners are turning deaf ears on this kind of talk. They are out to fight and to win this year. In fact, there is little doubt that there will be a serious fight in the coalfields come November.

The bosses, that is the giant corporations, will also fight, and they will have the government on their side. In fact the bosses' fight has already begun. Not with lock-outs or firings, but by trying to win the new leaders of the UMW to their point of view.

Once again their good friends at the *Wall Street Journal* take the lead. Shortly after the UMW Convention, the *Journal* carried a long article praising the new leaders for being so democratic.



Tony Boyle being wheeled away by a federal agent

Why Miners Axed Boyle

Tony Boyle was president of the mine workers union for ten years. During his regime the conditions that miners must face on the job, always dangerous, deteriorated drastically. For every day that Boyle held office, one miner was killed in the coal fields.

Under the Boyle regime, practically every region in the union had been placed under trusteeship by the International. The rank and file of the union was completely divorced from any control over the union at anything but the local level, and had very little control there since any activity on the part of the rank and file was violently opposed by the International union.

After an explosion in a notoriously unsafe Consolidated Coal Co. mine in Farmington, W. Va. killed 87 miners Boyle

appeared on the scene, not to fight against conditions in the company's pits, but to defend the company's safety record. He stated then that "so long as there are mines and miners, these unfortunate accidents will always occur."

When a new, tougher Mine Safety Act was introduced in Congress as a result of the Farmington disaster, Boyle's regime opposed passage of the new bill.

The ranks of the UMW, fed up with Boyle's sell-outs, began to fight to kick the Boyle regime out of their union. That fight ended successfully one year ago when Arnold Miller, Mike Trbovich and Harry Patrick were elected to the union's top posts. They were the candidates put forward by the Miners for Democracy, an opposition group in the union. ■

FOR THE MINERS UNION

But, they hasten to point out, the bargaining program put forth by the leaders and passed by the ranks is "shocking in the size of the goals it lists."

Worse still, the new leadership may be too democratic. The *Journal* reporter says, "... the UMW chief (Miller) failed to display the assertive leadership role he'll have to assume if he is to sell a less than perfect contract to his own district leaders, who must in turn, sell it to the rank and file." In other words, Miller had better get ready to sell a lousy contract and make it stick.

"Give peace a chance"

The *Wall Street Journal*, the leaders of big business, and a whole stable full of sell-out labor leaders are trying to convince the new UMW leaders to make friends with the bosses and to take their concerns to heart. Of course, they wouldn't put it that way. All they are saying is "give peace a chance," be "responsible." Don't upset the "economy," that is, the rate of profit.

Miller, Trbovich, and Patrick are now caught between the ranks of the union they have helped democratize and the pressure from the bosses. Their response has been uncertain and vacillating. On the one hand, they have stuck to their promise to back stoppages over safety, which are, in fact, legal and are not really wildcats. On the other, they have stepped in to

stop wildcats over other issues, such as seniority.

They insisted that the miners will not be made to pay for the energy crisis, but often they admit that the employers concern over productivity is justified. They proposed local safety committees, elected from the ranks, but made sure that bargaining would be controlled from the top by pushing through appointed bargaining committees. They promised a better grievance procedure, but offered the convention a slick three step set-up with binding arbitration. This proposal was worked out with the bosses before it was proposed to the members and was designed to head off "wildcats." The UMW delegates, to their credit, rejected the scheme.

At the convention, many of the delegates formerly associated with Miller through the Miners for Democracy (MFD) showed their independence by defeating proposals they thought would set back democracy and militancy. These MFDers fought hard to rebuild their union and make it a fighting organization once again. They were not about to OK any back-sliding by their new leaders.

If the pressure from above is not matched by insistent militancy from below, however, Miller may do a lot of back-sliding. The fight in the coalfields is shaping up right now. The ranks of the UMW had better keep their eyes wide open. ■

Courts Condemn Miners To Death



mittee the right to "close down an unsafe area" and "remove all mine workers" eight of the nine Supreme Court judges voted that miners must stay on the job while the disputed issues go to arbitration. The labor arbitration process takes months!

The case arose in April when miners at the Gateway Coal Co. in Greene County, Pennsylvania walked out because of a ventilation failure. Company foremen had falsified air flow levels to keep the men working. The company sought and received an injunction from the District Judge.

The UMW appealed and was upheld by the Court of Appeals. Now the Supreme Court has ruled in favor of the company.

While the capitalist courts have always served the bosses, it is difficult to recall a decision quite as cold blooded and sub-human. Deprived of the legal right to strike over safety conditions miners must either break the law or face certain death time and again. We urge miners to choose life and smash the capitalists' legal murder! ■

Item: From January 1 to November 9, 1973, 137 coal miners died.

On January 8, the U.S. Supreme Court condemned countless coal miners to death. The Court ruled that miners do not have a legal right to walk out over unsafe conditions.

In spite of the fact that the existing bituminous coal contract gives the union safety com-

Which Side Are You On?

"They say in Harlan County there are no neutrals there" is the beginning of an old mining song written by Florence Reese in the early 1930's. The song tells of the battles fought by miners to unionize the coalfields of Eastern Kentucky. Today, 40 years later, the miners of Eastern Kentucky are fighting to bring the union, United Mine Workers (UMW), back.

In the early 50's, as the coal market slumped, mine owners organized to break the union. An atmosphere of terror reigned; state police and company gunmen shot and killed miners and many were framed and sent to jail on phony charges. During that time many mines modernized, laying-off two-thirds of the workforce. Many mines closed altogether.

Rather than fight to protect miners jobs, John L. Lewis, then president of the UMW, went along with automation, even using UMW money to help support some of the basic research.

Mass unemployment and poverty in Eastern Kentucky were the result.

Those miners who fought were deserted by Lewis. Strike pay and medical coverage were cut off. Eventually the UMW was driven from Eastern Kentucky and a company union, the Southern Labor Union, was brought in.

Today miners in Harlan County work in some of the most dangerous mines, at less than union scale, receive no health benefits and have no protection against harassment and arbitrary layoffs and firings.

Today, as in the thirties, there are no neutrals in Harlan County. Even with the past sellouts of the UMW leadership—bringing the union back is a matter of life and death.

To Arnold Miller, newly elected UMW president, bringing the UMW back to Eastern Kentucky means fulfilling campaign promises to organize the unorganized and rebuild the union.

But contrary to his promises, Miller has not initiated any new organizing. The organizing at Brookside began under the reactionary and corrupt Boyle regime.

It was the men at Brookside who wanted the UMW back.

And, when a representation election was being held, William Turnblazer, president of District 19 and a Boyle man, promised the Brookside men \$100 per week strike benefits if they went out.

The new Miller leadership was faced with a promise they had known nothing about, for an allocation of financial resources that is unheard of in UMW history. But they understood that organizing the miners at Brookside, which along with many other mines in the area is owned by the Duke Power Company, could be the key to winning back all of Eastern Kentucky.

"We weren't ready for it. But maybe it was good for us in the long run," said vice president Mike Trbovich.

Duke Power Company is the sixth largest power company in the United States with assets of \$2 billion. Last year Duke's profits were \$90 million. Duke wants to protect those profits and, like Miller, understands that the Brookside mine is key to the re-unionization of Eastern Kentucky. Duke is unwilling to come to terms with the UMW.

In July 1973 the Brookside miners struck.

Both sides are prepared for a long fight. Duke Power claims that the coal mined at Brookside is not essential to their operation and can hold out indefinitely. The UMW is spending \$20,000 per week on benefits, organizers and publicity. UMW leaders say they are in Harlan County to stay.

Duke attempted to bring in scab labor, and obtained an

injunction limiting picketing to three persons at each entrance. Hundreds of miners and their families stood their ground. Men, women and children were arrested. Women threw themselves in front of scab trucks and were hauled off to jail. Eventually Duke Power was forced to close the Brookside mine.

Duke Power burns 40,000 tons of coal daily. Brookside produced only 2,500 of these tons. To win, greater pressure must be used against Duke—other mines should be called out.

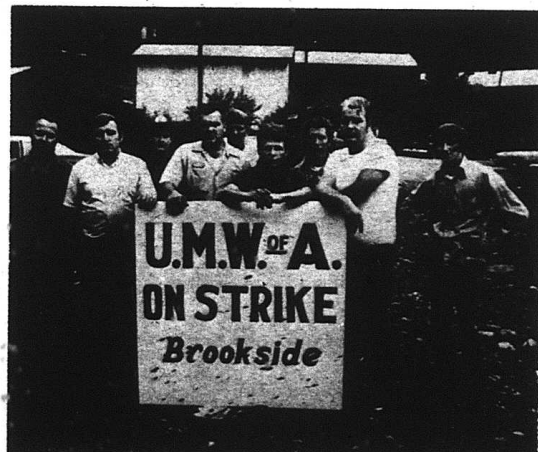
It is here that the contradictory nature of the Miller leadership becomes most apparent. UMW miners at two U.S. Steel mines in Harlan County refused to cross picket lines set up by the Brookside miners at U.S. Steel mines. The UMW stopped the picketing and ended the sympathy strike.

Instead of spreading the strike in Harlan County Miller attempted to stop Duke Power rate increases. But utility commissions, set up by big business-backed politicians, rarely rule against the utilities. Duke Power got most of their proposed rate increases.

The UMW was originally built by militant struggles in the coalfields. That is the only way it will be built again.

The miners in Harlan County are right to want their union back. They are a tough and militant breed who know how to fight. They will have to make sure their leaders know how to fight as well. ■

Rose Veviaka



Russia: Which Road For Freedom Struggle?

David Finkel



Russian dissidents Medvedev (left) and Solzhenitsyn

A public debate in the western European press has broken out between dissidents in the Soviet Union. One side in the debate is represented by the historian Roy Medvedev, denied the right to publish as well as being deprived of employment.

Medvedev has expressed regret that so many dissidents have chosen to leave the country rather than remaining to fight for democratic rights within Russia. Further, he criticizes those who, like the physicist Andrei Sakharov, look to governments and right-wing forces in the west to pressure the Russian ruling bureaucracy into granting democratic rights.

Medvedev believes that the movement for change in the Soviet Union will have to come from within the country. He also has definite views on who within the country will generate the forces for change: "Taking into account the evident political passivity of the working class... any movement toward meaningful democratization... is now possible in the Soviet Union only as the consequence of initiatives coming from present and future leaders and supported by the rank and file [emphasis added]."

A friend of Sakharov's, an engineer by the name of Agur-

sky who has been unemployed since he sought the right to leave the Soviet Union for Israel, responds to Medvedev.

Agursky, like Sakharov, believes that it is pressure from the capitalist regimes of the west which can have the best results in opening up better conditions for dissent in Russia.

Pressure from without

Agursky is a strong admirer of Henry Jackson, the right-wing U.S. Senator who believes that detente and trade agreements with Russia should be tied to conditions that Moscow permit emigrations and liberalize its policies on internal opposition.

Agursky goes so far as to place the Cold War hawk Jackson in the tradition of the American Abolitionist movement against slavery!

Medvedev takes no stock in figures like Jackson, whom he describes as "demagogic" and, unlike the Socialist and Communist Parties of the west, "not sincerely interested in the development of real socialist democracy" in Russia.

Agursky, in reply, expresses distrust of the Communist and Socialist Parties. "The great tragedy of the left," he says, "is that under the influence of slogans it identifies socialism with monopoly state capitalism, which appears as a social system in the Soviet Union and Eastern

Europe as well as in Cuba."

The real point, however, is that Agursky himself — and in a slightly different way, Medvedev as well — illustrate the "great tragedy" of their own dissident movement as it has developed until now.

Agursky, like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn who share his general views, can rightly be characterized as *double victims* of Stalinist repression. On the one hand, these dissident intellectuals are viciously oppressed by the bureaucratic regime — robbed of their livelihood, their ideas banned, their friends and relatives threatened and tortured to become informers.

Reforms from above

On the other hand, this same oppression has driven them to utterly reactionary and bankrupt conclusions — support for the capitalist imperialists of the west as representatives of "freedom and democracy."

Agursky's views, in fact, seem similar to those of right wing social democrats in the U.S., who also support Henry Jackson and America's foreign policies — including the war in Vietnam — as a "democratic alternative" to bureaucratic totalitarianism.

Agursky and Sakharov are the mirror images of radical intellectuals in the western countries who are pushed by the barbaric atrocities of capitalism into supporting the Stalinist

regimes in Russia or elsewhere!

Roy Medvedev represents a different point of view. Instead of looking to the western "democracies" to restrain the bureaucracy, he looks for reforms from within the bureaucracy itself ("present and future leaders").

Medvedev believes that the best way for western governments to assist the struggle for democracy in Russia is not to impose conditions, but rather to pursue policies of detente with Russia that will make it easier for liberal elements to surface.

In short, Agursky believes that the task of transforming the repressive bureaucratic regime should be "farmed out" to the capitalist ruling classes of the west, especially the United States. Medvedev believes that reforms will be handed down from a benevolent new leadership to a passive rank and file.

Revolution from below

As revolutionary third camp socialists, we of the International Socialists hold a thoroughly different point of view.

We stand in solidarity with all those inside the Soviet Union and other bureaucratic states who oppose and struggle against the suppression of democracy. We will defend them to the limit of our modest resources — just as we fight alongside all struggles of oppressed and exploited peo-

ples against our own capitalist ruling class.

We do not believe, however, that either Agursky or Medvedev offer a perspective that can carry the fight to anything but a dead end.

With all their differences, Agursky and Medvedev share the view that the working masses of Russia can never organize their own independent struggle from below for democracy and socialism.

We believe, on the other hand, that only such struggles — like the revolution of the Hungarian workers in 1956 — can carry through a fight for complete and consistent democracy.

Socialism and democracy

Under the bureaucratic regimes, the fight for genuine democracy is the fight for socialism itself — for workers' control of production and the state. This kind of democracy, which neither Agursky or Medvedev recognize as a possibility, cannot be imported from outside or handed down from above.

It can only be won through struggle against the entire bureaucracy by the working class — the same class force which will also overthrow the capitalist imperialists of the "democratic" west. ■

[In a coming issue we will carry a feature on the politics of the most noted Russian oppositionist, Alexander Solzhenitsyn.]

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Racism in France is primarily aimed at victimizing immigrant workers from North Africa.

A racist organization operating with the open assistance of foremen in several auto plants has recently been handing out leaflets under the false signature of the "Algerian Friendship Association." The leaflets warn "our immigrant brothers" that they should never trust French workers who are "naturally racists."

The idea behind these leaflets is to keep workers divided by racism so that Algerians can be kept on the bottom — just as if the Ku Klux Klan of the Nazi

Party in this country passed out leaflets calling for black people to "go back to Africa" because whites don't want them.

When Algerian workers have been beaten up and bombed, however, they have responded with strikes on building and dock sites. On the docks, French workers joined a stoppage on December 14 to protest the terrorist bombing of the Algerian consulate in Marseille.

In a national referendum held December 8, Australian voters delivered a stinging rebuff to

Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's bid for wage and price controls. The unions, led by Australian Confederation of Trade Unions president Bob Hawke, also Federal president of the Labor Party, took the offensive against Whitlam and called for "yes" on price controls and "no" on wage controls. But Whitlam then suggested that since wages were the "price of labor" he could use price powers to control them!

The vote against wage controls was about two-thirds, while 55% voted against price controls. While a political defeat for Whitlam, the denial of the mandate

to control wages is at least a small victory for the labor movement. Immediately following the poll, the ACTU announced a general wage offensive.

Ron Flaherty

The fascist regime of Spain has handed out savage prison sentences to the ten men on trial in Madrid for attempting to organize workers to improve wages and working conditions. There was not a shred of evidence that any of the defendants had even committed the "crime" with which they were

charged — holding an "illegal meeting" on June 24, 1972.

Marcelino Camacho, 55 years old the best-known leader of the Spanish workers' movement, got 20 years. 43-year-old Father Garcia Salve, a worker-priest who was brutally tortured, got 19 years. The other defendants, who spent 18 months in Carabanchel Prison awaiting trial, got 12 to 20 years each.

On the eve of the trial, Henry Kissinger was in Madrid for "whirlwind talks" with the top officials of the Spanish government, looking to strengthen America's relationship to Spain where the U.S. maintains four military bases.

BRACERO PROGRAM: ATTACK ON UFW

Dugan
Wheeler

The California Farm Board has opened a new attack on the United Farmworkers of America (UFW) with the aid of Henry Kissinger and the Mexican government.

According to *El Macriado*, newspaper of the UFW, on the same day that the Bureau called for the revival of the *bracero* program of contract Mexican labor, the US State Department said that Kissinger had been talking with the Mexican government about the question.

Citing a shortage of labor (there are 5 million unemployed in the US) the Farm Board wants to contract up to 300,000 Mexican workers for the fields of the United States. These workers would be admitted only for the working season and then would be returned to Mexico.

Anti-union offensive

It is no coincidence that the end of the *bracero* program in 1964 marked the beginning of the first successful drive ever to organize farmworkers into a union in this country.

Braceros had lived in camps fenced off from other workers, worked at wages contracted below the standard wage in US fields, were at the mercy of the company store and could be shipped back to Mexico at the first sign of union activity.

The *bracero* program was begun to fill the need for labor in the fields during World War II. Now there is a shortage of labor because the growers have cut wages to the point that workers in the US will not work in the fields. A group of Arab workers walked out of a field in California recently after the announcement of a wage cut.

Jack Pandol, a big non-union grower, cut his wages from \$2.00 per hour to \$1.65. Two growers who signed Teamster contracts just cut their wages, Giamara from 25 to 18 cents a bucket for wine grapes and Pavich from \$2.00 to \$1.80 per hour.

These wage cuts are the result of grower successes in blunting the UFWA organizing drive. They are only the beginning of what will happen if the Teamsters Union and the growers succeed in driving the United Farmworkers out of the fields. Grower talk of the *bracero* program would mean further cuts in wages as contract labor broke the back of the farm labor movement.

In 1942 the Mexican government demanded the *bracero* program as part of a series of guarantees from the United States government that Mexican nationals working in the US would get protection they hadn't received under a similar program during the first World War. The initial agreement in 1942 guaran-

teed that *braceros* would not be discriminated against and that transportation, housing and wages would be regulated by the US government.

Growers opposed the plan and boycotted it, relying on illegal labor. But in a short time agriculture learned how to use the law to its advantage. Growers established high quotas for *braceros* in order to glut the labor market and fix the official prevailing wage at lower than it had been.

Forced labor

The federal government invoked an emergency clause in the act which eliminated many of the safeguards of the agreement. As the *bracero* program continued the other safeguards were ignored. The US government ended up as a labor contractor at wages which the growers determined. Any *bracero* who protested or attempted to organize was sent back to Mexico at grower request.

The workers had no freedom to change jobs or strike for better conditions. They had to take what they got or be returned. In several instances they were brought in to break agricultural strikes.

Chicanos and organized labor in the U.S. opposed the program, although often for different reasons. Many Chicanos wanted the Mexican nationals to enter the United States with the full rights of workers in this country. Most trade union leaders were restrictionist. They did not want immigration threatening "American" jobs, especially immigration in the *bracero* form where the workers had no rights and were forced to work for poor pay.

Today, as in the 1960's grow-



ers support the system. It provided docile labor which appeared when the work did, worked for low wages and left at the end of the season. As the president of the San Diego Farm Bureau said recently, "The workers would only come for the work period, then return to Mexico—elsewise they could go on welfare roles or some such thing."

The Mexican government once wanted the *bracero* program as a way to protect its workers from United States growers. Today the government prefers a *bracero* program because the workers are forced to return to Mexico, bringing their pay home with them. *Braceros* add to the foreign capital of Mexican capitalists and help solve problems of unemployment in Mexico.

Mexicans do not chose to work under conditions of the *bracero* program or as illegals. These conditions are imposed by the United States government and the growers as a way to control farm labor. As long

as part of the work force, in the fields and elsewhere, works under the threat of deportation all workers will suffer.

Operation Wet Back

Chicanos especially are endangered by this policy. In 1954 the US government held "Operation Wetback" when over a million people of Mexican origin were deported. During sweeps through the *barrios* and fields both legal and illegal immigrants were picked up, as well as US-born Chicanos, and repatriated to Mexico. For these two reasons alone the UFWA and other unions must demand equal rights for all field workers.

Braceros and illegals leave Mexico to seek jobs and pay they can't get in Mexico. The United States has prevented the development of a strong, industrial economy in Mexico. If Mexico were developed it might challenge US capitalism's control of the Americas.

In 1848 the United States stole Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, part of Colorado and California from Mexico in the Mexican-American War. Since then the government has sent numerous armies into Mexico to protect United States business there. Every President from Teddy to Franklin Roosevelt has interfered in Mexican politics to protect US imperialism.

Not only do US capitalists impose restrictions on some of the only jobs Mexicans can get, it has prevented Mexicans from working at home for decent wages.

The United Farmworkers of America and its supporters both in and out of labor must demand full rights for all workers, the right to immigrate and an end to contract labor. As long as the growers have the threat of deportation they can threaten all Mexicans, Chicanos, Arabs and Filipinos working everywhere in this country. ■



'The energy crisis is a farce'

Besides trying to convince us that there is an energy crisis, the mass media is also trying to convince us that we're already convinced. Daily, the T.V. and the press interview Mr. & Mrs. America telling us how they've done their share and saved a watt or an ounce or a degree.

However, most of the people we know, and the people they know think the whole thing is a lot of crap.

Recently *Workers' Power* discussed the energy crisis with the "men in the street," several striking members of Meatcutters Local 587 in Los Angeles.

"The energy crisis is a farce. We're shipping out 1.7 million barrels of oil a day to foreign countries. There was never an energy crisis when we were bombing the hell out of Vietnam, when planes needed billions of gallons of fuel every day. Now the war's over and all of a sudden there's an energy crisis.

"It's just a money making scheme for the oil companies and the people in power. Maybe Nixon's getting a little bit. That's why he's so rich now. You're not even going to be able to get gas to go to work to earn a living.

"The working people are

going to pay for the energy crisis. We take the hardship for everything. We pay for every damn thing that goes wrong. No one in Southern California that I know can get by on ten gallons a week, just to get to and from work, let alone school or anything else.

"We are the people who pay the income tax all over the country — the working people and nobody else. It's the working class people that pay. We get our income tax taken every week. We don't have tax shelters.

"When the working people pay more taxes than the President, there's something wrong."

The Cover-Up Bigger Than Watergate: Blacks Were The Victims

Jack Trautman Kay Stacy

An intimate get-together was held at the White House after the election. Late in the evening the politicians began swapping stories about how they had pulled off the election. Finally the President raised his hands and exclaimed "What would the people of this country think if the roof could be lifted from this house and they could hear these men?"

One of the speakers responded: "If anyone repeats what I have said, I will denounce him as a liar."

The President was Grover Cleveland, not Richard Nixon. The secrets had nothing to do with Watergate. There were no tape machines or electronic bugs in the office in those days. The election had occurred in 1876. But it was not until well into 1877 that it was decided that the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes was the victor.

Samuel Tilden, the Democrat, had received the majority of the popular vote because of overwhelming white Southern support. If Tilden were elected he would be the first Democrat to take office since Lincoln's election in 1860.

The Republican North, nervous that the Democratic Party might reverse many of the decisions made while they were in power, challenged the electoral votes in a number of states.

The South, about to be robbed of victory, began talking like it would have to fight once more. Then, all at once the threat faded. The Southern states cast their votes for Hayes, he was elected, and all became quiet.

Behind the compromise, away from the eyes of the American people was another scandal. This one was more serious than Watergate.

In the course of the capitalists deciding who would



"The 'Bloody Shirt' Reformed: Governor Tilden, 'It is not I, but the Idea of Reform which I represent.'"—By Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 12, 1876.

rule post-Civil War America, black people newly freed from slavery got the shaft again. The difference with Watergate is that this scandal never came out.

Irreconcilable conflict

The compromise of 1877 ended the dispute that had created the Civil War. The war was a battle between two ruling classes over whose system of exploitation would run the United States.

In the North was the capitalist ruling class, based on free labor and the new industry. In the South was the slave-owning ruling class, based on slave labor and plantation agriculture. The war came when neither could continue growing without stepping on the other.

In the course of the war the Northern capitalist ruling class was forced to proclaim the slaves free. It called upon them to rise up against their masters, to sabotage the South-

ern war effort and to join the Northern army.

The Northern industrialists did not do this because they wanted to. They had reverence for private property, even "property" that was human. They did it only because

freeing the slaves was required in order to win the war.

After the war the battle still raged. The slave-owning class had been both militarily defeated and economically damaged. But it was still politically strong, through the Democratic Party.

Reconstruction

The Northern capitalist class, represented by the Republican Party, refused to lose in politics what it had won on the battlefield. So, in the late 1860's they sent the army South to occupy it. They granted black people the vote — again not because they wanted to, but because that would weaken the Democratic Party in the South and strengthen the Republican Party.

Many blacks were elected to office, to represent their people in local, state and federal positions. Black people were allowed to buy land.

owning class, black people had more power and better lives than they had ever had in America.

By the end of the decade of Reconstruction, however, Southern white resistance and terror were making the continued occupation impossible. In the election of 1876 it looked like the Southern ruling class had finally defeated the Northern capitalists in politics.

But no ruling class simply gives away power because the votes say it has lost. The Republican Party looked for a way to void the Democratic Party victory. This is what created the new crisis.

During the decade of Reconstruction in the South the ruling class had been changed. Slavery had been destroyed. The purpose of Reconstruction was to build capitalism in the South, and a new class of capitalists had replaced the old slave ruling class. The two ruling classes could merge, behind the backs of the masses of people North and South, to ensure quiet, stability and their continued "right" to exploit black and white labor as much as possible.

Jim Crow

That was the basis for the compromise. The Southern Democrats would support Hayes. They would not challenge capitalist rule again because they were now part of it. But in return, the South was granted home rule with no interference in its barbaric treatment of blacks.

Blacks were swept out of office. They were stripped of their property. Few blacks voted. Street cars were no longer integrated, nor were restaurants, sanitary facilities, schools or churches.

Jim Crow laws became the law of the South. So did lynchings. Black people would pay — in blood — for the humiliation the Southern rulers suffered at the hands of the Northern capitalists.

Corruption? Bribery? Theft? They are hardly new to the American political system. The political system only reflects the economic and social system of which it is a part. The capitalist system is a system of robbery — so too is its government. Now the thieves are in trouble once again. ■

White House Bugger Finds Jesus

Two associates of President Nixon seem to have turned their minds from bugging, burglaries, payoffs, and financial wheeling and dealing to thoughts of a loftier nature.

Charles Colson, one of the central figures in the Watergate operation, has "found religion." Since his fall from grace at the White House, he has been seen attending prayer breakfasts regularly with Harold Hughes — a Senator who has announced his own intention to give up politics for religion.

Friends report that Colson "certainly has achieved tran-

quility and serenity" in recent months.

Bebe Rebozo, Nixon's closest friend, is also in a reflective mood these days. His Christmas card to customers of his bank reminds them that "neither material wealth, fame, power nor admiration necessarily brings happiness. . . . Happiness does not depend upon a full pocketbook, but upon a mind full of rich thoughts and a heart full of rich emotions."

Rebozo, however, has not yet announced his intention to sell all that he has and give the proceeds to the poor. ■

reviews

music

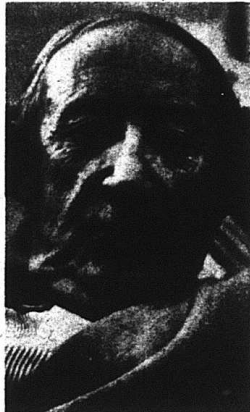
Cornball Crap Hits Top

"When the franc was in danger of collapsing in 1956, it was the Americans who propped it up, and their reward was to be insulted and swindled on the streets of Paris."

"You talk about Japanese technocracy and you get radios; you talk about German technocracy and you get automobiles; you talk about American technocracy and you will find men on the moon."

"I can name you 5,000 times when the Americans raced to help other people in trouble — can you name me one time when someone else raced to help the Americans? I don't think there was outside help even during the San Francisco earthquake."

With "America" playing in the background, Tex Ritter intones these words on one of the newest country music hits. Written by Gordon Sinclair, a Canadian newscaster, The American praises "the most generous



Millionaire Broadcaster Sinclair

and least appreciated people on earth" and condemns those who would refer to the "decadent war-mongering Americans."

In addition to Ritter's version,

two other recordings of The American have been made, with total sales reaching the million mark. WHN, the New York country station, has been besieged with calls to play the record. One of WHN's disc jockeys referred to it as a "great record" and stated that it is a very important happening.

The popularity of this record is an important reflection of the fear of many Americans and their desire to return to the "good old days" when America was respected in the world. The need to believe that we are good, charitable people, that we are strong, that we are the best in the world, is especially urgent as we find our political leaders to be nothing more than common crooks.

For many it seems the easier course to revel in patriotism and condemn those ungrateful foreigners. It is much simpler to whip up a bit of patriotic hysteria than to find solutions for the real problems that exist in

American society.

For instance, we might ask The American why the great "American technocracy" spent billions to have some men play in space this Christmas while hundreds of thousands of others were losing their jobs.

American workers who buy The American's stuff about this great system aren't getting the real benefits of American technology — such as better health services and safer working conditions in our mines and factories. But American workers are sharing the burdens as that system fails — higher prices and loss of jobs.

The American makes no distinction between the American government and the American people. The American government is decadent and war-mongering as its policy in Southeast Asia shows. However, the American people struggled for years to turn the government away from that policy.

The American neglects to

point out that the U.S. is the wealthiest nation on earth and can well afford to be more generous than it has ever been. But how did the U.S. become so rich? Only because American corporate interests looted the resources of foreign peoples and exploited American workers.

The amount of American aid sent to flood and earthquake victims in Latin America and other areas is insignificant when compared to the copper American corporations have taken from Chile, the oil from Venezuela, the tin from Bolivia.

Those who might find momentary comfort in The American's promise that the "U.S. will come out of this thing with their flag high" won't find that blaming foreigners for their troubles will help when they lose their jobs over the next few months. It certainly won't warm them up on these cold nights when they run out of heating fuel. ■

Joan Marie McKiernan

books

Men Who Raped Nam

[The Best And The Brightest, by David Halberstam. Fawcett Crest Books (paperback). 831 pages, \$1.95.]

David Halberstam's monumental study of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations throws much light on the story of the most criminal and barbaric war ever fought by any modern power — America's war in Vietnam.

Despite its enormous length, most of this book is well worth the time and effort it takes to plow through it, especially in a reasonably priced paperback edition.

This book is not really about Vietnam, but rather about the U.S. government, and how its war policies were made.

Reading Halberstam's account of the university intellectuals, career bureaucrats and generals who staffed Kennedy's Cabinet and advisory councils, and who mapped out the policies that led to Khe Sanh, My Lai and the bombing of Hanoi brings back all the events and emotions of the 1960's.

Those were the days when most people believed that JFK was a man of "courage and vi-

sion" while American "advisors" quietly supervised Diem's concentration camps called "strategic hamlets" and moved toward the inevitable introduction of American troops.

They were the days of the teach-ins, the anti-war and anti-draft marches, and the black ghetto rebellions which exposed to thousands, then millions of Americans the vicious reality behind the benevolent face of Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society."

Most of all, reading this book brings back all the feelings of bitter and well-deserved hatred which were earned by men like Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, William Westmoreland and McGeorge Bundy who masterminded the war, and whose stupid arrogance in planning a war they could not win was exceeded only by their vicious brutality in fighting it.

The Kennedy myth

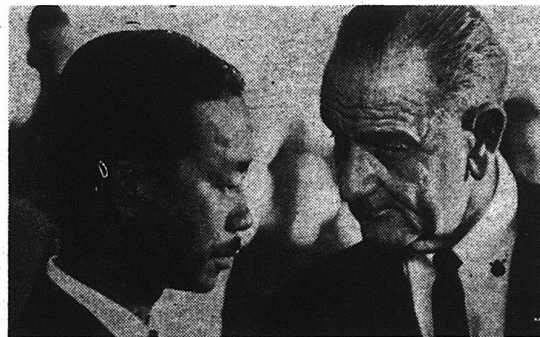
From 1961 through 1973, under Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, over 40,000 American soldiers and millions of Vietnamese were slaughtered in a war which Kennedy and his "brain trust" began to preserve colonial domination in the name of democracy.

Halberstam calls these men and their associates "the best and the brightest of a generation." He has got to be kidding.

When it came to lies, power grabs and cover-ups, Kennedy's and Johnson's advisors gave nothing away to Ehrlichman, Haldeman and Dean. The main

man who never wanted a full-scale war in Vietnam. He was trapped by a web of false reports and distortions from his advisors in Washington and Saigon, and by the Cold War foreign policies he inherited from the 1950's.

For example, Halberstam sees a tragic drawback in Kennedy's



difference is that Nixon's men got caught and will go to jail — and Nixon will be thrown out of office — while the far bloodier crimes of the Vietnam war cover-up were undiscovered until too late and will never be punished.

Halberstam appears to believe that John Kennedy, despite some weaknesses in his vision, was a

world view because of his failure to carry out a drastic reform of America's Cold War policies against China. This, he believes, made it possible for Kennedy to stumble into taking over France's colonial war in Indochina without realizing that such an adventure was completely hopeless.

In this account, Halberstam at least paints a far more accurate picture of Kennedy than the current liberal myth would have it. Kennedy emerges as a cynical politician, a figure whose main attribute (although Halberstam never says this outright) was a complete lack of any principles except those of expediency and power.

Kennedy rode to power on the wave of promises for a transformation of public life that would "get America moving again" and create a "new frontier." Even if these phrases had little content, they inspired enthusiasm in tens of millions of American workers, black people and poor people who thought they would mean real changes in their lives.

Once in office, Kennedy's main goal was not to alienate himself from any of the existing centers of power and — above all — not to be accused of "softness on Communism." The idea of John F. Kennedy as a "progressive" visionary with far-seeing ideals of equality and freedom is exposed as a complete lie.

The failure of Halberstam's book is that he never asks the

[Continued on page 15]

From Tsarism To Workers' Power

RUSSIA ON THE BRINK

Duncan Hallas

[This month marks the Fiftieth anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin, the greatest of the leaders of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Bolshevik Party. To mark this anniversary Workers' Power presents the following two-part article on the 1917 Revolution.]

"To the Marxist," wrote Lenin in 1915, "it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution. . . . For a revolution to take place it is usually insufficient for the lower classes not to want to live in the old way; it is also necessary that the upper classes should be unable to live in the old way. . . ."

"Revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government which never, not even in a period of crisis, falls if it is not toppled over."

By early 1917 these conditions had been met in Russia. The Tsar had entered into a system of military alliances with the 'democratic republican' government of the French empire and the 'constitutional monarchy' of the British empire against the German and Austrian empires.

Inevitably this alliance, and its counterpart on the German-Austrian-Turkish side, led to war.

The war which started in August 1914, was, in Lenin's words, 'a bourgeois imperialist and dynastic war. A struggle for markets and for freedom to beat foreign countries, . . . a war to deceive, disunite and slaughter the working peoples of all countries by setting the wage slaves of one nation against those of another so as to benefit the capitalist bosses.'

It was also a war that made unprecedented demands on the economies of the warring countries. The Russian economy was too weak to bear the burden.

"The lack of munitions, the small number of factories for their production, the sparceness of railway lines. . . soon translated the backwardness of Russia into the familiar language of defeat. . . . About fifteen million men were mobilized. . . . About five and a half million were counted as killed, wounded or captured. . . . approximately two and a half million killed."

In the cities food shortages, shortage of clothing, of fuel, of all the necessities of life grew worse and worse — for the poor. The rich, glutted with war pro-



fits, feasted while cold, hungry workers slaved away for 10, 12 or 14 hours a day.

In the factories and the army, the influence of the illegal socialist organizations, mainly Bolsheviks, began to grow rapidly. Yet even they did not yet understand how rotten the regime had become, how easily it could be overthrown. The initiative came from the women textile workers of Petrograd.

The 23rd of February, 1917, was International Women's Day. "The social-democratic circles had intended. . . meetings, speeches, leaflets," recorded Trotsky in his *History of the Russian Revolution*. "It had not occurred to anyone that it might become the first day of the revolution. Not a single organization called for strikes on that day."

In spite of this, the women came out demanding bread from the authorities, "like demanding milk from a he-goat," wrote Trotsky. The strikers appealed to the Bolshevik-led metal workers to support them.

"We agreed to this with reluctance," one of the local Bolshevik leaders remembered. Reluctance, because they expected the movement to be quickly defeated. "It was taken for granted that in case of a demonstration the soldiers would be brought out into the streets against the workers."

About 90,000 workers came out on the 23rd and the women besieged the town hall. There was no shooting. Though the strikers did not yet know it, the Tsarist officials were afraid that the infantry would not obey orders to shoot the workers.

They were kept in their barracks. Next day the movement spread.

"About half of the industrial workers of Petrograd are on strike on the 24th. . . . The slogan "Bread" is obscured by louder slogans: "Down with autocracy," "Down with the war" . . . compact masses of workmen singing revolutionary songs," records Trotsky.

The government brought out its most reliable soldiers, the Cossack cavalry, who were better paid and more privileged than ordinary troops. They did not mutiny but they did not do what was expected of them either.

"The Cossacks charged repeatedly, but without ferocity. . . . The mass of the demonstrators would part to let them through and close up again. There was no fear in the crowd. The Cossacks' promise not to shoot passed from mouth to mouth. . . . Toward the police the crowd showed ferocious hatred. . . 28 policemen were killed." Still the soldiers did not fire.

The government had elaborate plans to put down 'disorder,' based on its experiences in 1905. It had

150,000 troops in and around Petrograd.

"The difficulty lay not in lack of foresight, nor defects of the plan itself, but in the human material." By early 1917 the Tsarist army was almost as disaffected as the workers.

On the third day there were a quarter of a million workers on the streets and the government was forced to bring out the infantry. There was some shooting but not much.

Fraternalization between soldiers and workers went hand in hand with a systematic attack on the police.

"Soon the police disappear altogether." The Bolshevik committee called for unlimited national strike. And the army was cracking.

"The soldiers of the Volynsky regiment were the first to revolt. . . its commander was killed." The Litovsky and Preobrazhensky regiments followed. The 27th was the decisive day.

"Military revolt had become epidemic. . . . Towards evening the Semonovsky regiment, notorious for its brutality in putting down the Moscow rising of 1905, came over to the workers. . . . The Tsarist garrison of the capital, numbering 150,000 men, was dwindling, melting, disappearing. By night it no longer existed." Two days later Tsar Nicolas abdicated.

But, who was in power? The workers of Petrograd and the soldiers of the garrison had made the revolution. A Petrograd 'Soviet of Workers' Deputies' sprung up at once and soon workers soviets, soldiers soviets, and, later, peasant soviets sprang up all over Russia.

In those first days after the fall of the Tsar, effective power was in their hands. The old state machine had been destroyed.

However, the leadership of the important soviets was predominantly in the hands of Mensheviks and representatives of the peasant party, the Social Revolutionaries. For them, the object of the revolution was a democratic, capitalist republic.

The workers must not take power, said the Mensheviks, because Russia is not ripe for socialism. Since the workers' representatives are in fact in power they must hand over as soon as possible to the liberal representatives of capitalism.

They hastened to support a 'Provisional government' under a Tsarist nobleman, Prince Lvov, that had been cobbled together out of members of the Duma, the fake parliament set up after 1905. This government had no serious basis of support — except that of the soviets leaders! This support was willingly given and, for the time being, it was enough.

Of course the 'liberals,' were above all concerned to 'restore order,' to re-establish the power of the officers over the soldiers and of the factory management over the workers. They were even anxious to retain a Tsar, not of course the discredited Nicholas, but a new face.

Any they were determined to carry on the war with all the sacrifices by the ordinary people that this entailed. Russian imperialism was as important to them as to any Tsar.

And the Poles, the Finns, the Baltic peoples, the Caucasian peoples and the peoples of Central Asia must continue to submit to the rule of Mother Russia who knows best. There can be no question of independence. Later perhaps, there can be discussion about some limited home rule.

Later perhaps! This became the constant refrain of the Provisional government and its 'socialist' supporters. "We must wait for the election of a Constituent Assembly," said the Menshevik leaders of the soviets. When will it be elected? Later.

Meanwhile order must be restored, the war must go on. Having put the capitalist liberals in power, the Mensheviks then went on to adopt their policies.

On April 3 Lenin arrived from Switzerland. A deputation of 'moderate' soviet leaders went to meet him. Its leader Cheidze, made an empty speech about democracy.

Having turned completely away from the delegation, Lenin addressed the crowd. "The hour is not far off when the people will turn their weapons against the capitalist exploiters."

It was a declaration of war. The revolution, for Lenin, had only just begun.

[The conclusion of this account will appear in our next issue.]

AFT

[Continued from page 3]

posed making "affiliation" a pre-condition for merger. But today, Selden's presence is a threat to Shanker's readiness to scuttle merger if it does not meet Meany's exact formula for affiliation. Shanker's power play is then a blow at the pros-

domestic and foreign. Selden, while agreeing with Meany on most issues, has however disagreed on two questions. Selden supported McGovern in '72, while Meany and Shanker gave back-door support to Nixon. Selden belatedly opposed the war in Vietnam, while Meany and Shanker were hawks, and today even oppose the U.S. detente with Russia and China.

Further, Selden joined Mike Harrington when the latter split the old Socialist Party, thus breaking with Shanker and with Meany's favorite Uncle Tom,



pects for merger.

But more than a mere power play is involved in Shanker's ploy, and in Selden's refusal to go. For in recent years, these two leaders, once intimate, have moved apart.

Shanker is an all-out supporter of Meany in all policies,

Bayard Rustin, head of the Social-Democrats-USA, and of the conservative A. Philip Randolph Institute.

Thus far, the demand to displace Selden has met with no serious protest within the ranks of the AFT. This should surprise no one, since on the gut

issues facing the teachers' union, Selden has no basic differences with Shanker.

Both supported the wage-freeze. Both do little more than make the record against binding arbitration for public employees. Both believe that getting funds for the schools, and reversing the nation-wide attacks on teachers can be accomplished by amking deals with the politicians. Neither one has any solution to the fact that teacher salaries and employment are falling faster than for any other part of the organized labor movement.

As a result, the movement which Selden has announced will, even if it ever gets off the ground, get nowhere. For in Selden the bankruptcy of "liberal" labor leaders (like the UAW's Woodcock, or AFSCME's Jerry Wurf) is made painfully clear. They have no solutions to the real problems facing labor other than the pieties of liberalism. They can offer no real alternative to the all-out, undisguised supporters of the corporations and capitalism like Meany and Shanker (in deeds, not words).

Shanker's attempt to depose Selden is a further blow to democracy within the AFT. But the most unfortunate aspect of this crisis in the AFT is not that Shanker has decreed "Selden must go," but that the ranks of the teachers do not yet understand that both Shanker and Selden must go if teachers are to resolve the grievous problems they face. ■

David Miller

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David Finkel

Vietnam

[Continued from page 13]

deeper question: *why* was it that neither Kennedy nor his associates ever drew any political conclusions from the obvious failure of their efforts to prop up a series of anti-Communist, right-wing dictators in South Vietnam who were not only pro-U.S. but had supported the French in the 1950's.

Why during the years 1961-65, were there various rumbles of dissatisfaction but never any vigorous *dissent* in the inner circles of the government from the men who saw in advance that Vietnam would be a catastrophe for American imperialism?

Why did the ideas of Walter Rostow, originally dismissed as lunatic for claiming that the U.S. could win the war through all-out bombing and technological warfare, wind up as the cornerstone of U.S. military policy?

Halberstam tries to grapple with this problem indirectly, through long (and sometimes interminable) biographical sketches of the major "players" in the Vietnam game. He tries to find the roots of their collective blindness in the circumstan-

ces of their personal histories.

These diversions are of some limited interest, because they do show that the "brilliant men" who ran the war were a highly overrated collection of mediocre types—career diplomats and tunnel-minded military hacks from the past, plus Kennedy's special additions: flashy intellectuals from upper class backgrounds and Ivy League schools, men with brilliant reputations but no significant intellectual achievements. These liberals could best be described as the spiritual ancestors of the Watergate generation, the men who made wholesale government lying to the public an accepted practice.

Both war and defeat

Finally, however, Halberstam's biographical asides become annoying, because they consume hundreds of pages while contributing almost nothing to solving the problem he should be asking: *why* was there no serious opposition to the war from above, until a massive, militant and even violent anti-war movement from below ripped the mask off and threatened to tear domestic stability to shreds?

The answer, in a concentrated nutshell, is this: from left to right, all of Kennedy's Establishment inner circle shared the view that U.S. intervention in another nation's civil war, or the use of force to defeat

national liberation struggles — under Communist leadership, was correct and justified *if* they could get away with it.

And more: even those who thought from the start that the policy was doomed had to accept each and every escalation as a *legitimate* action *if* it would in fact prevent the war from being lost.

In short, these officials and advisors were charged with defending the interests of U.S. imperialism, and they naturally shared all of its assumptions.

Once this is understood, Halberstam's book is above all a damning indictment of the cowardice and bankruptcy of the very men with whom he is personally most sympathetic—men like Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles, "genuine liberals" who were never for the war but never put forward an alternative policy or took their opposition into public light.

Bowles and Stevenson took no anti-war stand because *they had nothing to offer in its place except defeat*. Since they were *not* for a U.S. defeat, they had to passively accept the war.

In the end, the U.S. got both war and defeat. And pathetic liberals like Bowles and Stevenson played no role in ending the war.— it was the strength of the Vietnamese, along with the pressure of the anti-war movement which forced U.S. troops out of Vietnam and humiliated U.S. imperialism. ■

AFL-CIO CHIEFS STAB FARMWORKERS

The special committee appointed by the AFL-CIO to "assist the farmworkers" has refused to support a national boycott of lettuce and grapes. The committee, which met in Washington last month with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, refused to support the Farmworker boycott on the grounds that it threatened the jobs of other union members such as retail clerks, meatcutters, distillery workers, or glass bottle blowers.

The decision was not surprising since the special committee was stacked from the start. Supposedly it was set up by the AFL-CIO to "assist the farmworkers" in the fight against the Teamsters and growers when the Teamsters repudiated the agreement with the AFL-CIO and the United Farmworkers.

Actually its purpose has been to try to keep the UFW in line. The members appointed to the committee are all the leading bureaucrats of unions most hostile to the farmworkers, plus

Paul Hall of the Seafarers Union. Hall has served as the AFL-CIO Executive Council representative for the Farmworkers.

At the same time some local unions have also started to attack the UFW boycott. In Cleveland, Retail Store Employees Local 880 and Meat Cutters District 427 took a full page ad in the *Plain Dealer* demanding an end to the UFW boycott of entire stores which handle the scab grapes and lettuce.

The unions stated that they supported a boycott of lettuce and grapes but that the UFW's secondary boycott of stores which sold the scab produce threatened jobs of the union members who worked in these stores.

The AFL-CIO special committee is scheduled to meet again. It is possible that the AFL-CIO bureaucrats are telling the UFW that they might endorse a boycott of lettuce and grapes if the UFW stops engaging in the secondary boycott of entire stores selling scab products.

Product boycotts, however, are not very effective. Especially in this case, where the scab produce represents a minuscule



portion of the stores business, boycotting only the specific products is unlikely to put sufficient pressure on the stores.

In fact most of the items on the AFL-CIO official boycott list are epitaphs for strikes which have been crushed because the AFL-CIO refused to put any muscle behind them.

Threat to jobs

Is the threat to jobs the real reason that the AFL-CIO refuses to back the UFW boycott?

Although successful boycotting of a foodstore chain might temporarily lower the business of that store, layoffs for any length of time would not be the result. If the boycott is successful, the chain involved would quickly stop carrying scab produce and the boycott would be stopped.

Instead of taking ads out protesting the farmworkers boycott, these unions should place ads supporting the farmworkers boycott and use every other means to stop the food chains from handling scab produce. They should instruct their members to refuse to handle non-union grapes and lettuce and back them up.

The clerks and meatcutters can also bring pressure on the chains by demanding a no-layoffs policy so that the workers do not have to suffer because the bosses want to support the growers.

The UFW is a threat to the established union bureaucrats who see their jobs primarily as collaborating with industry bosses to "manage" the company's labor problems.

By using the secondary boycott and union hiring hall the UFW is embarrassing to the labor bureaucrats who lost these powerful weapons of the labor movement with hardly a struggle. The UFW's willingness to mobilize its members and supporters to engage in direct support is a threat to the labor bureaucrats' conception of exercising power behind closed doors in company conference rooms.

United labor fight

The real threats to the jobs of meatcutters and retail clerks are not the UFW, however, but automated pre-packaging and automatic pricing systems and plain old speedup that the big food chains are trying to establish. At the same time the current economic recession and energy crisis are throwing people out of work.

To fight these the unions need a united labor movement. Instead, because these unions see themselves in the narrowest of business union terms, they are allowing the chains to play them off against each other and against the UFW. But trying to place the blame on the Farmworkers isn't going to solve the problem.

Even though these bureaucrats have been slapped in the face by the growers and the Teamsters, their concern is still as much to control and contain the UFW within "respectable limits" as it is to help the field workers win.

The UFW leadership has not yet publicly responded to the recent AFL-CIO decision. The union is caught in a real bind. While the amount of financial support from the AFL-CIO and individual unions has been far from sufficient, the union desperately needs what it has been getting.

Fearful of losing AFL-CIO support, the UFW has bent over backwards not to alienate the labor bureaucracy. An entire issue of *El Mucriado*, the UFW newspaper, was recalled to remove an article sympathetic to wildcat strikes in auto. The UFW has tried to dissociate itself from any criticisms on the lack of AFL-CIO support.

Significant rank and file support for the farmworkers struggle exists. Militants in Detroit UAW Local 51 pushed through a motion giving \$1000 from the local's treasury to the UFW.

The task at hand is to organize that sentiment and bring the power of working class solidarity to the struggles of the farmworkers. ■

James Morrison

UFW Leaders Hit Independent Support

The UFW has recently denounced the pamphlet, *Si Se Puede (It Can Be Done)* in its official newspaper *El Mucriado*. The union charged that the pamphlet was unauthorized and the publishers were trying to make money off the farmworkers.

In fact the pamphlet was put out by people associated with the Salinas Citizens Committee which has long been a supporter and financial contributor to the union. The pamphlet is one of the better descriptions of the Farmworkers struggle, although it is completely uncritical of the union leadership.

The real reason the pamphlet was attacked is because the un-

ion leadership has a policy of trying to stamp out all independent groups supporting the Farmworkers. They are afraid that these groups may embarrass the UFW, especially in relations with the AFL-CIO.

This policy is self-defeating. To some extent, the UFW's official hands are tied so long as it is dependent on the AFL-CIO top leadership for support. In the long run, however, the hope for building a movement in the trade union movement which can force the labor leaders to give full support to the farmworkers depends partly on the growth of independent groups free to expose the footdragging of the AFL-CIO leaders.