

WORKERS' Power

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THE ECONOMY: HEADING FOR CRASH?

Sugar is over \$2.00 for a five pound bag. By the time you read this it may be higher. Other necessities have jumped into the luxury category as inflation keeps racing upward.

At the same time actual industrial production has declined in the last nine months and the housing industry is near collapse. All this points in one direction—depression.

"But don't panic," the experts say from behind their toothpaste smiles. "This isn't 1929."

Surrounded by pictures of soup lines from the era they told us would never return, they argue that now the experts know how to control and manipulate the economy.

In 1929, they say, we had pure free enterprise. The government did not intervene, the market controlled itself. There were no controls, no one watching charts and graphs—the economy just raced along until collapse.

Today, we are told, the experts are watching, predicting and manipulating. The Federal Reserve Bank has expanded powers to loosen and tighten the money supply and the banks are guaranteed by the federal government.

BELT-TIGHTENING

Sure inflation is high, they say, but we can bring it under control without collapsing the whole system. This will mean some belt-tightening and sacrifice but just "trust us."

The truth behind the empty smiles and glossy photos is a lot more frightening however. Besides appealing to blind faith the experts agree on very little.

They told us that the new economics had solved the contradictions of capitalism and we would never again experience severe booms and busts. 77% of the American people now feel differently, and for good reason.

The experts also told us that economic stagnation and inflation could never occur together—now they call this impossibility "stagflation."

The solution?—depends on who you ask.

The only thing that most agree on is that to solve inflation the working class and poor will have to pay.

Cutbacks on federal spending (read social services—not military spending), higher unemployment and fairly tight money supply are planned.

In other words the solution to inflation is to flirt with depression. These very same articles that tell us how 1929 can't happen again also tell us that the cause of the 1929 crash was "tight money."

"MODERATE RESTRAINT"

Forty-five years later and endlessly more sophisticated, the experts' new plan to solve inflation is a monetary policy called "moderate restraint." (For the layman, that's just a wee bit looser than tight.)

With all their charts, graphs and confusing jargon, the experts have no more solved the economic contradictions of the capitalist system than World War I was the war to end all wars.

The economy is in deep trouble just as surely as it was in 1928. It could become another depression. There's not much in all those fancy words to stop it.

And just as the new economics did not forever ban severe economic gyrations it did not bring us out of the Great Depression—World War II did.

Permanent arms spending, in peace as well as war, propped up capitalism creating the illusion that government intervention had solved the crisis of capitalism.

But today the waste of that same arms spending has caught up with the system, creating rampant inflation and bringing the world to the edge of economic disaster.

This time arms spending is part of the cause, and it will not pull

them out again.

As the crisis intensifies, we will hear more calls for sacrifice like this one from President Ford: "This is a critical hour in America's history. It requires that Americans once again rise above petty parti-

anship or factional interests in any segment of our society."

What he means is that the American working class must sacri-

their mess. They got us into it. We won't pay again—like we did in the thirties.

DEFEND JOBS

Our response must be an unconditional defense of jobs and wages against the dangers of inflation and unemployment.

The miners have already begun to fight back. They have served notice on their employers and the government that they will not sacrifice their wages, their pensions, or their health and safety to the coal bosses' demand for profits.

The coal miners' contract runs out November 12. That will be an important day for all working people in this country. It will be the day our fight against inflation begins in earnest.

Gay Semel

President Ford wants to hear from you. He said he wants everyone to send him a list of ten ideas to save energy and cut inflation. (Try not to be obscure.) This is part of his "open presidency." For speedy delivery mark the envelope "attention waste basket."

2000 MARCH AND RALLY

Free Attica Brothers!



Big Black, National Director of Attica Brothers Legal Defense, addressing rally on third anniversary of Attica prison rebellion. Photo by Zuke.

BUFFALO—Over 2000 people came to Buffalo on the third anniversary of the Attica prison rebellion to demand the trials of the 58 indicted Attica Brothers be stopped.

The 58 were charged with a total of 1500 felony counts, amounting to one of the largest political persecutions to date. The overwhelming majority of prisoners are black and Puerto Rican.

The State of New York has already spent \$6.5 million to silence

the truth about conditions that exist in Attica.

The crowd was addressed by Frank "Big Black" Smith, National Director of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense (ALBD); Haywood Burns, Legal Coordinator of the ALBD; Mrs. Strobe Smith, mother of the indicted Brother Shang; and Mike Hainey of the American Indian Movement.

In the march that followed supporters chanted: "Jail Nixon, Jail Ford—Free the Attica Bro-

thers" and "Attica Means—Fight Back."

As the demonstration approached the Erie County Jail where some of the Brothers are being held, the chanting increased.

Fearful of the reaction of the other prisoners to the demonstration, prison officials closed the windows on the first four floors, so that no one could see out. Only the windows on the fifth floor, where most of the Attica Brothers are held, remained open.

Even the officials didn't dare

prevent the Brothers from seeing the extent of their support.

Appeals to change the trials to New York City have been denied. The appeals were based on a survey that showed that 69% of the potential jurors blame the prisoners for the deaths of 43 persons and for injuries to many others.

RUMORS AND LIES

At the time of the rebellion, the Rockefeller administration spread these rumors and other lies about maimings at the hands of prisoners. As soon as outside observers, including doctors, were allowed in, all these stories were conclusively proven false. The lies were only a vile attempt by Rockefeller to whip up public sentiment against the inmates so he could massacre them.

In fact, responsibility for all killings and injuries during the rebellion lies directly with the guards and state officials who did the only shooting at Attica.

Motions to dismiss in the interest of justice have also been denied. As a result, the Attica Brothers are being forced to trial under most unfavorable conditions. Jury selection for the first trial began last week.

The state and prison officials continue to refuse to recognize that the Attica Brothers are political prisoners. As a result they obscure the real causes behind the rebellion—the conditions that poor and black people are forced to live and work under both in and outside prison.

For more information and how to help free the Attica Brothers contact: Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin Street, Buffalo, New York 14202. Phone 716-856-0302.

Clifford Bruce



AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

WE CAN SELL ANYTHING!

J. Walter Thompson is the nation's largest advertising agency. Many clients are the nation's top corporations, including AT&T, Ford Motor Co., RCA, Reynolds Aluminum, Scott Paper and Holiday Inn.

Besides selling us princess phones and paper towels they also sell politics. Top executives from J. Walter Thompson were part of the think tank that organized the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP).

J. Walter Thompson has recently expanded from domestic politics to international affairs, adding a new subdivision called Dialog. Dialog's purpose is to represent foreign governments in the US and Europe.

One of the agency's first, important clients is the bloody totalitarian regime of General Pinochet in Chile.

The American CIA helped bring this fascist government to power, one year ago. In the process

thousands of workers and leftists were murdered, and tens of thousands more imprisoned, beaten and tortured.

Now an American ad agency is going to try to convince us that fascism in Chile is really just what is needed.



"I told you advertising would work!"

A Simple Man Is He

When asked his total wealth, Rockefeller first said \$33 million.

After the guffaws died down he revised his statement slightly to \$182 million.

Realizing that the truth was not going to be released, the news media correctly theorized that the amount was really not important. The question, they said, was not how much he owned, but if his holdings and the vice presidency constituted a conflict of interest.

At his VP confirmation hearings Rocky explained it would be no problem. He would simply put it in a blind trust. "I am anxious to serve my country in any capacity I can," he continued.

Makes sense.

At this point the family fortunes are so vast and so diversified that Rocky can honestly say, "What's good for American business is good enough for me."

Any business that he aids, he is bound to profit from—sooner or later. From his point of view there is definitely no conflict of interest involved. The interests are precisely the same.

Rocky also discussed his upbringing. His was a strict and religious background. He was taught to treat "Negro and Jew, or of whatever race" alike.

The "family ethic" was transmitted by precept and example and conscientious daily instruction from my grandparents to my father," he

said.

We assume the family ethic he was talking about is something like "All's fair in business" or "make a buck by any means necessary."

We also assume the examples he referred to included the burning to death of two women and eleven children in the infamous Ludlow massacre ordered by his grandfather John D. in 1914.

Showing that he has learned the family ethic well, Grandson Nelson ordered the equally infamous Attica massacre, killing 43.

Deaths at Attica included black and white showing Rocky has indeed learned to treat all alike—mow them down if they get in your way.

"stick 'em up"

While Congress debates how much severance pay Nixon deserves, \$850,000 or \$393,000, a few other interesting facts have seeped out. No matter what Congress decides Nixon will get a great deal more.

For starters Nixon gets \$60,000 pension and \$96,000 for staff salaries for the rest of his life. In addition the Secret Service will spend \$622,000 to protect this crook.

Nixon occupies government office space in California rent free. That's a savings of a nifty little \$100,000. And if that weren't enough, 32 people working directly for Nixon are paid by various government agencies. Total wage bill: \$576,000.

Gerald Ford himself is helping his old buddy by keeping Ron Ziegler, Rose Mary Woods and others on the White House payroll. Ziegler gets \$42,500 and Woods gets \$34,000.

The Defense Department foots the bill for Nixon's three chauffeurs and two others, and the National Park Service pays Nixon's personal



maid and valet.

All this in the midst of Ford's calling for belt tightening and decreased federal spending. Or perhaps these are some of the jobs he promised to counter unemployment.

The Best Justice Money Can Buy

George Jackson died in prison while serving a sentence of indefinite length. His crime—stealing \$80.00.

Martin Sostre is serving a sentence of 25-30 years. He is 50 years old. Without a powerful movement to halt government plans, he will die in jail. His crime—befriending an FBI informer who has since confessed to lying in order to frame Sostre.

Thousands of men have been exiled to Canada and Europe. Their crime—refusing to take part in an imperialist war and the slaughter of Vietnamese people.

Hundreds of thousands fill county, state and federal jails across the country. Their crimes—being black, latino, poor or militant. Many cannot afford a lawyer or bail, and rot in jail waiting for justice that never comes.

American justice is not neutral. Who you are determines your fate—not the crime committed. The punishment never fits the crime and isn't supposed to.

Richard Nixon moved from the White House to his palatial estate paid for by public funds. His crimes—the devastation of the Vietnamese people, the overthrow of the popularly elected Allende govern-

ment in Chile and support for the current fascist dictatorship, the bombing of Cambodia, the embezzlement of hundreds of thousands of dollars, tax evasion, the maiming of millions of workers by holding back reform on health and industrial safety, and the Watergate break in and cover-up—to name a few.

For all of this he has been granted a full blanket pardon.

Lt. William Calley has just been freed. He is a mass murderer. The men who gave Calley the orders, like General Westmoreland, have never even been charged.

The list of inequities could go on and on.

Jails exist to keep working and oppressed people in place. The ruling class and its friends rarely serve time because the laws, the courts, the police—every instrument of repression—is designed to serve their interests.

When they get caught, by accident, their sentences are often suspended, reduced or pardoned.

In fact, a recent study reported and verified by Jack Anderson shows that well known politicians, bankers, businessmen and Mafia leaders rarely get more than two years, no matter what they do. Twenty to forty percent (depending on the category) get off altogether.

The few members of the upper class that do go to jail (to prop up the myth of equality for all) go to minimum security social clubs.

There are no bars, no walls and no locks on the doors. The prisoners play tennis, golf, softball and anything else that might be available at a well-equipped university.

Their spouses visit them often for picnics and other social events.

The study reported by Anderson correlates amounts stolen with prison sentences and came up with one year for every \$8 million stolen.

While bank presidents get one year for embezzling \$8 million, bank robbers average 11 years for stealing several thousand.

Moonshine Over New York



The Messiah descended on New York City September 18.

That night the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, a Korean minister who is hailed as the second coming of Christ, held a massive rally in Madison Square Garden. To make sure New Yorkers knew the Messiah was here the Rev. Moon spent half a million dollars promoting the rally.

Everywhere you went you ran into Moon followers handing out tickets to the rally (they gave out 380,000 tickets for a hall seating

20,000) and leaflets saying "September 18 could be your re-birth-day."

Television, radio, and newspapers were filled with ads for the rally, proclaiming Rev. Moon as the great new hope for the world.

To many Moon seemed just another kook. To many others, however, especially many young people in their teens and twenties, he seemed like a possible new hope. These people feel something is deeply wrong with American society and with their lives. Many have tried drugs and possibly even flirted with SDS and the student movement.

Dissatisfied with these, they are now looking for another answer. One young Moon follower who graduated magna cum laude from Harvard in biochemistry gave up science for Rev. Moon because he could "never satisfactorily combine science with helping people."

But there is a lot the Rev. Moon doesn't talk about. He doesn't talk about the five factories he owns in South Korea where his workers must join his church so he can evade even South Korea's miserable minimum wage laws. He

doesn't talk about his close ties with the Park Chung Hee dictatorship.

Few people seem to remember Moon's leading his followers in a prayer vigil on the Capitol steps to prevent Nixon's impeachment, or that Moon took out big newspaper ads to urge the American people to "forgive their President."

Nor is there much talk about Moon's money-making ventures in the U.S. His followers are sent out onto the street every day to solicit contributions and sell literature, with many making \$100 a day. Moon runs weekend seminars at \$200 a weekend. He lives on an \$850,000 estate. His Unification Church owns another estate worth \$625,000.

Obviously the real purpose of this new Messiah is to make himself rich and to help out right-wing regimes around the world.

The Madison Square Garden rally started as a great triumph for Moon. Twenty thousand people fought their way into the Garden as soon as the doors were opened. Thousands were left standing outside. One cop described the

scene: "They trampled women and children and everybody. They didn't care who they ran over to get inside."

Once inside they were in for a disappointment. Instead of giving answers that would give new meaning to their lives, Moon launched into a two-hour theological ramble. He talked about the prophet Ezekiel, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and Billy Graham. By the time he ended up with the coming of the new Messiah, three quarters of the audience had left.

Moon is taking his crusade to 32 other cities. Once again he will try to draw those who sense there is something very wrong with American life and who want a better world.

But Moon has no answers for the real problems we all face. Problems like inflation, unemployment, racial injustice and government repression. Anyone who wants a better world won't get it by following Moon or the many other hucksters like him. Instead of listening to Moonshine, they'd better begin fighting our real problems here and now.

Sandy Brown

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UNION WOMEN MEET CLUW Charters 13 Chapters

On the weekend of September 21st, 102 members of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) of the Coalition of Labor Union Women met to discuss and implement decisions regarding the future of CLUW.

The NCC is made up of representatives of unions present at the CLUW founding convention and includes many rank and file women as well as top women bureaucrats.

This first NCC meeting, held six months after the founding CLUW convention, showed that some progress has been made. There are 120 national CLUW members.

Thirteen local chapters, including North Alameda County, South Alameda County, Santa Clara, Sacramento, Seattle, Los Angeles, New York City, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Atlanta and Houston were chartered. Other chapters such as Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia and Washington have applied for membership, and fulfilled most of the requirements for their charter.

ACTIVITIES

Most important, CLUW chapters and organizing committees have begun activity. Members from the following cities gave reports on their activities: Boston, New York City and Washington, D.C. CLUW brought copies of their newsletters; Atlanta distributed leaflets about their campaign to get women jobs in steel plants; Cincinnati brought a short newslet about their activities in fighting an anti-discrimination suit.

A number of resolutions that had been tabled at the founding convention were acted upon.

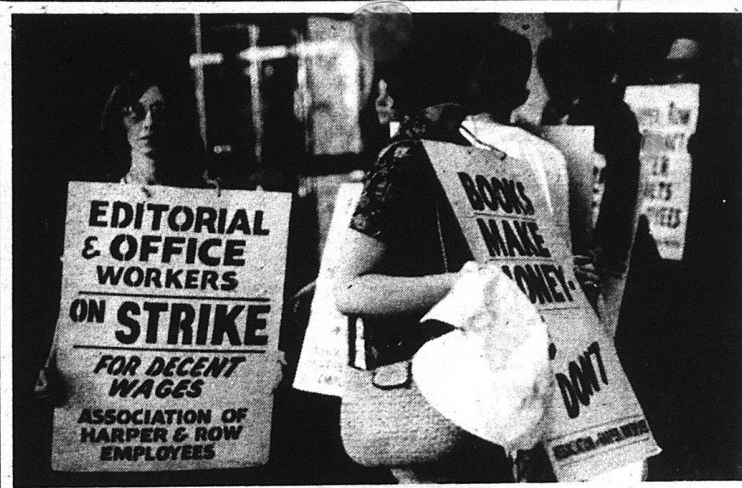
The question of support for the United Farm Workers, a source of major controversy at the founding convention, passed at the NCC overwhelmingly. Active support of the UPW marks a significant victory for rank and file women in CLUW.

Other resolutions reaffirming CLUW's commitment to fight to organize the unorganized, for women's rights on the job and within the union movement, as well as for greater women's participation within their unions in both rank and file and leadership levels were passed.

A number of working committees were set up, which will plan activities for the next year. A newsletter committee reported that by November there would be a CLUW newsletter, published quarterly, with a section in Spanish, to be sent to all national CLUW members.

MINORITIES

A constitution and by-laws committee will draft the constitution for the next CLUW convention to be



held in the fall of 1975.

A minorities committee was also created. This committee sees its job as two-fold. One is to educate women within CLUW as to problems facing non-white women, and to combat racism within CLUW.

The minorities committee will also initiate activities and education to promote the unionization of unorganized women, as well as programs designed to fight for minority women on the job and in the unions.

The minority committee also recommended that CLUW support the UN sanctioned boycott of all South African and Rhodesian goods.

Other committees such as education, finance, legislation, and structuring of local CLUWs gave their reports.

The sentiment of this NCC was that CLUW should move ahead through activity. No longer will local pre-CLUW have to wait until they are chartered before they can initiate campaigns around equal rights for working women. Pre-CLUW and chartered CLUW chapters are encouraged to begin their campaigns.

PROBLEMS

The first NCC meeting also revealed problems facing CLUW.

Olga Madar, retired International Vice President for the United Auto Workers and now chairperson of CLUW, was forced to beat a strategic retreat.

A number of the members of the NCC were angry with Madar's foot-dragging on chartering of local



CLUW chapters and organizing committees have already begun activity. Top picture shows striking Harper & Row workers, mainly women, who were supported by CLUW. Lower picture shows demonstration in support of UPW organized by New York CLUW.

CLUW chapters. She had argued against chartering the San Francisco chapter, and opposed chartering the Chicago chapter because of the presence of radicals.

Others reacted against her almost dictatorial approach.

At one Steering Committee meeting, she said that she would proceed to act on a number of questions regardless of how the vote went. When immediately asked if she meant that she would exercise veto power, she said no.

Madar alienated CLUW members by her disgusting red-baiting. At a National Steering committee meeting (a committee of 25 including officers) held a few weeks before the NCC, Madar spent a half an hour talking about the "danger from the left."

She read off a list of so-called subversive organizations that were acting within CLUW, and accused them of trying to wreck it. She denounced all oppositionists as "illegitimate trade unionists."

Madar has also gone to individuals and privately warned them about "subversive" CLUW members. She admitted to some that she had had certain people's union cards checked two or three times.

Finally, she has also complained about CLUW chapters taking political stands, for example, against the coup in Chile, or in support of the United Farm Workers or the Harlan County miners.

Because of the reaction against Madar's heavy-handed approach she remained somewhat on the sidelines of this meeting. How-

ever, she was able to marshal the support of a number of women to act for her, in particular, Yetta Reisel of the Newspaper Guild and Lois Felder of the Retail Clerks.

ROLE OF BUREAUCRATS

Despite the reaction against Madar, the bureaucracy definitely maintained control at this NCC. They played a role similar to what they did at the founding Chicago conference.

Instead of putting forward their idea of what CLUW should be—a lobbying legislative organization—they chose to continue their stalling tactics.

They did this by getting control of three major committees: finance, constitution and by-laws and chartering of local CLUW's. In this way they hope to fend off any real activity by the ranks.

The bureaucrats chose to fight on one important political question—membership. A motion was introduced which, in effect, called upon CLUW to be open to all trade unionists and persons involved in organizing drives.

Lois Felder and Carol Bush from the Textile Workers spoke against this, saying that CLUW didn't want non-union members.

They claimed it was easy for women to get into unions, implying that it is the fault of non-union women that they are not in unions. The motion was defeated 2-1.

OTHER DISPUTES

There were other disputes over the question of the bureaucracy's control of CLUW. A motion to end the undemocratic use of proxies was defeated (by the proxy votes).

On other questions the bureaucracy did not care how undemocratic they looked, as long as they got their way. In the case of chartering the Chicago CLUW chapter, Clara Day of the Teamsters and Midwest Vice President was opposed to the charter of the Chicago chapter.

At almost the precise time the NSC would have voted on the question (and in all probability voted to charter) Yetta Reisel and Lois Felder walked out, leaving the meeting without a quorum. Therefore, all business came to an end.

(Felder claimed that she had to leave in order to catch a 4 pm plane. However, she was seen casually walking through the hotel lobby at 4 pm.)

This obstructionist act by the bureaucracy meant that all other decisions such as chartering other CLUW chapters, as well as preparing for the next NCC meeting and convention had to be postponed.

FUTURE OF CLUW

Unfortunately, many of the rank and file militants have not yet learned how to operate effectively as an opposition.

While correctly fighting on questions such as membership, and chartering CLUW chapters, they also fought on petty issues, such as whether or not CLUW and Olga Madar should have a secretary.

This only served to waste time and alienate many women who were willing to be convinced on the more important questions.

Between now and the next CLUW convention, the future of CLUW will be forged.

CLUW could become a mass militant organization that wages an uncompromising fight for women's equality in the unions and on the job.

In order to do this, CLUW will also have to take on the present labor leadership which has done nothing in the interests of women and minority workers. That fight must begin now in all the local CLUW chapters.

Mike Hirsch

Celia Emerson

Behind The Busing Riots

BOSTON—An uneasy calm has settled in after nearly two weeks of violence and racial warfare in and around Boston's schools.

A white boycott was organized in response to the court-ordered busing of black students into previously all-white districts. Its leaders are preparing for further battles.

So far, there is little sign of any defense being organized by the city's black leaders.

Recently, there has been little of the violence that exploded into national headlines. But plenty of tensions and daily conflicts remain, and new explosions are possible.

The boycott was largely unsuccessful on the citywide basis. But only 20 of a projected 600 white students attended previously black

Roxbury High School.

At all-white South Boston High ("Southie") attendance was under 4%. Along the bus routes, black children were hooted with shouts of "niggers go home" and worse. Walls were scrawled with the same.

The racist feeling on the part of whites is aggravated by their own economic instability and fears. Boston has a high unemployment rate, and is representative of the generally depressed New England region.

Light industry predominates. There is no real history of working class militancy. Any unionization has been primarily along craft lines.

Anti-black sentiment, moreover, shows sharpest in those areas most

segregated—South Boston, East Boston, and Charlestown—communities which in addition are physically separated by bridges and tunnels from the rest of Boston.

In more integrated working class areas, such as Brighton and Dorchester, there have been no disturbances and little support for the boycott.

Reactionary Democratic Party politicians (and Boston has many) have historically used racism as a device for political advancement. Liberal Democratic Representative Joe Moakley went them one better.

Borrowing from his former Congressional opponent Louise Day Hicks (the best known leader of the segregationist forces in Boston), Moakley addressed an anti-busing crowd and expressed approval for

the demonstration, saying:

"It gives people a chance to air their views. These people don't trust their children being bused to a high-crime (read: black) area."

The crisis will continue. Judge Garity's order is staggered: East Boston is to be desegregated in January, and Charlestown the following September.

As this is being written, boycott leaders are calling for a citywide school and work boycott for Friday, October 4.

Unless the black community organizes to defend its children and its rights, few if any gains will be won from the daily terror to which black students are being subjected.

Ethiopia: The End Of An Emperor

After 2500 years, the Ethiopian monarchy has collapsed. Power has been seized by military officers who promise democratic reforms.

After finally arresting the 82-year-old king Haile Selassie, the officers are looking around for a new figurehead to put in his place. But the whole ruling family seems to be so feeble and decrepit that no one can be found.

The power of the monarchy was based on a class of feudal landlords who lived off the work of peasants in the countryside. Thirty percent of the land was owned by top priests of the Ethiopian Church.

This system began to disintegrate when a famine began to starve hundreds of thousands of peasants—even though enormous areas of fertile land were left uncultivated by the landlords.

In areas devastated by drought and famine, the king's tax collectors sold dying cattle for export to an Israeli meat-packing company.

No social class had the strength to reorganize the backward, feudal society.

The Ethiopian capitalists are almost as feeble as Haile Selassie's kingdom itself. After years of living off the king's favors, they were not about to lead a fight to overthrow his rotten system.

100,000 Ethiopian workers and civil servants staged strikes and demonstrations against the king during this spring. But although they won major wage increases and other concessions, they were not organized for a revolutionary struggle.

As Ethiopia continued to crumble, the Army and Air Force

stepped more and more into the vacuum. Finally, the emperor was arrested and quietly led away with practically no resistance.

So far the ruling officers have shown very little in the way of a clear program beyond getting rid of the most backward trappings of the feudal system.

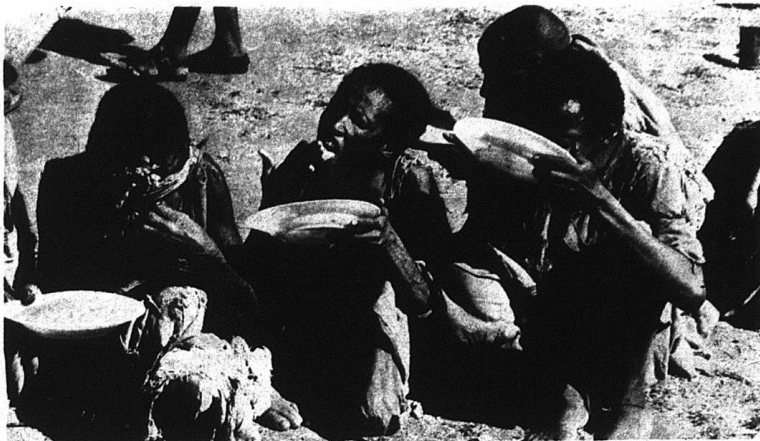
The military alone cannot rule Ethiopia for long unless it gains the support of one of the social classes.

They have already moved against the working class by arresting strike leaders and breaking a general strike called to protest this repression.

The power of the Church has not been directly challenged. It is the main potentially counterrevolutionary force, and controls millions of rifles in the countryside.

But if the military aligns with the reactionary forces, including the timid capitalist class, the same old problems will come back.

This time the working class must prepare itself to bring Ethiopia out of the Middle Ages with a socialist revolution. □



Famine in Ethiopia sparked a coup overthrowing Emperor Haile Selassie

The departure of Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie, and the news that he has stolen around \$250 million from the starving Ethiopian people and sated it away in European banks, reminds us of the Emperor's visit to the People's Republic of China in 1973.

In those happier days Selassie was treated almost as royally as that other friend of the Chinese workers—Richard Nixon.

Later in 1973, one of Selassie's daughters paid a further visit to Peking to celebrate the inaugural flight of Ethiopian Airlines to China.

At a magnificent banquet in her honor, the toast was drunk with the following words: "We admire the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie. We raise our glasses in a toast to commemorate the struggle by him against colonialism, racism and imperialism."

BULLETIN

The resignation of Portugal's President Antonio de Spínola occurred just as Workers' Power went to press. The resignation followed a left-wing mobilization in the streets which forced Spínola to ban a right-wing demonstration in Lisbon.

This development will open up a new stage in Portugal's pre-revolutionary crisis. Our next issue will feature extensive coverage of the crisis and the struggles of the working class in Portugal. □

WORLD IN CRISIS



Oil And The Threat Of War

There is no mistaking it. The President of the United States, and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, are using the threat of world war to batter down oil prices.

Gerald Ford stated the threat bluntly in his speech to an otherwise meaningless World Energy Conference in Detroit: "Exorbitant oil prices can only distort the world economy, run the risk of worldwide depression and threaten the breakdown of world order and safety."

Meanwhile, Kissinger was warn-

ing the United Nations that democracy is in danger of being destroyed by inflation caused by Arab oil prices.

What Kissinger means by "democracy" is keeping the generals in power in Chile, and keeping the Communist Party out of the government in Italy—in other words, making sure that US interests are not threatened.

Naturally, Ford and Kissinger didn't openly threaten anyone in particular. They didn't need to.

The United States has long

known that the gigantic US war machine is prepared to protect "world order" through domination.

None of this means that a war against the oil-producing states is about to happen today. But the long-term danger is very real.

Financial papers are warning that the international monetary system could be destroyed by massive "transfers" of money from the wealthy industrial powers to the underdeveloped oil-producing nations.

Capitalist statesmen and scholars are threatening that high oil prices could cause tens of millions of people to starve in poor countries which cannot afford to pay for oil-derived fertilizer.

In other words, every problem facing world capitalism today is being blamed on a handful of greedy (mostly Arab) countries who arbitrarily decided to raise the price of the oil drilled within their borders.

In fact, world capitalism today is in crisis because the long post-war boom has been replaced by a new cycle of booms and slumps. Today, a deep slump has begun, even though prices and inflation are still soaring.

Higher oil prices have made inflation worse, and international competition sharper—but they are not the source of the problem.

Ford and Kissinger are trying to save not only world capitalism in general, but also the supremacy of US capital which has been challenged in recent years. This is why they want to force all the capitalist powers to support US policy—demanding that oil prices come down, or else.

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WHO PROFITS?

It should be remembered, however, that the oil crisis is not quite a disaster for everybody.

Every penny increase in oil royalties charged by the oil states is repaid directly to the oil corporations by the US government, which subtracts from their taxes the amount they paid to the oil states!

On top of this, the corporations pass along the same increase to their customers—plus their own "legitimate" profit percentage. Of course they are not charged with robbery for this—instead, they're considered "patriotic."

So even if Britain, Italy and India are heading for a crash, the oil companies find their own "balance of payments" in fine shape.

It is also important to keep in mind that the western powers themselves—particularly the US, Britain and France—are feverishly competing with each other in pouring arms into Middle East states. In 1973, US arms sales to Iran and Saudi Arabia alone nearly doubled, reaching \$4.7 billion.

In many cases, arms sales help pay for the skyrocketing costs of oil imports. Capitalist nations are also competing with each other to make separate deals with oil-producing countries to ensure their own sources of supply.

Factors like this explain why the capitalist powers today have no unified policy to use against the oil producers.

But Ford and Kissinger are trying to remedy this, by whipping up hysteria in this country and world-wide against the oil producing states.

In the end, this hysteria can be used to justify military action—action which is now only in the planning stages on Pentagon drawing boards.

There will be no attack on the privately owned oil monopolies. No one in this government will propose sending the Marines to seize Exxon, Gulf, or the Rockefeller family's Standard Oil.

Instead, the ruling class of the world's biggest power would risk destroying the world to protect its own position. □



BRITISH I.S. MARCH STOPS FASCISTS

The International Socialists of Britain are heading a working class mobilization against racist and fascist organizations. One demonstration last month in Leicester, pictured above, mobilized 5000 marchers. It prevented the British fascist organization, the National Front, from staging a march through black and Asian workers' neighborhoods.

Fascist marches are only one part of the sharpening class struggle in Britain. Some military officers are organizing private armed groups to smash workers' pickets during major strikes expected this fall.

This movement is being organized by a Colonel David Sterling, who has organized and led mercenary armies in the Persian Gulf. He has contributed greatly to the military intelligence systems of the sheldoms in that region.

The leading organ of big business in Britain, the Economist, gives Sterling backhanded support, saying: "After the next election ordinary people in Britain may have to assert their right to work despite union-inspired chaos. If men like David Sterling can give sensible help, well and good."

Right-wing racist Enoch Powell (Britain's Barry Goldwater) is also attempting a comeback by capitalizing on the hysterical mood of the middle class.

Meanwhile, more "respectable" right-wing politicians and economists are demanding a total wage freeze through the end of 1975.

The British International Socialists have taken on the challenge of organizing workers to meet these threats, through rank and file struggles and mass demonstrations. □

HELL NO! War Resisters Speak Out

President Ford's program of "earned re-entry" for Vietnam War resisters was launched with some fanfare and a lot of hot air. During Nixon's reign anti-war exiles demanded unconditional amnesty as a part of their program of opposition to the war and the military. The government would consider no such thing, and responded with scoldings and lectures on patriotism.

Ford's punitive plan is not an amnesty offer. It does however open the door for them to return to their homes and families. But most of those who refused to fight have answered Ford the same way they answered the military's original call to arms: with a resounding "Hell No!"

Workers' Power discussed the re-entry program with three American exiles in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Tom Walker is now a zoning clerk in Vancouver. Married, with two children, he is a member of the Vancouver-American Exiles Association. He left the US in 1967 as a draft resister.

"I left the country," he said, "because I realized I would be drafted and if I continued to speak out against the war I would be put in prison. I didn't want to be a martyr in jail."

Pat Smith was a medic in the U.S. Army. Now working as a hospital orderly, he deserted for Canada in 1970 after a year and a half in the service.

"I was fairly young," he said, "and I had orders for Vietnam. I came up here. I don't think I did anything wrong. Opposition to the war really needed to be done."

Bill is a recent deserter from the Marine Corps who has been underground in Canada for seven months. Tom commented on Bill's underground status.

"You can no longer immigrate at the border, but must apply for immigrant status outside the country. The Canadian government will

check your record with the FBI and if they find you are a deserter will turn that information over to the US government."

We asked the men their opinions on Ford's "earned re-entry" program, and on other issues facing the exiles.

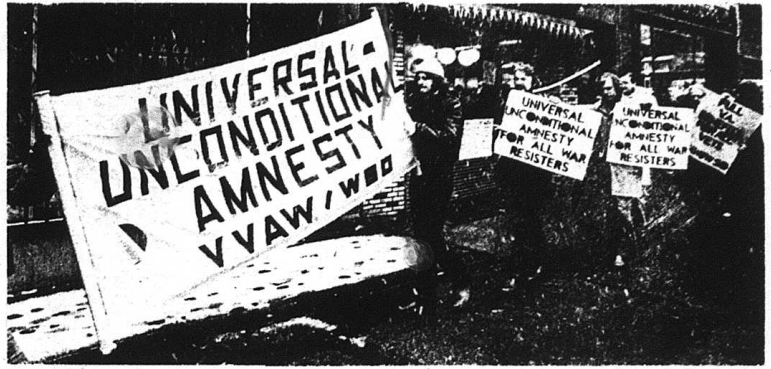
Tom: I think that what we did was right and what people like Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk and Lyndon Johnson did was wrong. They had the power to do it so nobody's going to stand in judgement over them.

We didn't have the power to undo what they were doing so we could only refuse to do what they told us to. We shouldn't be made to pay for that. Unconditional amnesty would be the only way to recognize that we had a perfect right to do what we did.

NOT SORRY

Pat: The present amnesty is a case by case review where we have to go back and say we're sorry; and I'm not sorry.

Bill: I think they shouldn't have us pay anything because the US didn't have to enter that war. They shouldn't have had anything to do



March, 1974; Vietnam Vets Against the War march in New York City demanding unconditional amnesty.

with it.

Workers' Power: What do you think of a case by case review?

Tom: That's just saying some people are worthy because they had moral objections to the war and other people aren't worthy because they just didn't like being pushed around by the military. The military didn't have any right to push anyone around.

Workers' Power: For many Americans the war in Vietnam is over and Ford's proposal comes as an attempt to heal the nation's wounds. Does it really do that?

Pat: Vietnam is still going on with American supplies. As far as

this healing the wounds of the nation Ford is much more concerned to heal the wounds of the Republican party and the American power structure.

As soon as Nixon was pardoned I knew there had to be some kind of amnesty plan for deserters and dodgers.

A DEAL

Bill: They made an agreement, I'll let you be President for the rest of the time, you let me off the hook, you don't have to really give amnesty, just bring up the subject. Then people will say, look, he's really doing a good job, he's bringing up amnesty and helping Nixon because he's sick.

Look how fast it came up for President Nixon. It just popped right up. Now it ain't popping up with the smaller people. They don't really care about the smaller people.

If they really wanted to clean this world up, why don't they stop the real criminals and bring down food prices and living prices and make it more even.

Tom: He didn't even try to mask it that his proposal of amnesty was to set the stage for pardon for Nixon. I thought after that he would have to come down with a leniency program that would at least divide the opinion of dodgers and deserters, say three months or six months when people could take it.

But he came down as punitively as he could, in other words saying, I've given this a lot of thought and what I really want to say is those draft dodgers and deserters in Canada don't really have a hope in hell.

They stood up to the American government and we've got to show them you can't stand up to the American government, but at the same time we've got to show everybody if you're in the American government you can do what you please and get away with it.

VETERANS

Workers' Power: What about the 500,000 vets who've received less than honorable discharges. Should they be given some sort of amnesty?

Tom: Definitely. I think there should be veteran's benefits at least on a par with the vets of WWII. The government treats Vietnam vets like a bunch of dirt. Especially with undesirable discharges.

TORONTO MEETING: "REAL AMNESTY!"

Vietnam war resisters from Canada, Sweden, England and France met in Toronto over the weekend of September 20-22 to reaffirm their opposition to the war and their repudiation of any punitive "conditional amnesty" such as proposed by Nixon appointee Gerald Ford. Resolutions were passed which:

1. Condemned US violations of the ceasefire agreement;
2. Demanded an end to US aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes; and
3. Called for a boycott of the Ford clemency.

Kim Moody

THE ECONOMY

Molehills at the Summit

The world stands poised on the edge of what may be the most severe depression since the 1930's. But economists, businessmen, or bureaucrats and government officials attempted to talk the crisis away in a series of "mini-summit" meetings ending with one grand summit.

Some eleven meetings, called by Gerald Ford, wound up on September 27-28. The purpose was to produce policy guidelines on how to

lowering the interest rate.

The only thing they seemed to agree on was that inflation was, indeed, a difficult problem and would take a long time to solve.

The theme of a businessmen's mini-summit in Pittsburgh was, as the chairman of Pepsi put it, that government should "stay out of the private sector." What this really meant was that government should do what business wants.

What business wants are tax

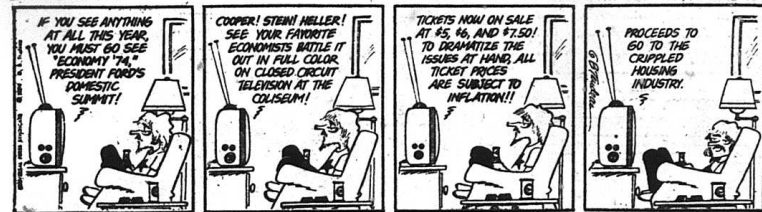
incentives (for business only), lower interest rates, wage restraint without price restraint, federal budget cuts in welfare areas, and government subsidies for opening new sources of fuel.

In other words, the capitalists firmly believe the proper role of government is to get them more money when they are in trouble.

Government, as always, agrees. The labor meeting was as lackluster as the rest. AFL-CIO President Meany endorsed most of what business asked for with the exception of wage restraints. Meany insisted that labor would have to demand higher wages—maybe even as high as 12%, he said.

He and the others didn't have much to say about inflation. They were mainly concerned about the growing slump and the threat of massive unemployment.

If the final summit were honest in appraising the results of the mini-summits it would have concluded: business prefers unemployment, the labor leaders prefer inflation, and the economists can't



fight inflation, and maybe even polish up Gerald Ford's slumping image.

The summits, however, produced little but confusion and impotence in the face of capitalist crisis. Inflation is rising at an annual rate of 16%, unemployment grows each month, real wages continue to drop. The working class, here and in all the industrial capitalist nations, faces economic disaster.

The gathering of top capitalist economists, businessmen, and government bureaucrats has only served to bring to public attention how utterly incompetent the American ruling class is.

The first mini-summit was composed of economists from all schools of capitalist economics. All these academic supporters of the system could come up with was the same old bag of tricks already exhausted by the Nixon administration.

Among them were wage-price controls, not very popular even among academics; raising or lowering the money supply; spending more or less government funds; or

example, billions to the American fuel industries.

Ford's conservative policies will only add fuel to the unfolding depression. Production is slowing down and unsold raw and semi-finished materials are piling up—creating up profits.

Wholesale prices are rising at an annual rate of 47%—a promise that inflation will continue. In spite of big profits the capitalists are too short of ready cash to get the economy moving.

Business Week (Sept. 21) said of the US banking system: "Taken as a whole, the system is in more trouble today than at any time since the 1930's, with a distressing number of banks over-loaned, over-borrowed, over-diversified, and under-capitalized."

This simply means that US capitalism reached the limits of its boom last year and just can't go on.

For the capitalists there is too much at stake to stop, but not enough to get out of their mess. From here on in, it's all down hill—with Ford kicking it along.

labor notes

by Jim Woodward

STRIKE
1974
JUSTICE



President Ford made headlines recently when he announced that 170,000 public service jobs would be created this winter to fight unemployment. But look a little closer. The \$600 million he promised had already been allocated for these jobs under normal government spending. For all the headlines, the only thing new from Ford was a promise of "compassion" if unemployment got worse.

Fifteen thousand UAW members are on strike at American Motors Corp. The main issue is the company's attempt to weaken shop floor organization. AMC wants to take away the right to strike over grievances and reduce the number of shop stewards by almost 75%. Workers at AMC currently have one steward for every 25 workers. The UAW long ago gave away this steward ratio and the right to strike over normal grievances in the Big Three auto plants. Steward ratios at Ford, GM and Chrysler are closer to 1:200, making stewards much less responsive to the membership.

Last year Detroit teachers were on strike for 43 days. Part of the massive attempt to break that strike were fines and damage claims imposed by the courts totalling close to \$4 million. Now that the strike is long over and teachers back in the classrooms, an appeals court has unanimously thrown out the fines and damages. The appeals court ruled that the lower court did not have enough evidence for its judgement against the teachers.

US dock workers joined in a two-day worldwide boycott of goods coming from or headed toward Chile. The September 18-19 action was called by the International Transport Workers Federation in protest of the treatment of dissidents by the military regime in Chile. Joining in the boycott were the International Longshoremen's Association on the east and Gulf coasts, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the west coast.

Sales of scab grapes in Detroit are down. According to Agriculture Department figures, the amount of grapes being shipped into the Detroit area is down 29% over the same period a year ago.

The "militant trade unionists" who organized support for the sell-out contract negotiated by Secretary Tom Iandoli of the New York Taxi Drivers Union included several chief dispatchers and garage managers, who are still in the union even though they are now bosses. The contract was ratified at a meeting attended by large numbers of pensioners who, the union leadership implied, would lose their pensions if the contract was rejected.

Asbestos-related cancer is now turning up in the wives and children of workers who were exposed to asbestos dust thirty years ago. A typical recent victim of mesothelioma (caused only by asbestos exposure) was the daughter of a man who had worked at an asbestos plant for only one year in the 1940's. In spite of such evidence, manufacturers continue to resist demands that their plants be engineered to avoid any exposure to asbestos.

After picketing a National supermarket in St. Louis in support of the Farm Workers' boycott, fifty persons recently entered the store to inspect the quality of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine. Customers in the store were interested to hear about the conditions under which these products were picked, including the uncontrolled use of pesticides. National eventually called the police. No charges were filed against any of their customers, but the four squad cars and one paddy wagon may have hurt the chain's business.

Finally in the news, a small victory. The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the right of workers to use the term "scab." Three scabs at a Virginia post office had earlier won a libel judgement of \$165,000 against a Letter Carriers local after the union had printed their names in its newspaper along with these lines written by Jack London: "A scab is a two-legged animal with a corkscrew soul, a water brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts, he carries a tumor of rotten principles. . . . A scab is a traitor to his God, his country, his family, and his class."

The Supreme Court, in reversing the lower court, said that libel occurs only if the statement was made "with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not." In this case, concluded Justice Marshall, "naming the appellees as scabs was literally and factually true."

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

Hands Across The Sea

The giant Transport and General Workers Union of Britain has reaffirmed its endorsement of the United Farm Workers' boycott of scab products. Unlike the paper endorsements given to the UFW by the AFL-CIO in the US, the TGWU endorsement means that scab grapes are boy-

cotted by transport workers in Britain and blocked from being unloaded at British ports. TGWU support is a very powerful secondary boycott of scab goods—an effective tactic which the AFL-CIO forced the UFW to give up in this country in return for official support.

Steward Fights Purge In CWA 1101



Dave Newman, former CWA chief steward, Local 1101

NEW YORK—A fight is on within Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 1101 over the local executive board's decertification of a chief steward. The steward, Dave Newman, is a leader of United Action (UA), a rank and file opposition group in the CWA. The decertification occurred as Ed Dempsey, president of Local 1101, was coming under increasing attack from United Action and other rank and file for his do-nothing approach to the national contract with the Bell System.

When asked about the decertification, Newman told Workers' Power, "I was decertified by President Dempsey because I'm a member of UA, because UA is beginning to present the real political opposition within the local to the Dempsey leadership. Our ideas and concepts at this point are

finding an enthusiastic reception among a larger number of people in the local now than they have in the past.

CONTRACT FIGHT

"We've been instrumental in pointing out in the recent months the lack of a contract fight, both on the part of the International and on the part of the Local. Dempsey's bearing the brunt of our attacks, and he's scared of us."

Shortly before Newman was decertified, he had introduced a motion in the Southern Manhattan division stewards' meeting. The motion, which passed overwhelmingly, put the stewards on record as opposed to the Bell System's initial contract offer, with or without the addition of the agency

shop. (Shortly afterwards, exactly this sell-out was announced.)

Newman's motion said, in essence, that there were other issues more important to telephone workers than the agency shop—specifically the grievance procedure, inflation, absence control, and automation. The motion demanded that the local leadership get busy, start contacting other big-city locals and start waging a national fight for a national rejection.

This fight over the national contract may have contributed to Newman's decertification. Another reason, perhaps the main one, is Dempsey's fear that Newman and other United Action members may run against his slate in next year's Local elections.

STEWARDS SUPPORT

The action against Newman may have backfired, however. All the members and all the stewards in Newman's district have demanded his reinstatement. The chief stewards have responded more like a real body than ever before. Several of them, respected fighters, are supporting Newman not only on the grounds of union democracy, but also because of his fight against the contract sell-out.

United Action is leading the fight for Newman's reinstatement by organizing support at divisional stewards' meetings. UA is also preparing for the next local membership meeting where the group will make an attempt to reinstate Newman.

Although United Action is still a small group within Local 1101, Dempsey's attack shows that he is afraid of the reception UA's ideas have found in the local. Workers' Power asked Newman whether Dempsey's fear was justified.

"Yeah," he said, "in the long run his fear is definitely justified. You know, we're out to sweep his kind away. We think that the Local and the Union belong to us, to the rank and file, and if Dempsey's in the way, yeah, his fear is definitely justified."

Legal Aid Workers Demand Justice

NEW YORK—On September 11, over 570 legal aid lawyers went on strike sending this city's Criminal and Supreme Courts into a worse state of chaos than normally prevails in these anarchic institutions. The flow of humanity from the ghetto to prison was temporarily interrupted as lawyers sought "case continuity" and higher wages.

Presently, 75% of all criminal defendants, who are almost exclusively poor blacks and Latinos, are represented by legal aid attorneys. However, under the current system each accused person may be shuffled from one lawyer to another as his case proceeds from arraignment to pre-trial hearings, and then to trial.

The attorney's union, the Association of Legal Aid Attorneys, is fighting under the slogan "One Client, One Lawyer" in order to permit an attorney to follow his case from start to finish. This would, at least, mean that the attorney is familiar with his client's case and is, in part, accountable for the results.

The other major strike demand is a 20% increase in wages to compensate for the skyrocketing

cost of living. Unlike private or corporation attorneys, legal aid lawyers work for wages, and relatively meager wages at that.

Both the Legal Aid Society management and the judges are upset by the union demands. After all, case continuity is an expensive proposition. It means an end to assembly-line "justice" where a client is shuffled from one lawyer to another only to receive a prefabricated representation that may not fit the needs of his case.

However, in a thinly veiled sleight of hand the Justices of the Appellate Division who manage the operation of the criminal courts, sought to obscure this real issue. They issued a press release which they will surely learn to regret.

AN ANCIENT PRACTICE

Justices McGivern and Gulotta intoned, "The Appellate Divisions urge the attorneys, who have quit their posts of duty, to leave the picket lines and return to their ancient professions. They are attorneys, professionals, not day laborers, and should act accordingly."

As if this were not enough, the judges threatened to disbar the striking lawyers, to replace them

with a different system of representation, and, in the meantime, to break their strike by calling in private attorneys to represent criminal defendants.

The Legal Aid attorneys union issued a stinging reply: "We are outraged by the Justices' distinction between professional and day laborers. As attorneys we are workers and we share with all other working people pride in that heritage. . . . The Presiding Justices' statement amounts to the ancient practice of strikebreaking."

As a result of the unmasking of the Presiding Justices a new wave of militancy swept the union. Nevertheless, the union leadership offered to submit all disputes to binding arbitration. Incredibly, management refused even that!

Legal aid lawyers have found they have to fight for even the most minimal reform of working conditions and for extremely limited justice for their clients. The mythology of the "lawyer-client relationship" and the fantasy of American justice are being smashed against the needs of the assembly line and the necessity for increased productivity.

Raymond James
Joe Larkin

Book Banning In W. Va.

Angry parents forced schools in Kanawha County, West Virginia, to shut down for two days this month, demanding the removal of what they termed "anti-Christian, anti-American, Communist, filthy-language" textbooks from the schools.

Roving pickets demonstrated at Board of Education offices, schools, construction sites, trucking companies and coal mines.

Their picket lines were honored by many miners, with the walkouts

spreading to four neighboring counties and keeping 8,000 to 10,000 miners out at the peak of the protests.

The opposition to the new language arts textbooks has been led by fundamentalist ministers, who claim that the books "advocate violence, murder—they're eroding the very basis of our Constitution."

They object to the books' treatment of marijuana, sex, "extremist politics," bomb-making and religion. The protests have led to a

shooting and a beating of two truck drivers at one of the businesses picketed.

TEMPORARY TRUCE

Protesters and the Board of Education reached a compromise agreement September 11, to remove most of the books for 30 days and have a Board-appointed citizen review committee advise on their further use.

The picketers were hit with

injunctions, arrests and fines which, along with the compromise agreement, have led to at least a temporary halt in activities. But if the review committee should decide in favor of keeping the books, it is likely that the ministers and their followers will renew their efforts.

The tactics of the textbook protesters were borrowed by residents of nearby Logan County in an effort to get the state to repair their deteriorating roads.

They picketed at school bus garages, and since smart folks don't cross picket lines in coal country, the busses didn't run and schools were shut down for two days. The state got the message and the roads got fixed.

POLITICAL STRIKE

Using strikes to fight for political demands, to force the government to deal with "community" issues such as education or roads, is not a new tactic for West Virginia miners. They wildcatted last winter over the state's limit on gasoline purchases, which was keeping many miners from getting to work—and they forced the governor to lift it.

The miners are aware of the power they have as workers and will use it when they see their interests as parents or citizens being threatened. Likewise other groups who want support for their struggles will turn to workers for help, knowing that the power to stop production is the most important lever they can have.

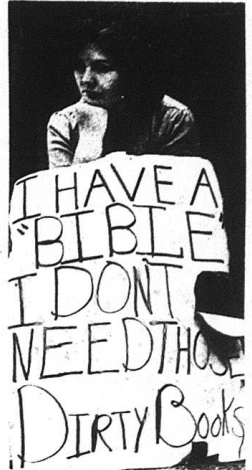
Things are building in the coal fields towards a strike when the contract runs out in November; the miners are feeling their power—both to affect community struggles and to point the way for other workers with a victory over the coal operators this fall. Miners also know that a strike over any issue reduces coal stockpiles.

United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller and local union officials opposed the miners' sympathy walkouts. Miller flew to West Virginia to emphasize that while he wasn't asking his members to endanger their safety by crossing the lines, he did not endorse the walkouts.

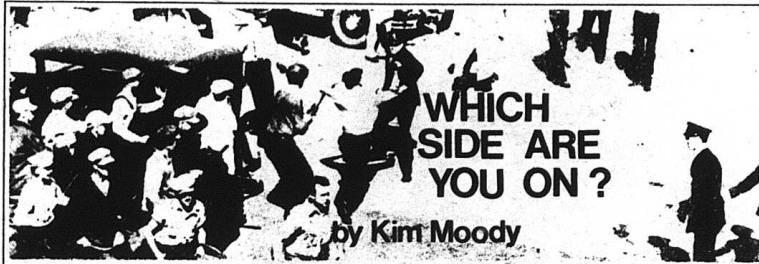
TENSIONS BUILD

Miller realizes that his continued control of the union and his image as a reformer depend on his ability to lead and win a militant strike this fall. Yet he also wants to keep the miners' militancy from getting out of his control.

Although many of the protesters



Some West Virginia parents didn't want their children to read about the real world.



by Kim Moody

Miners: Showdown Set

[On September 3, negotiations opened between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association (BCOA), the bargaining arm of the coal bosses. The present contract between the UMWA and the BCOA covers some 115,000 workers and expires on November 12.

In spite of opening statements about avoiding a strike, most people on both sides expect one. The positions of capital and labor are "far apart," as they say. The pressures from the UMWA's ranks on the one hand, and big industry on the other, are strong.

This week's column is the first in a series of background articles on the coming struggle in the coal fields. Our "side" is that of the miners and the UMWA, but following the dictum of "know your enemy" we begin with a description of the industry and the bosses.]

Even since the "Oil Crisis" revived the demand for coal, the smell of money has been strong in the nostrils of the coal operators. Since the early 1960's, when coal reached its low, production, has grown considerably—from less than 400 million tons in 1961 to 590 million tons in 1973.

Both private and government studies indicate that if coal production can triple in the next ten years, the US can be self-sufficient for its power resources. This kind of self-sufficiency just reeks of profits.

Indeed, the big coal users and the big oil companies knew what was coming, so they bought in. Today's coal operator is no marginal capitalist living on a hill overlooking the mining camp. It is the oil, steel, and utility giants of America that own over half of US coal production.

These companies, as well as the independent coal companies—themselves no longer small local operations—want to cash in on what seems like an endless boom for the coal industry.

To triple coal production by 1985 would require an annual investment of from \$1.5 billion (Cornell University) to \$2 billion (Morgan Guarantee Trust). But the coal industry currently invests less than \$500 million. So, the coal owners reason, profits must be greatly increased.

In fact, profits have increased. And to help things along coal prices have nearly tripled since price controls were lifted in May.

But enough is never enough when it comes to profits, and the coal bosses see a number of barriers to the continued growth of profits.

BARRIERS TO PROFITS

Foremost among these barriers are the miners themselves. As a result of federal and state health and safety laws won by the miners, contractual clauses allowing work stoppages over safety, and just plain wildcats, worker productivity has dropped drastically in the past few years—28% since 1969.

The bosses complain that health and safety standards prevent miners from working fast enough to suit their taste for profits. These laws and these contractual rights, the bosses argue, should be waived in the interest of patriotism so that America can become self-sufficient in energy resources.

During the recent 13-month strike at the Brookside mine in Harlan, Kentucky, the Company (Eastover Coal, a subsidiary of Duke Power) unsuccessfully demanded a no-strike pledge, reimbursement for any losses suffered as a result of a safety shutdown called by the union, and the right to promote on the basis of "qualification" rather than seniority.

These demands were Eastover's attack on what the UMWA has managed to win on safety and working conditions. The Wall Street Journal assures us that "the coal industry itself will make similar demands" in the national negotiations between the UMWA and the BCOA.

In other words, the bosses want speed-up and lower labor costs and intend to resist union demands for greater safety and higher wages and benefits. From the employers' point of view, this is a fight over their very future.

There isn't much doubt that the government will side with the employers. Ford will certainly retain the Nixon administration's commitment to "expand the use of coal in this country as a way to save on imports of petroleum."

The Nixon administration had already taken on part of the burden of the coal bosses' expansion program. Government research and development funds for the coal industry rose from \$25 million a year in 1970 to \$138 million in 1974. A new law passed will provide \$371 million in 1975. That last amount is nearly as much as the total investment by the coal industry in 1970.

More directly relevant to UMWA-BCOA negotiations, however, is the likelihood of government intervention. It is always possible that Ford will step in with a Taft-Hartley injunction.

Ford's political credibility at the moment, however, is pretty low. In spite of pleas and claims filed with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) by the coal operators, Ford kept his soiled hands off of the five day memorial strike recently called by the UMWA.

The NLRB has also taken a hands off attitude toward employer complaints over wildcats. The government is cautious because these days it is not sure anyone, let alone 80,000 angry miners, will listen to it.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

But an injunction may come if a coal strike starts closing down steel production, as it would after three weeks or so.

A more likely first step is high powered federal mediation. It was Nixon's own labor lieutenant, W.J. Usery, who leaped into the Brookside strike to prevent civil war in Harlan County.

Usery fancies himself a sort of Kissinger of labor relations. He is everywhere. No doubt Ford will want Usery to apply his talents to the coal negotiations.

In fact, it seems likely that the government sent Usery into the Brookside negotiations and allowed for a UMWA victory on most counts in order to soften the UMWA's attitude toward mediation and toward Usery himself.

There can be no doubt, however, that Usery will not be siding with the union in the national negotiations. He will be there to do the bosses' dirty work.

The government and the other big capitalists realize that the UMWA settlement will set the pace for those that follow. A big victory for the UMWA will inspire the longshoremen, aerospace workers and others with upcoming contract deadlines to fight for more.

Ford, the Congress, and the employers want the workers to pay for inflation just as much as the coal operators want the miners to pay for their future investment.

[Next issue will deal with the UMWA and its preparations for the fight.]

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WORKERS' Power WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MINERS UNION
 MAY 10 25 1974
 Vol. 10 No. 21

Portugal Explodes Company Tells Workers
YOUR MONEY OR

Due to rising postage costs, we must raise the price of mail subscriptions to Workers' Power. As of October 15, mail subscriptions will be \$5 per year, foreign and supporting subs will be \$7.50, and introductory subs will be \$1 for five issues. The newsstand price will remain at 15c for a single copy.

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

"Welfare can decide or not you eat"

Welfare is probably the most universally unpopular institution in our society. To some, who know little about it, it is a system of free handouts for the lazy. To its caseworkers it is an impossible job. But to those on welfare it is a vicious circle of red tape whose constant theme is humiliation.

Most people on welfare cannot work. Elderly persons without pensions, the disabled and sick, and most of all, children, are punished for being poor and helpless by the creature that never lets them forget that it keeps them alive.

Others on welfare are prevented from working. These are mostly mothers without a man, who, if they do find a "women's job" also find their new expenses like transportation, childcare, and work clothes add up to more than they can make.

Workers' Power recently talked to Freida B., who was a "welfare mother" for a long time. She tells of her experiences with the system, and what it taught her.

When I applied for welfare I was being evicted from my apartment. The landlord said I had broken the lease because my husband had signed it and he was no longer there. So on that basis I was evicted.

The caseworker came out to my house to see if I qualified on the day the landlord was throwing my furniture into the street. The caseworker said, "Well, what's going on here?" I said, "I'm being evicted from this house." And she said "Oh, OK, well call me when you have a permanent address." And then she left.

So there I had hit bottom, had no

TRAPPED

The first project that I lived in was for 600 families, the second was for 900 families. After a matter of months you get a feeling of being forced to live there.

I've heard people describe projects as concentration camps without barbed wire. Here you are with all these other people who are dirt poor, all struggling to survive and not doing too well at it, and you're all in there together.

Especially if you are in a larger project you feel a bond, a sense of

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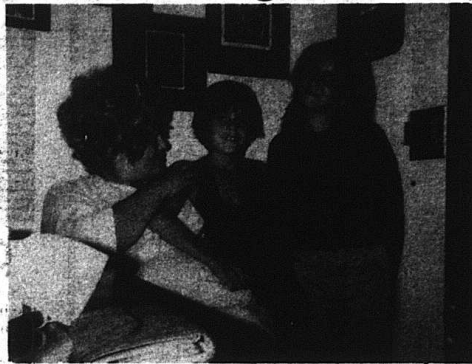
place to go, and not even welfare wanted to take me if I was being evicted.

BEFORE THE SLUMP

When finally I got on welfare I was getting \$170 per month. There was no such thing as food stamps, and I had two children. But it was much easier to apply for welfare in those days. There weren't as many people on welfare, for the economic situation in Seattle hadn't deteriorated.

It was before the slump in '68. So getting welfare was pretty much based on when you told your story to your caseworker, whether she thought you were telling the truth.

Now with more people on welfare, things are tightening up. If two people on welfare move in together both their allotments get cut, because instead of two households, they are now one household.



Freida and her two children.

are not available to them. Projects are located in very isolated places. And if you don't have money to go clear across town, you're just out of luck. There is nothing to do.

GANGS

In the projects there are gangs of kids, dirt poor, oppressed, nothing to do, who would wind up ripping people off. It would be a case of the beggar stealing from the beggar. It was almost ridiculous.

There was x amount of goods in the project and they would just circulate. If you happened to have a teen ager in your house chances are you would get to have one of these things in your house for a while.

Actually, most of the time things would be taken to a fence, an older person who would take advantage of the younger people. The fences would buy very low and then sell very high.

I think poverty destroys happy family lives, because it winds up being a contest to see who can get the \$5 needed to get out of the project for an evening.

As my kids got older I became more aware of the high level of gratuitous violence in project life. When men are unemployed they tend to feel that their concept of themselves as husbands, as providers, is really threatened. And they come home and take it out on the family.

A lot of women I knew were beaten up on a regular basis. The women didn't even think of leaving the situation because in their experience there wasn't anything better.

Eventually, though, I got involved in a fight for community control of the project. Instead of having Neighborhood House, funded by the federal government to administer programs to the community, instead of having people we fondly called "poverty pimps" run the program, we felt that the people should get together and decide what it was they needed and how to organize to get it. And if that meant getting direct funding from the government, then we would do that.

CHARM CLASSES

The fight was frightening and a real eye opener. Neighborhood House had several programs going

long time, a mobile classroom to help people take the high school equivalent test. These programs were really just to take people's time up, pacification programs for people who had real reasons to be very discontented.

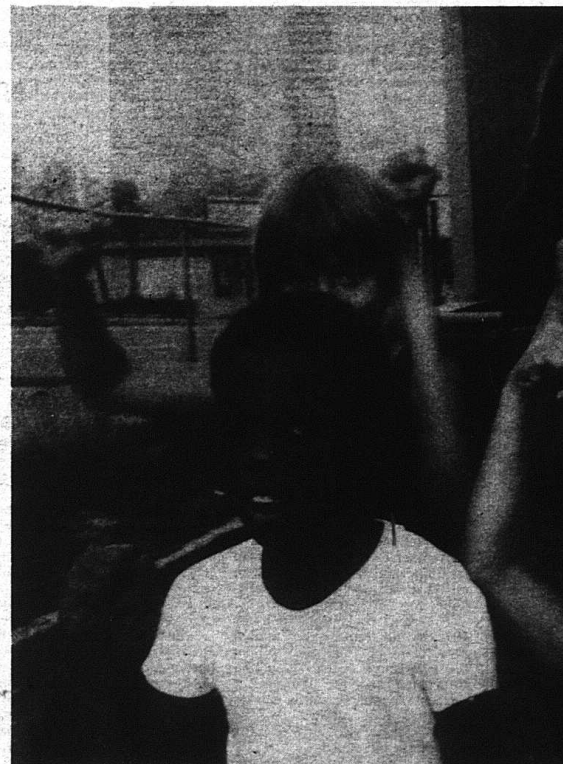
So what we decided to do was get together to form a community council that had real power, that wasn't just an advisory board to the agency. We needed an independent organization, to get some of the things we needed like a day care center, so more women could get on the Work Incentive Program and get off welfare.

When we started organizing the council we had meetings three or four times a day! We had no leaders, and it was very democratic and this was a very new thing for most of the people there.

We learned that all across the city in other projects, other people were going through the same thing. We met some of the people in other projects who would tell us very cryptically, "We're not going to tell you what to do, we're just going to tell you that very soon you are going to know who your friends are, and who your enemies are, and you are going to know it in a way that you'll never forget."

And for me that became very true. It was like we were having a war down there.

We had to publish an underground newspaper called the "Back



Freida's children and friends show their right-on attitude.

Whether or have a place to sleep”

Fence” because the Project paper refused to print out letters or articles.

We had to have a sit-in to get direct funding for the day-care center, so that the community council would be in charge of the center rather than Neighborhood House.

VICTORY

Many people were frightened, but in the end we had an election and won the community council and the day care center. We were denounced as Reds, but we won.

In the long run however, the community council fell apart. People are always moving in and out of the projects, and the new people didn't see the need for it.

Also there was a contradiction in the whole program. Because if the day care center is to help women get on a work program, and if that works, then those women will not have time to go to the endless meetings necessary to keep the council going. It takes longer to do it yourself instead of have a bunch of professionals do it for you.

If the people at Neighborhood House had been smart, they would have known we would not be able to maintain this, and they would have been more benign, and let it blow away. Instead they reacted. Welfare literally can decide whether or not you eat or have a place

to sleep. Its like living under Fascism.

I mentioned the Work Incentive Program before. It is called WIN. Someone pointed out to me that the initials really sound like WHIP. WIN was supposedly the way to get you off welfare, get you some

training and a job.

What you wound up doing was working for free to get work experience. You punched in, everything, but you didn't get paid. I did about 6-9 months unpaid labor at an Art Center and at the County Jail.

Also, caseworkers in the WIN program would have meetings to counsel us about training. The caseworkers really pushed Beauty School and training as a Practical Nurse.

LABOR POOL

At a WIN meeting I stated that I wanted to take college parallel courses (that used to be an option). And the caseworker asked me what I wanted to study. When I told her I liked sociology, she replied, "Well, dear, what would YOU do with sociology?"

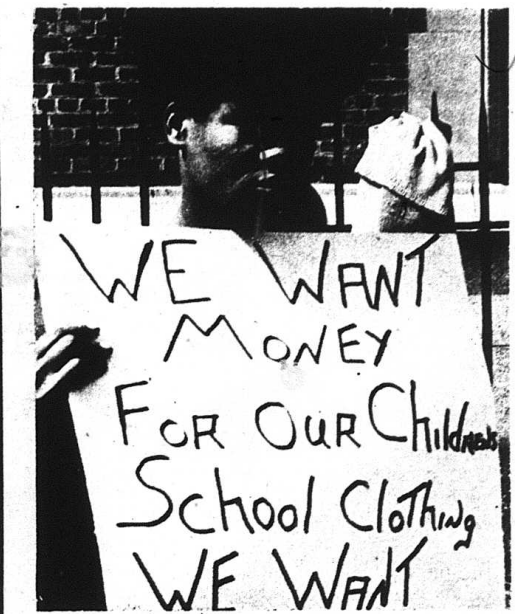
Actually, what they wanted us for was to be part of that big pool of semiskilled marginal labor in this country. How convenient.

But I was finally allowed to take

sociology. I took courses for two years, then took an oral examination for Social Service worker, and got top scores. Now I was supposed to receive from the WIN program all these referrals to jobs in the field I trained for. Well, I got exactly two interviews. One job required that I provide a car in good running condition, and the other had no bus service to the workplace. So, no job.

The WIN program is even worse now. They've cut out all the school and training opportunities, they've even cut out the so-called on the job training program.

Now, if you are on Public Assistance and your youngest child is over the age of 6, you are



Caseworkers Mobilize

In the last several years cuts in social spending have made the lives of people on welfare even more miserable. Grants have been slashed and services reduced.

In New York City welfare recipients begin lining up at midnight. Many wait outside all night for the doors to open. Every morning people are turned away, often after waiting several hours.

On September 12, several hundred welfare workers from two locals of AFSCME District Council 37 held a lunch-hour demonstration in front of the New York City Human Resources Administration. The demonstration was also supported by Local 1180 of the Communications Workers of America.

The workers demonstrated against the city's no-hiring policy which has caused these intolerable conditions.

Both caseworkers and clerical workers joined in the demonstration. Workers inside the headquarters threw confetti and scrap paper out the windows and cheered the workers outside.

required to be on the WIN program. The program functions as a job finding agency, and you are forced to take whatever jobs they find for you.

If you turn down more than three jobs, then you will be "counseled," which means that they will call you in for a series of counseling sessions and you will be cut off public assistance for the duration of the "counseling session." In some states you can be forced to work for less than the minimum wage.

Further, corporations are given big tax breaks for hiring WIN participants. It's possible that people on welfare could be forced to work as strikebreakers.

I'm now on Social Security.

lent face of liberalism, in the form of social service agencies is a bunch of shit. Its the sugar coated repression. I learned to recognize paternalism... paternalism and liberalism.

The biggest thing that I learned in the community control fight was that we were not poor because we were stupid or deficient, but because we were supposed to be poor, we were needed to be poor. We were needed as a pool of unskilled cheap labor.

And it was exciting to discover that nowhere is it written that we are destined to put up with this shit. We also learned that poor people can speak for themselves, that you don't need a PhD to know

"The biggest thing that I learned in the community control fight was that we were not poor because we were stupid or deficient, but because we were supposed to be poor, we were needed to be poor. We were needed as a pool of unskilled cheap labor."

survivor's benefits, and I'm working for \$1.90 an hour as a housekeeper in a nursing home. Actually those years on welfare prepared me to take a job like this, because welfare teaches you that you are not worth much.

PACIFICATION

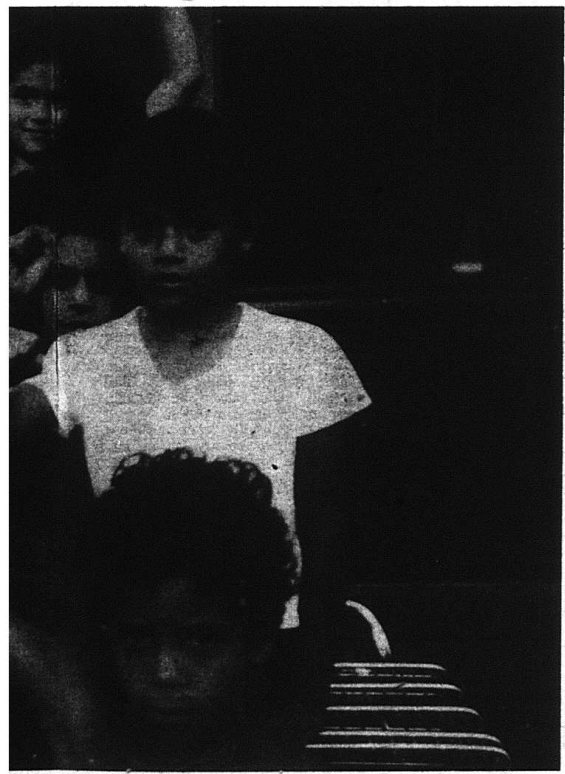
Welfare is an integral part of the economy. In a society where you don't have full employment for people, if they didn't have welfare for people something would happen, people would do something directly about the problem. That's why welfare is a pacification program.

I really learned that the benevo-

what's wrong with being poor. Your life is yours, it belongs to you, and you have to take it. The organizing program was very exciting, very emotional. And when our organizing ultimately failed, to me it meant that you can't change part of the system.

That if you change part of the system, the rest of the system is just going to crush you. The whole thing has to go. It's not just the system of welfare.

The whole thing has got to go... or else you are going to spend the rest of your life being grateful for crumbs, convinced that you were born deficient and that is why you are on welfare and not the President of General Motors.



WHAT

CIA: Twenty Years of Terror

Recent revelations on the CIA's prominent role in overturning the Allende government in Chile have provoked many American politicians to take a posture of bewildered dismay. "If the CIA would tell us what they're up to," they whine, "we wouldn't let them overthrow governments. They should just collect information."

Unless these political leaders have been living with their heads in the sand for the past 25 years, they know what everyone else knows. Chile was only the latest of a long and ugly string of right wing coups directed by the CIA.

A few of the best known and most spectacular of these escapades include Iran, 1953; Guatemala, 1954; Brazil, 1964; Greece, 1967; and Cambodia, 1970. In most of these, the CIA directly helped to overthrow governments which had come into conflict with US political and business interests.

In most of them, pro-US right-wing dictators were brought to power. Unions were crippled or banned. Strikes were outlawed. Working class militants were murdered, students arrested and tortured, newspapers seized and censored or destroyed.

The only exceptions are the CIA's fiascos—the 1960 U-2 spy plane and the attempted invasion of Cuba in 1961.

The above examples include only the times when the coups were carried out without the direct intervention of US troops, ships and planes. There was also the occupation of Lebanon in 1958;

the murderous war in Vietnam from 1961 on; the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965.

United States foreign policy has many faces. Some are open, some are secret. Some are armed with B-52 bombers and 500-pound bombs, some with nuclear submarines and hydrogen bombs, some with foreign aid and smiles of friendship. All of them are part and parcel of one hideously ugly system: imperialism.

The operations of the CIA are in no way separate from the entire body of US foreign policy. The CIA is part of Washington's massive hidden face in world affairs. Its purpose, like the rest of foreign policy, is to enable US capitalism to dictate to the rest of the world to make sure that American interests reign supreme.

Suddenly, however, there is a public hue and cry over the CIA. A scandal is spreading over the CIA's spending \$8 million to bring about the fascist coup in Chile.

Liberal Senators like Hubert Humphrey and Frank Church, who have known and fully supported the purposes and operations of the CIA for their entire careers, are suddenly outraged that the CIA is used for subversion instead of simply "intelligence-gathering"!

There is a good reason for the hysteria. The Watergate scandal, and the Vietnam war before it, have exposed the American government, to its own people and to the world, as a giant apparatus of lies, deceit and murderous tricks.

A little of the truth about the CIA is now seeping out, too. Not just the Chile caper—but the attempts to infiltrate unions in Britain, the creation of a private army in Laos at \$300 million a year, and so forth. Two new books by ex-CIA agents will expose even more.

These exposures are dangerous, in part, because they will force people and governments around the world, including some key US allies, to wonder about the work of the CIA in their own countries.

What is the CIA doing in Greece today? What is its role in re-organizing extreme right wing organizations in Portugal? Is the CIA helping to finance private strike-breaking armies in Britain? Is it helping to murder left-wing trade unionists in Argentina?

These are questions which many people would like to see answered. So would we. If the hidden facts about the CIA were forced into the open, the result would be another Watergate scandal, this time on a world scale, that would make Nixon's Watergate look like a third-grade practical joke.

A few highly-placed liberals seem to want the CIA's more blatant practices cleaned up, or given a little cosmetic treatment, so that its real day-to-day work can continue. Socialists, on the other hand, demand that the whole truth about the CIA—its past, its present, and its hidden operations—all be brought into the open now. We want the CIA abolished along with the imperialist system that created it. □

READERS' COLUMN



*Workers Power
Room 225
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middle or upper-class society automatically rejected by the people?

If the working class is to build on what already exists, we must have real revolutionary solidarity, based on allegiance to the cause, the needs of the people (the working class) and an end to the exploitation of man by man.

Granted, we all seek a change today. However, without the necessary power base i.e., the people who are aware, we shall all be machine-gunned or roasted. Even today, the government is making ready federal detention centers for the outspoken people who would dare question government policy, places where people can be zapped, with the mind being totally destroyed.

The massive funding under the LEAA is for the most part, an accelerated move to equip the larger cities in this country with weapons of war, to be used against any and all groups who would dare protest against the established power structure. The weapons used by the Los Angeles Police Department were only the tip of the so-called iceberg.

The Department of Justice is in building of prisons to confine all those who would dare challenge the

present captaistic power structure. Even labor leaders in this country have lent their support. They are members of the board of the Federal Prison Industries Inc., the users of slave labor inside federal prisons. Labor leaders of

lems facing teachers and education today. I would like to add something about a "caucus" David Miller did not mention, the Rank and File Caucus.

In a superficial way, the program of the Rank and File Caucus, a group formed at last year's AFT convention by members and friends of the Progressive Labor Party, seems to address itself to many of the concerns raised by Miller and the International Socialists.

The RAFC supported resolutions on rank-and-file-run strikes, for coordinated national actions aiming toward a national contract, for minority hiring as a priority contract demand and for a shorter workweek for teachers to increase hiring, and for parity pay and benefits for substitutes.

The RAFC correctly emphasized throughout that neither Selden nor Shanker pointed a way toward a militant, democratic union which would work together with parents, students, other school employees and the educational community.

So why didn't the IS enter and work with the RAFC instead of taking a position of "Abstain now—Build an Alternative"? One reason can be found in Challenge (the PLP newspaper) of August 29, 1974, printed before the convention began, which announced that the RAFC slate "includes public school and college teachers; communists and militant non-communists; black and white; men and women; and AFTers from nearly a dozen locals around the country..."—in short, that the entire slate had already been chosen before the opening of the convention.

This supposedly "rank and file" caucus left no chance for anyone who might join it at the Convention to have any democratic input into the candidates or the platform. Although the RAFC boasts of its ties to Teachers' Action Caucus in San Francisco, to my knowledge, the two RAFC candidates from TAC were not chosen democratically at a TAC meeting here, either.

No attempt has been made at any time by the RAFC to contact any of the rank and file groups that exist on the state or national level, such as Grassroots in New York State, Network in California, or the United Action Caucus at the national level.

Any real alternative in the union must make continued and serious efforts to work together with the groups that already are fighting for new politics in AFT.

Ann Judah
San Francisco

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.

the present power structure are in many cases working partners of the affluent and refuse to meet the needs of the people. They openly take the attitude of "damn the people," knowing the rank and file has been brainwashed and in many cases refuse to even vote in any election.

With the limited power to communicate, is it any wonder that there are those who shall not wait the millennium? Any death commitment should cause us all to make more contacts and spread awareness among the people. The change is coming and soon.

John P. Alkes
Leavenworth Prison

AFT RANK & FILE CAUCUS

The article in Workers' Power #103 about the recent AFT national convention, "Shanker Takes Over," is generally a balanced and correct report on this union's inadequate response to the prob-

DEATH COMMITMENT

[This letter's author is a member of the Leavenworth Seven, a group of militant prisoners who are being persecuted by penal authorities for their organizing activities.

One man has been murdered. All have been physically and psychologically tortured.

This letter was written in late June. It did not arrive for Workers' Power until mid-September.

Harassment of prisoners, interference with their civil liberties, is a constant process in the penal system.

Messing with the mail is only one example of this intimidation. It is more intense for black people, for political people, for people who fight back and for those who organize others to fight together.

Workers' Power salutes the courage of the Leavenworth Seven. We believe their struggle is an inspiration for all of us to unite to defeat our common enemies.—Editors.]

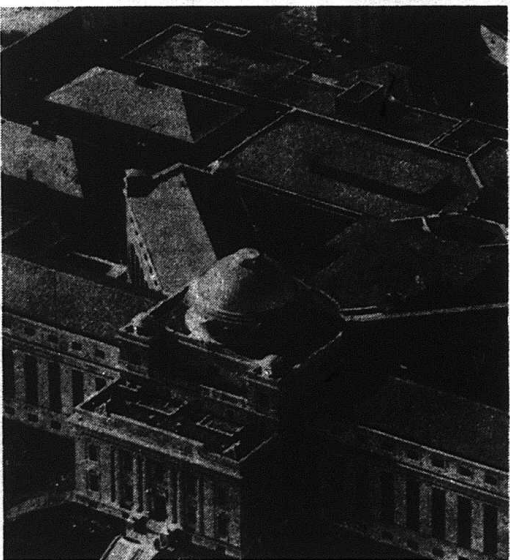
Much has been written about the SLA and the fruitless sacrifice of committing one's self to death, via a police massacre. For years, the living have seen or read of many instances of single and multiple acts of murderous assault, to the fiendish delight of the capitalist power structure.

Many people in this country were ill-prepared to read of the Kent State massacre and real fleetingly when confronted with the killings of the Panthers, Muslims, and other individuals who had been labeled "radical."

And while these nightmares were/are taking place, the government continues a program of slaughter, by a genocidal-motivated "minimum wage law, no strike law, price support" and hundreds of other laws aimed to continue the ruthless competition between the people for survival.

While I agree that guns do not make revolutions—people do—I must also accept the fact that we cannot, nor do we today, possess the means of dissemination that is necessary to prevent individuals or small bands who seek change today, from making the death commitment. There are those who shall not wait for the power base of people to be established, but shall follow the road of "sectarianism or elitism."

If we are to condemn or criticize those who fulfill the death commitment, are we not partially responsible through our failure to communicate? Is one who is born into



Leavenworth Prison

Steel Ranks Take On Abel

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—At the September convention of the United Steel Workers union (USW), the policies of President I.W. Abel emerged undefeated, but by no means unchallenged. During the Convention a loose opposition coalition of delegates from all around the U.S. and Canada was able to put forward alternatives to Abel's policies and to force close decisions.

While this coalition was formed only at the Convention and was loose both in its organization and its political agreement on some important questions, groundwork was laid which can be developed to create an alternative to the gutless, pro-company, undemocratic lead-

delegates, but 40-50% of the delegates in the hall at any one time. Therefore Abel escaped a true vote which surely would have defeated his dues increase.

"ABOVE THE WORKERS"

The salary increases rammed through ranged from 40% for District Directors (to \$35,000) and 25% for Abel (to \$75,000). As Ed Mann, President of Local 1462 and rank and file leader, told Workers' Power, "We've created a new group of people who are above the workers. How can these guys understand the problems of my daughter who operates a punch press in a Steelworkers organized shop for \$2.60 an hour?"

*membership ratification of all agreements and an end to the ENA;

*renegotiation of the Consent Decree to remove limitations on back pay, rate retention, and plant-wide seniority and to protect any workers presently punished because they had advanced under the old system;

*spectator status for Staff Reps at Conventions;

*abolition of plant productivity committees, real job safety and ensured job security;

*removal of the anti-communist clause from the USW Constitution. It "has been used to attack, harass, and victimize members in both the U.S. and Canada";

*no dues increase;

*representation for minorities on the International Executive Board.

Along with many individual delegates from all areas, groups which were particularly active in organizing the opposition and carrying the fight to the floor included: Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, whose chairman, Jim Davis, was one of the most effective rank and file spokesmen on the floor; Rank and File Team (RAFT), which came to the convention prepared to organize a fight and played an important role in doing so; Workers in Protest from the Alliquippa Jones and Laughlin local who focused mainly on the dues fight; plus substantial groups of delegates from Locals 1005 (Stelco, Hamilton, Ontario) and Local 1010 (Inland Steel, Gary, Indiana).

Steel workers who want to be involved in the continuing opposition to the Abel administration's policies should contact RAFT, Box 2221, Youngstown, Ohio 44504. □

Steve Carter

TALKING
ABOUT
SOCIALISM

BERNARD O'HIGGINS

A Ruling Class?

A friend of mine got into a discussion at work about whether or not there is a ruling class in America. My friend was arguing that there is a ruling class—an organized social group that rules society in its own interests—the capitalist class that controls industry and commerce.

Another worker (let's call him Frank) denied the existence of a ruling class, and claimed that your social position in America is determined by how intelligent you are.

"If you're smart you make it to the top," he said. "If you're stupid you stay at the bottom."

"So, you think you're stupid," my friend whipped back tactlessly, almost starting a fight. But it forced Frank to face the implications of what he was saying. He tried to squeeze out of it by saying he was still young and had a chance to rise higher in society. But I think the point was made.

ILLUSIONS OF EQUALITY

People have many illusions about the nature and even the existence of social classes in America, many more illusions than people have in places like England or France. This is not because Americans are stupider or more backward than Europeans, but because of the different way America has developed historically.

For one thing, feudalism never existed in America as it did in Europe. Under the feudal system of the Middle Ages, most people were poor peasants and they farmed for a rich lord who was loyal to a king. There were no factories or wage workers then.

Under feudalism every slight difference in class position was clearly defined and made official. God had set up the social order and that was why some people were rich, and most were poor. The king ruled through Divine Right.

In America, the capitalist class established its power by throwing out the British capitalist rulers in the Revolution of 1776. The new American capitalist class wanted national independence so they could make money as they pleased and not have a foreign nation taxing them and telling them how to trade and what to manufacture.

Even though Britain had a king it was already a capitalist country by that time. In their struggle for independence, the American capitalist class declared that "All Men are Created Equal." They argued that society should not be ruled by a class of betters and a king put there by God. But they meant equality and political rights for white, male property owners only. Blacks, women, Indians and laborers were excluded.

Another historical factor has made Americans much less aware of the existence of social classes—the frontier. With an entire continent open to settlement by whites (the Indians were slaughtered), for a long time it seemed possible for working people from the eastern states to go West and make their fortune.

Far more people failed than succeeded, of course—most of them failed, in fact. But the fact that some people did make it, made the myth of everyone being able to build a fortune if they were smart enough and tough

enough much more believable.

The whole mythology of success made an individual's social status seem to be not so much a question of class, as one of a person's own individual ability or lack of ability.

MYTH VS. REALITY

So much for the myth. What are the facts about classes in America?

The most important fact of the American social structure is that as of 1956, 25% of all personal wealth was owned by 1/2 of 1% of the population, many of them members of the same families.

This 25% includes the key blocks of stocks and bonds that ensure control of most of the big banks and major corporations.

A few big capitalist "family" interest groups—the du Ponts, the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Mellons—dominate the American economy, and have done so since the turn of the century.

These groups form the core of the American capitalist class. They control billions upon billions of dollars of assets. No other group of capitalists has ever been able to displace them economically.

Nor has any worker, no matter how "intelligent," ever been able to work and save and scheme enough to build up any kind of business to begin to challenge these giants.

It just can't be done. They're too big.

The lives of the vast majority of Americans, whether they work in factories, in service industries or in offices, are shaped by this 1/2 of 1% of the population. They control the work we do, the way our children are educated, what we see on television and hear on the radio.

The US Army, the Marines and the CIA constantly intervene in the affairs of other countries in order to preserve these people's power and money there.

FATHERS AND SONS

Most of the members of the ruling class are children of members of the ruling class. They were born with incredible economic advantages over working people. How can there be "equal opportunity" when some people are born with billions of dollars to their names?

Henry Ford II is not rich because of his personal qualities—but because of the family he was born into. His being where he is today isn't due to being any smarter or better than any worker. And this is true of the vast majority of the ruling class.

True, an occasional worker does succeed in rising into the top ranks of management, and occasionally even marries into the ruling class. But the vast majority of workers can't "make it" this way.

Until there is a revolution, they will be at the bottom of the social structure, for the simple reason that there are only a limited number of spaces at the top.

The mere fact that a few individual workers or their children are sometimes able to make it into the ruling class doesn't disprove the existence of that class. All it does prove is that the ruling class occasionally needs some new blood to make it better able to exploit the workers and preserve its wealth. □



The Rank And File Team (RAFT), a steel workers' group centered in Youngstown, Ohio, was active in opposing I.W. Abel's policies at the USW Convention

ership of Abel & Co.

The best example of the shakiness of the leadership's position was seen in the debate and vote on the no-strike deal (ENA), which was negotiated secretly last year and extended to 1980 in this year's contract.

Time and again Abel has made clear he thinks this is a "better way" for all workers. Last December he urged such a policy on the Mine Workers at their convention, a suggestion received in stony silence.

Yet in order to get this policy past his own tightly controlled convention, Abel had to change his tune—for the moment.

ENA

At the beginning of the Convention he assured to delegates the ENA was appropriate only for Basic Steel in the U.S. Instead of putting the ENA up for a clear vote, it was hidden as a "whereas" clause in a resolution containing a shopping list of future bargaining objectives.

Still, when it came to the voice vote, the margin was very slim.

Abel has been successful in winning on close convention votes by avoiding roll calls. Voice and standing votes are weighted in favor of small locals, many of which are represented at the Convention by Staff Representatives paid by the International. On roll call votes, the strength of the larger locals with their own representatives is accurately reflected.

Most of the real issues facing steel workers did not come up for serious discussion. Alternate policies in resolutions from local unions were locked up by the mysterious Convention "rules" and by the International-controlled committees.

However, there were two resolutions Abel wanted very much to win—the salary and the dues increase. Here Abel met the most opposition.

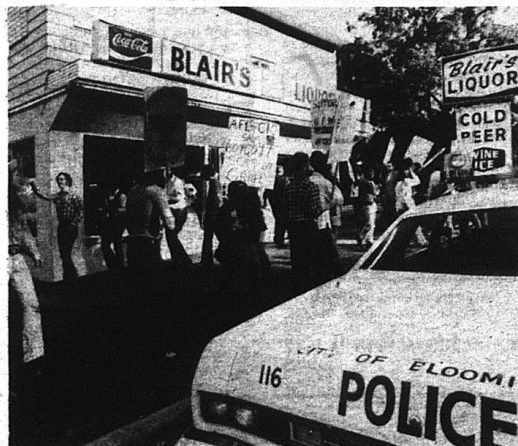
Most delegates would gladly have supported a dues increase if it were necessary to strengthen the union's fighting capacity. However, with Abel's sell-out policies, many could not go back home and defend more dues for a leadership that is weakening this fighting ability and is not representing the members.

After a close voice vote on the dues increase, nearly 900 delegates requested a roll call vote. But a ruling by the chair required nearly 1300, which is 30% of the total

While the rank and file alternatives to Abel's policies did not come up for a vote, they are important since it is only on such policies that a democratic, class-struggle movement of the rank and file can be built.

These rank and file positions included:

BLOOMINGTON I.S. CONFERENCE



After a talk on recent developments in the farmworkers' strike, participants in the I.S. conference recessed to support a UFW boycott picket-line.

BLOOMINGTON—Seventy people from cities in the mid-west gathered in Bloomington, Indiana, September 21-22, to participate in a forum on "Socialism and the Class Struggle Today."

The Bloomington forum is the first of several in the near future that the IS is sponsoring to discuss with workers and students the implications for revolutionary socialists of the current economic stagnation and inflation.

Speakers included IS Industrial Secretary Kim Moody, on the rank and file movement; Workers' Power Editor Gay Semel on recent actions by women in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in

supporting strikes in several cities; and a talk on recent developments in the farmworkers' strike.

In a talk on black workers and the class struggle, Jack Trautman, educational director of IS, pointed out that white workers are recognizing that they advance their own needs, and those of the working class generally, by uniting with blacks to fight racism in the workplace.

Joel Geier, national chairman of IS, pointed out that only by preparing now to build a revolutionary party will it be possible to wage a successful struggle when a revolutionary period comes.

Milton Fisk

reviews

music

maria muldaur

[Maria Muldaur, by Maria Muldaur, Reprise Records.]

This album is about women. Mostly about women in love. It's very good.

Maria Muldaur sings well, and with tremendous versatility. Her style ranges from blues to blue grass, to some very nice experimental mixtures.

She has a clear melodic voice with good reach, although her style is so unique you often wonder if she'll make that next note. She doesn't blow it.

In this album, Muldaur's women are strong and active. They are women who understand that this society is rough on women. They are women who have fought that oppression and who, in some fashion, come to terms with it.

"I Never Did Sing You A Love Song" is a wistful song describing a long and tender relationship. The woman had begun, years before, wanting a life "on the river"—independence.

She had made some peace with herself, married, had a nice life. But every so often Muldaur recalls that the woman made her peace at some cost. While her life had been a good one, it hadn't been her own life. And this woman knows she had not been conquered by some he-man; she had tamed herself.

In "Any Old Time" Muldaur switches to an upbeat blues style, and sings of a woman who keeps getting messed over by this same

man. He's taken her down before and she finally dumped him. She didn't have to, she just got tired of fighting.

But life got down on him, and she says she'll take him back again. Left open is whether this time is really the last, and whether a next time will be the one to do her in.

The most interesting song on the album is "The Work Song"—a fantastic mixture of singing styles and poetic comparisons.

Muldaur compares the cultural oppression of women to the oppression of black people. She reminds us of a heritage that can't be wiped away—that the history of this country is founded upon the oppression of most of its people:

"Back's broke bendin',
Diggin' holes to plant the seeds;
The owners ate the cane,
The workers ate the weeds.
Puttin' wood in the stove,
And water in the cup;
You worked so hard that
You died standing up."

Not stopping with the idea that life was once hard for some, Muldaur goes on to speak of today.

"Soul" is the culture that grew up around black people's oppression. Similarly Muldaur sums up women's oppression in the word "heart." "Heart" for women, she says, like soul for blacks, developed in the context of servitude and

forced dependency. Both are inspired by the will to survive as people with dignity and identity.

Many people give lip service to women's emancipation, but want to preserve without questioning their source or consequences, the traits that developed as a result of oppression. "Femininity," sensitivity, warmth, compassion, consideration for others, gentleness, which Muldaur calls "heart," often mean for women sacrifice and suffering, and cannot be separated.

The point is not to eliminate compassion as a human trait. The strength of the women in many of Muldaur's songs is that they recognize when they are responding to socially-ingrained traits and they understand the cost of their response to themselves as individuals.

Muldaur's song subtly warns, however, that racism and sexism are not exactly the same. The difference she seems to point to is that black people developed a culture in collective struggle. For women much of the agony is in the isolation.

The album is tremendous: from "Don't You Feel My Thigh," a great, unselfconsciously sensual song to the romantic "Long Hard Climb," Muldaur proves she is an artist with special sensitivities. A singer worth listening to.

This women can touch you where you live.

Kay Stacy



books

Trotsky's Legacy

[Trotsky, by Duncan Hallas. Reprinted from Socialist Worker, August 1970. 16 pp. 15c. Available from I.S. Book Service.]

This small pamphlet outlines the political life and struggles of Leon Trotsky, who was second only to Lenin in importance as a leader of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

It provides an excellent introduction to a subject which must be understood by every socialist. The Russian Revolution was the only successful workers' revolution in history. Its degeneration under Stalin splintered and weakened the

revolutionary movement.

Every struggle of socialists and workers since then, and still today, is affected by these events.

Hallas discusses Trotsky's role in leading the Russian Revolution to victory. As a leader both of the soviets (workers' councils) and the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky played a leading role in organizing the workers' insurrection.

Hallas deals mainly with Trotsky's political role. His major theoretical contribution was developed after the first revolution was defeated in Russia in 1905.

Trotsky argued that the Russian Revolution would not simply be a democratic revolution that would put the capitalist class into power—the kind of revolution that had occurred in western European countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The workers, he said, would not only lead the fight to overthrow Tsarism (as the Bolsheviks then believed) but would take power themselves and turn the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

The revolution would fail, however, unless it spread to the advanced capitalist nations. The workers of a backward nation could make a socialist revolution, but if isolated, they could not sustain it.

The 1917 Revolution confirmed this theory. In April 1917 Lenin convinced the Bolshevik Party to lead a socialist, not merely a democratic revolution. And that is what the working class achieved in October.

During the following years of the Civil War, Trotsky organized and led the Red Army, which beat back the Tsarist armies as well as the forces of the imperialist countries of Europe and the US which tried to invade and destroy the young workers' state.

The Revolution survived—but just barely. The economy, the workers' councils, and much of the working class itself were nearly destroyed. The Revolution did not spread to the advanced nations. Despite the efforts of Lenin and Trotsky, a bureaucracy began to gain strength both in the country and the Bolshevik Party.

Led by Stalin, the bureaucratic forces eventually consolidated into a new ruling class. It destroyed the institutions of workers control. The old Bolshevik leaders were murder-

ed, exiled or jailed.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky was the major threat to the Stalinist counterrevolution. After leading a fight to revive workers' democracy and workers' control of the economy and state Trotsky was banished from the USSR by Stalin.

In exile, Trotsky continued his fight for the aim that the Russian Revolution was made to achieve: the self-emancipation of the working class through world socialist revolution.

Stalinism turned the world Communist Parties into agents of support for Russia's national goals. Stalin had abandoned the Marxist principle of internationalism, replacing it with the theory of "socialism in one country" which Lenin, Trotsky and all revolutionaries had correctly called impossible.

In China, in Spain and throughout the world, Stalin betrayed workers and prevented revolutions in the name of this theory.

Despite all this, Trotsky believed to the end of his life that Russia

was a workers state. He called it a degenerated workers state, and called for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy and restore workers' rule.

He led the movement of those who struggled to maintain a revolutionary opposition to both capitalism and the growing Stalinist bureaucracy. Later, a section of the Trotskyist movement reassessed Russia, understanding that the consolidation of the Russian bureaucracy had given rise to a new form of class society. Duncan Hallas and the International Socialists are among them.

Trotsky was murdered by Stalin's agents in Mexico in 1940. Study of his life and teachings is essential for all revolutionaries.

As Hallas writes, "His contribution to revolutionary socialism and to the working class movement was unsurpassed. He was one of the handful of truly great figures the movement has produced."

This short pamphlet is an excellent place to start.

Karen Kaye



Trotsky speaking to the Red Army.



CHILE

The Road to Disaster

by Walt Castle and Marilyn Danton

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

50c, plus 15c postage

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Socialist Collective joins International Socialists

The Socialist Collective (SC) is a group of revolutionary socialists based in Los Angeles. The collective was formed in early 1974. Its members came from different political backgrounds within the left.

The SC was active in the movement for solidarity with Chilean workers, defense of the SLA and in various struggles in the black community.

During that time, the SC and the IS met and began to work together for common political goals. As the joint work continued, the two organizations developed increasing political respect for each other and entered into joint political discussions.

Representatives of the SC attended the IS convention in September, participating as fraternal delegates. Thorough political discussion and

negotiations followed. We announce at this time that the SC is joining the IS.

The nature of American society had led the two revolutionary socialist groups to develop separately, one composed of black members, the other predominantly white. The joining together of black and white revolutionaries in a common organization marks a significant step in the process of creating a revolutionary party in this country.

The revolutionary movement that we work to create will succeed only when the various elements in the working class are united for their common interest and destiny, a socialist society.

We welcome the members of the Socialist Collective as IS comrades. Their statement on joining the IS follows.

position daily by championing all working class struggles and defeating all other left tendencies politically.

The question of Stalinism, which is at the forefront of revolutionary discussion and theory, is an issue in which the IS takes the lead in the Trotskyist movement. Although the IS and individuals within the SC differ as to the economic and social nature of Stalinism, i.e. state capitalism or bureaucratic collectivism, the conclusions remain the same.

A class society exists in the Stalinist countries, and there must be a socialist revolution wherein the workers seize the means of production, reorganize and operate the society in their own interests.

The labor perspective of class struggle unionism in relation to the party is a well worked out and necessary strategy for the building of a revolutionary party.

The turn to industrialization which the IS has made reflects the seriousness of the IS in concretely building the party out of class struggle, not out of the petit-bourgeois intelligentsia which takes the revolutionary program on paper to the working class and instructs workers to follow it.

The oppression of blacks and women is rooted in the institutions of private property and consequently capitalist society. In order for black and women's liberation to become a reality, the basis for their oppression must be negated by socialist revolution.

The fight for human rights for one section of the class is a fight the entire class must engage in. Although the tactical question of calling for independent organizations for blacks and women is an area of disagreement between the two organizations, we both agree to the necessity for socialism, the fight inside of independent organizations for socialist ideas.

The joining of the Socialist Collective en bloc to the IS, is the joining of a political tendency with its own experiences and perspectives. The joining will become a part of the IS history, by transforming both the IS and the SC in creating a new organization with the range of combined practice and perspectives—the initiative of a fundamental change in the revolutionary movement. □

parochial limits of the movement in Los Angeles would not allow us to effectuate a fundamental impact in the national arena.

We worked with the L.A. branch of the I.S. in a number of activities, including the defense of the SLA, CLUW, and youth, and got a positive feeling for the functioning of the organization.

At the IS Convention we were impressed by the high level of democracy within the organization, and the quality and quantity of participation by the ranks. The Convention discussion, and the negotiating discussions that followed, proved to be constructive and affirmative, whereby we reached basic agreement with fundamental issues that confront the movement today.

The Socialist Collective and the International Socialists have complete agreement on the question of party and class—the duty of the revolutionary party is to immerse itself in the struggles of the class, raising its consciousness and bringing the most advanced workers into the party. The party must win this

The Socialist Collective, through its historical development with the Marxian dialectical world view, encountered experiences in the revolutionary movement that precipitated the understanding of the necessity to look to the national and international organization to build an effective revolutionary movement.

The role of the party, as the organizational facility that gives conscious direction to the struggles of the proletarian class, is essential to sustaining a socialist revolution.

This being the objective, the Socialist Collective saw the International Socialists (IS) as the only revolutionary organization whose commitment to the revolution has been realized by way of consistent political motion, both practical and theoretical—the basis of building a revolutionary party.

Our political activity in Los Angeles during the past seven months has had a localized character to it. In terms of our own understanding of "What Is To Be Done" we recognized that the

I.S. LAUNCHES FUND DRIVE

The International Socialists fourth annual fund drive began on Oct. 1st. We are striving to reach \$22,500, our highest goal yet. The fund drive will last 10 weeks, concluding on December 8. Last year we exceeded our goal of \$15,100 by \$327.

This year's goal of \$22,500 is very ambitious. But as our organization and activities expand, so does the need for more funds.

Last year, a good deal of the money raised went into the production of pamphlets and educational material, which has been tremendously successful. New pamphlets are on the way and much of the literature already out is selling so well that reprints are already necessary.

We need to increase and diversify our publications this year. Speaking tours are another high priority as interest in IS politics continues to grow. These things, along with the continuing improvements in Workers' Power, will take much effort and financing.

We need your support to continue our participation in the rank and file labor movement, in the struggles of women, blacks, and all oppressed groups.

In the past year the world's rulers have been severely shaken. Growing economic instability and political upheaval have intensified and focussed class conflict here and

abroad. In the US a new radicalization has developed, which for the first time in a generation is predominantly pro-working class in character.

This movement must be built and strengthened. It must become a movement of rank and file workers, committed to gaining control of their unions and their lives if it is to effectively combat the capitalist offensive. The International Socialists is building this fight, for it is the fight that will be able to create revolutionary democratic socialism.

We urge all readers of workers' Power to join us in this effort and donate to the fund drive to help us continue and expand our activities.

(Checks should be made payable to International Socialists, or a money order may be sent to: IS Fund Drive, Rm 225 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203)



Los Angeles, October 5—"Building the Revolutionary Party." Joel Geier, IS National Chairman and LPJ Joe, former Central Committee member of Socialist Collective, now member IS Executive Committee. Embassy Auditorium, Assembly Hall, 843 Grand Ave., Grand and 9th, downtown LA 7:30 p.m. \$1.00 in advance, \$1.50 at the door. Childcare available—call 837-0842 in advance.

St. Louis, October 8—"The British Working Class and The Left." Tom Doonan, Folsom Community Center, 39th and Flad, 7:30 p.m.

Oakland, CA, October 8—"Building the Revolutionary Party." Joel Geier, IS National Chairman and LPJ Joe, former Central Committee member Socialist Collective, now member IS Executive Committee. Jenny Lind Hall, Oakland, CA, 7:30 p.m.

Seattle, October 11—"Building the Revolutionary Party." Joel Geier, IS National Chairman and LPJ Joe, former Central Committee member Socialist Collective, now member IS Executive Committee. El Centro De La Raza, Seattle, Wash. 8:00 p.m.



What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WHERE WE STAND


- *For rank and file control of the union. No secret agreements. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight.
- *For class struggle unionism. Blacks and anti-bureaucratic. No restrictions on the right to strike, picket or boycott.
- *Defend working conditions. No control of wages. Against unemployment, health, housing, etc. 20 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone.
- *Organize the unemployed. Nationalization of industry without competition and under workers' control.
- *Equality for all oppressed peoples. Full support to their liberation struggles. For the right of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, sexism, homophobia and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

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

I.S. BRANCHES

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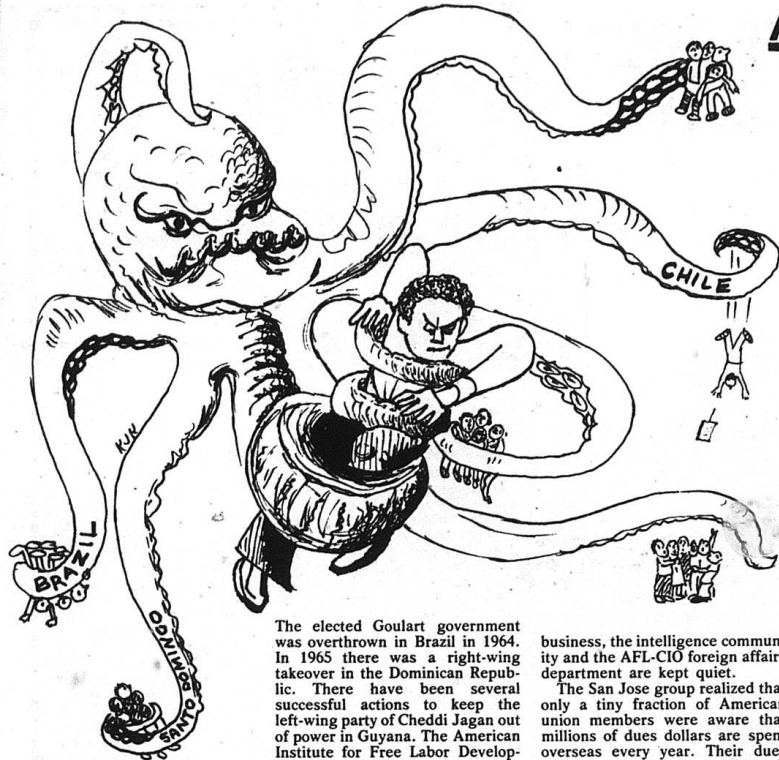
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"UNDER THE COVERS WITH THE CIA"



Top trade union officials in the United States are up to their necks in the work of the Central Intelligence Agency. American unions are heavily involved in destroying militant Latin American unions and bringing brutal right-wing dictators to power.

After years of silence and cover-up, some of this involvement is finally coming out. A booklet now getting extensive circulation in unions throughout the country is entitled "An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America." It is subtitled "Under the Covers With the CIA."

The booklet grew out of a labor workshop and study group in San Jose, California. It is authored by Fred Hirsch, a member of San Jose Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 393.

The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was set up by the AFL-CIO in 1962. This pamphlet extensively documents its purpose: to aid anti-socialist and anti-Castro unions in Latin America. AIFLD is a tool of multinational companies, the US State Department and the CIA.

Its purpose is to create "moderate" unions which do not endanger the aims of the US government or financial interests.

THE AFL-CIO

The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Institute for Free Labor Development is J. Peter Grace, chief executive of the W.R. Grace and Company. This corporation holds gigantic interests in shipping and other business ventures throughout Latin America. 98% of the money for AIFLD comes from a partnership of business firms like United Fruit Company, IIT, Kennecott Copper, Anaconda Mining and American Smelting and Refining. Also included are Reader's Digest, IBM, several Rockefeller corporations, major banking institutions and oil companies, and the US government.

The federal government pours massive sums into AIFLD from another agency, the Agency for International Development (AID). CIA funding of American union projects overseas was exposed in 1967-68. AID then took over the financing of much of the AFL-CIO foreign program.

The AIFLD is directly interrelated with efforts by business and intelligence efforts to overthrow governments which the US dislikes. In 1973 there was a coup in Chile.

The elected Goulart government was overthrown in Brazil in 1964. In 1965 there was a right-wing takeover in the Dominican Republic. There have been several successful actions to keep the left-wing party of Cheddi Jagan out of power in Guyana. The American Institute for Free Labor Development was involved in all these events.

AIFLD executive director William C. Doherty admitted his "trainees" were, in his words, "intimately involved in some of the clandestine operations" that overthrew the Goulart regime in 1964. Brazilian labor unions never regained their independence. They are still under the tight control of the Brazilian military government. The AIFLD in Chile concentrated on splitting the Central Confederation of Labor (CUT) away from support of Allende's elected government.

When this failed, AIFLD began to rely on recruiting and subsidizing key members of Chile's labor and professional groups, bringing them to the US for training. AIFLD conducted a massive country-wide series of labor "training" centers that eventually involved thousands of people.

This program acted as a device for gathering intelligence and pinpointing the identities of key union militants. There were other efforts to create dual unions and organizations of elite professionals and engineering personnel. Wherever possible, the agency tried undermining or splitting the nationwide labor support for Allende.

In fact the groups financed and created by the American Institute for Free Labor Development all played significant roles in the widespread economic dislocation of the nation.

This culminated in the truck owners' strike that paralyzed the transportation system. This economic chaos created the climate for the coup by the US-financed Chilean military.

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

The military junta outlawed the Chilean Federation of Labor and padlocked its offices. A new federation was planned under military control.

All other union meetings were banned, and 80 construction workers were shot for daring to strike. But this new group was set up to be led by Eduardo Rojas and Luis Villenas—both "graduates" of AIFLD training schools.

BLOWING THE COVER

Distribution of the San Jose project's material and the reaction it has caused are also interesting. Few people are aware of the vast nature of such programs. The connections between American

business, the intelligence community and the AFL-CIO foreign affairs department are kept quiet.

The San Jose group realized that only a tiny fraction of American union members were aware that millions of dues dollars are spent overseas every year. Their dues pay for programs using the "cover" of the AFL-CIO and individual American unions. The result is to strengthen the grip of American imperialism on working people throughout Latin America.

Thousands of national, regional and local union publications are distributed to the 22 million members of American unions. They publish virtually nothing about these activities.

The blackout of news prevents inquiry or disturbing questions inside the trade union movement. CIA, State Department and corporate use of the programs can be documented in dozens of cases.

Moreover, very few of the members of the specific unions have any knowledge of the staff, financing, purpose or scope of their own union's involvement.

Members and supporters of the San Jose committee decided on a radical and simple method of dealing with the situation. In effect, the committee decided to "blow the cover" of the covert operators and programs in these groups.

They began a mass mailing of the contents of the booklet, reports on the material that were carried in local and regional AFL-CIO newspapers and a cover letter to unions throughout the US and key countries abroad.

Groups of volunteers were able, in the course of several months, to print over ten thousand copies of the study. They were distributed to labor organizations in the US and nine foreign countries.

"CLASSIFIED"

In June, the San Jose group received from Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a report that had previously been "classified."

This report, by the Comptroller General of the United States, documents the extensive financing of American union activities overseas. It also explains the methods of channelling money to selected international trade union secretariats.

The international trades organizations were chosen in order "to continue US financial assistance to US affiliates to international trade secretariats (ITS) while attracting as little attention as possible to the US efforts in the labor movement of Latin America."

The reason is that "direct US operational involvement could affect the credibility and effectiveness" of the laundered money and

the type of agents who are known as "credit card commandos" south of the US border.

CRAWLING OUT

Even more interesting disclosures resulted when pressure from the Santa Clara County AFL-CIO Central Labor Council forced William Doherty, executive director of AIFLD, to crawl out into the light of day.

The Council adopted a resolution requesting George Meany to answer the charges raised by the rank and file San Jose group. Meany flew Doherty in from Geneva in an attempt to have the motion rescinded.

One part of Doherty's written response to the charges said that "AIFLD has always been openly funded by the US government." He also asserted that the partnership with multinational corporations in the management and policy of AIFLD was "a token of good faith that modern US management accepts trade unionism as a normal, necessary part of a modern economy."

There were sharp questions from delegates about the anti-labor record of the corporations involved in AIFLD. Doherty retorted that "we'll take money from the devil himself if it will help to organize unions in Latin America."

Tens of thousands of unionists throughout Latin America have been slaughtered, tortured, and imprisoned to benefit Doherty's concept of "organizing unions." Since the coup in Chile, the AIFLD program in Chile has been doubled.

Additional confirmation of

AIFLD's role has come from an acknowledged ex-CIA agent. Philip Agree revealed to the Washington Post that he "served as a CIA case officer for a local branch of the American Institute for Free Labor Development."

Hecited AIFLD, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its Latin American subsidiary, the Public Services International (comprised of government employee unions), and the various International Trade Secretariats as having given strong support to CIA-directed covert political programs.

Even more massive disclosures are on the way, regarding the Asian, African and European operations of the federation.

Only the efforts of rank and file workers have made this massive exposure possible. The trade union bureaucracy, sells out American workers in this country. It also actively assists these corporations in strangling militant unions and murdering workers in the rest of the world.

[Workers' Power is grateful to Rodney Larson, a reader in San Francisco, for the valuable information included in this article. Space enables us to print only a small fraction. We urge that interested readers order copies of the pamphlet "Under the Covers with the CIA" by Fred Hirsch for complete documentation. Copies can be ordered from the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile, 316 South 19th St., San Jose, CA 95116. A \$1.00 per copy donation is requested.]

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Russell Means and Dennis Banks

The Indians of Wounded Knee, South Dakota won a crucial victory when charges against American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks were dismissed.

US District Judge Fred Nichols, in dismissing the charges cited numerous violations of the law and of Native American civil rights by the prosecution, the Department of Justice, and the FBI.

He noted that the prosecution would not allow eleven jurors to reach a verdict after the twelfth fell ill. She was reportedly the only one considering conviction.

Dismissal of charges means that

the prosecution can appeal Judge Nichols' decision. An acquittal would have been final.

Charges against the two stemmed from a 71-day insurrection by Indians during the summer of 1972. The Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge Reservation at Wounded Knee seized their land, declaring war on the United States.

The takeover was violently opposed by the leaders of the Tribal Council, which ran the reservation under the authority of the U.S. government Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The radical action was the result of long years of suffering at the

hands of the US government. One broken treaty after another has pushed the Native Americans onto progressively smaller and less desirable pieces of land.

BROKEN TREATIES

Education has been used mainly to destroy the Native American culture. Conditions of life for most Indians are so oppressive that alcoholism is a chronic disease of over one-quarter of the population. The suicide rate is the highest of any group in the nation. Life expectancy is among the lowest.

The Indians of Wounded Knee appealed to AIM to come to the reservation to help them organize against government tyranny. At issue was who would control the lives of the Oglala tribe: the Indians themselves, or the US government through the Tribal Council, the BIA police, and outright strong-arm tactics.

Two trials resulted from the insurrection. The Means-Banks trial in St. Paul received most attention, but over two hundred Native Americans who played less prominent roles were also being run through the judicial mill.

The government had very weak cases. As the trials proceeded it became clear that the object was to

terrorize and harass the Wounded Knee inhabitants back into passivity.

From the beginning of the 8½ month Means-Banks trial, Judge Nichols has advised the government that their lack of preparation and unethical activities were placing their case in jeopardy.

At the same time, the Tribal Council at the Pine Ridge reservation and the Bureau of Indian Affairs police were coming down on the AIM sympathizers with iron fists.

The BIA police began a literal reign of terror. An AIM leader from Pine Ridge, Pedro Bissonette, was brutally murdered on a reservation back road. Other Native Americans were shot, beaten, raped. Families were threatened if one member was active in the resistance.

People who walked picket lines to protest the Council and the police actions lost their reservation jobs. An election for Tribal Council Chief, in which Russell Means opposed the corrupt incumbent, was stolen through outright fraud.

ELDERS TESTIFY

But the Indians, fed up with long years of bitter hardship and deprivation, could not be crushed. A group of elder tribal leaders, many of whom had never been off the reservation, travelled to St. Paul to testify at the Means-Banks trial. Several were survivors of the original Wounded Knee massacre of 1890.

The traditional chief of the

Oglala Nation, Chief Fool's Crow, declared: "We called our brothers and AIM to help us because we were being oppressed and terrorized. They answered our call."

Judge Nichols accused the prosecution of numerous errors of judgement and negligence due to sloppiness. He further accused them of deliberately deceiving the court through the testimony of a key witness the prosecution knew was lying.

He charged the government with illegally and secretly bringing soldiers to Wounded Knee.

And he charged the FBI with lying, withholding documents from the court, and submitting altered documents to defense attorneys and bribing a key witness. After winning and dining the witness at a plush resort, and paying him more than \$2000, the FBI also had a rape charge pending against him quashed.

The government has been equally unsuccessful in the trial of the other participants of the insurrection. The record so far is 33 acquittals and zero convictions.

But acquittals only prevent the government from punishing Indian leaders through prison sentences. The judges do not stop the government from imposing the daily punishment of life on a reservation. There, the conditions are as miserable as ever. The age old battle between the native American and the US government continues.

Kay Stacy

Workers' Power

HOW GM DIVIDES AND RULES

General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) has recently won another round in its effort to turn its employees into robots. A nine-week strike in St. Louis has ended in defeat for the workers at UAW Local 25.

It's the latest in a series of defeats for UAW members at the hands of GMAD. Each time the militancy of the ranks has been sabotaged by the UAW International leadership.

The current struggle began more than two years ago when the Chevrolet assembly plant and the Fisher Body plant in St. Louis were merged under the new management of the General Motors Assembly Division.

The new, tough-minded management took over 18 assembly plants across the country, introducing speedup and trying to weaken shop-floor organization. The new management was promptly labelled "G-mad" by the workers, and resistance broke out everywhere.

Well publicized strikes occurred briefly at Lordstown and then for 26 weeks at Norwood, Ohio. GMAD was willing to hold out indefinitely against an isolated local. Both strikes were defeated, since the UAW leadership refused to extend the strike to more than one plant at a time.

MINI-STRIKES

Then came a series of "mini-strikes"—each lasting four days, including the weekend. The only effect of these strikes was to calm the members' pressure on the UAW leadership for a national strike against GMAD.

Militants at Local 25 in St. Louis have continued the struggle against GMAD, but in isolation. Under the leadership of District Committeeman Nate Mosley, a fight was waged against speedup, layoffs, and mandatory overtime. The result was a standoff.

Last spring, GMAD decided it was time for another try. A speedup campaign in the Corvette plant where Mosley is a committeeman led to disciplinary action against 124 workers, although the company did not have the evidence to prove its case against any individual.

When GM demanded that the union compromise, Local 25 was forced out on strike. After about two months on the picket line, it was clear that the UAW International leadership, followed by Local 25's Administration, was running the wrong way.

THREATS

Zone Committeeman Willie Morganfield agreed to a compromise that disciplined 55 workers. Morganfield convicted these 55 when the company could not have done so itself. The 55 included every worker from Mosley's district who had originally been cited. As for Morganfield, he has apparently been offered a job with the International.

At about that time, UAW Vice President Irving Bluestone came to town and met with the Local 25 Executive Board. He charged that none of them had enough guts to take on Mosley, and threatened the Local with trusteeship unless the strike was ended immediately.

Within a few days, the official settlement was announced. The 55 received discipline. Virtually none of the speedup grievances were settled. A demoralized membership, promised by both the Local and International leaderships that nothing more would be won, voted to return to work.

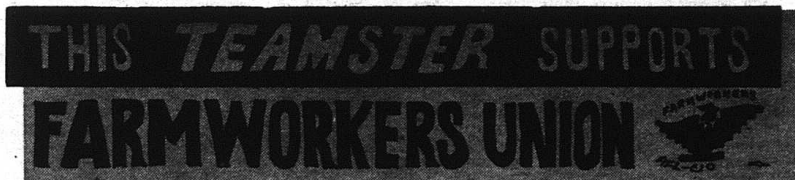
Then a campaign began to drive Mosley out of the plant. Morganfield pulled a gun on Mosley and

said, "Communists and junkies get offed." Rumors were spread that the strike was all Mosley's fault, that he cost the members of Local 25 nine weeks pay for nothing, and that he should be wrapped in heavy chain and thrown in the river.

Despite these provocations, workers in the Corvette plant continue to stand by Mosley. If GMAD and the Local 25 Administration hoped to isolate

him so he could be fired, they have been unsuccessful at least in that aim.

What the UAW leadership has done successfully is to show themselves to be willing collaborators with the company. In exposing themselves in this manner, they are helping to lay the basis for the birth of a new rank and file movement in the UAW that can sweep them all out of the union.



Bumper sticker distributed by West Coast Teamsters

LOS ANGELES—A group of Los Angeles area Teamsters, including some drivers for Gallo Wine, have begun a leafletting campaign at Teamster workplaces and local hiring halls calling on rank and file Teamsters to protest the union-busting of the International leadership and support the United Farm Workers of America.

The leaflet states: "As Teamsters we know that workers need a union—a strong, democratic union of their own choice. We are angered by the actions of the leaders of our union who have attempted to destroy the United Farm Workers in the fields of California."

The group, called Teamsters in Support of the UFW, is calling on Teamsters to aid the farmworkers by fighting at local meetings for resolutions condemning Fitzsimmons and the Western Conference, which is responsible for organizing the attack on the UFW.

Although the leafletting has just begun, the group is hoping it will get a good response and a rank and file support group will be built out of the campaign.

"There are many Chicanos in the Teamsters Union in L.A.," one member of the group told Workers' Power. "In the past, locals such as 208 have had Farmworker support committees."

The group stated: "Teamster brothers and sisters need a democratic union for themselves. We need a leadership which fights for us, not for the growers against other workers."

Members of the group are working closely with some staff members of the farmworker boycott. Although the UFW has not always officially encouraged the activities of rank and file Teamsters trying to oppose Fitzsimmons, these staff members believe that the mobilization of Teamster members and the rank and file of all unions in support of the UFW is an essential part of building a farmworker victory.