# **WORKERS'**

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS NOV. 14—27, 1974 #108 15c

In This Issue: The People's Champ . . 3 Super Rocky ...........3 Starvation & Profits ... 4 **Rapist Wins in Court . . 5 Election Day Results . 10** 



In Washington, negotiations on a new coal contract are continuing even as the strike begins. Already the coal operators have given substantial concessions.

For example, the operators have agreed to increase pension funding close to the union's \$1.55/ton demand. The current figure is 80c/ton, which yields one of the worst pensions of any major

of the worst penaltan.

In addition, the industry has agreed to create some additional jobs for helpers on complicated mining equipment, although there

mining equipment, although there has been no agreement on when this change will take effect.

Numerous other issues are still unresolved, including the vital questions of safety, the right to strike over grievances, and cost-of-living provisions.

Nevertheless, the operators will make significant enough concessions that any contract likely to

emerge from the negotiations will be a step forward in some areas. This may mean that the union leadership will compromise on some vital issues, particularly on safety or the right to strike, because there have been real gains on other issues.

on other issues. Such a compromise would be applauded as statesmanship by politicians and the news media, but

politicians and the news media, but not by the miners.

This year, everything is going for the miners. There is great demand for all the coal that can be produced. The miners are militant and determined. And the government is partially discredited, which will make it harder for Ford to intervene and try to break a strike.

Rank and file miners will have to be vigilant to make sure that their leadership does not compromise

leadership does not compromise and throw away their most significant opportunity in years to win a decent contract.

The coal miners' strike is on. A lot depends on the outcome. In corporate offices, banks country club dining rooms, and in top government offices, some of America's "finest" are

quietly panicking.

Members of the United Mine.

Workers of America (UMWA) have a powerful weapon. With out coal, huge sections of this country will simply come to a stop. The steel mills will be first, and without steel the economy will be crippled.

There's no question of whether the control of the country will be crippled.

ther the miners can win. They can. And there's no doubt that they need to. In one of the most dangerous industries anywhere they are literally fighting for their lives.

Since contract negotiations began in September, 39 miners have been killed underground.

Besides safety, they pensions, sick pay, the right to strike over grievances, and enough money to protect them from inflation.

#### LEADERSHIP

The miners are fighting for these things for themselves, but not for themselves alone. Just as businessmen and politicians are looking at the miners' strike with a touch of fear, workers across the country are

looking to the miners leadership.

For years now, it's been one

big profits parade. Prices up. Profits up. Wages, after inflation, down, down, down. For businessmen, it's been almost too good to believe.

The energy monopolies have had it best. On page 6, we reprint the recent profit statistics for coal companies. Many coal companies are owned by the same oil giants that brought us the energy crisis and the 55c gallon of gasoline.

A big victory for the miners

can start to turn things around and threaten this gigantic profit

#### COZY RELATIONSHIPS

A big miners' victory can threaten some other cozy relationships as well. Coal miners have shown that they can change their union into a fighting organization. Two years ago they threw out the old corrupt Tony Boyle leadership.

More importantly, they have demonstrated that they will not leave the fight up to their leaders, whoever those leaders may be. The standard "grievance procedure" in the coal fields in recent years has been the wildcat strike.

The big question on the minds of both industry and

union negotiators is, rank and file ratify the contract these leaders negotiate?

This example of rank and file initiative can spread. It may lead to greater militancy in other unions. I.W. Abel may find himself in trouble over his no-strike deal, and Leonard Woodcock may find that auto workers don't like his lack of action on lavoffs.

Since so much is riding on the results of the miners strike, we can expect to see a big public relations campaign against them. We'll be told that the miners are greedy. Newspapers and TV will shout that its the miners' fault if other layoffs occur as a result of the strike, or if homes are cold for lack of

But there's an answer to this question of greediness. Just look at the record.

Are miners greedy for wanting a safe place to work and a sufficient income to feed their families? Or are the coal, oil, and steel companies greedy for not being satisfied with record profits?

The miners are no more greedy for wanting protection against inflation than the rest of us are for wanting the same thing. If the miners win, it will be that much easier for the rest of us. It's that simple.

Support the miners.

### elene ine kon do de

As coal miners walk off their jobs all over the country, eleven leaders and supporters of the successful Brookside organizing drive have been thrown in jail.

The eleven were jailed Tuesday, November 5 on charges stemming from activities during the strike. They were originally jailed last May, but had been released on appeal. The appeal failed and, at Workers' Power press time, they are in jail and with sentences ranging from 90 days to six months.

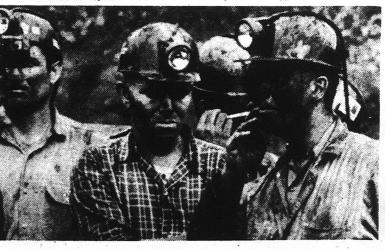
Those jailed are:
From the Brookside Women's
Club: Lois Scott, Bessie Cornett,

Betty Eldridge, Melba Strong. Miners: Jerry Johnson, Mickey Messer, Danny Simpson, Jerry Rainey, Carl Noe, Joe Eldridge,

and Bill Doan.

The charge aginst them? Picketing. They were part of a crowd of 700 people picketing the struck mine last February 28. They were found guilty of contempt of court for breaking an anti-picketing injunction.

As miners all over the country begin the most important strike this country has seen in years, it is once more necessary to protect our most basic rights. Defend the right to picket! Free the Brookside





### FOOD CRISIS:

# tthem eatpron

The World Food Conference in ally is getting a great deal of

publicity.

Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State and Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, are representing the United States.

They are both making eloquent speeches and pledging a great many abstractions.

But behind the flowery speeches

But behind the flowery speeches, the US government is concretely (although quietly) ending its "Food for Peace" programs.

Already, shipments of powdered milk, on which millions of starving children depend, ended last June.

Ninety million people depend on food from these programs. In the next year many of them will be cut off and will die.

The policies of American imparis.

The policies of American imperi-

alism are directly responsible for their deaths. Following World War II the US began shipping huge quantities of foodstuffs to so-called "underdeveloped" nations.

Food giveaways were used as a

Food giveaways were used as a political weapon to tie nations in Asia and Africa to Western capitalism and keep them "safe from Communism". They also kept the economies of these nations dependent on the gyrations of Western capitalism and thus kept them underdeveloped.

In the last several years, however, the US government has learned that the Stallinst governments of Russia and China can be allies as well as enemies, and "fighting communism" is not as simple as it used to be.

Markets for the export of grains have been opened in both Russia and China, bringing higher prices than "Food for Peace" programs.

than "Food for Peace" programs.
The US government also decided
to maintain high domestic food
prices by increasing subsidies to
farmers to keep down crop produc-

tion.

The National Farmers Union stated that "during the Nixon administration's first five years, nearly \$4 billion more was paid to farmers to prevent food production than it would have cost for the government to buy the same amount of food from farmers."

The result is food shortages

The result is food shortages world wide and death to millions of people in Africa and Asia.

But human need is not one of the considerations of capitalism profit is!

It is now more profitable both in the short run and the long run to allow mass starvation and death. A world-wide food policy is needed. One that can plan and provide for the food needs of the world's people. Capitalism—a system that can allow the death of millions of needle to increase the millions of people to increase the bank accounts of a few-can never

The World Food Conference will produce a lot of hot air but little food for the world's starving

tood for the most peoples.
Overthrowing the world's rulers and the planners of this conference is the only solution to mass



Capitalist competition means that millions can starve on one side of the world, while on the other side, almost unnoticed, hundreds of calves

# STATES IDNA

Rafael Mellafe Campos Chilean. Eight months ago he was a meat vendor in Santiago, Chile. He is now a prisoner in the United States Federal House of Detention in Manhattan.

Seven months ago, Campos was arrested by the Chilean military junta for suspected gun running for the resistance movement in Chile. In prison Campos was repeatedly beaten and tortured with electric

shock. Although blindfolded, he often heard American voices in the

background.
Finally he was invited to sign papers that would free him. He papers that would tree him. He signed willingly. After signing he was driven to the airport and shown an order expelling him from Chile. He also saw the American whose voices he had heard while

being tortured. They were Charles Cecil and George Franguiles. Cecil is the Federal agent in charge of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) office in Chile. Campos was then arrested by Cecil for being part of an interna-tional cocaine smuggling ring. He

was taken to the US where he

was taken to the US where he remains—in federal prison.
Campos was arrested under the supposed alias "Raphael Lira".
Campos is a poor Chilean worker. He speaks no English and had never before been outside of Chile in his life.
Campos has been tortured by the

Chille in his life.

Campos has been tortured by the facist military regime in Chile and kidnapped by American agents. It is unclear which government was helping which in this crazy episode. Was Campos kidnapped by the US government to aid Chile? Or did Chile falsely arrest Campos and deliver him to Ameri-can agents to make US Drug Enforcement agents look like they

are doing something?

Either way, collusion between the Chilean facists and the Ameri-"freedom-loving" government is not over, no matter how many statements of shock and outrage our Congressmen make for the

collusion continues and Chilean workers like Raphael Campos are the victims.

#### JOBS FOR VETS

# Ford's New Math: 70,000≈0



Showing once again his dynamic, innovative administrative abilities, President Ford recently announced new Federal program to find jobs

a new Federal program to find jobs for Vietnam veterans. His plan, called "Jobs for Veterans Plan of Action" is to hire 70,000 vets by July 1975 into Federal jobs.

However, Labor Department Assistant Secretary William H. Kolberg stated that the plan does not really involve more federal jobs for vets, only increased Federal coordination.

At the same time Ford showed

coordination.

At the same time Ford showed his sensitivity to the plight of those he called "the silent heros of their generation".

In response to an appeal to pass the Veterans Gl Bill which would raise Gl benefits 23%, Ford laughed heartily.

And now on to other problems.

#### Workers' Power 108

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Dottle Grant.

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### On the other side of the take...

by Gay Semel

Nelson Rockefeller was nominated for the Vice-Presidency to give leadership to the floundering Ford Administration

Administration.
Rockefeller has the talents and reputation that Ford desperately lacks—he is smart, influential and slick. He has 16 years of experience eroding the living standard of New York's working people and brutally repressing that state's blacks. He has almost a lifetime's experience in international affairs keeping the family emoire safe.

in international arrairs keeping the family empire safe.

Rockefeller can also walk and chew gum at the same time.

Ford, a President "elected" by no one other than the now-hated. Nixon, is a dumber, blander copy of the man who made him President.

But unlike the original he has no program, good or bad, and no ideas.

#### NO THREAT

At the time of his nomination to the Vice Presidency, Ford's one asset was that no one seriously considered him a presidential contender in 1976.

contender in 19/6.

The Republican Party rallied behind him only because he was unfit for the Presidency. The Democratic-controlled Congress

ratified his nomination because they, too, saw him as no threat in

Now, when capitalism is facing the most severe economic crisis since the '30's, the man that most considered a joke is President. He has been swept into office by the Watergate scandals and he is in way over his head.
Rockefeller's nomination looked

like the solution.

It received the blessings of mainline Republicans and Democrats

alike.

George Meany said: "Nelson is satisfied with his own share, and he don't try to keep the other feller from getting his. He doesn't have that mean streak you find in some of these Republican businessmen."

Even many working people be-lieved that "at least Rockefeller" has too much money to be bought.

#### WHOSE PAYROLL?

Several months later, after an initial investigation by Congress, that statement contains one glaring, if unintended, truth. Rockefeller is on no one's payroll—he does the huving! does the buying!

Over the years, it has been revealed, Rockefeller has doled out over two million dollars in "gifts"

### AND Y ANOTHE SCAN

Revealing Rockefeller secrets has b become a national past-e. We've got one more to

add to the list.

In 1965, the white government of the British colony of Rhodesia declared independence from Britain.

Soon after, the International Soon after, the International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC) purchased a giant chicken farm in Rhedesia. IBEC was created in 1947 expressly to ripoff underdeveloped countries while claiming it was "developing their economies."

In December 1966, the United Nations imposed a compulsory

Nations imposed a compulsory economic sanction against Rho-

desia for its racist policies. This boycott of Rhodesia was to be observed by all members of the United Nations.

In the last month, it was revealed that IBEC, a Rocke-feller-owned front, has not disposed of its Rhodesian holdings and continues to violate the United Nations boycott.

For the members of the ruling class, solidarity with the members of other ruling classes only lasts as long as profits aren't at stake. The next time you hear Rockefeller claim he is opposed to racism, ask him about racism, ask Rhodesia.

Mary Franklin

to political friends. (How much has been given under the table is anyone's guess.)
William J. Ronan, Chairman of the Port Authority of New York, has been one of the biggest recipients of Rocks's generosity.
Over the years Ronan has allocated 625 2000 Four hier friends

recipients of Rocks's generosity.
Over the years Ronan has collected \$625,000 from his friend.
And in return, Ronan has done a few political favors for Rocky.
Henry Kissinger has been on the Rockefeller payroll for decades. He runs around the world trying to make it safe for Rockefeller's interests and the holdings of Rocky's friends. Rocky's friends.
The list continues.
Rocky donated \$200,000 to
CREEP. And Nixon overturned

Civil Aeronautics Board rulings that negatively affected Eastern

Airlines. Eastern is controlled by the Rockefellers. Rockefeller also loaned or gave away large sums to members of the press, the New York State GOP Chairman and numerous other political figures.

Rockefeller family funds backed

Rockefeller family funds backed the writing, and publishing and distribution of questionable books on his political adversaries. In the last ten years Rockefeller has averaged between 11 and 17% in yearly income tax. That is a lower percentage than most work-ing people. One year he actually ing people. One year he actually paid no taxes.

And this just scratches t surface. The Rockefeller family one of the wealthiest in the world. Their wealth and power touch almost every aspect of the world

almost every aspect of the world economy.

They buy and sell people the way you and I buy a cup of coffee.

And they do more than that. They help make the decisions that result in the deprivation and death of millions of people—through torture, starvation and war.

#### WON'T PROBE DEEPLY

The Senate will not probe too deeply into the inner workings of the Rockefeller empire. To do that would do far more than investigate one man for office-it would mean an investigation of capitalism itself.

But the surface scratching they have done in the wake of Water-gate, throws the confirmation of Rockefeller as Vice President into

with or without confirmation, the role of the Rockefellers in the world economy and politics will

remain the same.

But although the Rockefeller interests will remain protected, even if not confirmed, without Rockefeller the Ford Administration will continue to sink into the

tion will continue to sink into the political quicksand.

And where is the alternative? Rockefeller was picked to add leadership abilities and prestige. He was the hope.

Now he appears to be another smudge, and they are running out of candidates.

The era of Watergate has done more than expose the Nixon administration. Any capitalist politician who sticks his neck out risks

tician who sticks his neck out risks similar exposure.

Rather than take that risk, Teddy Kennedy—the darling of the liber-als—withdrew.

Rockefeller gambled and may

At any other time Rockefeller would have been confirmed with ease. Now when the system needs him most, its own problems and past corruptions may have made that impossible.

PAGE 3

# HE PEOP

by Slaus

Muhammad Ali once again shocked the world by knocking George Foreman out in the eighth round. With the sheer genius of his boxing skills very much apparent, he regained the heavyweight championship of the world. To most boxing fans Ali was looked upon as being the "peoples champ" anyway.

Even the Archie Bunker types [who cheered the World Boxing Association on when Ali was stripped of his title for refusing induction into the armed forces], Muhammad Ali once

From "THE INCREDIBLE ROCKY," by Icel ROCKY," by Joel Andreas. Published by NACLA, Box 226, Berkeley, CA 94701.

stripped of his title for retusing induction into the armed forces), had since been won over by the most dynamic professional athlete of all time. But not many of us on the All bandwagon really thought be could win

George Forman had won all 40 of his professional fights. 37 of them by knockout. He had destroyed his

by knockout. He had destroyed his last eight opponents in less than two complete rounds. Forman had knocked out Joe Frazier and Kenny Norton, the only two fighters who had beaten Ali. He had been acclaimed the hardest He had been acclaimed the hardest puncher since Joe Louis, and Rocky Marciano. Almost every boxing "expert" including Howard Coss-ell felt there was no way Ali could

ell felt there was no way All could destroy the destroyer. The fight could have been billed as Tinkerbell vs. Captain Hook. David vs. Goliath or Robin Hood vs. The Kings Army. It would have been less surprising if the M\*A\*S\*H\* football team had

beaten the Miami Dolphins. We all appear to have forgotten one thing

appear to have forgotten one thing before the fight.

This wasn't Tinkerbell, it was Muhammad Ali: The same Ali who had destroyed the "bear" (Sonny Liston) in 1964. The same Ali who consistently defied all boxing laws and brought life into a sport that was doomed to death.

Ali is his res ficht plan had said

was doomed to death.
All in his pre-fight plan had said
he would be dancing on his toes
throughout the fight. He also said
foreman could not hit what he
couldn't see. These predictions
turned out to be just another clever
tactic from the master of the trick

bag.

He didn't dance and he let
Foreman see him and hit him. While Ali was stationing himself on the ropes letting big bad George pound away on his arms and gloves to wear himself out, Muhammad was constantly connecting with sharp jabs and crisp, lightning fast combinations.

sharp jabs and crisp, lightning fast combinations.

By completely outsmarting and outclassing his opponent, All is once again receiving the acclaim he deserves from fight critics and fans. The "peoples' champ" is now the heavyweight champ. George Foreman is now just heavyweight chump.

There are still a lot of people that might not like Ali for one reason or

might not like Ali for one reason or another, but there ain't one who can deny what Ali has been trying to tell us all the time....He is the



Down and out: Foreman nosedives to take the count in the eighth.



"The catastrophes of starvation in today's world are not natural — they are man-made."

# WORLD IN CRISIS A

# Famine, Starvation, Death...Profits

500 million people today. The weekly newspaper HOLIDAY, published in Dacca, Bangladesh, reports:

"Death from starvation no longer

"Death from starvation no longer makes news in Bangladesh. Thousands have already perished. The figure is increasing with every passing day. The bell is tolling, maybe, for millions more.

"The famine did not come suddenly; it has been stalking the country for the last year, at least. The recent floods just aggravated the situation. Yet the government stubbornly refused till September 23 to recognize the fact of famine. "It has already become far worse than the worst that ever existed in this part of the world since 1947 and is fast approaching the level of 1943—when Bengal witnessed the most devastating and havoc-making famine since 1769. In 1769 about one-third of Bengal's population was wiped out."

This picture is not unique to

This picture is not unique to Bangladesh. In "normal" years, an estimated 15 million children die before the age of 5, from the combined effects of malnutrition and infection.

This year the situation normal, but catastrophic. Vast areas of the Indian subcontinent, Africa and Asia are being ravaged by the ultimate form of malnutrition: starvation.

#### WHY FAMINE?

These catastrophes on a world scale are not acts of nature. Neither are they unavoidable or necessary. Centuries before the rise of capitalism, when most societies

capitalism, when most societies depended on primitive agriculture and much less food was produced than today, there were periodic famines resulting from droughts, floods and other events which people could not control.

There were epidemic diseases, orinding noverty and sometimes

rinding poverty and sometimes starvation—probably more in Europe than in Asia or Africa, in fact. For the most part, however, these all seemed to be part of a natural cycle which no one could do anything about. And rarely if ever did they occur all over the world at the same time. the same time.

In the modern world, there is the capacity to produce enough food to avoid hunger. Food supplies can also be stored and shipped anywhere in the world. Yet the threat of starvation is a permanent part of the lives of half a billion people, not in one country but in dozens around the world.

Today mechanized agriculture, hybrid crops and modern fertilizers can produce more food in a year than was produced in a century 500 years ago. Yet today chronic malnutrition and death from lack of food exist on a larger scale than

This week's Food Conference, called at the urging of US Secretary of State Kissinger, will make some attempt to discuss and publicize this situation. But it cannot hope to even point toward a solution.

There will be speeches calling for

people in rich countries like the United States to eat less—as if cutting consumption of 200 million people in one country (an estimated 10% of whom already are undernourished) could feed three times as many starving people

#### PROFITS GROW

This argument is, in part, an excuse for jacking up food prices in this country, so that higher profits can be made both here and on the world market.

There may also be veiled sugges-tions that hundreds of millions of those already starving must be written off and allowed to die, to save dwindling reserves for coun-tries where there is some hope of

pulling through.

This argument accepts mass starvation as inevitable, because somehow there are too many

somenow there are too many people in the world.

But the catastrophes of starvation in today's world are not natural—they are man-made.

The corporate rulers of a few powerful industrial countries dominate the model with their componies. nate the world with their economic and military power. They monopo-lize the resources which make modern, efficient, mechanized ag-

modern, etticient, mechanized agriculture possible.

Much of the rest of the world depends on semi-feudal agriculture dominated by powerful landlords. This system keeps farming methods primitive and fertile land out of production.

#### PRICES KEPT HIGH

Merchant capitalists, hoarders, black marketeers and smugglers— cooperating with the landlords and the government in countries like India, Bangladesh and Ethiopia keep prices sky-high while supplies shrink.

shrink.

There is actually enough food in reserve to feed the hungry. But in India, the Indira Gandhi regime has already decided to feed the cities and let the countryside die.

In Bangladesh, most of the food

allotted to government-run camps is diverted to private dealers. In the

is diverted to private dealers. In the camps' kitchens, inmates receive only 2 to 4 ounces of food a day. Prices on the world market keep the countries which depend on agriculture too poor to afford fortilizer and equipment needed for greater productivity.

In short, the source of today's famines can be summed up in one ugly word—capitalism.

ugly word—capitalism.

#### UNITED NATIONS:

# Gov't Supports S. Africa

The combined veto by the United States, Britain and France at the United Nations Security Council blocked a move which would have thrown the regime of South Africa out of the UN.

out of the UN.
Without this big-power veto, the expulsion of South Africa would have gone to the General Assembly—where it would have passed by an overwhelming majority, including the votes of many US allies.
The US ambassador to the UN, John Scali, insisted that to bar this regime from the UN because of its brutal oppression of a few million

regime from the UN because of its brutal oppression of a few mild people would "violate the viery foundations on which the United Nations was established."

No matter how repulsive this argument is, it is 'impossible to deny its logic.

The United Nations was established after World War II for one purpose only—to legitimize the carve-up of the world by the imperialist powers who had triumphed in the war.

If Hitler's government in Germany was kept out, this was not

If Hitler's government in Germany was kept out, this was not because of humanitarian ideals or principles. Rather, it was because Hitler's Nazi regime was among the losers, not the winners.

#### **IMPERIALISM**

This same United Nations gave a "democratic," legitimate cover to Western imperialism in the Korean War—when the United States and its Stalinist rivals, Russia and China, tore Korea apart to decide which side would dominate it.

Ten years later, the United Nations stood by, in quiet satisfac-tion, in the Congo as the radical leader Patrice Lumumba was kid

PAGE 4

napped and murdered in

napped and murdered in a piot engineered by the United States. The UN provided an international sounding board for the famous sounding board for the famous liberal Adlai Stevenson to de-nounce Russia's 'aggression' in Cuba in 1962, while John F. Kennedy threatened nuclear war over the issue of Russian missiles in Cuba in Cuba.

The UN is always ready to make paper pronouncements against injustice and oppression—so long as this does not become inconvenient for the superpowers.

tor the superpowers.

On the oppression of black people and the crushing of ghetto rebellions in the US, or the brutal crushing, of political dissenters in Russia—on these always has, and always will, remain silent.

To anologize for Washington's

To apologize for Washington's defense of South Africa's UN membership, US ambassador Scali issued a mouthful of rhetoric assuring everyone that the United States firmly deplores the racist, white supremacist "apartheid" policies under which black people are virtually enslaved in South

Such speeches come cheap, when placed next to the millions in profitable investments enjoyed by US and other Western firms in South Africa.

In any case, social relations in South Africa will not be affected by South Africa will not be affected by UN decisions, one way or the other.

Two years ago, Chiang Kaishek's Taiwan regime was expelled. Yet this regime, one of the most repressive dictatorships in the

world, remains in power more firmly than ever. South Africa will never be

VORKERS' POWER



Police beat black worker in South Africa.

reformed by the quiet "social pressure" of its membership in the so-called "community of civilized nations." it will be transformed by the revolutionary activity of South

Africa's black working crass—junas the ruling classes who make up the UN will be everthrown by socialist revolution in their own Africa's black working class

## Rapists Win In Court

Inez Garcia of Soledad, California killed a man in March, 1974. 17 minutes before, he and a friend had raped her, and threatened to kill her if she did not leave town.

When Garcia tried to report her rape, the police responded brutally. The matron told lnez that she was not there to listen to her problems and to tell the District Attorney about it.

about it.

When Garcia tried to tell the D.A., he cut her off with the following questions: "How did you like it? How long did it take? Did he

The police refused to investigate

When Garcia was taken to the hospital the doctor was told that the hospital the doctor was told that the rape was all in Garcia's head. The doctor went along with the police and did not give her the medical examination necessary to find evidence of rape required by the State of California. The verbal and psychological brutality of the police toward here.

brutality of the police toward Inez Garcia is typical of police treatment of rape victims.

Bay Area Women Against Rape

'The police use sarcasm and humiliating interrogation tactics to try to get the woman to drop her claim; the rapists' attorney re-searches the woman's reputation and past sexual history, hoping to find evidence that she might possibly have consented to the act or even have made up the story of the rape, and attacks her verbally on the witness stand. "The past sexual history and criminal history of the rapist, however, is not admissible as evidence unless he takes the evidence unless he takes the witness stand, which almost never

On October 4, after a month-long trial, Inez Garcia was convicted of second degree murder. Superior Court Judge Stanley Lawson sen-tenced her on October 22 to five years to life.

years to lite.

The Judge did not permit any mention of the rape during the trial because the medical exam had not been performed.

He blocked the testimony of

Cameron Smith, who has studied over 900 rape cases.

The defense asked Smith how women who have been raped respond psychologically—the judge prevented the question from being answered.

answered.

The twelve-person jury was composed of seven women and five men. Only two black men and one Spanish speaking woman held out for a lighter sentence.

The others, including five white, middle-class suburban women, insisted on the harsh sentence.

#### "LESS FEAR OF RAPING"

One male juror remarked that, "She's not on trial for killing a man She s not on trial for killing a man for raping her. There is not proof of rape. 'He also stated that, '...giving a girl a screw isn't doing her bodily harm...when I leave here I'll have less fear of raping a woman now that I did before.' woman now that I did before

All along Inez Garcia has freely admitted to killing Miguel Jimenez. "I'm not sorry I did it," she told the jury. "The only thing I'm sorry about is that I missed Louis [Castillo, the other rapist]."

On October 21, the day of sentencing demonstrations in defense

on October 21, the day of sentencing, demonstrations in defense of lnez Garcia were held around the country. The Defense Committee will soon be issuing a press release about the issues in the case. The appeals process is now underway.

Inez Garcia is doubly a victim of society's sexism. First the rape itself, and second the sexism of the court, which would not even allow consideration of the brutal assault made on Garcia.

If a man killed another man for raping his wife he would be viewed, by the courts and by society, with far a cater sympathy than Inez Gasen.

than Inez Gartie.

Most women know the continued brutality they face from the police and the courts when reporting a rape. Only one out of every ten rapes ever is reported.

With nowhere else to turn Inez Garcia attempted to defend herself. Now she must be defended from

Now she must be defended from continued victimization. She must be acquitted.  $\hfill\Box$ 

For information and to send support and financial assistance, contact: Inez Garcia Defense Comittee, 722 Alcatraz Ave., #101, Oakland, CA. 94609. Telephone:



Inez Garcia

# **High School Students Fight Police Attack**

by Michael Long
Los Angeles—Students in L.A. by Michael Long
Los Angeles—Students in L.A.
city schools received a sharp attack
in late October. The L.A. Board of
Education instructed police to pick
up "suspicious looking" young
people from the campus during
school hours.

The police have orders to take these people to the school disciplinary officer for interrogation and punishment. Or they can take them to the nearest police station to be held until their parents arive.

The police and Board of Education claim that the purpose of such raids is to curb increasing gang wildence and property damage in

violence and property damage in the schools. They want to make

sure that students are in school and that "outsiders" are not. Is this "protection" distributed evenly? Not quite.

The police are present in the middle class white schools of West Los Angeles. But the real harrassment is taking place in the black and chicano schools in South-Central and East L.A.

They have also had the most severe cut-backs in educational funds. They suffer from huge classes, lack of materials and plenty of administration repres-

#### FIGHTING BACK

These new police and Board tactics have not gone unchallanged. The Red Tide, a youth organization and newspaper in Los Angeles, has launched a campaign to end police terror in the black and extense schools. chicano schools.

The Red Tide says that the real causes of gang violence among young people "stems from the basic facts of unemployment and racism, and from prison-camp schools".

schools".

Calling the police into these communities is just calling in another gang. With their uniforms, badges and guns the police brutalize more people than any local gang

The Red Tide has been leaflet-ting many schools in L.A., holding

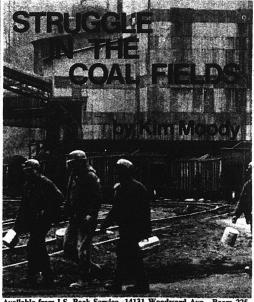
ting many schools in L.A., holding meetings and preparing for action. One goal of the campaign is to fight the new police "sweeps". Another is to find the real causes and solutions to gang violence. In the ghetto schools nearly-everyone has a personal story of racist police harrassment. Here the response to the leaflet has been most favorable. Students have taken bunches to pass around taken bunches to pass around inside their school.

The police have also been very attentive to what's going on. Red

Tide members distributing leaflets have been stopped for questioning. The meetings have been covered by police taking pictures. The Red Tide plans to continue

The Red Tide plans to continue the campaign in spite of this harrassment. A spokeswoman for the Red Tide stated, "By hitting the police, we have touched a nerve, both with students and police themselves.
"We are now building for a demonstration in front of the city school beard to demand an end to

demonstration in front of the school board to demand an end to police sweeps and to show that there are students who aren't going to take is lying down."



vallable from I.S. Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Room 225, Highland Park, MI 48203, 35c postpald.

## Framed-up in Nebraska

During the late sixties, David During the late sixties, David Rice was a well-known and popular figure in Omaha, Nebraska. He played in the folk mass at Holy Family, partied on the North side and was a regular contributor to the underground newspaper, "Buffalo

Later David became politically active. He remained as enthusiastic as ever as he began to try to build the National Committee to Combat Fascism, an organizing arm of the Black Panther Party.

In 1970, a booby-trap bomb exploded in an abandoned house killing Omaha policeman Larry Minard. Police and prosecutors in Omaha seized upon the incident as means of destroying the influence of the Black Panther Party in that

David Rice, along with Edward Poindexter, another leader of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, was arrested. A thorough frame-up began.

A search warrant was issued on A search warrant was issued on the grounds that Rice was "a known member of the National Committee to Combat Fascism." The search of his house suppos-

The search of his house suppos-edly resulted in the discovery of dynamite. Police witnesses, how-ever, have repeatedly changed their story about exactly where the dynamite was located.

Duane Peak, a 16 year-old who onfessed planting the bomb that killed Minard, testified that Rice and Poindexter were involved.

However, Peak's testimony was

given only after a deal was made. The prosecution offered to reduce the charge against Peak from nurder to juvenile delinquincy if he would testify against Rice and

hearing Peak testified that Rice and Poindexter had nothing to do with the killing. At that point the prosecution removed Peak from the

Later that same afternoon. Peak returned to the stand and testified that Poindexter had made the bomb, taught him how to trigger it and picked out the house in which it

was to be planted.
Under cross-examination, Peak
conceded that during police inter-

conceded that during police interrogation he had been threatened
with the electric chair.

In July of this year, Federal
District Judge Warren Urbom,
overturned Rice's conviction on
the grounds that the evidence
obtained in the search of his house
was unlawfully obtained.
However, Urbom denied Rice's
request to be released on bail. The
effect of this ruling is that Rice will
be forced to remain in prison

effect of this ruing is that Rice will be forced to remain in prison during an appeal process which might take years!

Nothing about this frame-up was unique. It is one among hundreds of examples of the nation-wide government attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party and its supporters.

Rice is appealing Urbom's denial of bail. Poindenter is appealing his conviction. Both have been in prison for four years. And now, even when his conviction is overturned, Rice may rot in Jail for several more years.

Another appeal is not what Rice deserves. David Rice and Ed

Poindexter must be set free.

David Rice and Ed Poindexter need David Rice and Ed Pointerter need financial support. Please send contributions to: David Rice Legal Defense Fund, 3105 N. 24th St. Omaha, NE 68110.

PAGE 5

# labor

by Jim Woodward

UAW Local 15 (GM Fleet-UAW Local 15 (GM Fleet-wood) has joined the list of locals rejecting the three-year term for chief, stewards and committeemen. Wank and fil-ers got 500 signatures on a petition against the three-year term, and the membership at a local union meeting agreed, a 4-1 margin.

Useful statistics: Unemployment in October: 6%. 10.9% for blacks. This does not include recent massive auto layoffs. Average first-year wage increases in contracts signed during July, August, and September was up, reaching 11.3%. But, after deducting the effects of inflation, wages were down by 2.3% on an annual basis. Your boss is happy, though. Third quarter profits for major corporations are up 29.6% over the same period last year. They call this equality of sacrifice.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), supposedly set up to protect workers' health, has decided against reducing maximum workplace noise levels from 90 decibels to 85. 90 decibels is about 75% louder than 85. Although OSHA noted that more workers' hearing would be endangered by the higher standard, it noted that employers' profits would be affected by the lower one.

Last August angry members of Communications Workers of America Local 10310 (Louisville) asked local President Dennis Dearning what he thought of the proposed contract settlement. He replied, "Personally, I don't need a wage increase." At the October membership meeting, Local 10310 members took him at his word and voted down a dues increase by a 7-1 margin.

Bill Brunner, the section foreman for Eastover Mining Co., has been discovered working at the Eastover mine in Virginia City, Va. Brunner was spotted there by United Mine Workers organizers. He is the man who murdered Lawrence Jones, the 23-year-old Harlan County miner, in August at the end of the Brookside strike.

The Abel administration in the United Steel Workers is looking for ways to extend the no-strike deal (ENA) to other borgaining situations. No-strike provisions have already been slipped into contracts covering workers on a small railroad serving Jones & Laughlin's Aliquippa (Pa.) steel works. No-strike provisions for 1977 negotiations have also been put into USW contracts with iron ore mining companies which supply the

steel producers.
U.S. Steel and Jones & Laughlin, which both have their own iron ore mines, were especially concerned that the ENA be extended to their mines. Earlier this year iron ore miners, at that time not covered by the ENA, did better in bargaining than steel workers employed by the same companies.

Workers employed by the same companies.

Workers at the Jewish Hospital of St. Louis have won a small victory which they hope will be a spur to the union organizing drive now beginning there. 440 workers signed a petition asking for lower food prices in the coffee shop and for the Night Grill to be open seven days a week. The hospital agreed to open the Night Grill seven days and for longer hours each day.

New England Telephone Company has laid off 850 craftsmen. These are apparently the first lay-offs by an operating division of AT&T since the Depression.

Coal mine owners never tire of saying that their industry is endangered by falling worker productivity. But in Britain and West Germany, productivity in the mines is less than half what it is here. As a result, injury and death rates are much lower.

The official Cleveland Teamsters' union publication has extended its "sincere condolences" on the death of Louis "Babe" Triscaro, President of Local 436, Vice President of Joint Council 41, Vice President of Local 436, Vice President of Joint Council 41, Vice President of the Ohio Conference of Teamsters, and Chairman of the Central States Conference of Teamsters Heavy and Highway Contract Division.

Condolences weren't all that "Babe" left his family though. It turns out that he left at least seven different pension plans, severance benefits, and insurance policies worth at least \$151,642. All of these were paid for by the dues of Cleveland area Teamsters, many of whom will have to retire with no pension at all due to the various loopholes in their pension plans.

What's happening where you work? Send Items for this

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

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Why Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" led instead to a right wing coup.

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### Breakthrough in Mining

# **Nomen Under Ground**



Olivia Rowe sought job as a miner because it paid more than the \$50 she was earning as a maid.

and Diana Baldwin from Jenkins, Kentucky, were hired as the first women in recent memory to work down in the mines.

down in the mines.

Since then, about 20 other women have also been hired, primarily in the Appalachian areas of Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia. Women have also been hired in Southern Illinois and hired in Southern Illinois and

Wyoming.

One woman, Burma Point, was hired at the Morrison Knudsen surface mine in Kemmerer, Wyoming. A number of influential people, including company officials and their wives complained about heaving a woman work in the having a woman work in the mines. After three days, Burma Point was fired.

Point was tired.

The union was contacted immediately. There was discussion of going to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

Almost as soon as she was fired, Point was reinstated.

Point was reinstated.

However, the company tried to get rid of her through different means. They first made her dig a ditch, by hand with a shovel, six foot deep, ten foot long, and three feet wide. Then she was assigned to cleaning out-houses.

The men who were working at the mine with Point began grumbling about the unfair way in which she was treated. There was talk about a walkout. Finally, Burma Point was reinstated to the normal beginners job as a laborer.

eginners job as a laborer.
Burma Point's case will probably

Burma Point's case will probably not be an isolated one. As more and more women get into the higher paying, more traditional male jobs, the companies will very likely try to force women out, by giving them work that they won't give men. However, as in this case, unionists must come to the defense of the women. One United Mine Workers official in Kemmerer said, "This is something we will keep an eye on to make sure these women are treated right. A lot of us were against having the women work here in the first place. But once they're with us and in the union, they've got the same rights as anybody else."

Celia Emerson

### COAL: WHO OWNS WHO - AND HOW MUCH THEY MAKE

Rank	Parent Company	Coal Company	First Half 1974 After Tax Profits	From First Half 1973
1	Kennecott	Peabody Coal	\$106,628,704	+52%
-2	Continental	Consol	\$209,601,000	+111%
3	Occidental	Island Creek	\$160,375,000	+403%
4	Pittston	Pittston	\$ 39,054,000	+868%
5	American Metal Climax	Amax	\$ 78,210,000	+67%
6	U.S. Steel	U.S. Steel	\$249,000,000	+86%
7	Bethlehem Steel	Bethlehem Coal	\$112,718,000	+15%
8	North American Coal	North American Coal	\$ 2,849,000	+381/2%
9	Sohio	Old Ben	\$ 72,900,000	+22%
10	Eastern Gas and Fuel	Eastern Associated	\$ 20,628,000	+149%
Sour	ce: UMW Research Depar	rtment		

### "Parts were falling off as the cars went down the line.

ST. LOUIS—The last issue of orkers' Power reported the "in-Workers' Power reported the "in-definite suspension" of Nate Mos-ley, a district committeeman at the Corvette General Motors plant in

With Mosley out of the plant the Corvette management hoped to institute a speed-up. On Saturday, November 2, several jobs were eliminated on the Corvette second

But the ranks have not remained docile. GM has continued to lose production as the Corvette workers fight back.

On Monday, the 28th of October, the line speed had to be slowed from 10 to 7 jobs per hour. "The

shit was just not getting done."
Parts were falling off as the cars
went down the line. Eventually the entire second shift had to go he

The next day, Tuesday, the same thing was happening again. Final-ly, Jack Douglas, who is chairman of the shop committee, and Zone Committeeman Willie Morganfield came into the plant to tell the workers that GM was willing to bring Mosley back but with 30 days locked on his record. The workers

said they weren't buying that and continued their slow-down. Here is a case of elected UAW officials refusing to defend a

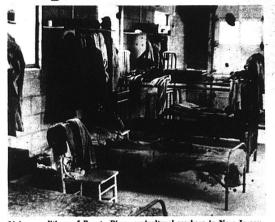
brother UAW member. They were acting on behalf of management by telling the workers that Mosley should accept the 30 days and be

The current situation is that the Corvette workers are continuing to refuse to meet production standards. At present there are 179 defective Corvettes on the parking lot at the St. Louis plant. None of them can be sold because none of

them can be sold because none of them were put together properly.

Mosley remains on the streets with a 30-day Disciplinary Lay Off. He'll be back in the plant soon and he feels confident that he can get his record cleared with back pay.

# People Puerto Rico's Biggest **Export**



Living conditions of Puerto Rican agricultural workers in New Jersey.

NEW YORK-Organization of Puerto Ricas agricultural workers on the east coast—primarily New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massach-

Jersey, Connecticut, and Massacu-usetts—has begun with the forma-tion of the Agricultural Workers Association [ATA]. Since it was formed in August 1973, the ATA has campaigned for secret ballot elections allowing the farm workers to choose their

farm workers to choose their own bargaining agent. They are facing bitter opposition from both the growers and the Puerto Rican Commonwealth government.

The involvement of the Puerto Rican government is unique. Puerto Rico's Law #87 grants sole power to the Puerto Rican government to act as both labor contractor and bargaining agent for farm workers on the mainland.

This means that the government to not you supplies the growers with

Inis means that the government not only supplies the growers with a labor force, but sets their wages as well. It's an arrangement that would make any California grower green, both with envy and cash.

Every year, the Department of Labor of Puerto Rico negotiates a new contract for the workers. The current rate at poverty level is: \$2.10 an hour. The ATA is fighting for \$3 an hour.

The Puerto Rican government's reluctance to negotiate higher wages for Puerto Rican workers in the U.S. is based on its desire to get as many of them out of Puerto Rico as possible.

#### **HUMAN EXPORTS**

Unemployment on the island is 30%. Although the government is tempting to attract new industry, wants capital-intensive industry attempting to

it wants capital-intensive industry which requires few workers. Higher wages or better condi-tions for Puerto Rican migrants here would make it more difficult for the Puerto Rican government to export its unemployment prob-lems, because the growers might look elsewhere for a cheap source

According to ATA, the Puerto is trying to Rican government is trying export 1,000,000 workers as tract labor by 1985—factory as well as agricultural labor. About 60 percent of those that seek work in e U.S. remain here.
ATA's main organizing has been

concentrated in Southern New Jersey and the Connecticut River Valley. They are doing the hard organizational work of getting cards signed asking for secret ballot elections.

ballot elections.

The union is fighting on the issues of low wages, inadequate housing, inadequate health services, racial discrimination, and

anguage problems.
Philip Rivera, chairman of the
New York ATA Support Committee, told Workers' Power that the ATA's success has alarmed the Puerto Rican government. Rivera said the government wants to get out of direct involvement and hand over its bargaining agent job to a union that won't interfere with its lans to export workers from

The Puerto Rican government has apparently found such accomplices in the Teamsters Union and

the Amalgamated Meatcutters.
Juan Irizarry, president of ATA,
said that Puerto Rican Governor
Rafael Hernandez has been in
Washjington "talking with the
leaders of the two unions" in an attempt to reach agreement as soon

attempt to reach agreement as soon as possible.

The Puerto Rican government and growers would much prefer to sign agreements with the sell-out leaders of these two unions than allow the ATA to win a following among Puerto Rican migrants.

If the leaders of the Teamsters or Meatcutters accept this role, they will simply be following the shameful example of the Teamsters' attempts to destroy the United Farm Workers on the west coast. 

Barbara Adler

#### ALCOA — "WE LOST THE BATTLE, NOT THE WAR!"

VERNON, Calif.—Workers at the Alcoa Aluminum plant here who struck for four months were recently forced back to work with little to show for their militancy.

368 workers were laid-off.

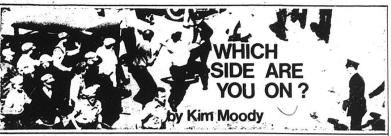
Most of Alcoa's thirty plants are organized by the United Steel Workers. The one in Vernon is represented by the UAW, and was isolated since it was the only Alcoa elant on strike. plant on strike.

The main issues dealt with local working conditions, particularly the rotating shifts. A worker is now forced to work two days on the day shift, two days swing, and two days

graveyard in the same week

Although the strike was a defeat, the workers are not necessarily defeated 35% voted against accep-tance of the settlement. One militant interviewed by Workers' Power said he was trying to "build the idea that we may have lost one battle but not the war.

He said that a number of people ne saud that a number of people have become more active and committed through the strike and that they hope to build "a rank and file caucus or committee...to involve people and pressure the union."



# How To Fight

A few days after Chrysler Corporation announced that it might close down the Jefferson might close down the Jefferson Assembly ol in in Detroit, Doug Fraser, United Auto Workers Vice President, met with Chrysler officials. When he left the meet-ing he told the press, "I'm not optimistic that it (the Jefferson

optimistic that if (the Jefferson plant) will remain open, but we're not finished with our efforts."
Fraser's efforts amount to accepting a speed-up and half a total lay-off if Chrysler agrees to keep the plant open. He suggested cutting back from two to one

shift a day and increasing produc-tion from 40 to 60 cars per hour. This pathetic piece of begging is unlikely to save any of the more than 5,000 jobs at stake. Chrysler is closing the Jefferson plant because there is a recession and Chrysler can't sell cars—particuthe big ones made at Jefferson.

Is there no way, then, to save these jobs? Is there no way a union can fight the twin pinch of lay-offs and inflation? There is. d Doug Fraser must know as well as anyone.

#### 30 FOR 40

For the first decade or so of its life the United Auto Workers (UAW) demanded and, at times even fought for, a thirty hour work week with no reduction in pay—what is usually called 30 for

During World War II when employment was high and over-time plentiful, there was no real need to fight for 30 for 40. But the union put forward the idea, and educated UAW members about its importance in case of a

its importance in case of a post-war recession.

By the time a recession did begin to appear and lay-offs mounted in the late 1940's, the UAW leadership had already made its peace with the employers.

From the end of the war, Reuther and his political under-studies moved consistently to the right. As they because more and more "responsible" and "states-menlike," they gave up the old bargaining program of the UAW.
One of the first things to go was the demand for 30 for 40. Doug

Reuther and later Woodcock and Fraser would not fight for 30 and reaser would not ingit for 30 for 40 because that would mean challenging the prerogatives of management. And that means challenging one of the cornerstones of capitalism.

In their youth these union bureaucrats had been socialists, though often of a very pale variety. But as they "matured," became more powerful, and got invited to the White House, they discovered the reasonableness of the old idea that management should manage and the workers should work.

#### GOOD-BYE 30 FOR 40

It might be alright to make suggestions, but you couldn't really write all those "socialistic" really write all those "socialistic" ideas into the union contract. In 1949 Reuther dropped 30 for 40 from the UAW program and labelled it communist demagogy. So, good-bye 30 for 40; hello lay-offs.

The advantage of 30 for 40 is that it deals with the problem on

an industry wide hasis. It shreads the work throughout the industry so that workers who today make big cars won't suffer more than anyone 'else. Since everyone would work less time, the companies would need more workers to do the same amount of work.

It is obvious and so sensible a solution to the question of lay-offs during a recession that Doug Fraser would not dare mention it.

#### BAN OVERTIME

Another obvious and sensible Another obvious and sensible solution to the problem of lay-offs is for the union to ban all overtime throughout the industry so long as anyone is laid off. This demand is even older than 30 for 40. It goes all the way back to the craft union days of the American Federation of Labor.

But once again there is a catch.

But once again there is a catch. The company doesn't like this idea. It interferes with their

idea. It interferes with their speed-up plans.

In fact, the UAW just signed contracts last year that allow the companies to force workers on overtime in many situations. That is, they helped lay the basis for closing the Jefferson plant—and probably others. No wonder Doug Fraser isn't optimistic.

#### NO PRICE INCREASES

The UAW also had a demand for fighting inflation. In 1945, Reuther demanded from General Motors a 30% wage increase with

no increase in prices.

Naturally, the UAW's demand for a big wage increase with no price increase infuriated GM. The UAW struck for 113 days until UAW struck for 113 days until their efforts were undermined by the electrical workers and steel workers who settled for 18.5% and made no demands about

prices.

It's probably true that the UAW alone, without the backing of the other unions, couldn't have won the price side of that demand in 1945. Maybe Reuther never even intended to fight on that issue. But a union leadership and a united labor movement more interested in the welfare of the workers and less in the profits of GM could have won.

It could be done today. But not

by today's labor leadership. Re-cently Leonard Woodcock said he thought this year's auto price increases might be justified. The reason Woodcock says this, and the reason he and other

union leaders have abandoned the 30 for 40 demand, is that they have also abandoned a basic principle of trade unionism: that a

principle of trade unionism: that a union's first responsibility is to fight for the workers. Today's union leaders take the opposite starting point: that the union's interests go hand in hand with those of the employers. That means they see their first respon-sibility as protecting the profits of the companies and the health of the companies and the health of the industry. From this point of view come speed-up, wage cuts, no-strike deals, protectionist cam-paigns, as well as the acceptance of plant closings. A movement is being built in the UAW to get rid of the Woodcock - Fraser - Greathouse;

machine. The auto workers that are building that movement today will be able to lead the labor movement in a real fight against lay-offs and inflation.

30 for 40, overtime bans, and wage increases with no price increases are some of the demands and ideas that this growing movement can fight for. movement can fight for.



Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue assembly plant, on Detroit's east side. 5,000 jobs are likely to be lost here as a result of the UAW's reluctance to fight.



Jordan Sims, President, Local 961, co-chairman United National Caucus



Enid Eckstein, Local 51:

"When the UAW was first founded it waged war against the corporations. But after World War II, the leadership of most of the major unions including the UAW found that it was easier and much more comfortable to join with the companies and accept the few crumbs they were willing to give out. The union was able to win substantial wage gains and fringe benefits. They won a good pension plan, cost of living allowance, a sub plan and greatly expanded other fringe benefits.

"But in life everything has its price, and the price we paid was very high for our future. It meant the destruction of shop floor organization, and deals on the part of the UAW to increase productivity.

"In the late 1950's, the UAW Chrysler division gave away a steward for every foreman. Chrysler had argued that it was in a weaker competitive position than Ford and GM since neither of those corporations had such a system. Doug Fraser, who was so concerned with the ability of Chrysler to compete with Ford and General Motors, handed it over on a silver platter to Chrysler. What do we have now? Now we have a steward for about every 200-250-300. In some departments as high as 400 workers, and we have a foreman for every 30 workers. The union leadership also went along with productivity drives which resulted in thousands of jobs being cut or phased out...."

by Cal Williams

In Detroit, Michigan, on November 3, 140 people attended a Workers' Power Educational Conference. The theme of the conference, sponsored by the International Socialists, was "Building a Rank and File Auto Workers Move-

Auto workers made up over half of those registered. Members of many rank and file organizations as well as black and women's groups, came to Detroit from as far as New Jersey and St. Louis, in addition to Ohio, Illinois, Ontario and Michi-

gan.

Groups and individuals attended who are members of: the Concerned Rank and Filers, Local 51, Chrysler Lynch Road Assembly; the United National Caucus, the United Black Workers, Local 906, Ford Mahwah; the Chevrolet Gear Ford Mahwah; the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Justice Committee, Local 235; the Independent Skilled Trades Council; Local 25, St. Louis GMAD; the Voice of Chrysler Workers, Local 3, Dodge Main; the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); the United National Cau-cus, Local 212, Chrysler Mack Avenue Stamping; and Workers' Voice, Local 6, International HarTaken together, these militants represented the most active, lead-ing oppositionists in the UAW, and the basis for a rank and file auto workers movement of the future.

#### LAYOFFS DISCUSSED

Several themes dominated the conference. First, the economic crisis. The conference took place following the first layoffs in what promises to become a prolonged period of massive layoffs.

period of massive layoffs.

Enid Eckstein, of Local 51,
Chrysler Lynch Road, said the
present crisis marked the return of capitalism's boom and bust cycle, absent since the Second World

She said that auto workers would be hit first and hardest.

be hit first and hardest. Eckstein reminded the audience that "only a year ago, we were working six and seven days a week, nine and ten hours a day. Now we face massive layoffs."

And she also pointed to Flint, "where depression-like conditions already existed. Workers with 27 years separative were well be treated.

years seniority were on the streets. 1974," she concluded, "would end up a bad year for auto workers.

Another theme was the problem of the divisions in the working class, in particular racism and the

problems of oppressed minorities.
Wendy Weinberg, from Local
235, Chevy Gear and Axle, spoke
on the need for black-white unity. She predicted that white workers can be won from racism. However, unless white workers accept equality for blacks, she said, no unified struggle and no victory will be possible.

And she said that white workers would accept equality for blacks because of economic necessity, "to keep disaster from occuring in their own lives."

#### RACISM AT FORDS

George Bowen, of the United wah, New Jersey, described his organization's struggle against racism at Ford.

racism at Ford.

He pointed out that the "union-had been no help in dealing with racism and the oppression of third world workers in the plant."

He also said that black workers

had special needs, and that they had to organize their own groups. The United Black Workers has a policy of working with whites, "not on a sectarian basis, but on serious issues which confront working class people."

Edith Fox of Local 3. Dodge

Main, and Voice of Chryslet Workers, spoke about the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She pointed out its great potential in gaining equality for working wom-en if rank and file women stay involved.

Al Gardner, President of the Tool and Die Unit of Local 600 and of the United National Caucus talked about the newly-formed Indepen-dent Skilled Trades Council which he leads. The Council is fighting to reopen the sell-out 1973 Contract.

#### ORGANIZE!

Nearly every speaker stressed the need for organization. Jordan Sims, President of Local 961, Chrysler Eldon Gear and Axle, said that "the corporation is already after us, 100 miles an hour, and we

after us, 100 miles an hour, and we get no support from the UAW. We must organize."

Nate Mosley, Committeeman, Local 25, St. Louis GMAD, said that not only did the unorganized need organizing, "the organized must be organized. The membership of the UAW is unorganized."

Bob Machado, of Local 7, Chrysler Jefferson Assembly, said in the final speech that organizing the rank and file is not sufficient. The oppression of workers will

Bob Machado, Local 7:

"This is a system of booms and busts, but the old tricks are no longer stabilizing society. They're no longer working. The outs for the bosses are getting narrower and narrower. They've got less leeway to grant concessions, less leeway to try to buy us off. At some point, and I don't expect that point will be that far in the future, they're going to go up against the wall and that's the point at which either they're going to crush us or we're going to crush them. That's the point at which revolution and socialism are no longer just nice ideas, ideas that would be

good if we had them, but they become necessary.
"So that along with the building of a rank and file movement there has to be the building of a socialist workers movement as well, a movement that is prepared to topple capitalist society, to make a revolution. The I.S. is committed to building both a rank and file movement and a revolutionary



Nate Mosley, Committeeman, Local 25:

"It goes back to the thing of organizing. At our plant we've got a leaflet called the "Rebirth of the Union." The union was started in the 1930's with our brothers and sisters organizing within the plant. That's what you're going to start at, because once you come into that plant you lose your manhood and womanhood out there in that parking lot because once you hit that time clock General Motors, Ford and Chrysler own you all the way. "It means a great deal to me to go back and read

history but I don't dwell back there. I just look back and obtain some knowledge and keep on movin' along. I go back and see, read the great historical struggles that our brothers and sisters actually sat down on that line and halted production, and the company would bring goons into the plant and bust them across the head and these same workers would still sit there to get what we call a union.
"But what's most instrumental to me and to the

people that I've been talking to is that these very same workers in 1974 came back and instituted the same things that made the union. They sat down at Corvette in St. Louis....





continue as long as capitalism continues

continues.

He said that the revolutionaries, the most militant and advanced workers, must also be organized. The rank and file movement must eventually build socialism, or be

He concluded the conference by calling on those in attendance to join the I.S. in building the revolu-

tionary party.

The Conference was dedicated to Ben Kuczewski, a member of the United National Caucus, Local 212,

United National Caucus, Local 212, Mack Stamping, who died of a heart attack on October 9, 1974. Pete Kelly, the Co-chairman of the United National Caucus, said that Ben Kuczewski would have been at the conference. And in speaking of him, Kelly said there should be no moment of silence. "Ben had never been silent. If he were here today, all he would tell you was 'Fight, organize, and, for god's sake, let yourself be heard'."

The Conference was called as an

The Conference was called as an educational conference, yet every-

one who spoke pointed to the gravity of the crisis and the need for action.

In this vein, the publication of a new magazine, Network, Voice of UAW Militants, was announced. Nearly every UAW member present pledged to contribute to the magazine and help support it.

The first issue of Network is planned for February 1, 1975, and the editorial board plans the publication of one issue every two

cation of one issue

In the words of the editors, Network "will be the kind of maga-zine that has not existed in this

country for many years.
"It will be addressed to an audience that is still small today; active militants inside the UAW who wish to exchange experiences and explore ideas and perspectives with workers from other plants and other locals, with the goal of building a fighting rank and file movement union." throughout



Dave Brice, District Committeeman, Local 235:

"What I'm saying is that we need to change all of the procedure. We need to change this union and give it back to us. It's supposed to be our union, but we don't control it. The leaders of this union, the people that control this union, live in the suburbs with the bosses. They eat with the bosses, drink with the bosses, sleep with the bosses, and think exactly like the bosses, as you read in that harmony

"Well I believe that we're on one end of the scale and the rest of them are on the other. We're saying we want to come in the plant, do a certain amount of work, as little as possible, and get as much out of it as we can get for it. On the other end they're saying we want you to come in the plant for as many hours as we can get you in there, do as much as we can get you to do, and give you as little for it as we can. I mean, it's obvious.

"You can talk to any worker and he knows this.

He knows what's wrong and he'll tell you what's wrong. But he doesn't know what the hell to do about it. That's where leadership comes in, but we don't have any leadership in this union...



Wendy Weinberg, Local 235:

"This is the time when I feel we're really going to start seeing a struggle that will not include just a small number of people but will start including masses of workers. Here in Detroit especially no one is going to escape the fear and the shock that this coming unemployment and the continued inflation is going to bring. There's no question that after people get over the initial shock they are going to begin to fight back. But the question is of

course what way to go, how can we win.
"We all know we need a movement of masses of workers involved in action. We must be united in our common goals to beat back the greedy corporations. But there's one division among us which could lead us all to failure, and this is the division that this society has made between black and white. If black and white workers cannot fight together against our common enemy then we all are lost. To white workers, this means they must join in the struggle on the side of black workers to keep disaster from occurring in their own lives."



Edith Fox, Local 3.

PAGE 9

# WE THINK M Election Day Results-

**Business Wins Again** 

First they called for a "Veto-Proof Congress," then a "Good Congress," and now a "People's Congress." But no matter what they want to call it, leaders of the AFL-ClO got it—a Congress dominated by COPEmendorsed Democratic Party candidates.

For decades the trade union leadership in this country has tied the labor movement to the Democratic Party. They have consistently opposed efforts to organize a labor party, arguing that labor on its own could not win a majority and labor on its own could not win a majority and would therefore have no power. Instead, they say, labor should support a capitalist party—the Democratic Party—which can win. By providing staffers, money and votes for Democratic candidates, they argue, labor gains powerful influence inside the Democratic Party.

This policy, in fact, has tied working people to a

party of big business. Before election day, Democrats make a lot of promises to get the votes of workers, black people, and the poor. After election day, the money of the corporations, and the needs of their system, take over and working

people are sold out again and again.

Each time the union leaders have an excuse—a Republican in the White House, or too many

publicans in Congress.

The time for excuses is over. The 94th Congress will convene in January. The Democrats will have enough strength to pass anything they want. Any party seriously concerned with the needs of working people would immediately confront the crisis facing workers today.

100,000 auto workers have already been laid

off, with more to follow. Other industries will also begin laying off. A program for full employment, including a reduced work week with no loss in pay, is needed. But this would cut into corporate profits and the Democratic Party will not even consider it, much less fight for it.

consider it, much less fight for it.

Inflation is destroying the living standards of working and poor people. We need price controls without wage controls. The Democratic Party will give us just the opposite.

When working people fight back, the Federal government steps in, slapping down injunctions to end strikes, using the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law. The unions used to call for the repeal of this strike-breaking law. Today the labor leadership could demand that its Democratic Party friends wipe it off the books. But not a single union wipe it off the books. But not a single union official in this country has raised this demand. As a result, the threat of government intervention hangs over the current miners' strike. Democrats in Congress will not move to abolish Taft-Hartley —but they will, when the time comes, move to crush industrial strikes.

Why do the Meanys, Woodcocks, Abels and other union leaders continue to support the Democratic Party? The answer is: for the same reason that they refuse to lead their own unions in struggle against the corporations. These leaders

support the capitalist system, and accept the

Asserted transferst

support the capitains system, and accept the needs of U.S. business for higher profits at the expense of workers. The Democratic Party represents sellout labor leaders, but not labor. The Democrats' huge November 5 victory was not a vote of confidence by working people. The turnout was only 38%. The 1974 election was one of the most hollow and empty of real issues in memory. The Democrats' sweep of 1974 gives them no more mandate than did Nixon's landslide of 1972. Then people were disgusted with the Democrats.

This time, the Democrats won only because Watergate and the economy made everyone hate the Republicans. And still there was no alternative.

Such an alternative is desperately needed. The Democratic-controlled Congress will only intensi-

Democratic-controlled Congress will only intensify the attack already underway on working people. To fight back, the working class must be organized, independently of the business parties, in their own political party.

A labor party would organize rank and file workers against the twin capitalist parties. It would fight for liberation for black people and other minorities. It would challenge the rule of the capitalist system and organize workers to fight for their own government. Without this alternative, the needs of working people can never be met.

# Vear Workers Powers



Helm strikers on the picket line.

#### **HELM STRIKE POEM**

Since the article that inspired this poem [together with the photo that provided raw data] was in Workers Power, I thought you might like to see it. Also I'd especially like the Helm strikers to receive my message of solidarity.

#### HELM STRIKE

HELM STRIKE

Eight hands over the drumfire—
Grandma's, white-grey, gnarled for forty years of working in pastes and steams;
Louie's, black, raw in spots, strong, twenty years of lifting, packing, stowing;
Trish's (her kids grown now and looking for work themselves), bent by seaming machines;
Rhoda's—one squeezing one of grandma's as she tells her she's beautiful—long, lanky, still young but the fingernails are all cut short.

Standing warming themselves on a picket break, each face reflects some of the light from the fire. One can see deep in the eyes, eyes

wondering if there'll be a job to come back to.

Eyes angry at the scabs, at the cops, at the company making them be out here in the cold, Eyes that water when little Jeanne, brought out today to be with momma, smiles at them and makes sounds like "beat Helm".

Seven weeks on the streef, growing closer, growing colder, They rejected the "last offer", Told the union rep where to go, Stuck to the struggle, Lit the fire, And kept walking.

Mom, Louie, Sis-I'm scared, Scared of your anger, Awed by your beauty, Energized by your hopes. May I walk with you, part of the

#### SUICIDE OR SOLIDARITY

I'm sure almost everyone is familiar with the word suicide. Suicide is defined as: the act of killing oneself intentionally.

I doubt if most working class people have ever entertained the idea of committing suicide. In my hirty-some-odd years on this earth I have never known or been close to anyone who has taken their own life, or even attempted to.

By now I suppose whoever reads this is wondering how working class folks and suicide are related

class folks and succeed are related and why so grim a subject am I writing about.

Let me explain simply that the masses of workers in this country are doing just that—committing

suicide.

How, you ask? Many will probably say by literally working, and in some instances that's true. Many jobs are suicidal. However, the point I'm trying to make and convey is far more complex.

Everyone knows that in this society, (and I use that term loosely) we all have to work to survive. We also in nine out of ten cases have to work for someone

cases have to work for someone else, mainly large corporations and

In doing so and not uniting to fight for what is rightfully ours, this my friends is most definitely my frie suicide!

suicide!

It may not be as swift as a bullet
in the temple, slashed wrists or
leaping from a rooftop but it is just
as deadly.

We all know or knew of the pain

we all know or knew of the pain and suffering that poverty, racism, sexism and economic crisis and uncertainty have brought about over the years. Yes, we all know about them. We

even discuss them in great depth, passion and sincerity.

But we who are the victims of

But we who are the victims of these diseases are doing nothing to defeat them, not just combat them mind you, but to defeat them! Sure, we've had a few isolated cases of fighting back and rebel-lion, but these have almost always

ion, but these have almost always been smashed and beaten back or the gains from them barely visible. By now it should be apparent that the reason for these defeats and minor victories is because of

Since the

essentially the failure to use the most powerful weapon since the beginning of time—unity.

Until this weapon is cocked, aimed and fired at the enemy by the working men and women in this country we are surely committing

Suicide means killing oneself intentionally.

W. Long Chicago, III.

#### Workers' **Power** Wants To Hear From You

What you like about the paper you don't. think of the politi-What cal ideas we preand sent, your comments on problems facing work-

ing people. But please be brief.

#### **AMERICA'S** CONCENTRATION CAMPS

To all revolutionary workers of the International Socialists and to all that contribute in making it prosperous and to the publication department of the media, Workers'

Power: We the political prisoners of one of America's Concentration Camps (Central Prison) request your attention and solidarity.

First we would like

to place emphasis on a few facts, that implicate, we the political prisoners as ultra-victims of the capitalist fascist of-fensive.

Daily proletarians', peasants', and lumpens' actions of resistance to this repressive/oppressive econ-omy and social system, are sup-pressed and referred to as crime, nd dealt with as crime.

It is dealt with in the forms of

capital punishment, indefinite pris-on sentences and modification measures, plus many forms of fascist and racist agitation.

The concentration camps America are full of people classified as criminal. However, you Marxist (International Socialists) know better, and all of you that are aware of the social orders, that's in response to moribund capitalism, know these people are not criminals. And therefore shouldn't be treated or neglected as such.

We the political prisoners are in grave need of the communications, support and materials to elevate the true marxist principles and political consciousness in the minds

political consciousness in the minds of all prisoners.

We the prisoners need materials to educate and disillusion ourselves, we need the principles that in conformity with unity and that stand for what International Socialists stand for.

We the political prisoners find your media—Workers' Power, very educational and quite informing, in the sense of what's really happen-

[continued next page]

# Defend Busing:

BOSTON-After nearly two months of uncontested violence and media attention by racist forces, opposition to racist attacks has

begun to organize here.
From resolutions of support from trade unions to plans for local and national demonstrations, the situation has changed: the racists are no longer the only ones visible and mobilized.

The most significant develop-ment involves plans for a national mobilization against racism, tenta-tively set for Saturday, December 14th in Boston.

14th in Boston.

The demonstration is being called by the recently organized Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism.

A show of mass support for the busing program and for the black community's demand for a deseg-regated school system is vital. Racist terror and harassment, par-ticularly of black children, has not stopped.

More than one demonstration is

obviously necessary. This mobili-zation should be a call to organize inside Boston's black and white

working class communities for a fight against racist attacks and for better education.

An important part of the mobilization's ongoing success is the kind of support it receives from the trade union movement. Many labor leaders have given verbal and written support against the racist school boycott, but there has been

school boycott, but there has been little concrete support. Strong backing, from the labor movement could guarantee the demonstration's success, and make it more difficult for the racist forces to organize working people.

The trade unions who have issued statements of support to the black community include the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Amalgamated Meatcutters, the United Steel Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers, Local 1199 Drug and Hospital Workers, District 65 Distributive Workers, the local staff of the United Farm Workers, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

### Seattle Bus Drivers Take A Holiday

here struck Nov. 9, joining other west coast bus drivers in the wave of recent public transportation strikes. Local 587 of the Amalgamated Transit Union turned down a 211/2 m increase offered by Metro

Transit under a one-year contract.

Metro workers say that what looks like a big increase does not even bring them up to 1972 real income levels. Further, the wage Metro clerical workers and the drivers and mechanics. But the most important issue is working

Metro transit is attempting to build a showcase transit system. Last year Metro received national Last year Metro received national attention for their program of free bus service down-town, which has revitalized down-town business. The drivers point out that it isn't free at all, that they have been paying for it with split shifts, tighter schedules and 13-hour days.

A member of the Ralph Cramden

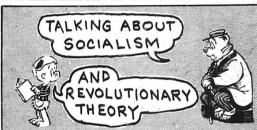
A member of the Kaiph Cramden caucus, a rank and file group within Local 587, active over the past year in preparing for this contract said, "One of the things we want out of this strike is a good grievance procedure. Now Metro management makes all the final decisions

grievance procedure is the key to improving working conditions and that they should be settled on the shop floor, not up in the Metro

offices."
Public support for the strike is important, but as one driver said, most of our riders are workers, and what many of them are telling us is that they will support our strike.  $\square$ 



Seattle transit workers said "No!" to the contract.



#### BERNARD O'HIGGINS

If the truth were immediately apparent, Marx remarked, then there would be no need for science. If we could understand all the laws of capitalism simply by observing the day to day functioning of the economy we wouldn't need a system of economic sections. economics.

But what we see on the surface

of society is often confused and contradictory. America is the richest country in the world yet society is decaying and the standard of living is falling for reasons no one seems to understand.

People are equal on paper but unequal in practice—in which sense are the president of General Motors and a laid-off auto worker equal?
We need a theory to explain to

We need a theory to explain to us which appearances are real and which are deceptive. Other-wise we are forced to conclude that the only reality is chaos. Marx also liked to say, revolu-tionary theory is meant above all to be "a guide to action." It isn't inst a nassive system of analysis.

just a passive system of analysis, but an active tool of revolution. It lays bare the contradictions

within the capitalist system so that the working class can learn how to overthrow it.

But, as a guide to action the real test of a theory is if it works. Only revolutionary practice can prove whether or not a praticular analysis or strategy was actually

#### AVOID PAST MISTAKES

As a guide to action, revolu-tionary theory also allows us to apply the lessons of over one hundred years of revolutionary

nundred years of revolutionary thought and practice to our present-day work.

It lets us avoid the mistakes of the past and saves us from the need to improvise constantly. It allows us to make our decisions as itstllicently as possible in situaintelligently as possible in situa-tions where people's jobs or lives are at stake.

It lets us begin at the highest

level of past revolutionary prac-tice rather than having to learn

even the simplest lessons through trial and error.

When the fight between work-ers and capitalists heats up, militant workers, who are not yet revolutionaries and who still revolutionaries and who still largely accept capitalist ideology, are pretty much forced to play it by ear. They lack an organized system of ideas about how to conduct the struggle.

Not only that—many of their ideas come into direct conflict with the situation they find them

with the situation they find them selves in. This is especially true of ideas about how workers and management really have the same interests and could get along if only both sides would be

reasonable. Such ideas can lead to fatal errors once push comes to shove, because management is not very likely to be "reasonable" when it

els its power is threatened.

Militant workers without revolutionary ideas are intellectually disarmed while their enemies are armed to the teeth.

#### ADVANTAGE

Workers who have become revolutionaries have a tremen-dous advantage when it comes to dealing with the company. They base their actions on the class struggle—and the knowledge that the interests of workers and those of the company and the system are totally opposed. Because of their theory, revolu-

tionary workers know that there can never be peace between labor and capital. They know that only the class struggle can put an end to class society, exploitation and

to class society, exploitation and oppression.
Though an individual capitalist here and there may decide that capitalism is all wrong and go over to the side of the workers, an entire rulling class is never morally persuaded to step down in the interests of humanity.
Only the class struggle leading to the seizure of power by the workers can get rid of capitalism. The purpose of revolutionary theory is to train workers to carry out that task. out that task

PAGE 11

L NO!" SAVE COLLECTIVE RGA

SAN FRANCISCO

SAN. FRANCISCO—Proposition L, a measure designed to freeze the wages of city workers here, was defeated by the voters on Tuesday, November 5th. Under the slogan, "L No! Save Collective Bargaining" the city's union movement stimulated the campaign to defeat L, which failed by a vote of 90,425 - 102,285.

Proposition L was sponsored by

Proposition L was sponsored by e Chamber of Commerce in taliation for a militant city the

Chamber was able to come up with Cnamoer was able to come up with money for a big media campaign and get the endorsement of the Chronicle-Examiner daily newspa-per monopoly, it was unable to round up grass roots support in the form of canvassers, leafletters, or

button wearers.

The decisive factor in the defeat of Proposition L was thousands of rank and file workers. Bus drivers, laborers, carpenters, clerks, hospital workers, and other, low paid city employees fought to defend

their rights.

The defeat of Proposition L does not advance the cause of city workers. It merely prevents a step backwards. But, if the political power of the labor movement were used to creative 5 marty of working used to organize a party of working people fighting for workers' needs, all of our efforts would not have to be exerted just to stay in the same

ing in this capitalistic society, and only wish we could see more of them in circulation here in Central

Central Prison Raleigh, N.C.

Prisoners can get free subscriptions to Workers' Power. This is possible through the I.S. Prisoners Fund, which also allows us to send other revolutionary literature to prisoners. We urge brothers and sisters on the outside to contribute to the I.S. Prisoners Fund so we can fill the great demand for literature. Send your donation to: I.S. Prisoners Fund, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI. 48203

### HOSPITAL WORKERS ORGANIZE

sonnel directors are running scar-ed. They are afraid of the fact that hospital workers are bearings. hospital workers are beginning to organize unions.

Throughout the country hospital administrators and personnel directors have been organizing and attending conferences on the prob-lem of unionization among hospital employees.

insp

These gatherings have one purpose in mind. They are designed to give the administrators an expert give the administrators an experi knowledge of labor law and how unions conduct organizing drives so that they can beat back the challenge of their employees to organize.

One such conference was held in St. Louis this past spring. It was organized by the Hospital Personnel Directors of Greater St. Louis. nel Directors of Greater St. Louis. The conference was entitled "Meeting the Challenge of Union Organization In the Health-Care Industry". Among the topics that were included in the one day session were: "Specific Strategies that have Maintained Non-Union Status" and a workshon on

that nave Maintained Non-Union Status' and a workshop on Preventive Labor Relations.

In many other cities hospital administrators are having similar meetings. A group called the Health Law Center, which is a sub-division of the Aspen Systems Corporation, is also organizing such conferences.

In the conference brochure it was

In the conference brochure it was

noted that one of the things that would be investigated was the "Causes of unionization in hospitals and preventive measures which preclude the desire for unionization".

The American Hospital Association is also coming to bat for its members. Recently it has taken to television advertising to beat back the drive to build unions.

During the month of September and early October the AHA bought over two dozen advertisements on

over two dozen advertisements on television during the 5 and 6 o'clock national news reports. The theme of these ads was that hospitals and their employees serve the interests of all Americans

by providing the best possible medical care. It was obvious what these television commercials did not teievision commercials did not mention. They did not mention the low wages that most hospital workers are paid. They did not show how bad working conditions in a hospital can really be. They did not mention the fact that most hospitals today are run to make a profit and will turn away those who cannot pay.

Jimmie Higgens St. Louis

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The last revolutionary work-ers' parties were the Commun-ist Parties of the 1920's. They began as revolutionary parties, devoted to workers' democracy and world revolution.

and world revolution.

These parties were transformed from revolutionary vanguards into border guards for the Russian bureaucracy which took power under Stalin. Revolutions are supported by the power under Stalin. utionary workers internationally were subordinated to Moscow and the foreign policy needs of this Stalinist bureaucracy.

This was accomplished only because these workers believed they were helping to build socialism in Russia. This Illusion set the revolutionary movement back for decades. Today, when a back for decades. Today, when a new revolutionary movement is being born, the Maoists who support Stalinism are trying to reenact this tragedy.

#### WHAT IS STALINISM?

Most revolutionary workers today feel hatred for the social system of Russia, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe. There are excellent reasons for this.

In these societies property has been nationalized, and the state claims to represent socialism. Both the state and the

ism. Both the state and the economy, however, are controlled by a bureaucracy.
The working class has absolutely no control of production or social wealth. Workers are denied any rights to organize against the policies of the bureaucrats, who are also their

bosses and exploiters.
The bureaucracy came to rule by destroying the power established by the Russian established by the Russian workers and the Bolshevik Party in 1917. The bureaucracy was

Through the hard work of its ranks, the Communist Party had won the allegiance of most radical-minded workers in the 1930's and '40's.

The C.P. used this to tailor and trim the policies of the radical wing of the labor movement to fit the needs of Russia's rulers.

rulers.

When Moscow proposed an alliance with Washington, its control of the C.P. was one of its bargaining points. The C.P. had played a large role in the organization of millions of industrial workers into the mili-tant CIO unions.

#### STALINISM IN THE WEST

The C.P. had quite rightly fought Roosevelt's New Deal as nothing but an attempt to improve American capitalism. When the New Deal failed to end the Depression (only World end the Depression fonly world War II and war production didl, the CIO upsurge began to break beyond capitalist politics. It surged towards the creation of an independent workers party.

The policies the C.P.

The policies the C.P. ranks had fought for began to become reality. But Stalin's foreign policy for a few years called for an alliance with 'the Western imperialists.

The C.P. obliged. It used its positions in the CIO to channel the radical upsurge of millions of industrial workers into the safe waters of Roosevelt's Démocratic Party, Stalin's ally for ocratic Party, Stalin's ally for the moment.

During the war the C.P. used During the war the C.P. used its position in the trade unions to enforce a no-strike pledge for the duration of the US-Russian alliance. Then during the years of the Stalin-Hitler pact, and during the Cold War, the C.P. once again defended the right to



GM sitdown. During the 1930's Communist Party members were leaders in the CIO organizing drives.

Stalinist bureaucracy, demanding real socialism. Russian tanks rolled through Budapest over the bodies of Hungarian

Too late, a whole generation of Communist Party militants internationally realized they had not been serving the cause of socialism. They had been manipulated into serving the needs of the Russian bureaucracy.

of the Russian bureaucracy. Within a year, the Communist Party in the US lost over 90% of its members. After a lifetime of commitment to the cause of socialism, the C.P. ranks were destroyed by the recognition that they had been only pawns in the shifting relationship between the Russian bureaucracy and Western capitalism.

More disastrous was that the Communist Party had conservatized and helped destroy the American radical movement.

atic Party.

These shifts in policies were not decided by the needs of American workers, or the cause of world socialism. They were dictated by the changing fort-unes of the alliance and rivalry between the western capitalists and the Russian bureaucrats.

Similarly, when A. Philip Randolph organized a march on Washington to demand equality wasnington to demand equality in hiring for black workers during WWII, the C.P. denounced Randolph as a fascist Hitlerite trying to disrupt Roosevelt's democratic crusade.

Fortunately the attempt to discredit Randolph was unsuccessful. Tens of thousands of black workers were mobilized for the march. Roosevelt was forced to grant their demands.

The C.P. discredited itself in the black community. Again,



When the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia in 1956, a whole generation of Communist Party militants realized they had not been serving the cause of socialism. Within a year, the C.P. in the US lost over 90% of its members.

the tragedy was that it was the C.P. which had led the militant struggle against racism in the 1930's.

The C.P. was disciplined to arry out Stalin's orders for ompliance with the needs of his ally, Roosevelt and the American capitalists, not the needs of the black workers whom they ressed.

#### **MAOISM TODAY**

Today, the Stalinist social system is no longer dominated by Russia alone. China has become an independent power engaged in bitter economic and political rivalry with Russia. China presents itself as a socialist country, a friend of the small and oppressed nations of the world, and an enemy of both US and Russian great-power imperialism.

imperialism.

Yet the policies and methods of the Chinese regime, and those of its supporters, are practically identical to those of Stalin.

Maoists identify socialism with the rule of the Communist Party leadership in China, not with the masses. The masses of workers and seasonts in China.

workers and peasants, in China and internationally have nothing to gain from the reactionary alliances with capitalist oppres-sors which China enters.

sors which China enters.

For the Maolst groups, however, it is exactly such alliances

—based on the foreign policy of
the Chinese bureaucracy—
which are becoming substitutes
for revolutionary politics. The
Maoists claim to accept the
Leninist position that nations
have the right to self-determination.

But if a nation has the misfortune to be oppressed by an ally, however temporary, of the Chinese bureaucracy, selfdetermination is forgotten-at least for the duration of the alliance.

alliance.
Such was the case in Bangladesh, whose people fought for independence from the oppression of Yahya Khan, the military butcher of Pakistan. Yahya Khan's zevolutionary credentials were non-existant, until the Maniste acted as his observation. Maoists acted as his character references in the revolutionary

His sole virtue was that he happened to be an enemy of India, which is allied with Moscow, and a friend of Peking.

Therefore, Maoists interna-tionally opposed independence for Bangladesh—as did the United States, Yahya's other good friend.

good triend.

Needless to say, the Maoists are still for national liberation struggles—so long as they are not directed at Peking's allies who because they are Peking's not directed at Peking's allies who because they are Peking's allies are immediately called

allies are immediately called progressive rulers.

Hostility between Pakistan and India did not prevent their joining together in providing aid to Mme. Bandaranaike in Ceylon to crush the 1971 uprising of students and peasants.

In this great counter-revolu-

onary endeavor they were bined by both Washington and Revolutionaries would de-

nounce this not unexpected imperialist "united front." However, the Maoists were thrown into thorough confusion when the Ceylon regime releas-ed a secret letter from Chou en-Lai, supporting the counter-revolution in Ceylon and prom-

ising a long-term interest-free loan of \$150 million. loan of \$150 million.

The latest example of this reactionary policy inside the revolutionary left is the attempt to defend the Shah of Iran by one of the Maoist groups, the October League.

Since the Shah is an ally of China, the October League is fighting tooth and nail against.

China, the October League is fighting tooth and nail against any demonstrations to cut off American arms to this junior partner of Western imperialism, who also plays the other side of the street with the Chinese bureaucracy.

The Shah uses these arms not

just against Russian imperial-ism in the service of Western imperialism, but also against liberation struggles against the sultans in the Persian Gulf.

And most of all, these arms

And most of all, these arms help to crush the workers of Iran, who lack all democratic rights under feudal absolutism. If there is not a break with these policies, some of the Maoists are shortly on the road to echoing China's support for NATO, SEATO and other in-

struments of capitalist imperial-

ism
The only way to break out of
the bind of two reactionary
super-powers organizing imperialist war camps is not by
supporting the Americans against the Rusians, or vice versa,
but organizing a revolutionary
camp against both imperialist

But to create such a camp you need an alliance of the workers and oppressed nations of the world, not with the oppressors

—The Shahs, the Yayha Khans, the Mme. Bandaranaikes—even if these are the allies of the

if these are the allies of the Chinese bureaucracy.
Many who were attracted to China because they were under the illusion that it had a revolutionary foreign policy, are now moving towards an independent working class policy.
At the same time some Maoists, who were originally moved by progressive instincts to oppose Russia's "peaceful coexistence" with Western imperialism, are now winding

imperialism, are now winding up as tools for American imperialists. Nixon, Ford and Kissinger are the friends of the Ghinese bureaucracy—a count-erweight to the Russians—even erweight to the Russians—even if they are the enemy of the world's peoples.

By subordinating the revolu-tionary movement to the foreign

policy of the Chinese bureauc-racy, the policies of the Maoists threaten to repeat the disastrous experience of the old Commun-

Party.

If these policies help to defeat the revolutionary movement in the industrial countries, the result will also be disaster for workers and peasants of

Without the cooperation and aid from the industrial countries that could be accomplished by world revolution, China's people will continue to be locked into underdevelopment underdevelopment carcit

In taking part in building a revolutionary party in the US, the International Socialists will me international Socialists will fight for the politics of Leninism—workers' democracy, internationalism and world revolution—as the road to liberate the workers of the US, China and the world.

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# Come all you coal iner



[Come All You Coal Miners, by Hazel Dickens, Sarah Gunning, George Tucker and Nimrod Work-man. Produced by Rounder Records, #4005.]

Deep in the hollows and valleys of the Appalachian mountains, telephones, televisions and good roads seldom exist and people live out their lives never leaving the mountains. There the musical traditions of the Scotch, Irish and English settlers who came to the Appalachians over four hundred years ago have been merged together into a music known to urban dwellers as "hillbilly." True to the centuries old traditions of Anglo-Saxon folk music, so-called hillbilly music takes its themes, from the daily lives and struggles of the people who make the music.

"Come All You Coal Miners," is a collection of songs in this tradi-Deep in the hollows and valleys the Appalachian mountains.

"Come All You Coal Miners," is a collection of songs in this tradition written and sung by coal miners and the children and wives of coal mining families. In simple tunes and straightforward lyrics, these folk musicians give their listener a graphic illustration of the fears and dangers faced by the men who go down in the mines.

Because the songs are about coal

Because the songs are about coal mining, they are also about death, disease and disaster. No less than three of the 13 songs on the album are about black lung, the disease which comes to every miner in time and kills most of its victims.

and kills most of its victims.

The only happy song in the album is Nimrod Workman's "Don't You Want To Go To That Land." Using a traditional tune reminiscent of Baptist gospel songs, Workman tells his fellow miners "ain't no exploitation in that land where I go."

There is also no black lung, no politicians and no strip minin' in that land. Workman doesn't tell us where that land is hut clearly any

where that land is, but clearly any

that land. Workman doesn't tell us where that land is, but clearly any miner asked to go would say yes. Like all parents, coal miners want something better for their children. In "The N&W Train Don't Stop Here Anymore," Workman tells his son, "Tommy, go to school and learn your numbers/ And never be a coal mining man."
"Disaster at the Mannington Mine" is Hazel Dickens' plea to her son not to follow in his father's footsteps. "We read in the papers and the radio tells/ Us to raise our children to be miners as well./ Oh, tell' them how safe the mines are today/ And to be like your daddy, bring home a big pay."

#### KILLING THE LAND

But the boy shouldn't believe it, Dickens says, "Remember the disaster at the Mannington Mine/

Where seventy-eight men were buried alive/ Because of unsafe conditions your daddy died."

The mines not only kill people. They also kill the land. Sarah Gunning tells the story, in "That 25c," of her family's farm. In 1946, her parents sold the mineral rights on their land for 25c an acre. In 1972, the company which bought the rights came to collect and began strip mining the acreage. Gunning tells the company, "Leave them (her parents) alone, please don't disturb them/ Don't dump the yellow clay mud over their graves/ Although the law says you have a right to/ Because of that 25c that you paid."

This album is not all bleak, however. More clearly than in any of the abbre serves.

This album is not all bleak, however. More clearly than in any of the other songs, Sarah Gunning's hint at a solution. In "Dreadful Memories," Gunning says the death and poverty "make me want to help the workers."

Her message is more direct in "Come All You Coal Miners": "Coal Miner, won't you wake up and see/ What the dirty capitalist system is doing to you and me."

Unionism is strong among miners. During its history, the UMW has often been a militant, fighting

has often been a militant, fighting union. When the songs on this album were recorded, Tony Boyle, now a convicted murderer, was still

now a convicted murderer, was still president, however. In the songs and conversations on the album, the miners condemn Boyle's corruption and speak of the

necessity to change their union. In "Cold Blooded Murder," Hazel Dickens tells the story of the Hazel Dickens tells the story of the death of Jock Yablonski, a man who tried to run against Boyle for the UMW presidency. The refrain asks, "Who's gonna stand up and who's gonna fight?/ You better clean up this union...get rid of the dirty trash keeps the workin' man down."

#### FIGHT THE BOSSES

Over and over again, the singers tell the miners they must stand together, they must reform their together, they must fight the bosses. But it is Sarah Gunning who puts out the call for the real task for miners and all workers when she demands "Let's sink this capitalist system into the deepest pits of

hell."
"Come All You Coal Miners" is a powerful indictment against one industry and how it destroys the workers who keep it alive. Because they are miners and the sons and daughters of miners, the four voices on this album tell the story

better than anyone else could.

In November, the miners' contract expires. If there is a strike it

may pave the way for other workers to launch an offensive against the bosses' attack on wages and

working conditions.

For anyone who wants to understand why the miners of the Appa-lachians are the tough fighters they have shown themselves to be, this nave snown themselves to be, this record provides ample evidence. More than most any other job, mining is a killer. When miners fight back, they are literally 

Struggle in the Coal Fields, by Kim Moody. Published by Sun Press, 1974. 12pp. 25c. Available from I.S. Book Service.]

Mining coal has always been a dangerous job, with death around the corner if the owners den't keep the corner if the owners don't keep the mines in good shape. Miners have always had to fight their bosses hard to keep the work safe enough to be called "a living." In this long and necessary fight,

in this long and necessary fight, miners built a strong union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Moody's pamphlet discusses why the recent history as well as

the future of this union is important for other workers in America.

The union is the most militant in the country. At its head stands the new reform leadership of Arnold Miller, voted in when the corrupt murderer Tony Boyle was thrown out in 1972.

While the rank and file miners do not control this leadership in a direct and immediate sense, they brought it to power and can remove

Moody shows that behind Mil-ler's victory over Boyle, there was a long history of rank and file activity

during which Boyle virtually lost control of the union.

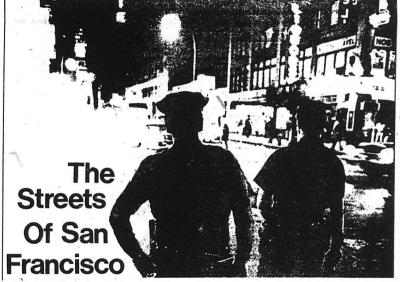
Although the miners are more willing to accept the Miller leader-ship, they have not surrendered their own independent initiative. This tension between the ranks and the leaders of the union could well become intensified as the recession develops and leaves less room for the coal companies and the union leaders to maneuver.

In these times, any union that is becoming more militant is a threat to the whole capitalist class. Most unions have been tamed into being "reasonable."

Despite the many battles miners have fought and won, they have a lot at stake in the present contract fight. Safety is still the biggest

Miners want more union control over safety issues: the right to strike over unsafe conditions and over grievances. Moody discusses the miners' demands and the

the miners' demands and the precedent they will set if won. Moody's pamphlet is important reading for every worker interested in the future of class struggle in America.



"The Streets of San Francisco" is a TV cop show. Mike Stone is paired with Steve Keller, a young

paired with Steve Kener, a hip cop. Keller went to the university at Berkeley. He identifies with a hip, anti-establishment West Coast sub-

Most of the time Stone doesn't know what Keller is talking about.
Like a father and son, their small
talk weaves around continual cul-

talk weaves around continual culture clash and ribbing over tastes in music, food, clothes and ideas. Every Thursday night, at 9 o'clock, we also learn that they are good and decent men helping people like you and me. "The Streets of San Francisco" is completely unreal. Cops don't do what Stone and Keller do. In the real world, cops protect the rich, their property, and their system. Regular people get quite different treatment—we are usually what

the rich are being protected against.

against.

In a recent eipsode, Keller and several hostages are held on a boat by a group of revolutionaries.

The group is portrayed as murderous and insane. Two are

white and three are black. One of the blacks is the leader and he is

portrayed as power-hungry, hate-filled, and inhuman.

After espousing his love of the working man he brutally beats the only working class hostage for not agreeing with him. The characters of the other two blacks are not developed at all and they are killed off early in the program.

The two whites are pictured as guilt-crazed liberals. The man is a rich incompetent who bankrolls this band of terrorists. The woman is a gun-toting, bra-burning women's liberationist who lies to "play rough house with the boys."

The plot is irrelevant, except that in the process of taking hostages they kill an innocent 18 year old woman. (In case we missed the

woman. (In case we missed the point that these revolutionaries are cold-blooded killers.) Eventually they are killed. But not before they reveal that they are far more interested in fame than their cause. (We are never told precisely what their cause is.)

Coming shortly after the brutal murder of the SLA, this show is an attempt to justify the actions of the Los Angeles Police Department and all police.

Although few supported their methods many warping people

methods, many working people sympathized with the SLA's attack on America's ruling class. Under the guise of an adventure story, "The Streets of San Francisco" is trying to change our sympathies.

**Gay Semel** 

# Fund Drive Tops 47%

Entering its sixth week, the International Socialists fund drive has reached 47.6% of its goal, or \$10.625.

The money we raise will be used to finance our activities and parti-cipation in the struggle to build a workers' movement.

workers' movement.

In the last few months we have held successful rank and file workers' conferences in Cleveland, Seattle, Bloomington, New York and Detroit. (For more details on the Detroit conference, see the centerfold in this issue.) More conferences like this are planned for ferences like this are planned for

ferences like this are planned for the future. These events are important, but unfortunately, expensive. Money raised by the fund drive will also help us to continue and expand our production of literature. Our recently published pamphlets include: "The Struggle in the Coal Fields"; "Bureaucratic Collectivism: the Stalinist Social System"; "Don't Buy 'Buy American'"; and more. Soon to follow these will be: a pamphlet on the UAW, a Socialist Experience reprint on the National Question, and pamphlets on Black Question, and pamphlets on Black Liberation, and Revolutionary

We are all very proud of the

	Branch	Quota	Collected	%	
	Bloomington	500	330	66	
١	Boston	450	· -	0	
ı	hicago	1300	595	45	
I	Cleveland	1850	905	49	
ı	East Bay	2400	597	24	
ı	Detroit	3500	2140	61	
ı	Portland	300	70	23	
ł	Louisville	800	255	32	
ı	Los Angeles	2500	1155	46	
ı	Madison	150	75	50	
I	New York	2700	1218	45	
ı	St. Louis	900	450	50	
ı	San Francisco	500	200	40	
ı	Seattle	1700	1123	66	
I	MAL's	1200	572	48	
١	National Office	1500	938	62	

I.S. FUND DRIVE

tremendous strides Workers' Power has taken, but to maintain this quality requires more funds than we have.

22500

Your political and financial sup-port sessential to all this. Help join us in building a revolutionar

10625

struggles.

If you haven't already sent a contribution, please do so today. Checks or money orders may be made out to International Socialists. Send to I.S. Fund Drive, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

# **British I.S. Doing Well Too**

The International Socialists Britain held their annual conference at the end of last month. Delegates from more than 250 IS

Delegates from more than 250 IS branches attended.
National Committee member Tony Cliff and IS Industrial Organizer Steve Jeffreys stressed that the crisis of British capitalism today, and the attack on the lives of working people, will be sharper than any point in the last 30 years.
"The 1973 Conference put us out on the right road—a long hard road, but the right road," stated delegate Jock White, discussing the experience of the organization in the last year.

In April 1973, the IS launched a campaign to organize factory

In April 1973, the IS launched a campaign to organize factory branches, which would put factory work at the organizational and political center of IS work. As a result, 38 factory branches are now functioning successfully.

The IS has also launched a major campaign to mobility deaporter.

campaign to mobilize demonstra-tions and militant actions to block the growing fascist movement in Britain, the National Front, from attacking black and Asian workers. A major conference discussion noted the increased role of IS in

building and supporting the strug-gles of black and Asian workers this year.

The key idea behind every The key idea benind every discussion and speech was the need to build the IS into a more powerful workers' organization which can become a revolutionary party to lead the struggle for socialism in Britain.



International Socialists of Great Britain's annual convention.

#### **BAY AREA FORUM** SUCCESSFUL

OAKLAND, Calif.-Over 70

OAKLAND, Calif.—Over 70 people attended an 1.5. forum on "A Reply to the Maoist Case Against Trotskyism." Speaker Joel Chaplin stated that the Maoist attack on Trotskyism revealed Maoism to be the most consistent defenders of the disastrous policies of Stalin and Stalinism today.

Chaplin emphasized that this attack on Trotskyism is really a campaign against the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

attack on Trotksyism is really a campaign against the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

Following the excellent presentation and discussion, several people expressed interest in joining the I.S.

If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or wouldlike to join the International

Socialists, then send this form to:

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

14131 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, MI 48203

#### What's On

Bloomington, Ind., Wednesday, November 13, "The Struggle in the Coal Fields." Bloomington Muni-cipal Building, Lincoln and 3rd, 7:20 p. m. 12. The struggle in the

Pittsburgh, Friday, November 15, "Strike in Coal, Lay-offs in Steel— Same Bosses, Same Struggle." Ed Mann, President of Local 1462, USWA and a leader of RAFT (Rank and File Team), a member of the Brookside Women's Club, and a Workers' Power reporter. MUSA Center, 131 E. 9th Ave., Home-stead, Pa., 7:30 p.m.

Chicago, Friday, November 15, "Building the Revolutionary Par-ty." Joel Geler, 1.S. National Chairman and Li'l Joe, former Central Committee member of Socialist Collective, now member 1.S. Executive Committee. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, 7:30 p.m.

Louisville, Ky., Sunday, November 17, Rally to support mine workers. Speakers: stewards from local unions and Bill Worthington, retired miner and President of the Black Lung Association for the five-state region of Ohio, Va., W. Va., Ky., and Tenn. Hilleband House, 2:00 p.m.

# 7:30 p.m.

New York, Friday, November 15, "Support the Mine Workers." Kim Moody, I.S. Industrial Secretary. 17 E. 17th St., 7th floor, 7:30 p.m.

Madison, Wisc., Sunday, November 17, "The Road to Socialism—Building the Revolutionary Party." Joel Geier, I.S. National Chairman and Li'l Joe, former Central Committee member of Socialist Collective, now member I.S. Executive Committee. Memorial Union, University of Wisconsin, 2:00 p.m.

### What We tand For

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

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

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

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

#### THE CAPITALIST STATE

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

#### MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

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

#### INTERNATIONALISM \*

INTERNATIONALISM

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

BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVISM.

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

and call for revolution against the bureaucratic ruling class. THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

#### WHERE WE STAND

WHERE WE STAND

"For rank and file control of the unions. No secret nepotiations All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight, and national rank and file opposition cauciuses in the International unions. "For class struggle unionism, Arolina all anti-labor legislation. No restriction on the right to strike." Defend corting conditions. No control on wages, Against unemployment, layoffe, and speed-up. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.

"Enquality for all oppressed pooples and the control of the control of

#### I.S. BRANCHES

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PAGE 14

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Trade Union

NOVEMBER 14-27, 1974

International Socialists

WORKERS' POWER

# PALESTIN ting for liberation

by D. Posen

Since October 1973, the political face of the Middle East has been

military power and skill. This assumption was the foundation of

Israeli government policy.
Today, these illusions have been shattered.

Beginning in early 1973, the Arab states launched intense diplo-

Arab states launched intense diplomatic struggles to convince the US to force Israel to negotiate a settlement. When this failed, war preparations began.

In October, Egypt carried out a brilliant offensive, destroying forever the myths of Israeli invincibility and Arab military backwardness. While confusion and disillusionment spread throughout Israel, fantastic jubilation was unleashed in the Arab world. in the Arab world.

The Arab masses were led to

The Arab masses were led to believe not only that Arab armies would free Palestine from Israel, but also that the right-wing Arab government would use their oil to win liberation from imperialism for all Arabs.

#### POLITICAL SHIFTS

In the following year, much of this enthusiasm has paled. Among the Arab states, Egypt in particular has opened its doors wide for US

has opened its doors wide for US investment and a massive strengthening of Egypt's capitalist class. Syria is more slowly adopting the same course. Saudi Arabia, the staunch friend of the US, is quietly arguing that oil prices should be lowered again and promising that there will be no future production cuthacks. cutbacks.

Last week, however, another dramatic political shift revived

Arab hopes.

At the Arab summit in Rabat, At the Arab summit in Rabat, Morocco, the Arab states for the first time officially recognized the resistance organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as the sole representative of Palestinian national rights.

The Arab states took this step because it strengthens their bar-

The Arab states took this step because it strengthens their bargaining position. They cannot appear to be in conflict with the Palestinian movement.

In the past year the resistance movement has increased sharply despite Israeli repression. The Palestine National Congress, led by the PLO, has been active in the West Bank organizing strikes and protests. protests.

The possibility of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank is now the subject of burning debate. The Israeli government of Izhak Rabin has declared that Arab recognition of the PLO, whom the Israelis label "guerrilla cutthroats" will destroy all possible peace class can recognize an independent Palestinian state. To do so would undercut the very basis for all of Israeli policies.

#### INDEPENDENT PALESTINE?

These included seizing the lands of Palestinian peasants and driving them out from the 1940's to the

So long as Israel remains a national oppressor, a Palestinian state, with its own government and army, would be a potential base for fighting against these injustices, and continuing the struggle against

Israel, however, is no longer free to dictate its own terms just as it pleases. Although its repression has intensified, it is more and more

In addition, there are some elements in Israel's establishment elements in Israel's establishment who are willing to explore the idea of a Palestinian state—on their terms. As one example, Boaz Evron, one of Israel's leading political commentators, wrote in

the paper Yediot Ahronot:
"If and when the Palestinian state is established, it is necessarily destined to be our client state, regardless of whoever, be it Arafat

regardless of whoever, be it Araiar or even Habash happens to rule it.

"This state would have almost no industry, a fairly underdeveloped agriculture, and an economy that would be almost totally dependent upon Israeli employment resources."

dependent upon Israeli employ-ment resources.

"Israeli military strongholds would be positioned at strategic points... Clearly, we will not give our consent to its establishment if it does not beforehand commit itself to maintain peaceable relations and open borders with us; we shall also we shall also keep in our hands the means to force these arrangements...
"Thus, this state will be critically

dependent on our good will... So what is the fear?"

The basis for this line of thought is the post-1967 Israel-West Bank relationship.

#### ISRAEL'S COLONY

Under Israeli occupation this Under Israeli occupation this area has become a virtual colony. In the words of the Israeli Ministry of Defense: "The areas are a supplementary market for Israeli goods and services on the one hand, and a source of factors of production served like unskilled. production, especially unskilled labor, on the other."

labor, on the other."
Without the West Bank's open markets and cheap labor, Israel's post-1967 economic boom would have been much shorter. In this period, the number of workers from occupied territories employed in Israel rose from 5800 to over 70,000.

These workers are employed at substandard wages in agriculture and construction, at the worst jobs.



Palestinian refugee camp.

Other work is subcontracted from Israeli industry to West Bank factories at even lower pay. Israeli manufactured goods are imported into the West Bank under regulations which drastically restrict the import of non-Israeli

It is not surprising then, that there are some in Israel's ruling establishment prepared to accept a Palestinian state—but only at a

That price would be, first, military domination by Israel and the final liquidation of the armed Palestinian resistance movement.

Second, it would mean "open borders" for economic exploitation

by Israel.

Third, it would mean giving Israel's army and police the right to Israel's army and police the right to interfere any time the Palestinian state attempted to carry out an independent policy, or was unable to keep its own people from fighting Israeli domination.

Most of Israel's business and

Zionist leaders, however, are not yet willing to accept even this vicious solution. They favor a policy that would effectively keep the status quo, including direct occupa-

But this debate has only just begun. In the end the Israelis

might accept, and the Arab ruling classes might be willing to nego-tiate, a "Palestinian state." But only if it would be a powerless, dependent client state.

#### NATIONAL SUICIDE

For the Palestinian victims themselves, such a solution under these conditions would mean national The immediate demand raised

The immediate demand raised by the Palestinian resistance— which is led by the PLO and supported by the vast majority of Palestinians—is for unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the 1967 occupied territories, and an inde-pendent Palestinian state in this

area.

This demand must be supported. But the struggle for liberation is much more complex than this immediate demand.

First of all, the fight for a Palestinian state must be on terms that guarantee Palestinian self-determination. This must not be on the terms of those Zionists who wish to see a mini-state dependent on Israel, carved out through a deal on Israel, carved out through a deal to disarm and crush the Palestinian

to disarm and crush the Falestinian movement.

Second, it must be realized that the political friendship of the PLO leadership with the rulers of the Arab states will only lead to an even more bloody defeat.

even more bloody defeat.

The October war was not fought to liberate the Arab masses, but rather to advance the national power of the Arab ruling classes with imperialist aid. For this reason, the success of this war strengthened the right-wing and pro-US forces in the Arab countries—not the radical left.

The Arab rulers, particularly

The Arab rulers, particularly Sadat of Egypt, need the Palestinian resistance in order to strengthen their image and bargaining position today—but they will sell it out as soon as the price is right.

#### ONE STRATEGY

The struggle for a genuinely independent Palestinian nation can be advanced through one strategy

only,

That strategy is to combine the fight against Zionism, and for

Palestinian self-determination.

with the struggle for socialist revo-lution throughout the Middle East. The possibility for such a strug-gle exists today. Throughout the Arab countries, there are revolu-Arab countries, there are revolutionaries who recognize that their rulers went to war in order to arrange an imperialist deal. They also recognize that the destruction of Israel is no answer.

Although these Arab revolution

Attnough these Arab revolution-aries almost universally, and mis-takenly, supported their own states in the war, the last year has shown ever more clearly that the Arab rulers are an obstacle to liberation.

Inflation and economic crisis in the Arab countries are creating the basis for sharp working class resistance.

resistance.

Within Israel, there are also a small but growing number of people who recognize that their own survival depends on reaching a genuine settlement with the Pales-

tinians.
Peace between the Israeli and Palestinian nations can be reached only if it includes a struggle to transform Israel itself.

This would mean immediate

unconditional withdrawal from oc-cupied Arab lands. It would mean destroying the Zionist structure of Israel which tramples on Arab rights.

It would mean demanding full rights both for Israeli Arabs and for

the Palestinians who became refu-gees when their lands and homes were stolen by Zionist armies. Such a struggle would amount to a fight for a bi-national state in all of Palestine, in which both the Israeli and Palestinian nations could exercise freedom.

could exercise freedom.

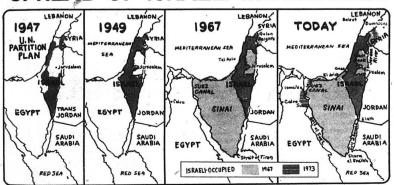
Any such struggle would have an immediate revolutionary impact. It would help trigger revolutionary working class forces both among the Palestinians and throughout the Arab Middle East.

The only alternative to revolution

has already been spelled out by both Egypt's Sadat and Israel's Rabin—a new, more horrible war which comes closer every day.

[Sources for quotes in this article re: The Journal of Palestine tudies; Merip Reports and Studies; SWASIA.]

#### ISRAELI SPREAD **IMPERIALISM**



# **MASSIVE AUTO** Workers' LAYOFFS H

Detroit will be no place to be this winter. The Chrysler Corporation is making plans to close down the huge, old Jefferson Assembly

huge, old Jefferson Assembly plant, and has laid off thousands of workers at its other plants.

For Detroit this will mean nothing short of disaster. The official unemployment rate is already approaching 9%, and estimates put the real rate much higher. For blacks, it's something like 30%.

30%.

The decision to close Jefferson will immediately put 5,100 more people on the streets, three-quarters of them black. But worse, lay offs in related services and industries may run as high as 15,000. Jefferson's neighborhood,

15,000. Jefferson's neighborhood, on Detroit's east side, is already one of the city's poorest parts. Closing Jefferson will ruin it. The plant itself is pretty decrepit. The company hasn't-maintained it. The roof leaks. The second floor shakes every time a hi-low runs by. And sometimes the carbon money. And sometimes the carbon monoxide gets so bad even the rats leave. But foundries are dirtier. And stamping plants more dangerous.

"It's a pretty miserable place to work," says Neil Chacker, a steward on the second shift, "but we've sunk a big part of our lives

into it. And it's hard to imagine something that's so big, that has been there so long, just gone."

Lynn Townsend, the chairman of Chrysler, got on the television and assured everyone that there was "no problem", that "everyone would get work", but no one believes him. Chrysler is on it's way out of Detroit, and all the plants are in had shape.

plants are in bad shape.

Some Jefferson workers with the

some senterson workers with the most seniority may be able to stay in Detroit, but most will have to move, or else give up their company seniority and lose their pensions. There may be jobs in Delaware or at Belvedere, Illinois.

solution, for transfered workers begin at the bottom of plant seniority.
But according to Chacker, "even

if you get picked up at another plant there's no assurance you won't be laid off again in a few weeks or months. And then it will be even worse. You'll be in a strange place, with no family, no friends."

#### CAP RAFFLE

Most Jefferson workers are now in a state of shock. There were always rumors that the plant would be closed, but no one expected it so soon. Few have any idea of what to

The union has done nothing. At the last regular meeting, the local president, Kenny Flowers, cut a discussion of the closing short, so that he could get on to the next CAD well.

Doug Fraser, the UAW Vice President for Chrysler, and Ken Morris, the regional director, got together with the local leadership, but the best they could come up. together with the local leadership, but the best they could come up with was a petition, urging the company to stay in Detroit "in the name of humanity." But no one thinks begging will get very far with Chrysler.

Coleman Young, the new black mayor of Detroit has joined the NAACP in denouncing Chrysler, but they have proposed nothing to stop them.

but they have proposed nothing to stop them.

Jessie Jackson has been through town with PUSH, but fewer than a hundred Jefferson workers were among those attending his rally. Despite some angry words, the rally went no farther than calling on the men present to come forward to the alter and pray the alter and pray.

#### HOW TO SURVIVE

So most of the workers are just So most of the workers are just trying to figure out how to survive, and no one thinks it's going to be easy. Just being unemployed will be bad enough, but people are also afraid of what will happen on the streets. 'Its going to be hell', said one worker, ''and this is already murder city'' one worker, "
murder city."

Chrysler made its concern clear enough. They announced that profits were higher outside of Detroit. They claimed it cost them \$245 more to produce each car at Jefferson. The cause was "poor

workmanship" and "high absent-

eeism."
And it's no secret that they've had trouble at Jefferson. The had trouble at Jefferson. The workers are young, and militant. It was last year at Jefferson that two workers seized the controls which ran the line and led a successful occupation of the plant. And there were two wildcats earlier that same

Chrysler has bled Detroit for years, and now they may well destroy the city. And they care as

the city. And right now, there is no movement to stop them.

"It all reminds me," says
Chacker, "of the story about the
farmer and his horse. The horse
works mainly in the spring and the fall, when there is plowing and harvesting. But the farmer feeds him in the winter as well. Workers get less consideration than this. When the profits are not there to be made, when there is no work, then they're turned out to go hungry."



#### Build a rank and file movement in the UAW!

"We have a deteriorating situation in the UAW. We have a bankrupt leadership. They are not tackling the problems and they have no intention of tackling the problems that are facing members in auto plants. What has to happen is a rank and file movement has got to come about very quickly in order to defend ourselves.

"You know we talked about the miners' union here and the Miners For Democracy and the defeat of Tony Boyle. But you know the miners union sunk desperately low until such times as something was done about it."

—Pete Kelly, co-chairman of the United National Caucus, speaking at Workers' Power auto conference. See pages 8-9.

# Even if there are, that is a poor 100,000

Although the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant is the only one right now facing permanent closing, almost every other auto plant is being hit with massive layoffs.

In recent weeks, the total number of auto workers on indefinite layoff has risen to over 100,000.

100,000.

Fifty thousand of these date back to last winter's energy crisis. For many of those workers, particularly GM employees in Flint, Pontiac, Cadillac and other Michigan towns, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) are now running out—just as another round of layoffs begins.

In the weeks since the 1975 model year began, there have been another 50,000 indefinite layoffs, according to the UAW, and many times that number of temporary

layoffs.

GM, for example, has scrapped shift, at its GM, for example, has scrapped the entire second shift at its assembly plants in Tarrytown, N.Y., Van Nuys, Calif., and Leeds, Mo. At Tarrytown, workers with as much as 11½ years seniority lost their jobs

their jobs.
Chrysler followed GM's pattern.
It has already dropped the second
shift at Jefferson, at its Newark,
Del. plant, and its St. Louis plant,
as well as the second shift on one of as well as the second shift on one of the two assembly lines at the Detroit Dodge Main plant. At parts plants in Detroit, the third shift at Mack Stamping has been elimina-ted, and there have been layoffs at Warren Stamping, Eldon Gear and Axle, and others.

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NEW YORK-United Parcel Service has come up with its own solu-tion to the eleven-week strike of 4500 members of Teamster Local 4500 members of Teamster Local 804. It has issued an ultimatum claiming a loss of \$8½ million in New York last year. UPS has threatened to leave the city if its offer is not accepted by Nov. 20. The local leadership has asked UPS to open its books, but it has also offered to be more "reason-

able" if the company can prove its claim. To Local 804 member claim. 10 Local 804 members, the idea of being reasonable with UPS must seem less than enthralling. All the company wants, after all, is that Local 804 surrender 1500 fulltime jobs to part-timers.
UPS hopes by this threat to scare

These pressure tactics are making the bureaucratic maneuvering of 804's leaders appear just as

ineffectual as they always have

been.
What allows UPS to threaten to leave New York is the isolation of Local 804 from other UPS locals. Local 804 members must break that isolation by taking their picket lines back to New Jersey and other, areas that are already suffering under the part-timer contract. It is past time part-timer contract. It is past time to return to the militant strategy with which the strike began.