

WORKERS' POWER

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In This Issue:	
Talking Socialism	7
Chile: A Year Later	8-9
Rocky Who?	10
CWA Hung Up	11
Scab Steinem	12

Boston Schoolchildren Victims RACISTS ATTACK

Roving bands of white people in Boston used violence and terror to prevent the successful busing of school children last week.

Until the day school began, Thursday September 12, white parents swore that they would keep their children home rather than allow them to attend school with black children. Unfortunately the adults didn't stay home too.

Police protection was brutally poor. When busses from Roxbury, the heart of Boston's black community, arrived at South Boston High the 71 black students aboard were met by a mob of hundreds of hostile white parents.

Later, to get from the school to the waiting bus, the children were forced to run a gauntlet of screaming white adults and youths who cursed, spit and hurled objects at them.

Eight black children—over 10% of those bussed—were injured severely enough by rocks thrown through bus windows to require hospital treatment.

The next day, gangs of youths and some adults—upwards of two and four hundred—threw rocks over the heads of police at the buses as they traveled from one school to another. Although police lined the bus route they were unwilling to force the racist bands to disperse.

Another black child was injured when a rock shattered a bus window. A total of nine people were finally arrested—a mild gesture amounting to a slap on the wrist. The police are clearly not going to use the force of the state to halt the racist attacks.

The ties of Boston police to white neighborhoods are very strong. If they weren't in uniform, a good number of cops would join the racist crowds.

It is unlikely that tear gas, nightsticks, cattle prods or other forms of force so often used against blacks will be used to break up these cowardly mobs.

The black community in Boston, on the other hand, is politically and economically extremely weak and disorganized compared to those in other US cities. It is being viciously assaulted through its children.

In response, the NAACP actually commended the police for their "protection" and urged black

people to keep their children home while the matter went to the courts.

This weak-kneed approach ignores a greater danger. White mobs cannot be permitted to feel that black children and the black community are a target upon which they can vent their fears, angers and frustrations without penalty. Black people must organize to stop the attack.

The white neighborhood chosen to receive bussed children—known as Southie—is a low income working class area. A large mob that formed on Thursday came from a housing project near the high school.

Living conditions in the area are often oppressive, and the future is often bleak. Reactionary forces led by Louise Day Hicks have used white people's dissatisfactions as a wedge to organize the anti-busing

campaign that led to this furious violence.

Black people aren't enthusiastic about the busing program themselves. Many fear placing their children in such a hostile environment.

The program has, by and large, been pushed down the communities' throats by the city's liberal political structure, which supports busing to achieve "equal" education.

The result of these several conflicting forces is a vicious attack on black people, particularly children who cannot defend themselves. The police will not protect the community. Black people must defend the buses themselves.

This racial assault must be met head on by an organized force and soundly defeated.

Kay Stacy



Cops escort nearly empty bus.



DETROIT—The Farm Workers' International Boycott Day demonstration here attracted a crowd of close to 1,000 September 14. The presence of rank and file trade unionists from Detroit's auto plants gave the event a lively tone. A rally afterwards was addressed by Delores

Huerta, UFW Vice President, and by Rosa Parks, initiator of the 1956 Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott. International Boycott Day rallies and picket lines were held in other cities across the country, including a rally of 1,000 in San Francisco.

Gallo Workers Strike

LOS ANGELES—160 Gallo field workers under Teamster contract have walked out of the fields and joined the striking United Farm Workers. These are farmworkers who one year ago crossed UFW picket lines, had their tires slashed and their windshields broken in order to scab at Gallo.

After one year of working under a Teamster contract these workers got into contact with the UFW and said that they wanted to go out on strike, with or without the help of the UFW and with or without strike benefits.

This walkout follows others in the strawberry fields in Oxnard, the tomato fields in Stockton and the lemon groves of Santa Paula.

In all of these cases the workers organized themselves and called upon the United Farm Workers Union to help them. The field workers want a union and it is clear what union they prefer, the UFW.

SUMMER 1974

This summer, however, has not seen the mass strike activity in the field that was so important in 1973.

In Delano only 36 people are on strike. The union cannot provide benefits to other workers who want to strike. Many, because of their low wages, have no savings to support themselves if they go out.

Many workers in struck fields are sympathetic to the union but are being told to stay at work and slow down because the union cannot afford to pull them out on strike.

The United Farm Workers of America desperately needs money. Last year during the mass strike they spent 1.3 million dollars in four weeks. Last year the AFL-CIO

gave them 1.6 million dollars.

This year all the UFW got from Meany was a lukewarm endorsement of the grape and lettuce boycott and no endorsement of the Gallo boycott. For this, they had to give up the secondary boycott.

The UFW has the support of the field workers, as has been shown at Gallo, Stockton and Oxnard and in every fair election held in the fields. What the UFW could use is some real support from the AFL-CIO.

Dugan Wheeler

5th National I.S. Convention Page 14



Mr. Zip's Spending Spree

The federal mail is notoriously slow and inefficient. To remedy this, Nixon, with great fanfare and eulogizing over the greatness of private enterprise, turned the US Postal Service into a privately run corporation several years ago.

Since then mail service has deteriorated, rates have risen, and the working conditions and wages of postal workers have worsened.

One man though, seems to be doing pretty well from the new arrangement. He is Elmer Klassen and he is Nixon's appointed Postmaster General.

Klassen makes \$60,000 a year. He will continue to make \$60,000 a year if he is fired and \$15,000 a year if he resigns.

Klassen spent \$302,200 to furnish his offices. He spent another \$528,360 to outfit offices for the Board of Governors. They rarely use them so he simply added them to his own suite of offices.

One flight above the Postmaster General's office is a \$50,000 kitchen. In the kitchen is \$6,147 worth of dishes including two water pitchers at \$114 each.

Klassen has two chauffeurs who

drive him and Mrs. Klassen around day and night.

All of this is paid for by the labors of postal workers and subsidized with tax monies.

Also paid for by the postal service are a cook and waiter to prepare and serve Klassen's meals.

Turning the Post Office into a privately run corporation hasn't improved mail service but it has made the Postal Service similar to other big corporations—there is a group at the top living in obscene splendor off the backs of working people.



Clean Gene Rides Again



Eugene McCarthy is planning to run for President again. This time outside of the two party system.

McCarthy has announced that he will head a national ticket in 1976 under the auspices of the Committee for a Constitutional Presidency.

McCarthy says that 1976 may be 'the last chance to found a new movement because the two-party system is becoming crystallized and frozen into our way of life as the only system.'

McCarthy failed to mention his own generous contributions to that process.

In 1968 McCarthy ran for Presidential nominee in the Democratic Party. His admitted purpose was to bring the anti-war movement out of the streets and back into the Democratic Party.

He was fairly successful. Thousands of young people got 'clean for Gene' and thumped for

him across the country. Many of those thousands had already joined the Peace and Freedom Party—an attempt to build a radical third party based on the anti-war movement and support for black liberation.

McCarthy's campaign pulled these newly radicalized young people out of the PFP—killing it—and back into the two party system.

McCarthy's concept of a new political 'movement' shows that still his aims are to channel opposition back into acceptable channels.

The Committee for a Constitutional Presidency "will have no political conventions, no other candidates, and no historical party dogma to prevent itself from dealing with actual issues."

It will also have no following, and will do nothing to change the system.

Democrats Club-Whites Only

Last month a powerful Democratic Party political and social club in Frederick, Maryland, was found to exclude blacks.

Racism was written into the club's by-laws 35 years ago and Maryland Democratic Party bigwigs have never seen fit to change it.

Neither the Civil Rights Act nor the campaign promises of the Democratic Party seem to make much difference in the real activities of these "Democrats."

The club's officials stated that they would close the club before admitting blacks.

The hypocrisy and fraud of the

Democratic Party as the champion of civil rights is once again revealed.

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AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

"Prices Are Excellent"

Inflation is racing ahead at 12% a year with no end in sight.

Cities are broke—spending on education, transportation and other social needs is way down and unemployment is rising.

The only solutions posed by Ford and his advisors are less spending

on essential services and more unemployment.

But the oil business is booming.

At the annual shareholders meeting of Partrick Petroleum, U.E. Jackson, president, announced, "Prices are excellent. Often we are getting two times the price

we were a year ago and I expect them to go higher. Our company is looking forward to the best year in its history."

Did we hear someone say something about a crisis in the oil industry? □



BOSS SAYS NO RAISE, WOMEN SAY NO WAY!

DETROIT—After four weeks on strike, workers at Helm, Inc. are finally getting some help and attention.

The strikers, members of the Graphic Arts International Union, Local 20B, walked out when their employer denied any wage increase in their new contract.

The bindery employs 250 people, including 150 women. The strike caught the attention of women of CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women), who came to help picket. Women from a welfare recipients' organization and other friends have been there too.

The strike later made the front page of the morning paper when violence broke out as management brought scabs through the line.

"I've never been a violent person, myself," said one woman, "but with the police here, choosing sides, well, I'll do what I can to help our side win."

Only half the workers are in the union, and Helm appears intent upon breaking it altogether. "It's going backwards," on striker told Workers' Power. "We used to have a cost of living clause, now we don't even get a raise!"

The company has refused to negotiate, but support for the strike is growing. At the International Boycott Day rally for the United Farm Workers here, support was requested for the strikers on the GAIU picket line.

The strikers need all the help they can get. Said one, "I'm out here fighting for my life." □

Susan Ellis

NEWARK COPS RIOT

Over 10,000 people were having a good time in Branch Brook Park in Newark, N.J., the day before Labor Day. Many were Puerto Rican, members of a 10% minority in Newark's population.

Life in Newark does not give Spanish speaking people many opportunities to have fun. Nonetheless, the fifth annual Hispanic festival, held in the park, started out as something to enjoy.

But the fun ended abruptly when mounted police, attempting to get rid of some vendors at the festival, rode into a crowd and trampled a woman and her young daughter.

Angered bystanders responded with rocks, and dismounted two officers. 500 police appeared quickly and shot into the crowd, hitting three people.

The famous racist vigilante, State Senator Anthony Imperiale, soon arrived astride a motorcycle. With him was black Mayor Kenneth Gibson, elected in the wake of Newark's '67 rebellion.

Imperiale's bike, along with two police cars, was set afire. A crowd of 1,000 followed the mayor to City Hall, demanding that those arrested

be released.

The next day, a People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality organized.

Mayor Gibson agreed to negotiate with the group, which included Ramon Rivera, former chairman of the Young Lords and now director of Oye ("Listen"), a community group, Sigfredo Carrion of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Rev. Alfonso Roman, director of the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey, and Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People.

The Committee's representatives arrived for negotiations with 1000 supporters who waited at the City Hall doorstep. The group was demanding: *release of the arrested, *free medical attention for the injured, *investigation of the incident and of police brutality and corruption, *a community review board of the police, *elimination of the tactical and mounted police squads, *prosecution of the police who beat people at the festival, *and resignation of Police Director Hubert Williams.

At a report that the mayor had denied to grant the demands, indignant demonstrators hurled

rocks at City Hall, breaking several windows.

Once again the police were dispatched. The entire force, including the tactical unit and the mounted police rampaged in the streets.

They chased and beat up people who were seeking shelter and clubbed an apparently pregnant woman.

The massive frustrations of the Puerto Rican people erupted as one brutal injustice topped another. More rocks were thrown and some buildings burned. Puerto Rican flags and buttons blossomed.

The next morning Mayor Gibson announced a ban on demonstrations of more than three persons. Later the Police Director imposed a 10 pm curfew for people under 18 in the area of the rebellion.

As civil liberties were being stripped away, a Hispanic Emergency Council, headed by Fernando Zambrano of the Urban Coalition and composed of Puerto Rican city officials formed.

Zambrano had been invited to join the delegation from the People's Committee, refused when he found out who else was on it,



Puerto Ricans demonstrating against police brutality. Mayor Gibson ordered mounted police into the crowd.

and chose to align himself with the older, more established leadership.

The mayor urged Puerto Rican citizens to cooperate with Zambrano's Council. After meeting for a second time with the more militant People's Committee, Gibson condemned their "poor judgement" in bringing 1,000 supporters with them and pronounced their demands "illegal to consider."

Commenting on his banning of street gatherings, the mayor stated, "There is not going to be any more nonsense from now on," although he acknowledged that Puerto Ricans had "just grievances

regarding certain police practices," and was reported to be considering a civilian review board.

In a city of 400,000 that is 54% "non-white," Spanish speaking residents number 46,000. Ten percent of the city's population, Puerto Ricans comprise 30% of those below the official poverty level.

Unemployment is 27% and the welfare rate is high. Many people speak only Spanish, but government bureaucrats who they must deal with speak only English.

A columnist in CLARIDAD, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, described the events this way: "The community's determined response against the police's brutal interruption of the Folkloric Festival was also a statement against the trampling of our national sentiment and culture. This unloosed demands by the people, which were met with more police brutality."

Newark's deputy mayor, Ramon Aneses, blamed the "disorders" on a hard core of Socialist Party members who continue to harass the administration, making demands that cannot be met.

Any decent society could meet these people's demands for a decent life, and freedom from beatings and brutality.

The capitalist system cannot meet the elementary demands of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. This is more proof of why it must be overthrown and replaced by socialism.

Until that is possible, it is still obvious that electing Democratic mayors and Deputy mayors of whatever race, provides no solution.

Karen Kaye



"Women were treated the worst. We were pulled by the hair and dragged all over the street. I don't think even an animal is treated the way we were."—Hispanic woman involved in police riot.

MARGARET BUTZ REINSTATED

Unionist Wins CLUW Rights

Last June Workers' Power publicized the expulsion of Margaret Butz from leadership and membership in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Butz is an organizer for CASE (Clerical and Allied Service Employees), an independent union representing California state employees.

She had been told by the CLUW leadership that because CASE did not hold a collective bargaining agreement (illegal for state employees in California), she and all CASE members were ineligible for membership in CLUW.

CLUW members across the country protested the expulsion of Butz and CASE. CLUW organizing committees and individual rank and file women sent letters and motions of protest to chairwoman Olga Madar.

Mounting protest forced Madar and other national CLUW leaders to reinstate Butz and CASE at the first meeting of the National Steering Committee, September 7.

The reinstatement is a significant victory for rank and file women in the fight to open CLUW's membership to women workers not yet organized into unions.

The fight must continue, however, as the steering committee decided to judge each case on its individual merits.

Nonetheless, this victory shows that the CLUW leadership can be pushed. It also can be used as a precedent in other cases.

CLUW GUIDELINES

Amendments to the CLUW guidelines will be voted on September 21 by the first meeting of the

CLUW National Coordinating Committee.

These amendments generally argue that if CLUW is to be able to carry out its stated goals of organizing the unorganized, it must open its doors to these very same women.

Only 12% of all working women are in unions because of the sexist

attitudes of the male trade union leadership. An organization of working women seeking to challenge sexism in the labor movement must not perpetuate that sexism.

If the CLUW leadership is able to defeat these amendments the fight to open CLUW up must not end. Continuing to build support for open membership can lay the basis for overturning the leadership at a future point.

The Butz case is significant in other ways as it shows the hypocrisy of the leadership's concern for the real problems of women workers and the hypocrisy of their phony "unity." An incident occurring shortly before Butz's reinstatement makes this clear.

Since informed last May that she did not fulfill CLUW's "requirements" for national membership, Butz received no official communication from the leadership. Silence was maintained in spite of the many protest letters written on behalf of Butz and CASE. The CLUW bureaucracy preferred to

rule by rumor.

AN IMPARTIAL ARBITRATOR?

Attempting to find out the status of CASE members within CLUW, Butz called Elinor Glenn, Western Vice-President of CLUW and member of the International Executive Board of the Service Employees International Union.

Glenn identified herself as the "impartial arbitrator" in the CASE appeal. But rather than discuss CASE status in CLUW she immediately launched into a pitch on why CASE should affiliate with SEIU.

Acting in her official capacity as a CLUW Vice-President, Glenn went on to severely criticize AFSCME, pointing out all the "disadvantages" of CASE affiliating with that competing international.

Glenn, however, opposed support to the Farm Workers at the Chicago CLUW conference, on the grounds that positive action on behalf of the UFW would involve CLUW in jurisdictional disputes.

Her attempt to blackmail CASE into SEIU shows that individual bureaucrats are quite willing to use CLUW in their own interests, formal proclamations against involving CLUW in jurisdictional disputes to the contrary.

Margaret Butz finally turned the conversation back to the real reason for her phone call: the status of CASE in CLUW. Glenn agreed to wire a recommendation to the steering committee upon receipt of the pertinent facts concerning CASE's day-to-day functioning. She refused, however, to commit herself to a favorable recommendation.

Margaret Butz and CASE were reinstated because of pressure from rank and file women—not the aid of the "impartial arbitrator."

Her concern was not building CLUW—by fighting for membership rights for women already involved in organizing the unorganized—but of ripping off 4,000 more dues payers for SEIU.

Laura Burnett
Gay Semel

Black Anger Quells Racist Revolt

WORLD IN CRISIS



Samora Machel, president of FRELIMO.

MOZAMBIQUE

A brief white settlers' uprising which had thrown the future of Mozambique into doubt collapsed September 10 in the face of rising black anger and resistance.

The uprising began shortly after the Portuguese government reached an agreement with the Mozambique liberation army FRELIMO.

The government's terms will establish a coalition government immediately and full independence within a year.

During the brief uprising the streets and radio station in the capital city of Lourenço Marques were occupied by settlers demanding white rule.

Hundreds of whites paraded the

streets of the city armed with double-barrelled shotguns, hunting rifles, submachine guns, pistols and other weapons. Normal commercial life was halted.

A secret organization called the Dragons of Death was reported to be the leader of the uprising.

The aim of the white settlers appeared to be to pressure the Portuguese government, which had been forced to promise independence, to reverse itself and instead guarantee the tiny white settler minority an equal voice in the future of Mozambique.

It was also clear that the settlers hoped to bring the forces of the Portuguese Army into the struggle

on their side. Had this occurred, there was the very real danger of an organized massacre of black villages surrounding the capital city by the white settlers.

Although armed black national liberation forces remained in firm control in wide areas of the countryside—and although the overwhelming majority of black people in the cities as well as the countryside clearly support FRELIMO—it does not appear that the blacks in the cities had been actively armed and organized by FRELIMO to deal with the danger of a white uprising.

At best, the black shantytowns near the capital were probably armed with a handful of guns, plus homemade weapons. After a few days of confusion, however, it became clear that these black villagers would defend themselves by any means available, including their bare hands.

Black villagers began stoning crowds on the airport highway, and blocking roads through which white settlers might be travelling to leave Mozambique or to get reinforcements from South Africa.

Because the blacks were apparently not organized in advance, and the resistance was improvised on the spot, there was some confusion resulting in a number of fires and casualties. The key factor was that the blacks were ready to take matters into their own hands.

In the face of this mounting angry resistance, the leaders of the white uprising quickly backed down, and the white street patrols and crowds disappeared like a puff of smoke.

In Mozambique, black Africans make up well over 97% of the population. Acting on their own, there is no possibility that the white settler forces could enforce their

will on the black majority. There are, however, important lessons to be learned from this crisis.

First of all, the white settlers' movement (calling itself the Movement for a Free Mozambique claimed to be fighting for genuine freedom and democracy for "all the people of Mozambique," as opposed to the rule of FRELIMO. This, however, is a complete fraud.

FRELIMO's war is not a war for blacks to rule over whites, but for national independence from colonial oppression.

Those whites in Mozambique who supported the uprising are not fighting for democracy, but for the special privileges they enjoyed under Portuguese colonialism.

That is why they opposed independence and terrorized black people throughout the ten-year-long liberation war.

Faced with the threat of violence that might destroy their own businesses, homes and wealth, the shotgun-toting white thugs disbanded.

Second, the white settlers got no support from the Portuguese Army soldiers still stationed in Mozambique. The reason is simple: the army has been so thoroughly defeated in the national liberation war that it is finished as a colonial

fighting force.

If the white settlers in Mozambique did not realize this, the Portuguese generals in Lisbon knew it long ago.

There is, however, another danger: invasion by South Africa or Rhodesia in support of white racist rule. Since the April coup in Portugal, the South African government has devoted more and more resources to "defense."

Naval spending in South Africa has been more than double the same period last year.

The most immediate, critical issue for the future of Mozambique is that the liberation movement must rely exclusively on its own strength. It must not base its strategy on friendship with the new "democratic" generals in Portugal to defend the freedom from white colonial rule which has been won in such heroic struggle.

The recent counterrevolutionary white insurrection was defeated quickly when black workers in the villages showed what their response would be. But this brief crisis is only a hint of the bloody new war that might follow, if any show of weakness or vacillation by the liberation movement encourages the fascists in Johannesburg and Salisbury to intervene. □

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"Since I joined the Communist Party, I haven't had any strikes."

—a tool plant owner in Bologna, Italy

How British Army Keeps Peace

IRELAND

On the night of August 7, British troops shot dead 23-year old Paddy McElhone in a hay field 100 yards from his home near Limerhill, Pomeroy in Northern Ireland.

The dead man's parents were eyewitnesses to the killing.

By coincidence, this brutal but typical incident occurred on the very eve of the third anniversary of

the policy of "internment." Since August 9, 1971 thousands of men and women from Northern Ireland communities have been rounded up and thrown in prison without charges or trial.

Over 600 victims of these arrests are still interned, where they are subjected to physical and psychological tortures. But Paddy McEl-

hone was not even lucky enough to receive treatment like this.

Mrs. Margaret McElhone described how her son was taken out of the house by the soldiers, who knocked on the door and said: "Young fellow, we want you out to have a word with you."

He went out immediately and soldiers slammed the door on Mrs.

McElhone and her husband. She went to the window and saw a crowd of soldiers around her son.

She overheard one of them say, "you are not doing much to help the army," then saw her son caught and shaken by another of the soldiers.

Fearing that he was going to be arrested, she told her husband to

go out and see what was happening.

Mr. Peter McElhone stated that when he went out on the road, he saw one soldier leading his son up the road. He also saw another soldier crouched behind the hedge of a hayfield.

The soldiers then brought his son to the gate leading into the field and he observed his son walking down the field.

The next thing he knew was the sound of a shot ringing out, and he saw his son drop dead.

He asked one of the soldiers, "What did you shoot my son for?" The soldier replied: "Get into the fucking house, you slobber."

Two neighbors who arrived on the scene at the time of the shooting were also told that if they did not get out of the way they would also be shot. One of the neighbors was told by a soldier that they were paid \$500 for shooting fellows like him.

A British army doctor arrived to examine the body, and turned it over with his feet. No one else, except a priest and the dead man's brother, were allowed near the body for over three hours.

Local people described the dead man as a quiet worker who took no interest in politics, and whose only hobby was playing in the local accordion band.

This is how the "peace-keeping" force of British imperialism supposedly "prevents a bloodbath" in Northern Ireland. And this is why the bloodbath continues, and why the bombs continue to explode. □



The British Army has brought terror, internment and murder to northern Ireland. On "Bloody Sunday" in January 1972, thirteen demonstrators

for civil rights were gunned down. Over two years later, the bloodshed continues.

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Solidarity - The Answer To Protectionism

As the crisis of world capitalism grows sharper, competition on the world market becomes more savage. In their search for cheaper labor, the capitalists attempt to drag the workers into this competition. Whether this is done by forming multi-national corporations, by exporting capital or importing "foreign" goods, the capitalists try to hold down wages by threatening jobs at home.

The unions try to protect American (or British, or Japanese or German) jobs by protecting the position of "their own" American (or British, or Japanese, or whatever) employers.

They do this by drumming up "Buy America" campaigns, by boycotting goods produced in other countries, or by supporting legislation designed to erect various kinds of trade barriers.

In the past few issues of Workers' Power we have shown, in particular in the steel and garment industries, how this policy of protectionism is a disaster for the workers and, generally, how it fails to protect jobs.

There is, however, an alternative strategy for facing the very real problem of international competition.

Any labor strategy that deals

job carried out in cooperation with the CIA.

If this "aid" has any function, it is to help U.S. capital by creating docile unions with pro-U.S. leadership. This is done as part of the bigger policy of the U.S. government in supporting the very totalitarian governments that keep unionism down in the first place.

The political policy of the unions, however, can be changed—though we admit, right off, that it will take time and a mass rank and file movement to do it.

A real policy of international solidarity begins with material aid to unionists when they are in struggle—not with donations to various CIA fronts.

When garment workers in Hong Kong or Taiwan strike, or even think about striking, the U.S. garment unions, the ACWA and ILGWU, should offer financial assistance. U.S. workers should refuse to handle these struck goods.

Equally important is the need for continuous political support. The whole structure of what is called "foreign aid" is nothing but a means of bolstering capitalism throughout the world. It is strategically most important, however, that U.S. unions particularly support workers in coun-

American Teamsters, longshoremen, and railroad workers had been pressuring their unions to fight the Chilean regime and the U.S. government's support of that military dictatorship.

INTERNATIONAL BARGAINING

One of the most obvious ways to make international solidarity a reality is to establish international collective bargaining with the giant multinational corporations. For example, Van Heusen workers here and in Asia should bargain and strike together.

Again, in rare instances this has been done. A couple of years ago, unions throughout Europe called an international strike against Pirelli-Dunlop, the international tire makers.

Indeed, the shell of a structure for international bargaining has existed for years. Virtually every trade and industry has an international organization, usually called an international trade secretariat, connected with one of the three major international labor federations.

The trouble is that these federations and secretariats are run by the same pro-capitalist, over-fed, weak-kneed bureaucrats who run our unions and those elsewhere. Just as we need rank and file movements in the U.S. unions, so we need an international rank and file movement. Or, to put it another way, our rank and file movement must be internationalist in outlook.

We must fight in our unions for the kinds of policies and actions we have outlined, and we must oppose the protectionist policies put forth by the bureaucrats to head off internationalism.

We can demand worldwide bargaining. Since the top union leaders meet internationally, and since we can't trust them, we can also demand international meetings of local officers, stewards and so forth.

For example, why can't stewards from Chrysler plants in the U.S., Britain, Australia, Africa and other countries meet to discuss international bargaining strategy?

There is nothing utopian about international bargaining and solidarity. Today's labor bureaucrats, however, shy away from its revolutionary consequences.

They know that worldwide strikes and real support to workers fighting the rotten regimes spawned by international capital—that is, by imperialism—implies not only international trade unionism, but international political solidarity against these employers and governments.

And that, of course, is all too revolutionary for the well-paid, swivelled-chaired labor leaders of today.

The interests of the ranks of labor, however, lie in an effective fight for a better life. Every day capital, the employers, become more intensely international. To wage a successful fight, labor must follow suit.

International solidarity is not simply a sentiment; for the workers it is an absolute necessity. □

WORKERS OF THE WORLD,



DIVIDE UP INTO LITTLE GROUPS ACCORDING TO RACE, RELIGION, SEX, MINOR ECONOMIC DISTINCTIONS, NATIONALITY, AND THEN DISPERSE.

with the world market, and that is what we are dealing with, must be international in scope. As we have pointed out, capital seeks cheap labor in order to maximize profits.

From labor's point of view, everywhere, the central task is therefore to eliminate cheap labor.

But the workers of many Asian, African, and Latin countries are at a disadvantage. While in most countries these workers do have unions, they are weak in numbers and their unions short on resources.

Furthermore, in countries like Taiwan, South Korea, South Africa, and others the political regimes make life even more difficult for the unions. That is one reason why U.S., European, and Japanese capital flows into these countries in the first place.

The first thing U.S. unions can do is to aid and support these unions in their fights against their employers and regimes.

It will be argued, by George Meany, that U.S. unions do aid unions in these countries. This "aid" is mostly a political snow

tries where unionism tends to be the weakest, such as South Africa, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, and today Chile.

Even today's unions have, on rare occasions and in moderate forms, conducted such actions. The recent world Congress of the International Transport Workers Federation, representing transportation unions in 140 countries including the U.S., voted for an international boycott of Chilean goods in protest of the treatment of unionists by the military regime there.

Transportation workers of all kinds (truckers, longshoremen, railroad workers) will refuse to handle Chilean goods on September 18-19.

The original motion by Swedish unionists, calling for an indefinite boycott, was meant to aid the underground workers' movement in Chile. A compromise was reached when strong opposition came from, as you might guess, the U.S. union leaders.

In fact, the U.S. Brazilian, and Mexican unions have refused to participate. U.S. participation could have been a reality if



Harley-Davidson workers at strike rally.

Harley-Davidson Workers Call AMF Boycott

MILWAUKEE—1600 workers here are into the fourth month of a strike against the Harley-Davidson company and its parent conglomerate, American Machine and Foundry (AMF).

Their union, Local 209 of the Allied Industrial Workers (AIW), is demanding improvements in wages and working conditions and a cost-of-living escalator clause.

One of the important goals of the strikers is to develop coordinated bargaining with other AMF unions. Representatives of other AMF unions were invited, along with the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, to participate in the bargaining.

AMF strongly resists such developments. For the first two weeks of the strike, until a federal court injunction was issued against the company, AMF refused to meet with the union on the grounds that these "outsiders" were present.

The importance of union cooperation, even on an international scale, is critical when dealing with a conglomerate like AMF.

The company has been ready to pick up and move its operations. In 1972, for example, the Harley-Davidson assembly plant was moved from Milwaukee to Pennsylvania, where wages were lower and no union existed. The company also

makes motorcycles in Italy. AMF Chairman Rodney Gott once said: "I think American labor has to get used to the idea, sooner or later, that it is competing now on a global scale. If labor makes too much in the way of demands, it is going to be hurt."

The question now is who can do the most hurting: the company or the unions?

In order to apply more pressure, Harley-Davidson workers, through a rank and file group, the Harley Action Workers Group (HAWG), are calling for a nationwide boycott of all AMF products. Here is a list of AMF products. Don't buy them!

- Alcourt Saibotts
- American Athletic Equipment (trampolines)
- Ben Hogan Golf Equipment
- AMF Bowling Balls
- Crestliner Boats
- Cuno Filters
- Harley-Davidson Motorcycles, Snowmobiles, & Golfcarts
- Head Ski and Tennis Equipment
- Head Sportswear
- Koflach Ski Boots
- AMF Lawn and Garden Equipment
- Slickcraft Boats
- Tyrolia Ski Bindings
- Voit Sporting Goods
- AMF/Wheel Goods Bicycles
- Whitely Exercycles
- Wing Archery Products

CLUW Rally Helps Win Seattle Strike

A strike support rally sponsored by Seattle CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) helped win a settlement for 20 restaurant workers who had been striking since January. On August 26, Women's Equality Day, Seattle CLUW sponsored the rally in support of workers at Marie's Cafe.

Attending the rally were members of Teamsters, Farmworkers, Machinists, Electrical Workers, AFT, Amalgamated Transit Union, United Workers, SEIU, and Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders Union.

Last January the cafe changed hands. The new owner refused to continue the contract, leaving several workers without their pension and health plans after over 20 years of restaurant work. The women and men have been on strike ever since.

At the rally, a striking woman spoke of the abuses she and other women had endured on the picket line. The owners had spit on the

strikers, hurled rocks and eggs at them, and screamed obscenities.

A male striker told the assembled group of the owner's attempts to incite violence on the picket line. By abusing the women picketers, the owner hoped to provoke the striking men. Then another injunction against all picketing could be obtained.

Reaction to the rally by the community was extremely favorable. People were impressed with the show of unity by the labor movement.

The day after the rally the owners reopened talks with the Union. Exactly how much the rally had to do with their decision to meet with the union, after seven months of refusing such talks, we'll never know.

But the timing suggests that the rally had a significant bearing on their decision.

Wednesday of the following week the contract with Marie's Cafe was signed. □

...AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

With one stroke of the pen, Gerald Ford accomplished what Richard Nixon had failed to do in over two years. He took Richard Nixon off the hook.

When Ford was being confirmed Vice-President, he was asked whether as President he would have authority to pardon Nixon. He replied, "I don't think the public would stand for it." This may turn out to be a prophetic statement.

Ford's pardon isn't just for the crimes of the Watergate conspiracy, break-in and cover-up. It covers tax fraud, the Ellsberg psychiatrist break-in, extortion of campaign contributions, their illegal use to enrich Nixon's estates—and any other acts committed in office for which Nixon might ever be indicted under Federal law.

Such a sweeping, blanket pardon was not simply a gesture of mercy "to put the long nightmare of Watergate behind us." It was intended to put a halt to the continued investigation of the Nixon administration's crimes—many of which, we assume, have not yet come to light.

Gerald Ford's reversal of his earlier statement comes as no surprise. Workers' Power stated long before Nixon resigned (WP #86, November 1973), that a deal was being worked out. We said Nixon would resign in order to save the Republican Party and the political system in this country. In return he would be guaranteed that he would never stand trial or go to jail. The general script for the Nixon pardon, though perhaps not all the details, was written months ago.

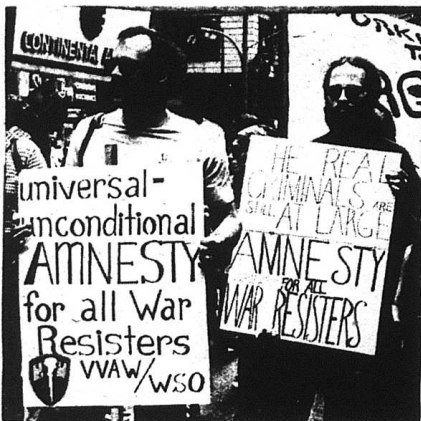
Millions of people are quite rightly outraged by the fact that Nixon is protected from ever answering for his crimes. But this scandalous pardon, issued while tens of thousands of people remain in prisons because they are black or poor, is the logical application of capitalist "justice" at the highest level.

When Richard Nixon resigned in the face of impeachment, the American people were told over and over again that the process proved that "our Constitution" and our political system "really work." In a way, we have to agree. The system works. The question is, for who?

We heard all the speeches in Congress about how "no man stands above the law"—and the Nixon pardon proves how much it was all worth. We heard all the speeches about Congress taking political authority back into its own hands—and Ford's pardon of Nixon proves that the entire structure of political power is exactly the same as before.

Gerald Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon is as much an "obstruction of justice," as much an "abuse of office," and as much a part of the Watergate cover-up as the acts committed by Nixon himself. Yet there will be no impeachment of Gerald Ford by Congress because Ford's actions are legal. The Constitution gives a President the right to pardon for just such an occasion—when the ruling class has gotten careless and caught itself in its own laws.

The capitalist system makes sure that the powerful, the privileged and the wealthy are well provided for. That is the real lesson of Watergate and Nixon's pardon. □



AMERICAN EXILE STATEMENT

On August 19, the new President, Gerald Ford, announced that while he rejects amnesty for war resisters, he also rejects revenge. He went on to offer a program of "earned re-entry" for what he called "the 50,000 of our countrymen loosely described as draft dodgers and deserters."

This program would involve investigation of each individual case and application of "a penalty to fit the individual mistake." As Ford himself was the first to admit, this is not amnesty. It is just a more sophisticated effort than that of Ford's predecessor to label war resisters as law breakers and to divide us from the majority who need amnesty: those now underground and in prison because of their active opposition to the U.S. war in Indochina, and the half million Vietnam era veterans with less than honorable discharges.

Significantly, Ford's statement did not mention the unpopular and illegal U.S. war in Indochina, which still rages in violation of the January 1973 Ceasefire Agreement.

Of course, the criminality of this war policy could not be admitted without granting universal and unconditional amnesty, and we believe that by continuing to struggle for total amnesty we are also waging a crucial "war to explain the war" to the American people, thereby building resistance to continued U.S. aggression in the Third World.

Ford has now launched a national debate and struggle on amnesty, which we should take up sharply. Some who wish for us to forget Nixon's crimes would like to trade "partial amnesty" for war resisters with full amnesty for Nixon.

But we want no part of such trade-offs—Nixon is a criminal and war resisters are not. The fight for amnesty is a battle for justice.

We are asking you who encouraged our resistance to the war, to now redouble your efforts to win universal and unconditional amnesty. Now is a most sensitive time, when your action could mean the difference between full amnesty or many more long months in exile, prison, underground, or suffering with less than honorable discharges, for those of us who resisted the war. We believe that the new Administration can and must be pushed until we win total amnesty.

Americans Exiled in Canada
P.O. Box 189, Station P
Toronto, Ontario

[Subscriptions to AMEX-CANADA cost \$5.00 and are available from the above address.]

CLUW LEADERS TURN OFF

As organizers for the Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders Union in Seattle we were excited at the prospects of Unions uniting to support striking Union people. As CLUW women we were enthusiastic about our chapter's first active strike support effort [See article on Seattle CLUW demonstration, p. 2—ed.]

Our enthusiasm quickly dampened as we saw the CLUW leadership's lukewarm stance on this rally.

After the rally had been planned and approved by CLUW, after we had secured our union's approval, cleared it with the attorneys, notified the pickets, the press, and about 24 labor unions, CLUW began to have doubts about the advisability of this activity.



YET MORE ON SHOCKLEY

Emmet Casey's letter in Workers' Power 103 is supposed to be a reply to my article on Shockley in WP 102. But I agree with almost everything Casey says. Except when he puts words into my mouth. Casey writes of "Felsenstein's

taken the form of breast-beating, mouth-foaming, temper-tantrums, with no one even attempting to answer Shockley's arguments.

When people see this kind of feedback show, they can draw only one conclusion: that Shockley must be right since no one can answer him. The press is given a perfect excuse to charge that socialists are against democratic rights for working people. This may not bother PLP which is against those rights. But the outcome of all of this is a great spurge of publicity for Shockley, all of it favorable.

Of course it is wrong to simply hope that if we ignore Shockley he will go away. But in demonstrating against Shockley we must make it clear that we have sound arguments against him, and that we are not demonstrating against democratic rights for working people. This is, as Casey says, a "purely tactical question." But it is a very tough one. Casey seems to be upset that there is any criticism by us of demonstrations against Shockley, so I do not see much sign that he has really given this problem much thought.

Joe Felsenstein
Seattle

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

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

assertion that it is unnecessary to demonstrate and disrupt the lectures of racists like Shockley, Jensen, Eysenck, and Herstein, or that such demonstrations only help the Shockleys." I made no such assertion and said no such thing.

What I did say was that the demonstrations which have been held against Shockley have helped him, which they have. Shockley tries to come on as Mr. Wizard, with graphs, charts, and supposedly scientific arguments. But the demonstrations against Shockley organized by such groups as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) have

...AND MORE

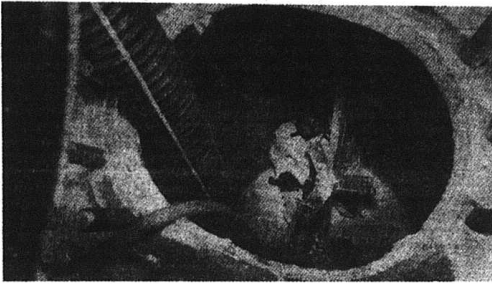
In discussing tactics against racists like William Shockley, Emmet Casey says, "Whether or not to disrupt such a speech is purely a tactical question—and one that does not compromise our principled defense of the right of freedom of speech." [Workers' Power #103, Feedback.]

Would he please explain this? It sounds very much like Doublethink to me: disrupting a speech while pretending to defend the right of freedom of speech.

Nietzsche once wrote, "Whoever battles with monsters had better see to it that he does not turn into a monster."

Needless to say, Shockley did not invent racism in this country. The economic and psychological causes of racism have very little to do with the free exchange of ideas. (viz.: Nazism did not triumph in Germany because of the failure of the

THE PLASTIC THAT KILLS



Worker cleaning vinyl chloride vat.

In the past year at least 21 cases of Angiosarcoma, a rare and deadly form of liver cancer, have been discovered among workers involved in the production of Poly-Vinyl Chloride (PVC). PVC is a common plastic used for pipe, phonograph records, floor tiles, and thousands of other products.

Over 1.6 million workers come in direct contact with PVC, while hundreds of thousands are involved in the actual manufacture and production of the plastic, and its conversion into products. 6500 people are involved in the conversion of the gas into a plastic. According to the government, that process is the most dangerous aspect of the industry.

Angiosarcoma has never been cured in history.

Knowledge of the danger from PVC is not new. According to the US Government publication, Occupational Health and Safety Reporter, "acute animal toxicity" was first associated with the plastic in 1938.

In 1949 in Russia, fifteen out of 48 workers involved in the conversion of the gas into plastic died from liver disorders. During the next seventeen years there were confirmed reports of liver, skin and other physical disorders among workers involved with the plastic in Rumania, France and Russia. In 1961 medical reports stressed that "important chronic toxicity" was found in PVC.

Yet it was not until February, 1974 that the US government started doing research into the question. It was made a top priority of investigation for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the National Institute of Health.

Until January of this year, government standards allowed up to 500 ppm (parts per million) in the air. When 200 mice were exposed to one tenth that amount (50 ppm) for seven months, two of them got liver tumors.

While a direct relationship has

not been established between this 1% rate of cancer in mice, and the plastic's effect on people, workers are exposed to much higher levels for much longer periods.

The standards have since been lowered to 50ppm. However, not only is this the level the mice were exposed to, but there is no bottom limit on the amount of a cancer producing agent necessary to have effect. Saying that 50ppm is safer than 500ppm is true, but it is much the same as saying that .38 in the head is safer than a .45.

The greater the amount of a cancer agent, the faster it will act, but as an official of the AFL-CIO stated, "The present standards [of 50ppm] have nothing to do with medical facts, but rather with corporation pressure."

The unions involved, (United Rubber Workers, Meatcutters and Teamsters) are demanding that the level be set at 1ppm, the lowest actually possible. The companies of course, are yelling that this would be a hardship. Last year, however, their PVC had a wholesale value of three billion dollars.

Even the present standards are not being enforced. In one Los Angeles plant, the government conducted the tests during shift change, when the machines were shut down.

The test results are kept secret from the workers involved. The workers have a very effective testing method of their own, however. PVC is odorless in less than 250ppm concentrations (five times the present standard).

One worker in a plastic pipefitting plant was asked by Workers' Power if she has even smelled PVC. "Ever smelled it? You can smell that shit a block away!" she

replied. Studies done by the AFL-CIO show that it would be quite possible to enact the level of 1ppm. Smaller plants producing less than 100 million pounds would have to use respirators, but most could be made air tight with engineering already available.

Angiosarcoma has an incubation period of 7-15 years before it can even be detected. PVC has only come into widespread use in the last 10 years, and we are only beginning to see its effects. It may already be too late for hundreds of

us, but tough controls must be initiated immediately if we are to save hundreds of other lives.

When dealing with such a deadly plastic, we do not have the time for the companies to run their tests, and postpone any further. Goodrich, Firestone, Union Carbide, Conoco, and the other companies involved with PVC production must make their plants safe to work in now.

When dealing with our lives we can not be concerned with the profits of the corporations. □

Richard Stockman



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Rules of Power

The news media went wild over the "orderliness" of transition from Nixon to Ford.

"No surging mobs, no frenzied speeches," bragged the newspapers. "Quiet transfer, unlike in some countries" (like countries plagued by CIA-sponsored coups?). "US life barely pauses." All according to procedure. Business as usual.

The Los Angeles Times philosophized that the inaugural ceremony is "designed to remind the central figure in it that his power flows primarily from a document written years ago, rather than from the crowd of the moment."

Power, the Times said, flows from a piece of paper! To what extent does this statement make any sense?

Political power or any other kind of power obviously cannot come from documents alone.

General Motors and Bethlehem Steel don't have power over their workers just because the contract and the work rules say they do. Companies make the rules by virtue of owning the factories and raw materials necessary for production.

People aren't afraid to break laws because of what is written in law books, but because the government has a police force to make people obey those laws.

So it's ridiculous to say that the power of the American President, or of anyone else, "flows primarily from a document written years ago." Documents don't create power where there is none—all they do is reflect and formalize the power relationships that already exist.

ORIGINS OF DOCUMENT

The Constitution of the United States is not some kind of holy document drawn up by saints to express their eternal wisdom. It was drawn up by specific human beings to achieve a certain purpose.

Specifically, the Constitution was created by the political representatives of the young American capitalist class. Its purpose was to consolidate their political and economic power after the British colonialist armies were driven out. The Constitution still exists because it has been very successful in fulfilling those aims for the last two hundred years.

So the power of a Gerald Ford or a Richard Nixon does not flow primarily from a document, in this case the Constitution, but from a class of people who find

that document useful. The capitalist class—industrialists, bankers, big stockholders—use that document to protect their property and to maintain their rule over the rest of society.

Of course the capitalists and their politicians violate the Constitution regularly when it suits their interests. Seeing as the Constitution forbids "involuntary servitude," there is just no way the draft can be constitutional, for example.

But basically the ruling class finds the Constitution, and the political structure it sets up, very useful. A major purpose of that structure is to prevent the "crowd of the moment"—poor and working people—from being able to change the government quickly and drastically in order to make it grant their needs.

It's that line about the "crowd of the moment" that gives it all away. The elaborate system set up by the Constitution—the separation of executive, legal, and legislative power, the further division of the legislature into two houses, etc.—is designed to prevent desires of the masses of the people from being rapidly translated into action at the top.

The idea is to make the system so ponderous and slow-moving that those who try to work "within the system" are trapped and bogged down in a bureaucratic swamp. The demands of poor and working people are watered down as they travel from one committee to another.

The process is intended to frustrate popular demands so that people will give up and sink into apathy. Meanwhile "those who are qualified" decided what's best. That's what the "business of government" in this society is all about.

In a socialist society, on the other hand, there wouldn't be any of this nonsense about power flowing from pieces of paper. Nor will elected officials be above the will of the people who elected them.

Representatives would be elected to represent, not to rule. They would be paid no more than the best-paid workers and would be immediately recallable by their constituents.

Representatives would know that their power flowed from nowhere else but from the people they represented. And they would know that if they ceased to represent those people their power would be taken away. □

people to silence Nazi speakers—it triumphed due to the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy, the failure of the workers' revolution, etc.)

Whether or not to disrupt speeches is purely a tactical question—for fascists only.

Marvin Mandell
Cuttyhunk, Mass.

THE AFL-CIO AND THE CIA

An examination of the role of the AFL-CIO in foreign affairs has begun inside the trade union movement in the U.S.

Caucuses in many unions around the country are examining the contents of a booklet compiled by a San Jose, California group established to aid the victims of the military junta in Chile.

The booklet, entitled *An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America*, and subtitled "Under the Covers With the CIA" was authored by Fred Hirsch, a member of San Jose Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 393.

Extensive documentation was provided that effectively charged that the American Institute for Free Labor Development, established in 1962 by the AFL-CIO to aid anti-socialist and anti-Castro unions in Latin America, has been a tool of multinational companies, the State Department and the CIA.

The charges were so disturbing that the AFL-CIO Santa Clara County Central Labor Council officially adopted a resolution that requested George Meany to answer the allegations.

Meany's response, after months of delay, was to fly in AIFLD executive William C. Doherty in an attempt to have the original motion rescinded.

Essentially, the group's research revealed that the AIFLD has worked throughout Latin America to create a mild form of unionism that would not endanger the aims of the U.S. government or American financial interests.

The study also effectively documents the interrelationship of the AIFLD with covert efforts by business and intelligence agencies to overthrow governments which the U.S. disapproves of and illustrates this with specific examples.

These include the recent coup in Chile, the 1964 overthrow of Goulart's elected government in Brazil, the right-wing takeover in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and successful actions to prevent the pro-labor and leftist party of Cheddi Jagan to maintain power in Guyana.

Groups financed and created by AIFLD all played significant roles in the widespread economic dislocation in Chile that culminated in the truck owners strike that paralyzed the transportation system and served as a final catalyst for the justification of the coup by the U.S. financed Chilean military.

The truckers themselves, according to Time magazine, have stated by that they were aided financially by the CIA.

The extensive documentation in Hirsch's booklet is too lengthy for inclusion here and readers are



urged to obtain copies from the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile, 316 South 19th St., San Jose, California 95116. \$1.00 donations for the lengthy booklet are asked for and proceeds are used to help the Chilean freedom movement. An extensive bibliography is included.

Rodney Larson
San Francisco

Chile Since The Coup: TERROR, TORTURE & FAS

1970—1973

September 1970—Salvador Allende and Popular Unity Coalition elected in a three-way race, with 36.2% of the vote. Allende is allowed to take office in November after promising to respect capitalist property and legality.

April, 1971—Popular Unity gains strength, receiving 56.9% of the vote in municipal elections.

July 1971—Government nationalizes three largest copper mines (Cerro, Anaconda, Kennecott), all US-owned.

August 1971—Allende initiates days of "socialist labor" in response to copper workers' strikes at nationalized copper mines.

December 1971—Economic situation deteriorates. Middle class housewives, supported by the capitalist Christian Democratic Party, organize "March of the Empty Pots" against rationing. This demonstration becomes the first mass focus of right-wing opposition to the government.

August 1972—Shopkeepers stage one-day strike in response to price controls.

October 1972—First "hunger strike" demands downfall of the government.

November 1972—As social conflict deepens, Allende tries to strengthen his position by bringing the military into his cabinet. Increasingly, the army is used to break peasant strikes and land seizures.

March 1973—Popular Unity maintains 44% vote in parliamentary elections, with overwhelming working class support. Military resigns from the cabinet.

June 1973—Allende and Popular Unity denounce striking miners at El Teniente mine as "traitors." Christian Democrats support the strike, driving some of the miners into the arms of the reactionaries.

June 29—First army coup fails. Military re-enters Allende's cabinet, and military press censorship is introduced.

July 1973—Second "hunger strike" begins. Workers mobilize to seize trucks and keep the economy moving, but government prevents them from doing so.

August 23—Generals once again resign from the Cabinet.

September 11—Generals seize power, murder Allende, establish four-man ruling junta and launch bloodbath against workers and the left.

September 21—Political parties banned.

September 23-26—Universities are taken over and massive purges launched. Junta restores state-owned factories back to previous capitalist owners. Mayors and Aldermen replaced by the military. Trade unions banned.

One year ago, on September 11, 1973, a military coup overthrew Chile's Popular Unity (Unidad Popular, or UP) government, headed by President Salvador Allende, who had been elected in 1970.

Allende himself was killed in the coup. Immediately on seizing power, the generals began a massive reign of terror to destroy all democratic rights and working class organizations in Chile. The last twelve months have been a year of torture and terror for Chilean workers and radicals who could not escape.

The catastrophe in Chile occurred because the Popular Unity government, which was dominated by the Socialist and Communist Parties, deliberately suppressed Chilean workers' efforts to organize their own struggle against the bosses.

Allende and his CP allied claimed to be following a "peaceful road to socialism." In fact their government remained committed to pro-

capitalist reform policies.

Meanwhile Chile's capitalists organized to sabotage these reforms, with assistance from the United States CIA. The resulting economic chaos allowed the generals and right-wing parties to mobilize the middle class against the Allende regime, and to organize the brutal and bloody coup.

Workers' Power tried to contact many Chilean refugees who are now living in countries around the world. We found that police forces in many countries, including Western Europe, are assisting the military dictatorship in Chile by intimidating and harassing these refugees and keeping track of all their activities. Many of those who escaped Chile during the coup still live in constant fear. We were, however, fortunate enough to obtain the following interview with a Chilean revolutionary socialist who is now living abroad.

Workers' Power: Can you describe the activities of the resistance movement and the struggles of workers in Chile since the military coup?

There have been a number of resistance activities in Chile since Sept. 11. The strongest, although short-lived, came in the first days of the coup.

On the 11th thousands of workers stayed in their factories, as ordered by the trade union leadership, in defiance of military orders that everybody should go home before 3 pm, when a 48 hour curfew was to begin.

Thus, poorly armed or in many places totally disarmed, these workers—the most advanced and class conscious workers of Chile, confronted full face the military.

This was the real military, not the fake military Allende talked about even up to his Sept. 11th broadcast.

I can relate to you one pathetic example of the final hours of some advanced, militant and misled workers.

As news of the coup was received, they called all the workers together and explained that "the moment has come." Now there was going to be a showdown with the reactionary forces.

They were able to persuade everyone to stay put in the factory and wait for orders and arms. After all, they were convinced that their political leaders had everything organized and under control for this long-expected event!

Well, as the soldiers entered the factory, the managers had simply to point out with their fingers each one of the agitators, who were shot right on the spot. Those that followed them closely were taken away, and the rest were sent home during curfew already in operation.

The UP was so concerned in avoiding a civil war but this was a war in which only one side was armed.

Besides the resistance which took place in factories mainly in Santiago, two other working class strongholds that come to my mind are the coal mines in Lota and the shantytown La Legua in Santiago, where to this day there is an uneasy calm.

The military is also faced with rural resistance, especially in the southern provinces of Cautin, Valdivia and to a lesser extent Osorno. The military is in control, but not quite full control.

By this I do not mean to say that this is only a minor setback, as the Communist Parties try to describe it. The Chilean coup was a crushing defeat.

The lack of complete control becomes apparent particularly by the continuous state of siege, night curfew, denial of basic freedoms, massive imprisonments, creation of a special Intelligence Agency (Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional—DINA) etc.

Although confronted with this massive military force, there have been countless incidents of defiance. For example, there have

been some attempted strikes, or strikes which have only lasted a few hours.

Since strikes are not allowed by the military, strike leaders have been indicted at the court-martials (Consejo de Guerra) for inciting workers to strike. The charge brought against them is termed "sabotage against the government."

Other types of common activity are arsons, dispersed incidents of sabotage, attempts against individual military men, writings on street walls and appearance of Communist Party (CP) leaflets (mainly in Valparaiso).

People are also beginning to talk much more openly against the government, especially in reference to the galloping inflation.

Workers' Power: Why did the overwhelming majority of workers believe in the UP government and continue to support it, even when it held back their struggles?

I think the answer to this lies in the traditions of the Chilean working class and the lack of a clear alternative. The CP was formed in Chile over 50 years ago, and the SP in the early thirties. These parties have a strong base in the Chilean working class.

During the three years of the UP government, and as of yet, there is still no revolutionary working class organization that can counterpose itself to the Chilean Communist and Socialist parties.

Although it should be pointed



Pro-socialist workers in the streets

out that by the end of 1972, these parties hardly had things under total control, as workers began to take matters into their own hands.

Nevertheless, both of these parties, no matter how poorly, have led the working class in numerous reform struggles. It will require a revolutionary alternative developed through the struggles of the workers, to break them away from their established leaders.

Many advanced workers saw the bankruptcy of the UP's "peaceful road to socialism" in the last year of Allende's regime, but did not have any organization or party to turn to.

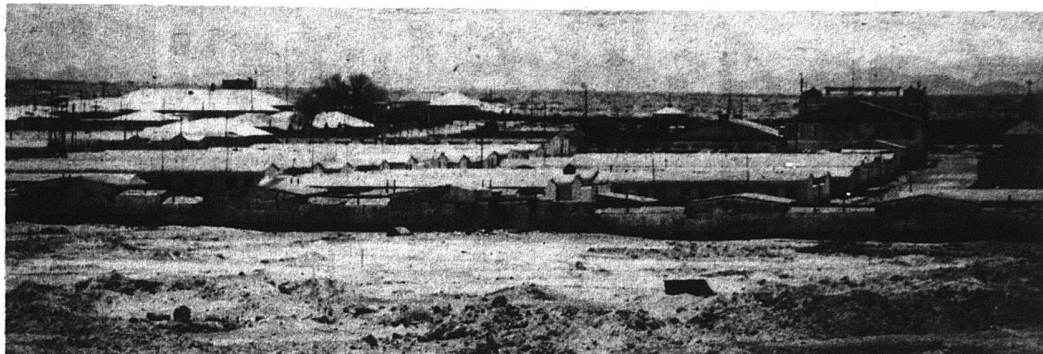
The MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), although critical of some aspects of the UP's program, was unable to break with it, or present itself as a realistic alternative.

I am a product of this tradition. I have to admit that I supported the UP before and during the first months of Allende's government. I felt, well, let's try it; it can't be worse than what we had before. At least people will have a little more to eat, more opportunities for education and some hope for a better life. Maybe it would work. I felt that Allende was an honest





of Santiago.



This picture is the first known photograph of the Chacabuco prison camp near the Pan-American Highway in Chile. This camp, like many others, is filled with supporters of the government which was overthrown in the

military coup. Photographing such camps, or any other signs of the brutal repression, is strictly forbidden.

working class but also among the middle class which is also feeling its effects.

By far, of course, the working class and the mass of unemployed are being hit hardest by the economic conditions.

The price of essential goods such as bread and sugar has been going up at such enormous rates that it has become common to hear women talk of how they had to cut from 2 kilos of bread to 1 kilo—and with the recent 50% increase, they would only be able to buy ½ kilo. (A kilo is about two pounds.)

A church organization in Chile, alarmed about this condition, has reported that thousands of people are faced with starvation.

This has also led to a rise in crime rate and the appearance of beggars again in the cities. Prices jump from one day to the next, up 50% or 100%.

The printing of tickets for example cannot catch up with inflation; they'll either change a number or later add a "0" at the end of the price.

The Junta is receiving financial aid, especially from the U.S., and many American firms are considering investments in Chile.

The Junta is also reporting record production of copper, but none of this seems to bring it any closer to patching up the economy so far, regardless of some optimistic predictions.

The military, playing its assigned role, has already agreed to nothing less than cash payments to Anaconda Company for its interests in the Chuquicamata and El Salvador mines.

They also report progress in the negotiations (sell-out) with Kennecott Copper Co. for its former share of El Teniente and La Exotica mines.

Workers' Power: What will be needed to resume the struggle for socialism, to restore democracy and overthrow the Junta in Chile?

What is needed is a revolutionary party based in the working class, that will completely transform Chilean society. Building such a party will not be an easy task, nor will it be done by just repeating the correct slogans in the proper order.

The party will have to be built in underground conditions, through the struggles of workers against these repressive conditions. As we see, these struggles are already resuming.

This involves a long process of workers organizing in the factories to regain their power, and at the same time uniting the working class through a revolutionary party so that the workers will be able to carry through a socialist revolution and take full control of the state.

We must unite all the disorganized yet revolutionary elements of the Chilean left. This would most likely come from the MIR, the left wing of the SP and MAPU (movement for Popular United Action), and other small groups.

These groups attracted working class militants who opposed the bureaucratic strategy of the Communist Party, which of all the organizations most consistently opposed independent initiative and struggle by rank and file workers.

This regroupment must make

clear that the only way to fight the current regime in Chile is through socialist revolution. Any revolutionary party in Chile would have to be able to win the rank and file workers from the Communist and Socialist Party leadership.

We must have unity in the fight against the junta for minimal democratic liberties, but it is important to keep independence in the inflexible revolutionary perspectives.

One immediate task is to lean, explain and assimilate the bloody lessons of the reformist Allende government.

The UP did not commit a series of minor tactical errors. They committed the most fundamental of all political mistakes by claiming to guide us toward socialism with the aid and collaboration of the supposedly "neutral" military and "progressive" capitalists—instead of through workers' control of production and a revolution carried out by the organized and armed Chilean working class.

Workers' Power: Can you comment on the relations between the Chilean military dictatorship and China?

Diplomatic and trade relations between the Chilean military junta and the People's Republic of China have, in the last year, reached an all-time high.

China's government not only did not break relations with Chile, as most countries did (at least for a while), but, together with the US embassy, was one of the two embassies in Chile where no asylum was granted while Chilean revolutionaries were being murdered in the coup.

No one in their right mind would have gone to the American embassy looking for safety. But, many Chileans affected by the romantic image of People's China tried unsuccessfully to get through the embassy's iron gates.

With Chinese officials' approval, the Chilean generals stationed special security forces with machine guns around the embassy.

Chilean papers printed the text of a telegram from General Pinochet, the organizer of the coup and bloodbath in Chile, to Chairman Mao on his birthday, expressing appreciation for China's "non-interference in Chile's internal affairs."

While workers in many countries have shown solidarity with the Chilean workers—including a worldwide boycott of transport to and from Chile during the days of September 18-19—the Chinese leaders have massively increased their trade with Chile.

On June 20 Chinese economic advisor Chang-Pei Tang officially informed Pedro Daza, director of economic affairs of Chile's Ministry of Foreign Relations, of China's desire to increase trade between the countries. Toward this end the two officials will carry out a series of high-level meetings.

Chile's exports to China include copper, nitrate, and other key mineral products. China sells Chile soy, food products and capital goods.

Millions For Murder

It comes as no surprise to learn that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was up to its neck in the three-year conspiracy to overthrow the government of Salvador Allende in Chile.

At the time of the coup Secretary of State Henry Kissinger swore that "The CIA had nothing to do with the coup, to the best of my knowledge and belief." But the facts, now known, are that CIA involvement and expenditures in Chile from 1970 on were coordinated by a secret intelligence committee headed directly by Kissinger himself.

This committee was not established by either Kissinger or Richard Nixon. It was set up by President John Kennedy to coordinate CIA intervention around the world.

Eight million dollars in CIA money is only a tiny fraction of the resources which US imperialism poured into the effort of overthrowing Allende. It does not include the sabotage of Chile's economy, organized by the US, through the refusal of international development loans and credit to the Allende government.

It does not include the private resources of the giant multinationals like Kennecott, Anaconda and ITT who organized, lobbied and plotted to protect their investments in Chile. It does not include the money spent by the AFL-CIO (partially sponsored by the CIA) to set up pro-US unions and cripple militant unionism in Chile and throughout

Latin America.

The CIA's involvement in Chile was covered up by a screen of official lies, even more successfully than the Watergate conspiracy. In the case of Chile, the criminals who organized the cover-up will not go to jail or be removed from office. They will continue to receive praise as protectors of "peace" around the world.

It is this very system of organized lies and cover-ups in US foreign policy, from Vietnam to Chile, that helps make domestic spying, wire-tapping and Watergate break-ins possible.

The tragedy of Chile is that the investments of US imperialism and its Chilean capitalist allies were not seized by the workers so they could never be returned. To accomplish this requires not only revolution in Chile, but also a revolutionary struggle right here, to smash the power of the corporate giants which dictate US foreign policy at the same time that they exploit workers in this country.

Until capitalism is destroyed here, US foreign policy will continue to be the organizer of murder and counter-revolution.

As a first step, we urge rank and file workers to begin building solidarity with Chilean workers by organizing for the September 18-19 boycott of all goods shipped to or from Chile. We must meet the capitalists' international solidarity with a united movement of our own.

No One Asks 'Rocky Who?'

When Richard M. Nixon announced his choice for a vice-presidential running mate at the 1968 Republican convention the standard joke was "Spiro what?" When Gerald Ford announced his choice for a second-in-command last month, nobody needed to ask who Nelson Rockefeller was.

Nelson Rockefeller is the grandson of the man who created the Standard Oil Company, massacred the Ludlow, Colorado strikers in 1914 and established the name of Rockefeller as one of the most important in the U.S. ruling class. Nelson has carried on the fine

traditions of this ruling class family by running for president more times than most people can remember and serving as the governor of New York longer than most New Yorkers care to remember.

He was responsible for the massacre of the prisoners of Attica. He is responsible for the New York drug law which gives life sentences to the most petty drug dealers and ignores the vast gangster syndicates which control drug traffic in this country.

However, Nelson is not being made vice-president because he does well what so many other governors have also done well. Rockefeller will be the vice-president because he has made a particular contribution to the development of a sophisticated ruling class foreign policy which disguises imperialist plunder with the cloak of "good neighborliness."

Nelson began his government career in the early days of World War II. Recently out of college and looking for a career suitable to his background, he got together with a few friends in the Latin American division of the State Department and began mulling over the problem of growing Nazi and Communist influence in Latin America.

(Suffice it to say, Standard Oil is only one of the many U.S. corporations with heavy investments in Latin America. Venezuela is sometimes referred to as "Rockefeller's Ranch.")

What The Group came up with was a program for "economic development," encouraging more U.S. investment in order to expand U.S. influence and hegemony over South America.

Nelson took The Group's program to Roosevelt who turned it over to New York investment banker James K. Forrestal. Forrestal thought the idea looked good, so Nelson was given the job of Coordinator of Inter American Affairs so he could implement it.

Among the "good neighbor" projects carried out was the spending of \$24 million in Mexico to increase Allied war production in the country (mostly U.S. owned companies) and to assist the Mexican government in rebuilding railroad trunk lines to guarantee the flow of raw materials to these U.S. companies.

Of course, not all the agency's programs were so successful. A propaganda program Rocky approved made his agency the laughing stock of the State Department. The program was a series of advertisements showing a well-dressed young South American couple travelling through the United States marvelling at the glories of a "democratic" society, and inspired by the sight to save South America from Nazis and Communists.

Not only did the agency end up placing the ad in several pro-Nazi newspapers, but during the months the ads appeared all travel to the United States from Latin America was cut off by German submarine activity in the surrounding waters. The economic crunch in most of the countries was so bad that very few well-dressed young couples could have afforded the trip if it had been possible.

In spite of such failures, Rocky's efforts as coordinator of Inter American Affairs earned him a promotion to Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs. In 1950, Truman made him chairman of the International Development Advisory Board and director of Partners in Progress, another ruling class con game to rip-off Latin American resources. When administrations changed, Rocky made a smooth transition to being a special advisor in foreign affairs to Eisenhower.

While Rocky was making foreign policy decisions for Democratic and Republican presidents, he and his brothers were also carrying out

allite private enterprise in foreign affairs.

In 1947, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, a trust set up by John D., Jr. to protect his boys' money from taxes, launched the International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC). The corporation "intended to help raise the standard of living in the localities involved—chiefly Latin America—and to return a profit, if possible, to the investors."

Nelson was president of the corporation when it began. He was also president of the non-profit American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA). AIA was supposed to clear the way for the investments made by IBEC. Its task included providing health care, education and research and credit facilities in the areas where IBEC would operate.

The facade of "good neighborliness" aside, AIA's real job was to make sure when the corporations came in, there would be a healthy, educated cheap workforce available to run the factories.

Needless to say, IBEC did return a profit. When it began in 1947, it had capital of \$2 million. By 1965, it was returning a profit close to \$3 million and had assets over \$142 million. AIA, its partner in exploitation, was almost completely funded by IBEC and in 1961 was spending \$1 million.

ROCKEFELLER'S DETENTE

In 1967, the Rockefellers, through IBEC, established a detente of their own with the Stalinist countries in a multi-million dollar deal to provide U.S. financing and technical know-how for the construction of rubber, aluminum and glass plants in Russia, Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Today, Nelson Rockefeller's son, Rodman, C., is vice-president of IBEC and the corporation has

expanded to include other U.S. capitalists and corporations. The ruling class knows how to share its wealth—with each other.

For all of his efforts to "develop" Latin America and make it safe for U.S. investment, Rockefeller has received the Order of Merit of Chile, the National Order of the Southern Cross of Brazil and the Order of the Aztec Eagle of Mexico. He helped repay his gratitude to Chile's ruling class when he and his brother David cut off all credit to Chile through the Chase Manhattan Bank (another Rockefeller enterprise) when Allende was elected president.

Rockefeller's influence in foreign affairs has not been only through his own activity. Among the Rockefeller proteges which have played a leading role in U.S. foreign policy are John Foster Dulles, the man responsible for thinking up the CIA, and the infamous Henry Kissinger, head of the secret team which coordinated the CIA's activities in Chile from 1970 on.

In 1960, George Lipset said Rockefeller "...will ultimately prove to be the true representative of the revived pattern of direct participation in politics by members of the upper class."

Lipset, however, was wrong. The "upper" class, the ruling capitalist class, has always played a direct role in politics. They own and control the economy. The government is the formal structure through which they exercise control of the whole society.

What Rockefeller has proved to be is one of the members of the ruling class who prefer to let others run the corporations while he hangs around the halls of government implementing domestic and foreign policies designed to benefit the corporations and ensure the continued rule of the capitalist class.

Mary Franklin

The housing crisis solved for one man's family....



Seal Harbor, Maine...



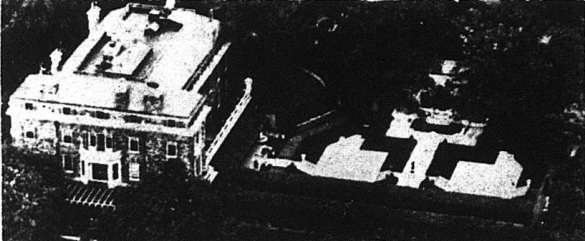
Fifth Avenue, New York...



Washington D.C....



Venezuela...



the outskirts of New York City...



and the vice-presidential mansion.

RESISTANCE GROWS TO UFW APPEAL TO BORDER PATROL

Increasing resistance is developing in the ranks of the United Farm Workers and boycott supporters to the UFW policy calling for the strengthening of the border patrol to stop the flow of undocumented workers (so-called "illegal aliens") into the U.S.

No one objects to the UFW trying to stop scabs, whether "legal" or "illegal." Workers' Power, for example, and many militants have long urged the UFW to take more aggressive action in stopping scabs.

What is at issue is the UFW's campaign to get letters to U.S. Attorney General Saxbe asking him to strengthen and use the border patrol against undocumented workers.

Many boycott offices have tried to quietly shelve the campaign, although the UFW central office in La Paz is now demanding that the campaign be picked up. Several

staff members in Florida have been fired because they refused to participate in the campaign.

When Cesar Chavez paid a visit to striking farm workers in a Southern California town, he was told by the strike leadership they would have nothing to do with the UFW if the union persisted in its campaign against undocumented workers.

Boycott supporters across the country are circulating letters among UFW supporters protesting the campaign and asking the UFW to change its policy. The letters will be sent to UFW headquarters in La Paz, California.

The Union has responded to criticism and resistance to the campaign by avoiding the real issue.

An editorial in the UFW newspaper, El Malcriado (July 31), attacks the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for its corruption and collusion with the growers in

allowing undocumented workers to be used to break the UFW strikes.

The editorial accurately concludes: "...the INS is nothing more than a marionette of the growers and has been part of the oppressive apparatus, along with the courts, police, and labor contractors, that is being leveled against the United Farm Workers of America."

The UFW takes an excellent stand on the general principles: "The UFW believes that any Mexican or worker from any other country has the right to immigrate to the U.S. to seek a better life for himself and for his family."

"But at the same time, all immigrant workers must be allowed full democratic and civil rights as granted by the constitution, including the right to collective bargaining."

The editorial says, "...for the sake of farm workers and for the future of their children, the UFW

takes an unequivocal stand against the use of "illegals" to impede unionization: in the agricultural fields of the Southwest."

What the editorial fails to mention or explain is the specific campaign of the UFW which calls for the border patrol to close the border and keep undocumented workers out of the fields.

In the first place this means strengthening the major institution of oppression of the 6 to 10 million undocumented workers in the U.S.

Secondly, as the UFW documents so well, the INS is the tool of the growers and the other capitalists.

The INS has already responded to the UFW campaign by saying that it needs to enlarge the border patrol. But it is naive to believe that this increased strength or anything else will turn the INS into a tool for building a union.

What should follow from the UFW's own analysis of the situa-



tion is a campaign not to strengthen La Migra but to abolish it and secure full legal rights for all workers. At the same time, the union itself should take on the task of getting scabs out of the fields.

This can be done by winning over the scabs to the union's fight; or, by scabbing mass action in the fields to make scabbing an unsafe occupation.

James Morrison

Big Sellout In Phone

On September 6, Glenn Watts, President of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) announced that the tentative national agreement reached three weeks earlier with the Bell System had been accepted by the CWA membership by a vote of two to one.

The settlement will leave all telephone workers worse off than they were. The first year wage increase of 7.1% to 10.7% will not even make up for money lost to inflation last year. The second and third year increases are 3.3% maximum, with a possible 8-9% cost of living increase.

The CWA News calculates the three year increase, including cost-of-living to be 31.15%. With inflation running 12-15% this will leave telephone workers poorer each year.

CYNICISM OR FRAUD?

Western Electric Installers in New York learned the meaning of the new contract even before the ink was dry. Mass lay-offs there were followed in September by a cut in the work week—and, of course, in pay—to 32 hours. This method of sharing lay-offs has not been used by AT&T since the Depression of the 1930's.

The two to one vote in favor of

this settlement has been attributed to cynicism about the ability of the CWA leadership to fight for anything better.

A New York Shop Steward told Workers' Power that most people felt that the union had "done nothing at all for the membership," but that many workers felt you just couldn't expect more from Glenn Watts.

Plenty of CWA members believe that the large majority for the contract was simply a fraud. A Detroit repairman expressed this opinion to Workers' Power and added that he felt that future contract votes should be done at union meetings so you could see where everyone stands.

In arguing for this lousy settlement, in the pages of CWA News, Watts cautioned against the dangers of "emotional release." That is, "we" mustn't give in to our desire to fight the company. Watts said:

"These 1974 negotiations pushed the Bell System to the very end. I do not believe we could have achieved more this year with a strike. Yet, how sweet would have been the elation of the hero leading you on strike—but how wrong, how very wrong would have been that act knowing full well that it was for nothing more than the sheer

pleasure of giving Ma Hell."

The picture of Glenn Watts being a hero is too ridiculous to deal with. But, what he is saying to the members of CWA is what many already believed: I, Glenn Watts, will not fight for a better contract under any circumstances.

OUTRAGES

The sad fact is, that the ranks of CWA were not organized to be able to force a real fight with the Bell System.

So long as the rank and file remain disorganized within the CWA, Watts will be able to get away with outrages like this year's bargaining. And, so long as Watts has the current selection of spineless local leaders fronting for him, he will be that much safer.

Plant and Traffic workers in the big city locals of CWA had better start organizing now to get rid of these local leaders. They must send opposition delegates to next year's Convention, and get rid of Watts and the flunkies who clutter the International Executive Board.

Any bunch of union leaders who expect the ranks to believe that talking with the Bell System will win as much as a real strike are either fools or liars, or both. □

Brian Mackenzie

FIGHTING BACK

Dave Newman is a telephone worker in New York City, a member of Communications Workers of America (CWA), Local 1101. Until recently one of 55 chief stewards in a district of 12,000 members, he is also a leader of United Action (UA), a rank and file opposition group in the CWA.

Last month, the CWA negotiated a new contract with the phone company. President Glenn Watts "won" an agency shop (everyone must pay dues), but fell short on working conditions and wages. United Action organized an opposition to the sellout. In a recent interview with Workers' Power, Dave Newman tells about this fight, and what can be done in the future.

Workers' Power: Dave, let's start with United Action itself. Tell us something about the way it works.

Dave: UA has been in existence almost four years. We've seen a lot of people come and go through the ranks of UA but there's a hard core that's still around.

We're most widely known through our newsletter, which comes out sporadically, but averages out to about every six weeks, plus we issue leaflets when needed. That's the form through which most people in the Local know us.

Also we're very visible generally at membership meetings, stewards' meetings, etc. We present motions, we leaflet at the meetings. We hold fairly regular meetings to which we invited any interested 1101 member, or any interested telephone worker, I should say.

We're also, not co-incidentally, involved in shop-floor struggles, and by and large, United Action members are leaders in shop-floor struggles in their particular buildings.

CONTRACT FIGHT

WP: What sorts of things did UA do in the recent contract fight?

Dave: Back around January of 1974, or even earlier, UA started to formulate its ideas of what the essential issues in the contract should be. We began an educational campaign to talk about things like automation, absence control, inflation, grievance procedure, etc.

We attempted to raise what we thought were the most serious issues and force them upon the leadership of the Local.

A little bit later on, we were instrumental in forming a group called the Membership Contract

Committee, which consisted of UA and other rank and file people who were mobilized specifically around fighting for a good contract. We put pressure on the local leadership to use the Local's power—nationally—to organize for a good contract.

The Membership Contract Committee issued a series of leaflets. The first two stated who we were and why we were together. And the next leaflets—each had a particular topic, for example, grievance procedure, inflation, automation,

things like that.

With each leaflet, the rough draft was circulated throughout the Local. We tried to get as many rank and file leaders and people who were respected in the Local to endorse the leaflets, and then we put the leaflets out over these people's endorsements. And we had a significant impact as a result of that.

WP: Explain what you mean by "rank and file leaders."

Dave: Well, there are many. A large number of individuals in the



Dave Newman of United Action

CWA officials had said that this would be "the year of traffic" in bargaining. Rank and file workers hoped that meant something would be done about the poverty-level pay and intolerable working conditions that operators face.

Once the details of the agreement were announced, it was clear Watt's "outstanding settlement" had done nothing about these crucial traffic issues:

Harassment: The constant monitoring, no talking rules, and regular suspension for trivial errors will continue. Strong contract language preventing these things and the right to strike over grievances to back it up was needed. Not a word about any of this in Watts' agreement.

Hours: The hours which totally dominate the operator's life—split tours and late shifts—are a big concern. Six hour tours was the kind of solution that was

popular across the country. Watts' solution was to knock a half hour off the eight hour day shifts—the premium hours only a few get.

Pay: Top traffic pay is as much as \$80 a week below top plant pay. The training required for most traffic jobs is now as long as that required for many plant jobs, destroying the myth that the pay difference is due to skill.

A \$50 a week increase for everyone was needed to begin closing the gap. Watts got a percentage increase that further widens the difference between plant and traffic.

As it usually does, job harassment had let up in the weeks before the contract expired. It began again immediately after the tentative agreement was announced—a cruel indicator that this wasn't going to be traffic's year after all. □

Ed Kearney

Local who as individuals, or as representatives of their shops—as stewards and chief stewards, have been and still are in the forefront of the fight. Both in terms of the direction and control of the Local, and in terms of shop-floor struggles. These are the people UA initially addresses itself towards.

UA as a group is too small to do things itself, but we think our message and our ideas receive a response from the very individuals who are the actual leaders on the shop floor, and who are the fighters for union democracy. What we do is attempt to provide a program and organization these people can operate in.

WP: You said earlier that UA was getting a greater response now than in the past within Local 1101. And there's also been great interest in UA in other cities. Why do you suppose this is happening? Is a "new telephone worker" developing?

Dave: I don't think there's a new telephone worker. Conditions are changing, the workforce may be younger than it was 10 or 15 years ago.

I think what's happening is the union's doing less when it should be doing more, and people have to respond.

SELF DETERMINATION

WP: What about the national political scene—Watergate, the Vietnam war, the black movement; have these things had an effect?

Dave: There's definitely a connection, no doubt about it. The obvious connection—between what is happening in national politics, the two major parties, with what's

happening in the union, the union officialdom.

And there's also a very definite connection, especially among black workers but also most of the younger workers, around the question of self-determination, to one extent or another, self-organization. When you want something and you feel you'll have to get together with other people and try to achieve it. And that's definitely a factor.

NATIONAL OPPOSITION

WP: What would you tell telephone workers in other cities who read this? What should they be doing now that the contract has been "ratified"?

Dave: I'd tell them to contact United Action. We're very interested in working with people and helping people in other Locals around the country establish their own rank and file groups.

We're definitely interested in forming a real national opposition within CWA and we feel there's a real need. In fact, we feel these groups will spring up with or without us, because there's that need.

People already are in motion, as evidenced by the number of wildcats the past summer around the contract. Spontaneous sentiment isn't enough—you need organization and a program. And it's a long, hard fight.

But we're going to win, because we represent the rank and file. And that's all there is to it.

To get in touch with United Action, write to: United Action, Box 283, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York 10011. □

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Regardless of when your subscription expires, you can renew it at the old rates until October 15.

THE NEW LEFT—

END OF AN ERA

JOEL GEIER



In our last column we discussed the failures of the radical movement of the 1960's. The movement was isolated from the working class and unable to develop a coherent strategy, organization or program.

Consequently it was repeatedly drawn off into dead end strategies. Terrorism, reliance on liberal Democrats or separatism were adopted as shortcuts or substitutes for the long-term organization of the working class for its self-emancipation.

The defeat of the movement in 1969-70 set back the struggle for black liberation and radical social change. These last five years have been a period of stagnation for radical politics.

There has been an absence of mass struggle and reactionary ideas have been allowed to flourish unchallenged. The Watergate crisis occurred without a radical alternative or mass movement from below arising.

Nonetheless, these years have also seen a profound change occurring in the movement. The politics of the left have altered, and a new synthesis of radical politics is emerging.

CRISIS AND THE LEFT

The political change within the left is due to three interrelated factors. First there is a growing understanding of the causes of defeat. Second, those radicals who remained active have changed the class base of their activity

from campuses to factories and working class communities.

Third, the American economy has changed from the stability and prosperity of the '60's to the crisis of the '70's.

The locus of struggle and radical activity today is in the factories, offices, white collar jobs and unions.

Most radicals who entered the profession or universities have been housebroken and peacefully coexist with their bourgeois environment. Not so many of the radicals who are in industry, white collar, service or teaching jobs.

The crisis of capitalism, inflation, unemployment, and productivity drives have kept them from being absorbed into the status quo. The conditions which first

led them to radical politics—opposition to racism, sexism and the lack of control over the decisions which shape their lives—they now find repeated on the job.

As a part of the working class, they have had their consciousness changed by their own life and work experiences, and by those of the people with whom they work and whose daily lives they share.

These surviving cadres of the radical movement have brought these changes in their lives and consciousness into the radical movement, so that a different set of radical politics is emerging.

DISCOVERING MARXISM

The change began by rejecting the basic assumptions of the New Left—that the American working class was no longer potentially revolutionary, and that a new agency for social change must be found.

This theoretical foolishness was given the academic seal by Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse maintained that capitalism had solved its material problems. His main idea was not that the masses of people had too little of the world's riches, but too much; that workers were consumers hopelessly caught up in consumption.

These ideas could only masquerade as radicalism in a time of prosperity. They could appeal to a social group which had few economic problems but did face problems of oppression.

The problems of capitalism are, however, real. They flow from the social relations of class society, relations which people enter into in the basic productive process of society, and which they are socialized to accept. According to Marxist theory, these oppressive relations produce a class struggle, which is the vehicle for progress and change.

The theory that capitalism has solved its material problems is a rejection of the Marxist theory of the contradictions of capitalism. This conclusion leads either to reformism—for, after all, if capitalism has solved its fundamental economic problems then why can't it solve its unattractive features like racism and sexism?—or to concentrating on one's own individual problems.

The only other alternative, adopted by more militant elements in the New Left and the black left, was to look for a new agency of social change in the lumpen, students, a "new working class," or the slightly more sophisticated version of a multi-vanguard made up of students, women, blacks, gay people, or anyone else in motion.

The failure of all these attempts has brought the left back to the recognition that the working class is potentially revolutionary. It is the only class in society whose labor is socialized by capitalist production itself, and whose struggles are therefore collective.

It is the basic contradictions of capitalist economy which impel workers into struggle. The dynamic of working class struggle is towards collectivism, democracy and workers' control—that is, toward socialism.

ORGANIZE FOR REVOLUTION

It is from this class standpoint that the other political changes which are now occurring in the left result. The left is now moving toward understanding the need for serious revolutionary politics and serious revolutionary organization.

In giving up the utopian quest for "new agencies for social change," the left has also had to give up vague talk of social change and face the question squarely—reforms within capitalism will not solve the fundamental problems. What is required is revolution and it is only the working class which has the power to fundamentally trans-

form society.

This understood, many of the problems of the '60's fall into place. Community organizing projects are now recognized for the hand-aid approach they are.

Recognizing the working class as the agent of social change has also led the new radical movement to understand the need for black and white unity and for unity in struggle between men and women. The separate struggles and separate movements which failed in the '60's must not be abandoned, but drawn together in one general revolutionary movement.

It is the working class, which is neither black nor white, male nor female, but which contains all of these elements and welds them together into one fighting force in struggle, which presents both the possibility and the only hope for unifying the struggles of different groups.

Collectively at work, workers of different races and sexes are disciplined to work together and struggle together. In this racist society, it is only the workplace which forces white and black workers to confront common conditions.

While many difficulties must still be overcome to achieve this unity, the recognition of its necessity is a great achievement from the level of radical politics in the '60's.

BUILDING A PARTY

Flowing from these positions the left is now beginning to understand the necessity for building a revolutionary party to bring together the local, fragmented struggles and to turn them into a cohesive force capable of revolutionizing society.

The ferment of these ideas has unleashed a debate on the left as to the correct strategy, tactics, organization and program to achieve these goals.

In the last four years these ideas, which are Marxist ideas, have won out in the period of defeat. Now that the left is recuperating from the defeat and starting to organize a new movement, we look forward to excellent prospects.

When brought together by revolutionary Marxist theory, the tremendous dynamism of the movements of the '60's, their concern with racism, sexism, opposition to American imperialism, and the desire to have the power to control one's own life, can produce a powerful revolutionary workers movement in the '70's.

Steinem Stopped

Bay Area union women have just won a victory against one of their strongest opponents, Dianne Feinstein, Chairman of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

A recent item in the San Francisco Chronicle announced that Gloria Steinem of Ms. Magazine would be the key speaker at a \$35-a-plate lunch for Feinstein's political war chest. Feinstein, endorsed by NOW in the last election, scabbed against the workers of Service Employees Interna-

tional Union (SEIU) #400 in the recent city strike by crossing a picket line of women strikers to do volunteer work in a city hospital. She has further angered union members by sponsoring a charter revision which would permanently restrict wage gains by city workers, mostly women.

The announcement of Steinem's implied support sparked protesting letters from members of working women's organizations, including Union WAGE, CLUW (Coalition of

Labor Union Women), and several unions. Ms. Steinem, who attended CLUW's founding conference last March, was threatened with a picket line of several hundred union women; she has cancelled her appearance for Feinstein.

Hopefully this reminder that working women must support each other will cause other women's groups to re-evaluate their past support of Feinstein. □

Laura Barnett



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reviews

movies

Polanski's Chinatown

[Chinatown. Directed by Roman Polanski. Screenplay by Robert Towne. Starring Jack Nicholson, Faye Dunaway, and John Huston.]

Detective Jake Gittes (Jack Nicholson) doesn't usually go for your melodramatic cases; he sticks to the more profitable business of photographing unfaithful spouses. But when he unwittingly becomes involved in the blackmail of the Los Angeles Water Commissioner, he decides to dig into it because he wants to nail the big guys behind it.

"They're probably the kind of guys that the judge who handles the suit eats lunch with," remarks his assistant. The wisecrack is closer to the truth than he knows.

Chinatown is a suspense-murder mystery in the 1930's tradition, but the substitution of real-estate swindlers for the usual gangsters gives it closer to home.

The story is based on a true case of a land rip-off, the Owens Valley—San Fernando—Los Angeles water swindle, which took place in the early part of this century. As in the historical incident, big money interests convince Los Angeles citizens that the city is running out of water, by draining water from the reservoirs and dumping it into the sewer system at night.

The citizens are thus duped into voting for a multi-million dollar water system which, as it turns out, doesn't bring water to Los Angeles at all. Instead it irrigates the San Fernando valley, where the real estate dealers who have just bought the land for \$5 to \$20 an acre are now selling at \$1,000 an acre.

In the movie the financial syndicate has been condensed into one person, and a personal intrigue involving incest has been attached to the real estate story. It takes more than politics to liven up a Saturday night.

The setting has been changed to

the '30's, probably to capitalize on the nostalgia trend, (although anybody who misses the Great Depression will probably soon get more of a taste of the past than they bargained for).

REAL FEAR

Director Roman Polanski succeeds better than any other movie-maker in bringing real fear to the screen. A man well acquainted with horrors himself, (he grew up in Nazi-occupied Poland), he has developed techniques of making the audience feel for the victims in a way that is far removed from the bloodless violence of TV or the bogeyman fear of *The Exorcist*.

You can sympathize with the characters because they are neither all-powerful heroes (Nicholson goes through half the film with a ridiculous-looking patch on his nose, and bumbles in the end), nor stereotypes (Faye Dunaway does not play the usual helpless female).

You can fear with them because the dangers they face are grounded in reality. When detective Gittes shouts to Mrs. Mulway (Dunaway), "Let the police handle this!", she indicates the financier, and shouts back, "He owns the police!" That's real fear.

Chinatown is where both Gittes and the police detective used to work. They didn't like it, and they wanted to get away. At one point Mrs. Mulway asks Gittes about it: "What did you do in Chinatown?"

"I worked for the District Attorney."

"Doing what?"

"As little as possible."

What is then a joke becomes a tragedy. By the time the film ends—in Chinatown—you realize that Chinatown is where the common people are herded around and treated like shit, where money gets whatever it wants, and where the police do "as little as possible" to

interfere with the scheme of things. This time it costs a life.

The rich and the police treat Gittes and his lover with the same callous arrogance that he uses on the Chinese. He can never get away from Chinatown. It is a model of the social order, and the social order is everywhere. □

Marta Pielka



"Good Times" Fantasy

[Good Times, CBS-TV.]

The TV series "Good Times" portrays the life of a working class black family in a Chicago housing project. Created and written by blacks, the show consciously avoids the racism of "Amos and Andy" and the phony, white-oriented integrationism of "Julia."

The acting is generally good, and the characters are strong, resourceful individuals. Their language, mannerisms, and clothing, show a sensitivity to life in an urban black ghetto.

Such physical details as the window view of the project, the concrete brick walls, the portrait of Christ, and the chains on the door, also contribute to the setting. Even the situations and problems which arise are those faced by similar families.

But in spite of all these promising aspects, the series in fact creates a fantasy world in which social problems can successfully be solved on an individual basis. In order to do this, the show must finally lie about the real situation.

The project which "Good Times" is modeled after is Cabrini-Green in Chicago. The real apartments are small, dirty, and infested with vermin. There is an average of one murder per week. The broken

elevators, jokingly referred to in the show, are often stopped between floors, where residents are robbed, raped, or murdered without interference. The police rarely venture in, even on a call for help.

ISOLATED

The fictional Evans family lives untouched by the harshest realities of ghetto life. The action takes place mostly inside one room, isolated from the harshness outside.

The children, while entertaining and lively, are by no means equipped to survive. Jay-Jay is clownish, extroverted and artistic. Sixteen year-old Thema possesses an innocent beauty and sweetness. Young Michael is an idealistic militant.

How do these children survive the threats of drugs, gangs and violence? Since the question is never posed, we do not know how they would manage.

The biggest failing of the series is the way in which it deals with the problems that it does pose: poor education, deteriorating housing, poverty, employment discrimination. In "Good Times" these problems result either from a misunder-

standing or else have a simple answer. No one ever needs to confront their source.

For example, in one episode Michael is suspended from school for calling George Washington a "white racist." During the discussions, the deficiencies and racism of the school system are revealed, but never developed nor challenged.

The "solution" is that Michael must return to school, apologize, and learn what he can from the system because "the black man's day will come" later.

It might be argued that "Good Times" is just comedy, just supposed to be funny. But it is obviously more than that. In fact, much of our laughter comes from the pointed remarks about racism and poverty, and is tinged with bitterness.

DIGNITY

Despite its problems, "Good Times" enjoys a well deserved popularity, especially among the black audience. Viewers know well enough that its portrayal of many things is unreal, but it is infinitely more true to black experience than most of what TV has ever presented. □

Sandra McCullery



"Good Times" is infinitely more true to black experience than most of what TV has ever presented.

Convention Report

The fifth National Convention of the International Socialists, held Labor Day weekend in Detroit, marked a year of successful political and organizational consolidation for the I.S.

Forty-nine delegates from branches across the country discussed and adopted a series of resolutions summarizing the theoretical views of the I.S. on the world crisis and outlining action perspectives for the organization in the coming year.

A total of 170 members and friends registered for the Convention. Fraternal delegates were also seated from the Socialist Collective, a revolutionary organization based in Los Angeles.

During the past year, IS branches carried out theoretical discussions concerning our analysis of the crisis facing capitalism and Stalinism. This analysis lays the basis for our revolutionary perspectives. At the same time, branches have worked to extend our efforts to build rank and file opposition movements in the major industrial unions.

The Convention discussions showed that these efforts, while by no means completed, made substantial progress in the last year. Because of this the IS is prepared to expand its activities and will be able to grow rapidly, both in numbers and influence, in the coming months and years.

The National Secretary's report to the Convention emphasized that the IS has developed a national leadership that works together and is capable of taking initiative and giving real direction to the work of the organization.

In the next year, equally effective leadership bodies, democratically responsible to the membership, must be built up in IS branches, trade union fractions and the National Committee.

The resolution on the crisis of the 1970's submitted by Michael Stewart, "The Decline of American Imperialism and the Growing World Crisis," examined the 20-year post-war capitalist boom and the contradictions which are now reappearing. The heart of the analysis in this resolution is that the crisis in capitalism was postponed by massive arms spending, in the form of a permanent arms



Marilyn Danton
I.S. National Secretary

economy dominated by the United States.

An alternate resolution, submitted by David Miller, argued that the boom was not based on arms spending, but on techniques of government regulation of the economy, which centralized capital and also increased the flow of capital into the US from exploited countries. The Miller resolution was defeated and the Stewart resolution adopted by a large majority following debate.

The Convention then discussed and adopted a basic resolution presenting our theory of the class nature and crisis of countries like the USSR, Eastern Europe, China and Cuba, where the ruling class claims to represent socialism.

The resolution explained that although all factories and wealth are nationalized in these societies, they are not socialist at all. They are dominated by a bureaucratic ruling class which controls the economy through the state apparatus, and which brutally exploits the working class to increase its own power and special privileges.

A minority resolution arguing that these so-called socialist countries are a form of capitalist society ("bureaucratic state capitalism") was defeated.

The Convention next discussed a resolution on class struggle unionism, written during the past year,

which explains the methods of IS work in the unions. This resolution grew out of I.S. experiences building rank and file organizations in response to the sell-out policies of today's union leaders.

Another discussion focused on developments in the unions, including the rightward direction of union leaderships and the modest but important growth of rank and file groups in the growing crisis of the past year.

The next discussion was the crisis on the left, especially the Maoist left and the many working class collectives formed during the defeats of the early 70's.

Lastly, the group discussed the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and what it potentially represents for the struggles of working women.

Election of a 20-person National Committee followed. At the conclusion of the convention, ten new members joined the IS, including five from the collective Modern Times. These new members along with the rest of the organization will be vital in the further development and growth the IS believes lies ahead.

Marilyn Danton
IS National Secretary

Convention documents will be available November 1, for a nominal fee.

International Socialists

We stand for:

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

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

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

- **World-wide opposition to imperialism and exploitation:** for the self-determination of all peoples - for an end to US domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power - for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes - for workers' power East and West to build international socialism.

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Why we joined the I.S.

[Before it split up in April of this year, the Modern Times collective engaged in workplace organizing and published a radical workers' paper in Cleveland, Ohio for two and a half years. Five former members of Modern Times joined the IS at its recent convention in Detroit.]

As ex-members of the Modern Times collective in Cleveland, Ohio who have recently decided to join the International Socialists, we wish to explain briefly our reasons for doing so.

Modern Times was committed to a perspective that equated socialism with democratic working class control of the means of production and the revolutionary change in social relations that this entailed. We believed that the focus of any revolutionary activity had to be concerned with the building of the confidence of the working class to see itself as a future ruling class, the developing of a consciousness of that role, and the creation of the organizational capacity to carry through that transformation. But within this general perspective,

our practice led us into certain contradictions. We were an independent collective formed out of the student movement of the 1960's. As such we lacked any tradition of revolutionary experience to form a context for assessing our practice. Also, we lacked a sufficiently widespread network to overcome the parochialism of our local experience.

We were condemned to a pattern of peak involvement during periods of spontaneous class activity, but with little carry over from one involvement to the next. We were never able to collectively assimilate the lessons of our activity. Our insights were gained piecemeal and were often contradictory. It seemed we were covering the same ground over and over.

We reached many people, but were unable to involve them in an ongoing and politically coherent practice.

We have always agreed with IS in their workers' control concept of socialism. A socialist transformation of society is not just an exchange of a capitalist bureau-

cracy for a more rational "socialist" bureaucracy.

This transformation entails the working class democratically running the society, making its own social decisions through its own class institutions.

RANK AND FILE STRUGGLE

This concept of socialism from below makes the notion of building a rank and file movement more than just a tactical perspective. It relates directly to the necessity of building the self-consciousness and self-confidence of the working class through its own struggles.

The process of building a revolutionary organization will be one that is integral to the development of the workers' movement, not something that takes place in sectarian isolation from these struggles.

Our practice has led us to agree with the IS that the rank and file struggle cannot be just a local one and that it cannot avoid the task of posing a program for struggle within the trade unions.

National rank and file opposi-

tions must be built within the trade unions to pose a class struggle alternative to the policies of Meany, Abel, Fitzsimmons, Woodcock, etc. The absence of this alternative only reinforces the cynicism and apathy of workers today.

We have to show that a struggle is possible, clarify the nature of that struggle and take an active role in leading that struggle. Many of us have been in contact with the IS for some years and had general agreement with their ideological perspectives. Our practice has convinced us of the soundness of their strategic outlook. Yet what further convinced us to join was the transformation that has taken place within the organization, especially within the last year and a half.

The organization has made steady progress towards placing its members in vital industries and trade union situations. Its members have taken active roles in rank and file opposition caucuses in those industries in which it has decided to concentrate.

The work of IS members has had a definite effect on the progress of

rank and file movements in these industries.

The tremendous change in Workers' Power, making it probably the best workers' paper in the country, has been another part of this process.

Furthermore, the IS has moved to articulate and develop this strategy theoretically. The presentation of the document on class struggle unionism at the convention was a major step in this direction.

The IS has come a long way toward transforming itself from a small sect into an organization capable of having a significant effect on the development of the workers' movement and the building of revolutionary organization in this country.

We want to be a part of this progress because we are convinced that it will enable a second transformation in the IS.

This will be its transformation into a workers' organization led by worker militants who develop in the rank and file movement we seek to build. □

labor briefs

Rank and filers at UAW Local 235 (Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Detroit) have won the right to vote in whether to retain the two-year term for local union officials. A proposal to extend terms to three years was railroaded through the UAW Convention by the International leadership in June, but locals can apply for exemptions.

At Local 235, members of the Gear and Axle Justice Committee circulated petitions asking the executive board for a vote on the matter. 1000 signatures were collected, and as a result, a vote has been scheduled for September 15.

Productivity in the steel industry increased by 10.8 percent last year—the biggest gain since 1959. The productivity rise in 1972, by comparison, was only 5.8 percent. Another breakthrough for I.W. Abel and his no-strike deal.

I.W. Abel is so hot on the no-strike clause that he has extended it to . . . nine hospitals in three southern states that the Steel Workers have recently organized.

Gerald Ford says he is opposed to new wage controls. But in practically the same breath, he urged Congress to postpone a meager 5.5% pay raise for government employees until January 1.

The Textile Workers union has won a significant organizing victory at the J.P. Stevens plant in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina. The organization of the 3500-worker plant could be an important step in unionizing the textile industry in the South, long an anti-labor stronghold. During the organizing drive, the company was caught wiretapping the motel room of union organizers.

Undercover cops or private detectives are working on the assembly line at the Melrose Park, Ill. International Harvester plant (UAW Local 6). When five workers were arrested and then fired for allegedly gambling in the plant, the evidence supposedly came from undercover agents in the plant. At the trial, no witnesses were produced and the charges were dismissed, but the workers remained fired.

More recently five more workers were fired for allegedly smoking dope in the plant. IH workers suspect that as many as ten or eleven agents are involved and that they may be responsible for many of the 40-50 firings that have taken place this year.

George Meany on Nelson Rockefeller: "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."

Remember the \$500 per car GM price increase Pres. Ford said he was upset about? Well, GM has a defender. . . UAW President Leonard Woodcock. Speaking recently in Louisville, Woodcock said he thinks the price increase may be warranted. Why? "Well," he said, "this year they haven't had that high a level of profits."

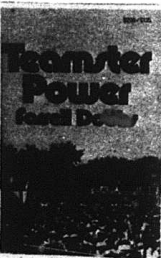
Militants and radicals who took a face value the United Mine Workers' opposition to the importation of South African coal on the grounds of "slave labor conditions" in South Africa were in for a shock recently. The union tried to extend the boycott to Australian coal.

"It makes no difference," said Frank Clements, a member of the UMW international executive board. "We are opposed to any foreign coal being imported." Clements' statement makes clear that the UMW's concern is not racism and slave labor but "protecting" U.S. jobs by denying jobs to foreign workers.

Members of the International Longshoremen's Association Local 1410 refused to cross UMW picket lines to unload the South African coal, but did cross the lines to unload the Australian coal.

The mail ballot vote (210,000 for, 103,000 against) on the Communications Workers of America contract has stirred suspicions on the part of rank and filers. At one Detroit garage, the ratification results were posted as follows: "One vote 'yes'; Zero votes 'no'; Some ballots were lost in the mail." One militant reported that everyone in the garage was suspicious of the official outcome except the one member who voted for the contract.

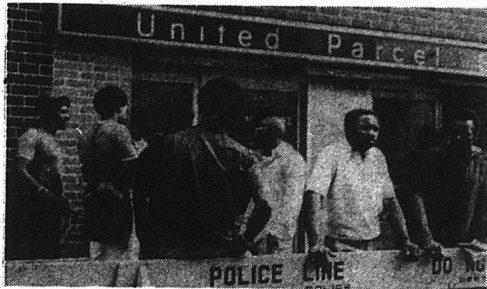
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How socialist militants organized the Teamsters Union in Minneapolis and the Northwest.

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UPS Picket Dead Greed Kills



United Parcel workers are fighting militantly against erosion of union protection.

NEW YORK—On August 29, Doc Dougherty was picketing with sixty other members of Teamster Local 804 at the United Parcel Service facility in Secaucus, New Jersey.

Dougherty, a Business Agent for the Local, was giving experienced advice to some of the younger pickets. He told them to picket effectively but to avoid violence and arrests.

With Dougherty's words still fresh, the strikers watched as a tractor-trailer driver, refusing to respect their line, drove through, striking Dougherty and killing him.

Doc Dougherty's well intended words would have been better directed at Ernest Henry, the driver whose anxiousness to do his employer's bidding resulted in the death of a fellow unionist.

Ernest Henry is not a management scab, but a member of Teamster Local 177.

SECRET NEGOTIATIONS

Local 804 was in the same bargaining unit with Local 177 in New Jersey. This year, however, Local 177 leaders secretly negotiated a separate contract with UPS. This violated the Union Constitution, which forbids a bargaining unit to break up without a vote of all its members.

Local 804 has been negotiating patiently with UPS since May, granting the company three extensions of the old contract. When the third extension expired on August 25, the membership voted on the company's offer.

The proposal, which was loudly booed, offered a \$50 per week increase over three years and little change in benefits.

Local President Ron Carey called the offer unacceptable, pointing out that the company also intended to replace 1,500 full time employees with part time help.

He announced that Local 804 would begin picketing in New Jersey as soon as the strike began. In addition, he said that 804 had officially requested International sanction for a strike of New Jersey, New England, and parts of Pennsylvania.

The latter two areas had also had the part-time contract shoved down their throats. In the Massachusetts area, the offer had been overwhelmingly rejected by the ranks but nonetheless signed by the bargaining team.

REJECTION

With this display of sound strategy and willingness to conduct an effective campaign, Carey called for rejection of the offer.

The assembled members voted 1,600 to 8 to reject and, in Carey's words, "Give them one hell of a fight!"

On August 28, UPS night employees walked out. They were greeted by the nightsticks of the police whom UPS had called.

The next afternoon Doc Dougherty was killed. The ranks, sobered and saddened, awaited

word from their leadership. On the following day, members of the Executive Board told pickets that Dougherty's widow had asked that there be no more violence. The slain striker was laid to rest September 3.

CONFRONTATION

Four days later at a membership meeting, Carey handed out copies of a telegram he had sent to Frank Fitzsimmons. The telegram called upon Fitzsimmons to grant 804's request for authorization to picket the Local 177 area.

Carey told members that they were headed for a confrontation. If they went back to Jersey they faced certain suspension of strike bene-

fits and possibly the imposition of a trusteeship by the International.

He asked for the patience of the ranks. They would give Fitzsimmons until the 9th to answer. Carey received a rousing show of support from the members, who appeared confident that he would pursue the right course if Fitzsimmons did not.

The next step is Fitzsimmons', although Local 804 can expect little support from its International union. Carey himself told the members that the International was on the side of the Company and was aiding UPS in its efforts to force the part-timers on its workers.

If Fitzsimmons will not use the power of the union to win this strike, Local 804 should appeal directly to other Teamster locals to put pressure on Fitzsimmons and the leadership of 177.

NEED SUPPORT

Stewards and members who have picketed in Jersey have said that 177 members are dissatisfied with their contract and with being used as scabs against 804. They say that New Jersey workers will support the New York pickets.

The alternative is for 804 to reunite the bargaining unit and demand that the 177 contract be renegotiated. The first step in that direction is to reunite the members of that bargaining unit on the streets in front of UPS's facilities in New Jersey.

Jack Nelson

W.A.G.E. HELPS WHEN UNIONS WOULDN'T

Union WAGE (Women's Alliance to Gain Equality) has shown the potential strength of labor-oriented women's groups by recently assisting 20 warehouse women to organize themselves into a union of their own choice.

The women of Earring House Imports, a San Francisco warehouse with 20 retail outlets, had suffered low wages and poor working conditions before they began to talk union.

A worker at this warehouse begins at \$2 an hour, with a ceiling of \$2.50 an hour. There are no windows in the back of the warehouse, where most of the employees work. Smoking is not allowed because of fire hazard, yet there are no fire extinguishers in the wooden structure. The workers have no paid vacation, holidays, sick leave, or health benefits.

After fruitless talks with management, the women decided to

organize. The first union that they approached turned them off by treating them like employees, so they came to Union WAGE for advice.

WAGE informed them of their rights and the procedures involved in unionizing and introduced them to Local 250, Service Employees International Union (SEIU). 100% of the women signed cards and filed an election petition. When they went to the National Labor Relations Board hearing to testify against management's attempt to remove most of their bargaining unit, they were fired.

There are 13 women still out, with scabs working in the warehouse. The women maintained regular picketing, with the help of members of Union WAGE, CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women), and SEIU, while their case is going through the courts.

Laura Burnett

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Black wages ↓

Workers' Power



Black poultry workers on strike. Gap between white and black wages has grown for three years.

The gap in real income between black and white families has increased for three straight years. All workers' purchasing power fell in 1973, but the decline was sharper for black people. Black women, suffering the effects of both sexual and racial discrimination, showed the greatest setbacks, according to Bureau

of Census figures. The report was compiled from data released from 1963-1973, covering both the period when the black liberation movement was strong, and the period of its decline. It reflects increasing economic difficulties faced by working and poor people, and the racism of the American system.

When the black liberation movement was strong, the figures show, black people won important social and economic gains. But as the movement experienced defeats, economic and social gains were eroded.

The difference in real income is a prime indicator of racial oppression. The gap between whites and blacks had begun to narrow in the mid-60's. Between 1965 and 1969, the real income of most black families jumped 32%, double the 16% gain for white families.

But last year the typical black family earned .02% less than in 1969. The comparable white family made 6.1% more than in 1969.

The Census Bureau report also reflected the effects of class and sex differences among black people. Black women have been forced out of the labor force by the present economic recession. The proportion of black families with two or more wage-earners decreased, from 60% to 50%. Among white families the proportion increased to 54%.

In addition, the proportion of black families headed by women increased. Since black women have the lowest wage levels, the result was an economic setback for the entire community.

While college enrollment among blacks continued to increase, life expectancy for black males fell from 61.5 to 61.2 years.

In part, this figure reflects the attack on working conditions and health and safety standards which companies have made in order to

increase profits. It also reflects the racism which confines black people to the hardest, dirtiest and lowest paying jobs in industry.

Upgrading of black people to better jobs nearly halted. Black and other minorities were twice as likely to be unemployed as whites last year.

The single significant increase for black people was the number of blacks elected to public office. It jumped a whopping 61%.

A major reason for this shift is that as the liberation struggle became divided, weakened and broken up, black people began to look more and more to the Democratic Party for reform.

When the movement was strong many of these leaders now in office helped tame it, bringing it under their leadership, reducing it to a pressure group. The focus of the black movement shifted from the streets to the Democratic Party and the polite confines of the voting booth.

Over the same period political leadership in this country has shifted to more conservative and racist forces, represented first by

Nixon, then Ford.

President Ford, today, promises to halt inflation by balancing the budget. The first sector slashed will be social spending—food programs, health clinics, welfare and education spending. The most visible result of Ford's economic program will be to drive down living standards in black communities.

The Democrats have no basic disagreement with Ford's plans. Their only contribution has been to call for new wage-price controls. The Democratic Party initiated the same call a few years ago, and the various "Phases," which followed proved disastrous to black people.

Today, with 61% more black Democrats and Republicans in political office, the economic situation for black Americans has gone down. When the black liberation movement was strong, and wouldn't give the Democrats "one more chance," black peoples' economic position was going up. The figures speak for themselves.

Kay Stacy

MINE WORKERS WIN!

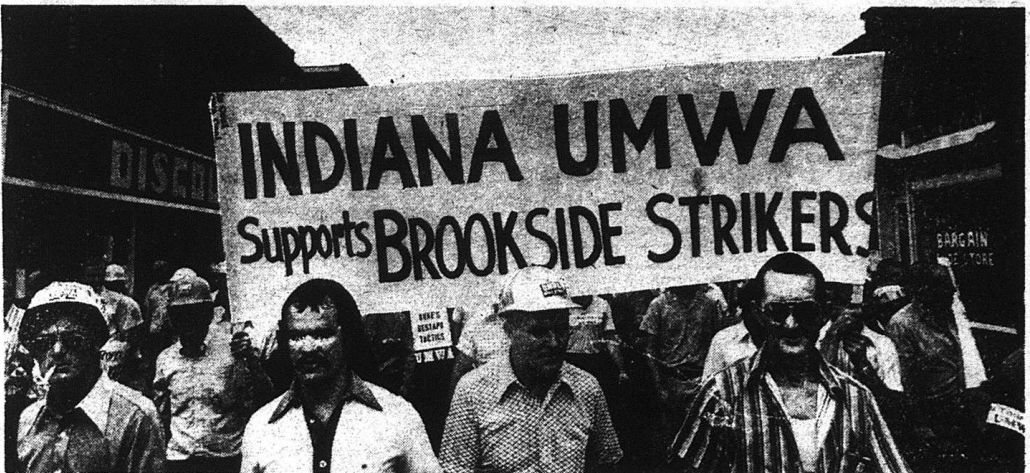
At 3:30 in the early morning of August 29, the roads of Harlan County, Kentucky were alive. Dozens of cars, horns blowing, their occupants shouting and firing guns into the night sky, raced through the small communities, waking up miners' families.

These were not the familiar sounds of night-riders, come once again to terrorize the families of the striking miners at Brookside. No, these were—at last—the sounds of victory. The strike was over. The miners had won.

TERMS

The victory is virtually a complete one. After 13 months on the picket line, the miners have won the following:

- Eastover Mining Co. (the employer) agreed to sign the 1971 national soft coal contract.
- Eastover agreed to sign whatever national contract is negotiated later this year between the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).
- Eastover agreed to rehire all miners at Brookside it had fired since the strike began, as well as Mickey Messer, president of the Brookside local, who had been fired in May 1973 before the strike began.
- Eastover agreed to drop all charges against the union pending before the National Labor Relations Board or in the courts, and to ask the courts to dismiss all charges against individual strikers, including jail sentences, fines, and contempt citations.
- Eastover agreed to a quick representation election for workers at its Highsplint mine.
- Eastover agreed that if the miners at Highsplint or at any of its other mines vote to join the UMW, it will automatically sign the national UMW contract for those mines.
- Eastover agreed to reinstate the Highsplint miners it claimed had "quit" when they went on strike July 8. The company did not agree to take back three other Highsplint miners it had fired. Those three are temporarily hired as UMW organi-



zers while their case is taken to the NLRB.

•The union agreed not to include the Brookside mine in any strike which may occur over the 1974 national contract. UMW President Arnold Miller said this was done since the miners had been on strike for 13 months and since Eastover had already agreed to sign whatever national contract was agreed to.

MURDER

But the victory, however sweet, was tempered. For there was a funeral.

In the last week of the strike, Lawrence Jones, a 23-year-old Brookside miner, was shot by an Eastover foreman. Jones died several days later, just before the contract was signed.

Jones' murder undoubtedly meant a quicker settlement to the strike. He leaves a 16-year-old wife and baby daughter.

It was through sacrifice, determination, and solidarity that the

strike was won. It was truly a victory of the rank and file. No behind-the-scenes compromises or influence of important people won this strike. It was the miners' determination that did it.

The victory came shortly after pressure on the company was stepped up: after picketing was expanded to two additional Eastover mines and after a rally of several thousand UMW members in Harlan County to support the strike. The leadership recognized that it would not be possible to settle for anything other than victory.

Already other non-union miners in Eastern Kentucky are knocking at the door, asking to be the next target.

UMW organizer Huston Elmore reports inquiries from workers at International Harvester's Benham, Ky. mine, from Coal Resources' Mary Helen mine, and others. Union contracts are considered near at several other Harlan County mines.

The Brookside victory is a big boost to the coming fight over the national contract. The current agreement expires November 12, and negotiations for a new contract have recently begun between the UMW and BCOA.

The government is very worried over the possibility of a serious national coal strike, and may have pressured Eastover for a settlement as a means of gaining the confidence of the UMW leadership.

There are such indications. The Wall Street Journal, for example, reports that government mediators "have established credibility with the UMW chief [Miller]" as a result of the Brookside victory.

Miller may be prepared to listen to federal mediators out of fear of heavier forms of government intervention—such as special court injunctions or Congressional action to end a strike or impose a settlement.

Such government intervention will work only if rank and file

miners are unprepared for it and unwilling to resist. As in the Brookside strike, however, rank and file expectations and determination to win are great, and this is the greatest advantage the UMW has as November 12 approaches.

"SOME FINE PEOPLE..."

Some of the most important triumphs of the Brookside strike can be expressed in personal terms. When people are in struggle, everything can be changed. In the struggle to improve the conditions of our lives, our lives themselves are often transformed.

Jerry Johnson, Brookside striker: "I never saw anything like it when [the women] come out on the picket line. To tell you the truth, I always just thought women was for cooking and having babies. I used to just look 'em over. But now I see they're important people, just like the men is. Yeah, our women is some fine people."

Jim Woodward