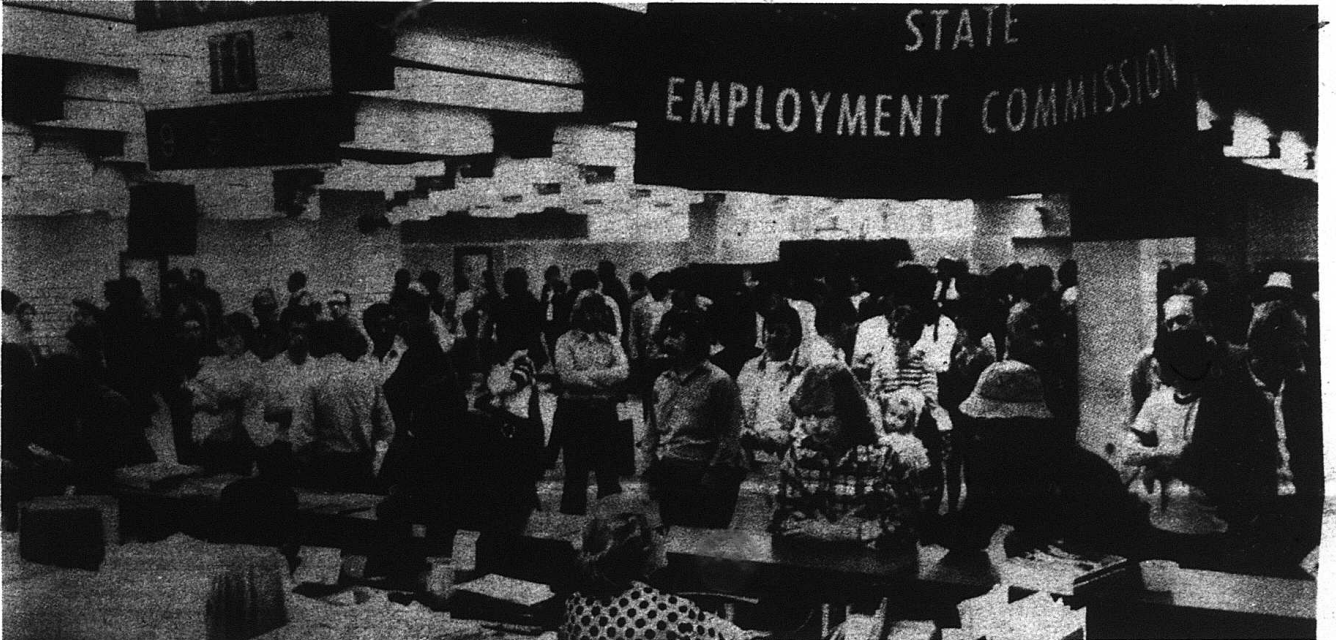


WORKERS' POWER

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS DEC. 12-25, 1974 #110 15c

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WORK OR WAGES



by Gay Semel

Six million American workers are out of jobs bringing the unemployment rate to 6.5%. These are the official figures as of November 15th.

In fact unemployment is much higher.

According to Department of Labor statistics 800,000 jobs were lost but by statistical slight of hand only 462,000 were added to the ranks of the unemployed and to the official statistics.

350,000 people seem to have disappeared. If these 350,000 were included, unemployment would have passed 7%.

This is not the only way unemployment is underestimated. Official figures only include those still actively looking for work. It does not include the millions of women, young people, blacks and other minorities who have already given up.

Even excluding the vast numbers of jobless no longer seeking work the official rate of unemployment among blacks rose to 11.7% and unemployment among black teenagers rose to an incredible 37.5%.

These figures do not include the layoffs in auto and related industries after November 15.

Officially, unemployment in Detroit is already close to 10%. When the recent wave of auto layoffs are included it will probably be close to 12% (officially).

In reality it will be closer to 15%. 15% unemployment has not been seen in this country since the great depression.

At the same time inflation is roaring ahead at 14%. The rise in food prices have been even higher and will continue to soar.

Inflation hurts working and poor people. But it also hurts big business. Profits are being eaten up as costs outstrip production in an ever-increasing upward spiral.

The ruling class is in a panic. Their solution to inflation intensifies recession and their solution to recession intensifies inflation.

WHO WILL PAY

Reginald H. Jones, chairman of General Electric stated:

"If we don't start moving toward a solution we're going to be facing this strange combination of simultaneous inflation and recession over and over in the decades ahead, threatening the very existence of capitalism and the private enterprise system."

To Ford's Secretary of the Treasury, William E. Simon, the solution is clear—make the working class pay for the crisis through cuts in social spending and mass unemployment.

Simon is afraid that increased federal spending will increase inflation and push the economy

to complete collapse.

According to his aides, Simon is convinced "that if the government embarks on heavy deficit spending to combat the recession, it could push the free enterprise system over the brink toward socialism."

The Democrats also want to make the working class pay, but through wage controls. At their recent mini-convention the Democratic Party announced its economic program to fight recession and inflation.

They are willing to push some federal spending and a limited increase in federal jobs for the unemployed. But the price is wage controls.

This is the same program that they pushed Nixon to agree to in 1971. It amounted to a serious cut in the wages of working people as wages were frozen and inflation continued to rise.

To the capitalists and their parties—the Democrats and Republicans—the question is clear. The system is in crisis and the only way out means the misery and impoverishment of the American working class.

We must be equally clear.

It is their system. They created the crisis and we will not pay for it. We are interested in our survival, not theirs.

If full employment means they lose their profits—we say human need before profit. If they are worried about social-

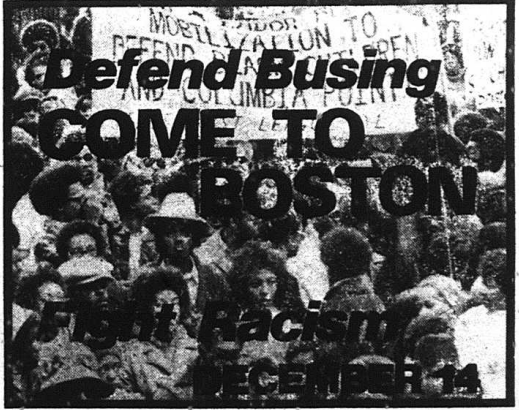
ism—we are not interested in saving their system. All it has ever meant for working people is misery and degradation.

We want full employment. If there is not enough work to go around then we want the work week cut without loss of pay. If they say they can't do that we want to see their books. If they can't run their business providing full employment at decent wages we say nationalize it and let the workers run it.

Working people must begin organizing now to stop the layoffs and attack on our standard of living. Auto work-

How They Fought Back In The 1930's
—Pages 8-9

ers in Detroit are beginning to organize unemployment committees to fight the layoffs, stop evictions, and force the labor movement to take action. Rank and file militants in other industries should begin doing the same.



LIQUOR SCANDAL: ROCKY'S CROOKS KEPT QUIET

In 1958 L. Judson Morhouse was chairman of the New York State Republican Party.

Morhouse was primarily responsible for Nelson Rockefeller's running for governor of New York on the Republican ticket in 1958, and served as Rocky's campaign chairman in 1958 and 1962.

In 1966 Morhouse was convicted of bribery. In 1970 Rockefeller pardoned Morhouse on the grounds of ill health saving Morhouse from serving a 2-3 year sentence. Rockefeller also forgave Morhouse a loan of \$100,000.

This much came out during the Congressional hearings on Nelson Rockefeller's appointment to the Vice Presidency.

On the face of it, most people think that Rocky had a crooked friend who helped him become Governor, and that Rocky bailed

out his crooked friend when Morhouse got caught.

DIGGING DEEPER

But digging a little deeper—something the Congress appears unwilling to do—the story gets a lot slimmer and a lot closer to the Vice President designate.

According to testimony at Morhouse's trial in 1966, after winning the Governorship Rocky worked out a deal with Morhouse.

Morhouse and other New York State Republican Party leaders got control of the New York State Liquor Authority for their own private use and Rocky got to run the state unhampered by the Republican Party.

For five years (until Morhouse resigned in 1963 rather than answer questions from the Grand Jury) the only way you could obtain a liquor license in New York State was to hire a well-connected Republican lawyer who would introduce you to Morhouse.

A lot of money would then pass from you to the Republican Party leaders before the license was obtained.

Morhouse was finally caught and the scandal threatened the upper reaches of Rockefeller's administration and his re-election.

ROCKY'S COVER-UP

Rockefeller proved himself far more skillful at the games of cover-up and pardon than Nixon or Ford. He convinced Morhouse to keep his mouth shut—and Morhouse kept it shut.

Rockefeller was then able to run for re-election claiming that no member of his administration was connected with the scandals.

The rest is public knowledge: Rocky won in 1968; he pardoned Morhouse in 1970, and forgave a loan of \$100,000 the same year.

Today Morhouse seems to have made a miraculous recovery, being very much alive and living quite comfortably off the payoffs, including Rocky's.

The failure of Congress to bring all of this out shows that all their talk about clean government is simply hot air. When the spotlight is off they go back to the lying thieving ways we already know so well.



AMERICAN DREAM
Gay Semel

Millions of people are slowly starving to death. Their death is not necessary. They are being murdered by the capitalist system. The technology to feed the world's people exists but it is more profitable to build instruments of warfare and destruction than produce for human need.



What have they done to the rain?

Man-made earthquakes and tidal waves... the melting of the polar icecaps to cause flooding... increasing ultra-violet radiation from the sun to cause damage to animal and human life... and the modifying of the electrical properties of the atmosphere to affect your brain and behavior.

These are just some of the "environmental weapons" now being investigated by the Department of Defense.

These chilling facts were revealed at the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earlier this year.

At the same hearings, Pentagon officials admitted that they had been using weather modifications as a weapon of warfare in Indochina since 1966.

By seeding clouds with silver or lead iodide, the rainy season could be prolonged and major flooding produced to sweep away dikes, and destroy crops and irrigation systems.

In South Vietnam alone this "Food Denial Program"—which included the dropping of millions of plant-killing chemicals—destroyed food which would have fed 900,000 people a year.

But peasants of Vietnam are not

the only victims of the Pentagon rain-makers.

FLASH FLOODS

In 1972, Rapid City, South Dakota was devastated by a flash flood in which 230 people were drowned.

A government report now discloses that two plane-loads of rain-making chemicals were dumped onto the clouds before the storm broke. It was part of an experiment called Project Cloud Catcher undertaken by the Departments of Defense and the Interior and the South Dakota School of Mines.

The aim appeared to be to use rainmaking to create difficulties for "enemies." But the chemically-seeded clouds were blown into the main storm mass and produced a chain reaction which resulted in a downfall of 50 million metric tons of artificial rain.

The report absolves all concerned of any blame. Most of the victims were American Indians.

The extension of the tentacles of the military into every aspect of basic scientific research, seeking to transform every discovery into a new tool of death and destruction, is a striking example of the bankruptcy of this social system.

The techniques of modern industry open the possibilities of a world freed from hunger, disease and conflict, but they are perverted to serve the interests of the lethal competition of capitalist states and firms.

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx likened the capitalist class to the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world he has called up by his spells. The powers now unleashed are so destructive that the struggle to disarm and overthrow the capitalist system is now also a basic struggle for survival.

Dave Peers

Workers' Power 110

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44% Say "No!"

Miners Back To Work

by Cal Williams

BELLAIRE, Ohio—District 6 miners have returned to work, but many remain outraged by the new national agreement. Even more feel betrayed by the Miller leadership—the same leadership they fought to put in office.

In the last days of the strike, while Anold Miller broke the union's own ratification procedures to rush the agreement through, rank and file miners fought for its rejection.

On November 29, hundreds marched through Bellaire carrying signs that read, "Dump Miller, Dump Guzak (the District President)," and "No Right to Safety, No Work."

At the district headquarters they took a large portrait of Miller and Guzak from the wall and burned it, along with copies of the Mine Workers Journal which carried an outline of the proposed contract.

The following day, these miners joined others in Wheeling, West Virginia where representatives of the International were meeting with district leaders to explain the agreement.

In the end, despite the avalanche of propaganda urging miners to accept the agreement, miners in District 6 rejected it. Their votes, however, were not enough to change the national figures which ran 56% in favor.

IMPROVEMENTS

There are, however, improvements in the new package. Miners now have five days of sick leave, where they had none before. Another holiday has been added, giving miners ten a year.

While two days were added to the two weeks of paid vacation, this was far short of the four weeks the leadership had pledged to fight for.

The new wage package includes a 10% increase the first year, followed by 4% and 3% in the remaining two years of the contract. There is a new cost of living allowance—but it is restricted to 8% far below last year's inflation rate.

Pensions are improved, though miners will still retire at as low as \$250 per month in the next several years. A miner retiring at age 55 with 26 years in the mines will receive only \$255.17 a month in 1977.

The Mine Workers Journal added it all together and claimed an increase of 60%. The headlines announced "The Biggest Gains Ever."

Karl Kafton, the International Representative for District 6 and formerly a leader of the Miners for Democracy met with local officials in Bellaire. He told them the agreement was "as big a bite of the apple as we're going to get."

But rank and file miners at the Bellaire demonstration were skeptical.

One put it this way: "The coal companies made nine billion dollars in the last two years. And what we want in our new contract will cost them seventy-two million."

"We aren't getting any bite of the apple, the companies are getting all the apple and we're only getting the core."

INSULT TO INJURY

The settlement in wages and benefits, however, was seen by many miners as merely the insult on top of the injury. In pre-contract discussions within the union, two demands were pushed above all others by the rank and file.

First, miners wanted a real breakthrough in safety, including company-paid, democratically elected full-time safety committeemen.

Secondly, they wanted the right to strike over grievances written into the contract.

In both areas, the new agreement

is nothing short of a sellout. Not only will there be no full-time safety committeemen, but despite all the talk about a miner's right to walk away from an unsafe job, the Mine Workers Journal stated:

"In those instances where it has been determined by an arbitrator that an employee did not act in good faith in exercising his rights under this provision of the agreement, he shall be subject to appropriate disciplinary action."

There have already been more than 80 fatalities in the mines this year, in mines approved as "safe" by the proper authorities. This contract will leave the same people in charge.

FIGHT

There will be a fight. "You can't put production on a miner's life,"

NEW YORK UPS

How Militant Sold Out

by Jack Nelson

New York—On Wednesday, November 20, members of Teamsters Local 804, on strike for three months, voted to accept a new three-year contract with United Parcel Service of New York.

In recommending acceptance, Local President Ron Carey termed this a victory noting that no other UPS local had done as well.

It is indeed the best contract won this year by UPS workers. It is also a sellout—and a study in the ineffectiveness of class collaborationist unionism.

The key question of the strike was the company's insistence on using part-time workers to replace departing full-timers. Part-timers are paid only half as much as full-time workers and receive no benefits. A massive increase in their numbers would decrease the bargaining strength of the local.

MILITANT BEGINNING

The final settlement allows the company to replace 180 additional full-timers with part-timers each year of the contract. In return, the company added 58 a week to the contract's third year wage increase.

said one angry miner.

The biggest blow to the rank and file was the leadership's complete rejection of the demand for the right to strike over grievances.

Despite nearly universal support for this demand, and thousands of signatures on petitions by the District 29 (West Virginia) Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, Miller and his regime delivered absolutely nothing.

The result will be more miners in jail, more fines, and more injunctions every time rank and file miners walk out for their rights.

NEW MOVEMENT

But while this new agreement has angered the miners of the Ohio Valley and its approval has been a setback for them, they are far from defeated. District 6 was a strong-

RIGHT TO STRIKE

BECKLEY, W. VA.—A mass meeting of District 29 miners, called by the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, unanimously passed a resolution November 27 reprinted here in part:

"The Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike stands strongly for the rejection of the proposed contract. We call on all miners to resist efforts by union and company officials to sell us a bad bill of goods and to resist government efforts to bully and force us with Taft-Hartley.

"The contract ignores most of the Rank-and-File demands. It denies us job rights where they count—over job posting and shift rotation, and leaves us without the right to strike—right back in the federal courtrooms whenever we are forced to fight for our rights.

"The committee don't give away anything for free. We have always had to fight for everything we've ever got. No contract without the right to strike."

hold of the Miners for Democracy, and the ranks here promise that it will be a stronghold of a new movement.

A network of militants is already developing in the coal fields. At the meeting in Bellaire, miners from McDowell County, West Virginia spoke. Also present were miners from Eastern Kentucky, where flying pickets had just been stop-

ping scab coal despite Miller's objections.

The rank and file of the United Mine Workers, despite this setback, remain the most militant and organized section of the American working class. The struggle will continue, this time on a higher level.

44% of the miners voted "no" on the "best contract in history." That is no small beginning. □

bureaucratic maneuvering.

The New York Teamsters Joint Council passed a motion supporting Local 804's request that the International allow it to extend its pickets to Jersey, New England, and Pennsylvania. Teamster International President Frank Fitzsimmons ignored it.

Fitzsimmons' position was clear from the beginning. While UPS was employing its national strategy to isolate and defeat Teamster locals across the country on the part-timer issue, Fitzsimmons was silent. When Local 177 leaders bargained separately from 804 in violation of the International's Constitution, he was still silent.

Only when Local 804 moved to break its isolation by picketing in New Jersey did Fitzsimmons act. He ordered 804 out of Jersey and refused authorization for extended picketing.

As the strike dragged on, with Local 177 doing much of 804's sorting, UPS played its trump card. Claiming an \$8½ million loss in New York, it threatened to close down permanently unless 804 accepted its offer by November 20.

Carey urged rejection, but told the members that UPS probably would leave New York. He asked a nervous membership to hold on, but offered no strategy for strengthening the strike if the offer was rejected.

SPREAD THE STRIKE

Several weeks before the end of the strike, New Jersey Local 177

L.A. UPS Strike Ends

LOS ANGELES—United Parcel Service drivers here (Teamsters Local 365) are back at work after voting to accept a new two year contract that will give them wage increases totalling 24%. The drivers had previously rejected a contract offering a 19% increase.

The raise means the hourly wage for drivers of \$6.41 will go up to \$7.92. However, the cost-of-living increase the drivers were seeking was not included in the final settlement.

The two and a half week strike crippled UPS service throughout California, Nevada and Arizona since all such deliveries are routed through Southern California. □

held elections. Virtually all the incumbent officers were thrown out because of the contract they had negotiated separately from Local 804.

Expressions of support were also made by drivers and workers in Boston.

At the same time, the Los Angeles UPS workers were on strike.

The conditions for spreading the strike were there. What was needed was some leadership from the New York local.

If the Local 804 officers had provided this leadership, they would certainly have found themselves in a fight with Fitzsimmons as well as with UPS. Fitzsimmons would certainly have threatened trusteeship.

But the failure to fight this threat means that UPS can continue to chip away the strength of UPS locals, city by city. To reverse this process, UPS workers must organize to take control of their unions from the betrayers like Fitz and the faint of heart like Carey. □

Pittsburgh UPS Strike

PITTSBURGH—A parcel bomb exploded on the sorting line of United Parcel Service here at 3 am December 5. One worker was killed and eight others injured.

The dead worker, John Metz, was opening the package to check the packing list for the correct address when it exploded against his body.

At about 4:30 am, the night turn bosses tried to get the workers to go back in and finish working in other parts of the warehouse. The workers said no, and they were supported by their business agent who had arrived at the scene.

Shortly afterwards, the bosses began calling all the drivers and telling them to come in early to help load, as there had been a "slight mishap" on the night shift.

When the drivers arrived, the steward, committee, and BA met with them and explained the situation. The drivers refused to work that day for the same reasons as the sorters: there was no assurance that there were not more bombs in other parcels.

General Manager Jerry Regan then informed the drivers by phone that, "If you drivers refuse to take loads out today, we will shut down the Pittsburgh operation for good." The drivers delivered parcels all day. The afternoon and night shifts also refused to work that day. □



Teamster President Fitzsimmons kept strike confined to New York.

WORLD IN CRISIS



BRITAIN:

RANK AND FILERS BUILD STRUGGLE

by Glyn Carver

The problems of rocketing inflation and growing unemployment now affecting the American labor movement have also plagued the British working class over the last several years.

The initial response was the development of rank and file organizations in various key industries. Although small at first, these groups were dedicated to defending the rank and file from the growing attack and forcing the union bureaucrats to fight.

These groups grew around rank and file newspapers such as "The Dockworker," "The Collier" (mineworkers), "The Carworker" and "GEC Worker" (workers at General Electric Company) and several other papers. Some of these papers were put out by white-collar workers and reflected the growing militancy in that section of the British workforce.

Members of the British International Socialists (IS) were involved in organizing these rank and file organizations from the beginning.

The organizing of rank and file groups in Britain several years ago is the exact equivalent of the rank and file movement which is growing up in America today in auto, trucking and telephone.

NEED FOR UNITY

Several years after these groups formed it became clear to the vast majority of them that when the whole working class is under attack there is no alternative but to organize to fight back on a class wide basis.

In the spring of this year various rank and file papers called together the first truly representative conference of rank and file workers since World War II to do precisely that. Nearly 500 delegates from trade union locals, factory committees, joint union councils and area committees attended that first conference and took the first limited steps toward building a powerful rank and file movement in Britain, the likes of which has not existed since the 1920's.

RADICAL AMERICA

Sept.-Oct. issue still available.

THE CAPITALIST CRISIS IN BRITAIN

Class Struggle in Britain, Ian Birchall

Women Workers and the Class Struggle, Beatrix Campbell and Sheila Rowbotham

The Miners On Strike, David Douglas

Shop Stewards at Ford, Big Flame

Order from Radical America, 5 Upland Rd., Cambridge, Mass. 02140

Last week in Birmingham, England the Second National Rank and File Conference was convened and the progress of the movement was plain to see. Almost 600 delegates, including 70 representatives of the powerful shop stewards committees which are the core of British shop floor organization attended. This is four times the size of similar delegations to the earlier conference.

Also delegates from six strike committees were present proving a strong relationship between the rank and file movement and the real struggles of British workers.

ACTION PROGRAM

The IS has played a leading role in recent rank and file activities. However, the large majority of delegates were not members of the International Socialists, but militant trade unionists who are ready to join IS members in forging a new weapon of working class struggle.

The conference agreed on a program for fighting escalating unemployment. As in the US, auto workers gave the main leadership on this issue.

The second session was around the key question of government attempts to hold down wages. It ended with a pledge by the conference to undertake national action against any attempt by the state to freeze wages.

Other discussions dealt with the fight to release the building workers who were jailed for picketing last year and the reaction of militants to the new repressive laws against Irish Republicans.

The high point of the conference was a paternal address by a delegate from the Portuguese dock workers who stressed that the workers' struggle for power was international and that a victory in one country strengthens us all.

Delegates from Chile congratulated the Steering Committee on its pre-conference work of supporting

the resistance of Chilean workers. Other delegates made clear the crucial support they had received from the Steering Committee in their own struggles of the last seven months.

A movement is much more than a conference twice a year, however. The Steering Committee was strengthened by including delegates from several important shop stewards committees making it clear that the on-going work of the movement would be stepped up over the coming months.

The progress of the last year in Britain towards building a massive, fighting, workers movement has done much to give British socialists and militants real hope for the future.

The Birmingham conference was only the second step on a very long road. But the relatively short time between the first tiny rank and file groups coming together and the start of this important journey should give confidence to American socialists and militants as well. □

THE OIL MONEY— WHO GETS WHAT?

For the past year, we have heard over and over about vast sums of money suddenly leaving the industrial countries to pay for oil imported from Arab states.

Newspapers, television, and politicians have painted a picture of greedy, backward Arabs suddenly drunk with wealth and power. They turn off the heat in our homes and threaten to buy up everything from Wall Street to the World Football League.

It's certainly true that there's a huge amount of money changing hands due to the quadrupling of oil prices. And in fact, many countries economies are suffering disastrous payments deficits because of the oil crisis.

But the real \$640 billion question is: where is all this money going? Where does it wind up? The answer helps throw some light on how world capitalism works.

First, let's look at some rough figures. The largest Arab oil producer, Saudi Arabia, received an estimated \$17 billion in oil money this year. Meanwhile, the largest oil company—Exxon, the US-based multinational octopus—earned \$21.3 billion in the first half of 1974! That's where the real profit-bloated oil barons can be found.

Oil prices can also be broken down in another way. As of mid-1974, the money from a barrel of oil sold for \$11.65 would mean \$4.66 (40%) to the producing country, \$4.19 (36%) to the consuming country in the form a various taxes and \$2.80 (24%) to the oil companies for costs and

profits.

Even taking the companies' profits into account, it's obvious that oil-producing states revenues have vastly increased. Western governments estimate that these state's currency reserves will reach \$300 to \$635 billion in the next ten years. We often hear that these sums are far more than the Arab governments can invest in their own countries. In a way, this is true. So where do the hundreds of billions involved go?

Except for Iraq, most of the major Arab oil-producing states have small populations and extremely underdeveloped economies. Furthermore, the Arab ruling classes themselves are part of the international capitalist system.

They aren't just interested in spending money, but in capitalist investment that will bring solid profits. So much of their money flows right back from the Arab countries to the industrial nations.

Arab investments in Britain in 1974 will reach \$10 billion. From January 1 through August 15, \$6

billion in Arab dollars flowed into the US. In all, about two-thirds of Arab oil revenues—some \$35.40 billion—will be invested in developed countries in 1974, alone.

This figure almost exactly matches the total \$45 billion payments deficit of the oil-importing industrial countries of Europe and Japan.

This doesn't mean the Arab sheikhs are taking over the West. It means that 60% of the oil-producers' national income is flowing right back to the industrial countries that dominate the capitalist world.

ENTER THE BANKS

Once the oil money gets back to the West, it enters a new cycle. On the one hand, that \$45 billion payments deficit falls on the backs of those countries who have the weakest exports: Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

On the other hand, most of the oil money winds up in the hands of the US banks in New York, and their branches in London.

The banks then save the international monetary system from collapse, and make themselves fabulous profits in the process. They undertake to "recycle" the oil money by carefully loaning it to the countries who need it to make their oil payments!

As the Wall Street Journal puts it: "So long as the world's governments don't panic and throw up a bunch of restrictions, the oil dollars will be handled by the most efficient recyclers around, which are the capital markets in London and New York."

So that's where the oil money ends up. After the oil companies take their cut, the lion's share of the rest winds up in the assets of the world's most powerful banks. The banks profit-based decisions can prop up or wipe out whole nations.

It's true enough there's an oil crisis. But don't let anyone tell you the Arabs caused it. It is a crisis made and manipulated by the powers that run the capitalist system right here at home. □

وفي بيروت أيضاً لك صديق في تشيس منهاتن

In Beirut too, you have a friend at Chase Manhattan



SUPER SIGN S&L

DEFEND BUSING

The issue in the Boston school battle is—first and foremost—racism. The ugly mob scenes, the beating of a lone black man picking his daughter up from a South Boston school, the stoning of buses carrying black children by the very police charged with their protection, all speak for themselves.

For the black community the issue is quality education for black children. This struggle began long ago. In Boston, as everywhere else, black schools receive less funds, less teachers, and less equipment. Although all school buildings in Boston are decaying, those in black neighborhoods are the worst. New teachers apprentice in the ghetto schools, and after gaining experience are transferred to white schools.

In black schools federal funds are used in place of local funds. In white schools they are added on.

Boston schools, like public schools across the country are rapidly deteriorating. And like elsewhere, schools in black neighborhoods get the worst of a generally rotten situation. In black schools federal funds are used in place of local funds. In white schools they are added on.

Standing outside of all this is Boston's liberal corporate elite. They come on as guiltless and wring their hands over the unwillingness of the "Southies" to submit to law and order.

But it is they who are responsible. They created the situation that inevitably pits blacks and whites against each other in a scramble over continually shrinking resources.

For years Boston's schools have been deteriorating. But Boston's ruling class will not tax big business themselves to pay for improved schools, even though the schools produce the trained work force they demand. Thus the burden of school funding falls on small property owners.

In these times of soaring prices and outrageous taxes, it is almost a reflex to vote against school taxes—the only taxes people can vote against.

Thus school funding is cut while costs rise. School budgets are slashed, but they are slashed unevenly. Black school budgets are cut the most. Yet Boston's ruling elite can easily appear outside the battle because they are personally unaffected. Their children receive the best possible education in well-equipped private schools.

For years black parents attempted to bring white parents into a joint struggle for better schools. They got nowhere. With all other doors closed, blacks turned to desegregation. They reasoned that racist discrimination would be far more difficult in integrated schools. In fact desegregation was pursued as a strategy to bring black and white parents together in a struggle for quality education.

In some places, it had a moderate degree of success. When white parents saw the conditions of the schools their children



Part of a march supporting busing in Boston.

were bused to, they fought for improvements and often won. The white parents however, do not see busing as a first step in a fight for quality education.

They see busing as an attack on their insufficient but relatively superior standard of living.

This combined with racism—nurtured by the American ruling class to keep blacks and whites apart—has made Boston's busing program one of the most volatile racial conflicts in decades.

Racist Wallace-type Boston Democrats like Louise Day Hicks have used the busing issue to mobilize a power base for themselves, and catapult to national prominence within the Democratic Party.

The Ku Klux Klan also used the busing issue to gain strength in Boston.

And by coming out against forced busing, President Ford

gave federal sanction to the efforts of racists. The response of the conservative, middle-class leadership of the black community has been to appeal to the Federal Government for aid—the same government that openly supported the racist forces.

Leaders of the NAACP called on the government to bring in Federal Troops to protect black children—even though, federal troops have always been used against the black community.

The response of the black masses has been somewhat different. When Ku Klux Klansmen attacked the Columbia Point Housing Project, on the edge of South Boston, blacks and Puerto Ricans living there armed themselves in self-defense.

The Boston police entered the project to break up attempts at black self-defense and organization. They smashed a childcare and community center—which was being used to organize the black community.

If the white mobs are able to stop the busing program in Boston it will be a serious defeat for the black liberation struggle.

For the first time in modern times black gains will have been defeated by the mass actions of whites.

The attitude revolutionaries must take is clear. We are for the liberation of black people and the defeat of the racist movement. We are for busing as a legitimate means to attain some measure of equality for black people.

The demand for quality education is not only a demand for blacks. Quality education is important for the entire working class.

As long as the corporate elite sets the limits—black and white working class children will go to rotten schools. But so long as racist school boards can enforce segregation, black children will always attend the worst schools.

And as long as white parents believe there is no way to increase the limit, white and blacks will be forced to fight one another for crumbs.

But the limits can be changed. A movement of black and white parents fighting together for better education could win increased school funding at corporate expense.

To build that movement white parents must see the demands of black parents for better schools as a demand in their own interest and support all efforts in that cause.

Black people cannot, however, wait for whites to support their cause. Blacks must begin rebuilding the black liberation movement based on their own strength. This includes arming themselves for self-defense. The black community must also break with the conservative middle class leadership that only destroys the movement by tying it to the Democratic Party and the Federal Government.

Drivers, Parents Fight Busing Cut

by Mary Franklin

PASADENA—When the Pasadena, California School Board decided to cut back the number of buses it used to bus black children, they found a quiet, back-door means to eliminate school desegregation.

What the Board didn't expect, but got, was a coalition of angry school bus drivers and angry parents, teaming up to fight back.

On December 14, drivers, parents and community supporters plan to march on the Board's offices at City Hall demanding an end to the racist attacks on school desegregation in Boston and Pasadena, reinstatement of the Pasadena bus drivers and defense of the Pasadena busing plan.

The march grew out of a meeting called by bus drivers for Associated Center Bus Company (a private company which holds contracts with the school district to provide buses), seeking community support for their efforts to force the Board to reinstate full-time drivers who had been eliminated when the busing program was reshuffled.

This most recent attempt by the School Board to destroy the busing plan came to light in late October. Drivers at the bus company began hearing rumors that there would be a cutback in the number of full-time drivers assigned to desegregation schedules.

"We called the school board and began asking questions," a shop steward at Associated and one of the organizers of the drivers' protest Diane Jackson, told Workers' Power. "We got many different stories. We were lied to, given the run-around, you name it.

"Then we got the official word: Beginning November 4 the schedules would be reshuffled so those of us who had been guaranteed eight hours work a day would only be guaranteed four. What this meant for the drivers was a cut in pay from \$30-35 a day to \$13-20."

On October 22, 60 drivers attended a school board meeting to protest. "The reason they gave for the reshuffling was the fact they were \$380,000 overbudgeted. The new schedule would save about \$125,000," said Diane Jackson.

"I asked the guy how much they were spending on their court suit against busing. He told me over \$200,000—that's the community's money. He came right out and said they were elected to put an end to busing and that's what they would do.

"Cutting back the number of full-time drivers also meant cutting back on all the children's extra-curricular activities," she explained. "I had an after-school run with 75 kids on my bus. They stayed for tutoring and special reading classes. Some of them live up to ten miles from school. The mothers counted on those after-school activities so the kids would have some supervision while they were at work."

The racism of the School Board is not confined to the attack on busing. They also fired the head of ethnic studies for the school district, and cut back on the English-as-a-Second-Language program.

The October 22 protest at the School Board accomplished nothing for the drivers. Their union, IBT Local 640, has also done nothing.

"The union sent a letter to the school board saying they did not

support our action," Jackson told us. "The letter said the people who spoke at the board meeting were not speaking as Teamsters. We went to the union and asked a meeting be called at the Labor Temple to discuss setting up a relief fund for the drivers who had been hardest hit. The union said it didn't have enough money to do the mailing. The next day, they mailed out the same letter they had sent to the Board to the whole membership of the local."

Diane Jackson has just been fired. She was told she had been seen passing out leaflets, playing a radio on her bus, and carrying a bumper sticker in her window reading "Recall the Board." She was then sent to her supervisor and told she was terminated for handing out leaflets.

Jackson knows the reason she was fired was not for playing a radio on her bus or handing out leaflets, but for being a good shop steward and helping to organize

the drivers when they were under attack.

The Pasadena school bus drivers are willing to lay their jobs on the line to defend the busing program. They also told us they know they need support from the community to prevent scabbing when they prepare to take a job action.

To gain this support, they are ready to organize united action by drivers, parents, teachers and the black community to defend the busing program.

LOS ANGELES WOMEN'S HOSPITAL

Rally Demands End To Forced Sterilization

LOS ANGELES—Over 50 angry men and women marched on Los Angeles County Women's Hospital November 23 demanding an end to the hospital's policy of forcing permanent sterilization operations on women who go to the hospital to deliver their babies.

The hospital's practice came to light when three young Chicanas filed a \$6 million suit against the hospital for performing sterilization operations on them without their consent or full understanding of what the procedure was.

One of the women was never told she had been sterilized and wore an Interuterine Device for three years before learning she was sterile. All three women claim hospital officials lied to them when

asking them to sign the forms permitting the operations.

The forms were brought to them while they were in great pain and under heavy sedation during labor. Two of the women said they were told the operation was a "temporary" form of birth control and could be reversed if they decided to have more children.

The Committee to End Forced Sterilization, which organized the demonstration at the hospital, said other cases have come to light in which Mexican women in this country without proper documents were told by the hospital that if they didn't consent to the operations, they would be deported. Other women have been forced to sign the forms, which are written in

English, without having a translation made or a translator present to explain what is going on.

At the rally, speakers for the committee pointed out that the policy of forced sterilization on poor and minority women and welfare recipients is not exclusive to Los Angeles County Hospital. Earlier this year, the story spread nationwide of two young black women in the South who were sterilized without their knowledge and consent by a government-funded birth control clinic.

Many welfare departments demanded unwed mothers or women with more than three children be sterilized or their welfare benefits will be cut off.

labor notes

by Jim Woodward



The elections are over and as we predicted, more Democrats are jumping on the wage controls bandwagon. The latest is House Speaker Carl Albert who said that we "may have to come to" such controls. According to the Washington Street Journal, Democratic Congressional leaders have agreed among themselves to speak out in favor of controls in an effort to win over President Ford and labor leaders.

At the November membership meeting of Communications Workers of America Local 10310 (Louisville), a proposed dues increase was voted down by a 3-1 margin. A similar proposal was defeated the previous month. CWA members hope that their leadership is beginning to get the message.

In the same CWA local, a rank and file group has been formed. The group consists of plant and traffic workers who got together to fight against the contract sell-out last summer. The group has just published the first issue of its newsletter, called **United Action** after a rank and file group in New York.

An arbitrator has sustained the firing of Louis Mavrakis, President of United Steel Workers Local 2698 (Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel Co.). Mavrakis and 18 other workers had refused job assignments they considered "unhealthy and dangerous." Mavrakis led a 70-day walkout in 1970 over a similar issue. This time he listened to the advice of USW President I.W. Abel and District 15 Director Joseph Odorcich, who urged arbitration rather than direct action.

At the last meeting of UAW Local 7 (Jefferson Assembly, Detroit), President Kennie Flowers ran into trouble for his do-nothing approach to the auto layoffs. With great reluctance, he agreed to take questions from the floor. But when the first question was, "How much is your salary?" he abruptly adjourned the meeting.

By a vote of 8,473 to 6,801, the Textile Workers union has failed in its attempt to organize workers at Cannon Mills. Cannon Mills is a major non-union textile employer. The union had hoped that a victory there would be a break-through in organizing the southern textile industry.

An Ohio State Trooper has resigned from the force, protesting the selective enforcement of the state's 55mph speed limit. Jerry Moore, of Licking County, said that the patrol enforced the regulation only against truckers and drivers of other commercial vehicles.

An important victory in the "30 and Out" campaign has been won by 4,200 United Steel Workers mine and smelter workers in British Columbia, Canada. After a 3 1/2 month strike, they won retirement at 55 with 30 years service, a monthly cost-of-living allowance, voluntary overtime after eight hours at doubletime, and an immediate \$1.22 an hour raise. It's a lot better than what USW President I.W. Abel has been able to beg with his no-strike agreement in basic steel.

Sixty-five persons attended a rally at the Labor Temple in Seattle Nov. 16 to support the miners' strike. The rally was called by the UMW Strike Support Committee. Messages of solidarity were presented from Seattle CLUW and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 587 representing striking Seattle transit workers.

It could only happen under capitalism: some state officials are worried that if they have to pay the minimum wage to forest fire work crews, people may "set fires to get work." Better to keep wages low and let them starve.

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

Flying Pickets Close Scab Mines

by Jim Woodward

In Kentucky and Western Pennsylvania, rank and file members of the United Mine Workers have revived one of the most exciting and important tactics used by the labor movement in its earlier days—the flying picket squad.

Miners have resorted to flying picket squads because they are an effective way to deal with the problem of the many non-union operations. Non-union coal is so substantial a percentage of US coal production, that stopping it could shorten, or possibly even win a national coal strike.

In Pike County, Kentucky, pickets were successful in slashing output at non-union mines to 40% of normal, according to the operators. The pickets said even this figure was a great exaggeration.

In that county groups of 40 to 80 pickets travelled in convoys of 15 to 30 cars and trucks trying to stop the flow of coal from the numerous non-union mines.

In Clarion County, Pennsylvania, 68 non-union strip mines were shut down because of the work of a small group of UMW pickets. Pickets also visited strip mining operations in eight other Pennsylvania counties to halt production.

In some areas of Kentucky, state troopers were called out to break the picket lines and escort scabs through into the non-union mines. In Eastern Kentucky, 17-20 UMW members were arrested for picketing.

"99% BELOW CAPACITY"

But the miners responded by halting the transportation of whatever coal was mined. Many coal truck drivers did not haul coal as a result of visits by UMW members.

Not much coal moved by railroad either. A spokesman for the Norfolk & Western Railway said that coal hauling in Pike County was "about 99 percent below capacity, and that's not much of an exaggeration."

The flying pickets were most effective in stopping non-union operations in Western Kentucky, because there are many more UMW members in that part of the state for the picket lines.

In Pike and Floyd Counties of Eastern Kentucky, non-union operators offered scabs up to triple their normal wages for working on Thanksgiving.

For the UMW members, though, money was a problem. Picketing was carried on at great personal sacrifice. Some family tensions resulted when miners used money for gasoline rather than food.

UNOFFICIAL

All this picket line activity was strictly unofficial. It was organized

and carried out by rank and file miners. While the union's top officials were sitting in Washington selling the strike-out, rank and file workers on the picket lines, fighting to win it.

This aspect of the miners' strike is in sharp contrast to most of today's bureaucratically-controlled strikes where union members have nothing to do but quietly wait for their leaders to reach an agreement with the bosses.

It is this involvement of the rank

effective. Flying pickets were also extensively used in building the United Auto Workers union. In the 1930's and 40's, "flying squadrons" were a permanent part of many important UAW locals.

NORWOOD STRIKE

Use of flying picket squads can be an important tactic for workers who have to cope with increasingly more conservative bureaucrats in

Minneapolis — 1934

"We had a special staff at our disposal to handle the telephones and operate a shortwave radio used to monitor police calls. Teenage volunteers with motorcycles...served as the eyes and ears of the picket dispatchers and as a swift means of contact with picket captains."

"Picket crews...kept a vigil at points where the main highways crossed the city limits."

"Cruising squads in autos were assigned, district by district, to sweep through the streets on the lookout for scab trucking operations. A captain was designated for each of these squads and for each detachment of stationary pickets. At all times a reserve force with the necessary transportation was kept on hand at the strike headquarters."

"Special cruising squads with handpicked crews were constantly at the disposal of the picket dispatchers. They were captained by qualified leaders who carried credentials authorizing them to supersede all other authority in the field. These squads were used for special assignments on their own, and they were sent into tense situations to marshal the union forces and lead the fight."

—Farrell Dobbs in Teamster Rebellion. Dobbs is discussing the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike, of which he was a leader.

and file in planning and running the strike that opens up the possibility of the rank and file taking over the union. The labor bureaucrats know this very well, and that is why they are generally hostile to activities such as flying picket squads.

The miners' pickets are reminiscent of organizing campaigns in the 1930's when workers were building their own unions. They used whatever tactics they needed to win their strikes.

One of the most effective uses of flying pickets was in the 1934 strike of Minneapolis teamsters. Squads of pickets were always ready to go wherever needed to halt the movement of all trucks in the city. They were highly organized and

their own unions. The tactic could be one way of breaking the iron grip many such leaders have over the unions. And it could also be the difference between victory and defeat in many situations.

For example, auto workers at GM's Norwood, Ohio assembly plant lost a six-month strike in 1972. The strike had been a response to the speed-up campaign GM was carrying out at all its assembly plants. There was widespread anger and, as a result, eagerness to fight back.

Strikes occurred at many of these plants, but the UAW International refused the request of some locals for a coordinated strike of all GM assembly plants.

In this situation, with GM quite willing to wait out a strike at any one plant, the workers at Norwood were isolated. Even with a relatively militant leadership, they went down to defeat.

If, however, the local had sent squads of pickets to Lordstown, to St. Louis, to Ypsilanti, to Flint, to Framingham, and to the other assembly plants, they almost certainly would have been successful in spreading the strike and ending their isolation. That was the key to winning.

If other workers follow the example of the miners, the tactic of flying pickets could again become a powerful weapon in the labor movement's continuing struggle against the employers.

Jimmie Higgins

Workers at Jewish Hospital are interested in hearing from other hospital workers. Their address is: Employee Voice, P.O. Box 15078, St. Louis, Mo. 63110.



Hospital workers fight for union

ST. LOUIS—A union organizing drive is underway at the Jewish Hospital here. The hospital administration is using every trick in the book to defeat this attempt by workers to organize.

On November 29th Jewish Hospital fired Donna Lifson who has worked as Licensed Practical Nurse at the hospital for almost two years. The hospital claimed that she was not adequately carrying out her nursing duties.

The real reason for the firing however, was that she was a strong believer in organizing a union at the hospital.

But Lifson did not just talk about the need for a union. She was actively organizing among her

co-workers. This the hospital could not stand.

Over a year ago Lifson helped form a rank and file organizing committee. It fought to improve conditions in the hospital and to convince all of the workers at the hospital of the need to build a union. It recently carried out a successful petition drive to improve the cafeteria services. The committee publishes a newsletter called the Employee Voice.

For almost a year and a half Lifson worked in the Renal Intensive Care Unit which is one of the most difficult and demanding in the hospital. She was considered an excellent nurse by all of the doctors. Now suddenly the hospital

considers her to be unsuited for the job.

The hospital is aware of the organizing going on and is scared. In the past few months it has refined and "developed" rules on distribution of literature. This was done to make union organizing more difficult.

Last week the hospital announced a 7.5% wage increase and other "improved benefits," hoping to thwart unionization. However, these improvements were granted because of the organizing drive and more will be won if it succeeds.

While the firing of Donna Lifson is a temporary setback, the movement to organize a union continues to grow. Lifson plans to file a

Wash. State Kills Protective Laws

SEATTLE—By the first of the year, labor laws protecting women workers and young workers in Washington State will be stricken from the books.

These laws include the guaranteed 8-hour day, lunch and rest breaks, maximum lifting requirements, clothing standards, and provisions for washrooms and drinking water.

The protective laws are being scrapped wholesale in the interests of business, and those responsible are attempting to scapegoat the women's liberation movement.

The Industrial Welfare Committee was empowered by the 1973 State Legislature to enact new protective laws for all workers in light of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Rights Amendment, both of which ban sex discrimination.

MANDATORY OVERTIME

The new "protective" proposal of the IWC will allow mandatory overtime, no scheduled meal or rest breaks for workers whose "active work is intermittent in nature," no lifting restrictions, no restrictions on temperature, ventilation, bathroom facilities, sitting on the job, or lunchrooms.

The old protective laws are replaced with an appeal to the employer's "reasonableness."

Big business has poured thousands of dollars into lobbying efforts to make sure the new "protective" code protects business—not those who work and produce society's wealth.

LOSS OF PAST VICTORIES

The protective laws were hard won. Just to win the eight hour day, a fight was waged for more than 50 years by thousands of working people.

The response of the official labor movement to this attack has been pathetically timid.

The head lobbyist for the Washington State Labor Council was questioned about the Council's failure to propose extending the 8-hour day to men. This would guarantee equality in a way that would benefit workers.

But he threw up his hands in a hopeless gesture and replied: "Are

you kidding? The Committee won't even go for the 10-hour day!"

He recommended a letter-writing campaign at a meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. But he stated that no union members should raise any issue to the IWC that the Labor Council was not already proposing. In other words, no one should mention the eight-hour day since the Labor Council had already given it away.

WOMEN FIGHT BACK

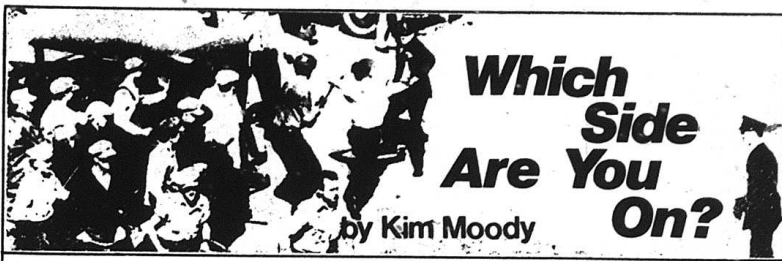
The only real response to this attack has come from several groups of working women, many of whom were involved in the women's movement of the 1960s.

They realize that this is an attempt by businessmen and the State government to distort the idea of women's equality to increase exploitation of women and all workers.

Members of CLUW, other working women and several feminist organizations in Seattle and Tacoma plan to hold a mass demonstration at the State Capitol on December 19 to protest the anti-labor ruling.



Laws guaranteeing women workers the 8-hour day, lunch breaks, and other protections are about to be revoked in Washington State.



Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

TAKE THEM OVER

During the recent United Parcel Strike in New York, Teamster leader Ron Carey demanded that the company open its books to the union.

The giant United Parcel Service, like other big corporations, resented the idea that workers had a right to look into their affairs. The union knew very well that the company's statement that it was losing money in New York was nothing more than a bookkeeping trick: UPS could well afford the union's proposals.

Nonetheless, Carey said that if UPS could prove it didn't have the money, the union would modify its demands.

POVERTY?

Suppose the company could prove poverty. Suppose Carey wasn't dealing with UPS, but with Chrysler. Would Carey have been willing to eat away at Chrysler's dwindling profits? And, suppose the company actually was losing money? What should the union do then?

The demand to open the books to the union and the workers originated in the socialist movement. Both the early Communist International under Lenin and later the Trotskyist movement put forth this idea.

But they didn't say that if the company could prove poverty the workers should modify their demands. Instead, they argued that if the capitalists could not run their business in such a way as to provide a decent living for the workers, then it was time to take it away.

Today, most people in the US are so used to capitalism they assume that if a company goes out of business that means production and work must cease. But there is no law of nature that decrees this.

The company can be confiscated or nationalized. The government can finance the continued operation of the business, maintain employment, and produce needed goods or services.

The plant, office, warehouse or whatever can be run by the workers themselves. After all, production does not cease when the boss plays golf or goes on vacation.

It is the workers, all of them together, who run the business. There is no reason why they can't

do so democratically as a group instead of under the direction of low level bosses who seldom know as much about the job as the workers.

It is a well established fact that the job of supervisors is to maintain discipline and not to instruct or explain. While no one worker may know how to run the entire operation, all of the workers together, exchanging knowledge and information, do.

NATIONALIZATION

When most of us think of nationalization however, we think of some bureaucratic monstrosity like the U.S. Post Office. But if the workers ran the nationalized business democratically there would be no need for a cumbersome administrative machine.

The real reason that nationalized industries today are run in this manner is that this sort of nationalization is meant to support sagging sectors of the various capitalist economies.

In Britain, for example, the coal industry was nationalized not to aid the workers, but to guarantee a continued supply of coal to the rest of Britain's private capitalist corporations.

Under this sort of capitalist nationalization, the employers are fully compensated. The former owners of Britain's coal industry still receive income from the government.

An example that is closer to home is the New York subway system.

Following World War II, the owners of New York's private subway lines discovered they were not making enough money. So the City of New York bought these lines at a very inflated price. The taxpayers of New York now pay not only for subway maintenance, but also astronomical amounts to the former owners in annual interest payments on bonds.

That kind of nationalization is not in the interests of workers.

NO COMPENSATION

Revolutionary socialists have always said that companies who cannot meet their obligations to the workers should be confiscated without compensation. No burden of payment should be placed on the working class simply because

certain capitalists cannot hack it under their own rules.

Reformers and trade unionists like Ron Carey make the fatal mistake of looking at things from the vantage point of the capitalists.

They accept the notion that the capitalist's profits should come before the needs of the workers. They believe that the workers are dependent on the company because they cannot, or will not, see beyond the barriers of private ownership.

For the trade union leader this means backing down when the company can show its profits are in trouble. For the liberal reformer this means paying the capitalist a fortune in compensation; that is, buying, not confiscating, the capitalist's property in order to support all the capitalists.

WHO MUST SACRIFICE?

Revolutionary socialists and we would argue, consistent working class militants, do not start from the vantage point of what the boss needs, but from what the workers need.

In good times, when capitalism is healthy and the profits are flowing in, the trade union leader and the militant don't have to worry about such things. In those times, in fact for the past 20 years, the corporations could usually afford enough to keep the average worker's income moving a little ahead.

But those times are gone. Now we have inflation and recession, and we have them together. Capitalism is under pressure and profits are harder to come by.

Under these conditions the companies want the workers to pay. That is, they want to make up the difference in their profits by holding down labor costs—wages, working conditions, health and safety.

If a union leader or militant accepts the barrier of profits or private ownership under these conditions, there will be little choice but to go along with the company's program.

To accept the logic of the profit system, even in collective bargaining, means to agree that it is the workers who must sacrifice. And it won't be long before the trade unionist who accepts that logic will be little more than a foreman.

MARCH FOR GAY RIGHTS

LOS ANGELES—Barney's Beanery is a tavern and pool hall that gained fame among the "hip" Hollywood music crowd when Janis Joplin used it as a hang-out. Recently, however, its fame has become infamy in the homosexual community in Hollywood.

On a sign over the bar, on t-shirts sold to the customers and on the cover of its matchboxes, Barney's advertises "Fagots Stay Out." For those who are proud of being gay, the injury becomes an insult when Barney can't even spell.

On November 22, the gay community decided to take action and set up a picket-line in front of Barney's. To chants of "Free Our Sisters, Free Ourselves, Take the Sign Down," about 40 members of gay organizations and their supporters marched up and down the sidewalk in front of the entrance. They were asking customers to boycott Barney's until their policy on excluding homosexuals was reversed.

The right of gay people to express their gayness in public has long been denied. For years, bars

which allowed gay people to freely associate and express affection in public have been subject to police harassment and raids.

Beginning a few years ago with the Sonewall Bar rebellion in New York, however, gay people have been organizing to fight back against this harassment and the denial of their right to the sexual preferences.

The organizers of the picket at Barney's Beanery hope that a victory against the blatant anti-gay policies of a spot as famous as Barney's will make it easier to win the fight against exclusion and harassment at other bars and restaurants.

Among the groups participating in the picket were the Los Angeles branch of the International Socialists and The Lavender and Red Union, a collective of gay Marxists who operate a center for gay people in Hollywood. They have been working in the gay community to spread the idea that gay liberation is impossible without a socialist revolution led by the working class.

Mary Franklin

Generous Motors...

General Motors thought they were just getting rid of a militant when they tried to fire Wendy Weinberg from her job at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit. But GM ended up instead paying for a party for several hundred workers from the plant and their families.

When Weinberg was fired in September 1973, she began a successful fight to get her job back. She charged that she was fired because of her participation in Shifting Gears, a rank and file group.

Almost eight months after being fired, she was back at work, and six months later received over \$5,000 take home in back pay.

Some of the back pay financed



the party Nov. 29 at the UAW Local 235 hall. Entertainment was provided by the Soulful Black Knights. Fight back—it pays!

Struggle in the Coalfields
by Kim Moody
Sun Press 36c postpaid
14131 Woodward Ave., Rm. 225
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The Great Depression of the 1930's is an event known to all. To those who lived through it, it is a bitter memory of poverty, suffering and struggle.

The Depression is something they said could never return, wiped out by smart economists and new government policies.

Yet today, people know better. It doesn't seem so certain a depression won't come again. Unemployment is getting so high—new figures in the paper every day.

Every day more people who clock out, don't know when or if they'll be back.

Whatever form the current recession takes, working people will have to fight it, or become its victims.

In the two articles on these pages we take a look at the experience of workers who fought the last big Depression.

John Anderson tells of his personal experiences as a young worker during the 1930's, and how they convinced him to become a socialist.

Jack Trautman's article examines the labor scene as a whole during those lean years. It wasn't all defeat, because workers were fighting impoverishment together, and learning the lesson behind every workers' victory. In unity and organization we can regain what the bosses steal from us: the wealth we created, the fruit of our labor. □



THE GREAT DEPRESSION

How Workers Fought Back

When the Depression hit in 1929 it hit hard. Between September and December three million people were thrown out of their jobs. In 1930 unemployment was 8.5%, and by 1933 it was 33.2%. One out of every three workers was out of work.

In the industrial states it was even worse. Michigan, for example, had an unemployment rate of 45.9% in 1933.

There was no unemployment compensation and very little welfare. In Detroit in 1932 it was announced that 7,000 of the 27,000 families on welfare would be removed from the rolls.

People were evicted from the apartments and their homes were repossessed. In the middle of winter they were thrown on the streets. Gas, electricity and water were shut off when people couldn't pay their bills.

People were dying. In Detroit four people a day died of starvation in the hospitals in 1931. No one knows how many died in the streets of starvation, exposure, or diseases brought on by poor conditions.

Meanwhile, in the factories those who were still working faced an inhuman speed-up. When they objected, when they tried to fight back, the bosses had the multi-

tudes of hungry, destitute workers outside to threaten them with, "If you can't do your job there are one hundred out there who will."

CAPITALISTS LIVED WELL

In every possible way the capitalist class tried to force the working class to pay for the crisis, while the capitalists went on merrily living off the wealth created by the workers.

For example, AT&T maintained the same shareholders' dividends it had paid out in the 1920's. AT&T also laid off 185,000 workers—40% of its payroll.

Workers paid the toll in where they lived, how they lived and even whether they lived. So long as they acted as individuals, not organized to use their collective power, they paid.

It was not long, however, before workers began to resist. And in almost every case their resistance was led and organized by revolutionaries.

The left began organizing by early 1930. The revolutionary strategy was to fight uncompromisingly for the needs of the workers without regard for the profit needs of the bosses, or for the laws the bosses got passed to protect

themselves. This was done through unemployed councils that the left helped create.

HUGE DEMONSTRATIONS

On March 6 demonstrations were held in dozens of cities, involving hundreds of thousands of workers. (In Detroit the papers reported only 200 participated. But there were 2000 police and 100,000 "curious onlookers" who just happened to be there.)

A series of militant demonstrations at city halls and state governments followed. There was a National Hunger March on Washington on December 7, 1931.

The unemployed marched on corporations, like Ford's, demanding jobs, and picketed in the business districts and at the homes of individual politicians and big businessmen.

They generally tried to make it impossible for the unemployed to be ignored, or for business to run smoothly without them. They refused to accept denials of permits to march and demonstrate.

As a result they frequently found themselves fighting the police—the same police who tried to beat the union-organizing drive a few years later and the same police who repressed the black movement a

few years ago.

The main demands of the unemployed organizations were for jobs and for unemployment insurance. "Work or Wages!" was the slogan. The unemployment insurance we have now is a direct result of those struggles. (The original demand was for the insurance to be administered by the workers, not by the bosses through their servants in the government.)

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL

A National Unemployment Council was organized. Its largest branch was in Chicago, where 20,000 workers were enrolled. One of its accomplishments was to organize the destitute people living in "flop-houses" run by the Salvation Army.

The demands they made on the flop-houses shows how bad conditions were: three meals a day instead of two; fruit and vegetables twice a week; two feet of air space between beds; separate rooms for sick occupants; free medical attention; enforcement of fire regulations.

They also demanded no discrimination against members of the Council and the right to assemble in the flop-houses (where previously only the church had that right.)

Once the flop-houses were organized they became centers for starting militant actions: flying picket squads could be organized there to aid strikers or people who were being evicted.

A major aim of all those organizing the unemployed was to resist evictions. Where they were strong enough they organized squads to forcible prevent evictions.

When they couldn't do that they would wait until someone's possessions had been thrown out and the police had left. They would then break the padlock and move the individuals back in.

POLITICAL ACTION, DIRECT ACTION

In this struggle the unemployed turned to political action and demanded a moratorium on rent debts and evictions. In at least one case—Chicago—they were successful. The mayor was forced to declare the moratorium.

In many other cities direct action bore fruit.

When gas and electricity were turned off, skilled workers, now unemployed, would turn them back on again. Employed workers also joined them.

When water was cut off they would turn it on too, and pour

cement over the meter. To turn it off again the water company would have to break the meter. So in most cases it was left on.

In two cities—Detroit and Seattle—the by-product of the movement was the successful recall of the mayor. Unfortunately, however, the movement failed to break with the two capitalist political parties and run their own candidates.

This meant they ended up with more of the same, but in a more liberal mask. This was particularly tragic in Seattle, where 50,000 of the city's 140,000 voters were involved with the Unemployed League.

UNEMPLOYED, EMPLOYED UNITY

One of the most important questions in the Depression struggles was the relationship of the employed and unemployed workers. There was a solid basis for unity.

TH

by John W. Anderson, Retired President, UAW Local 15

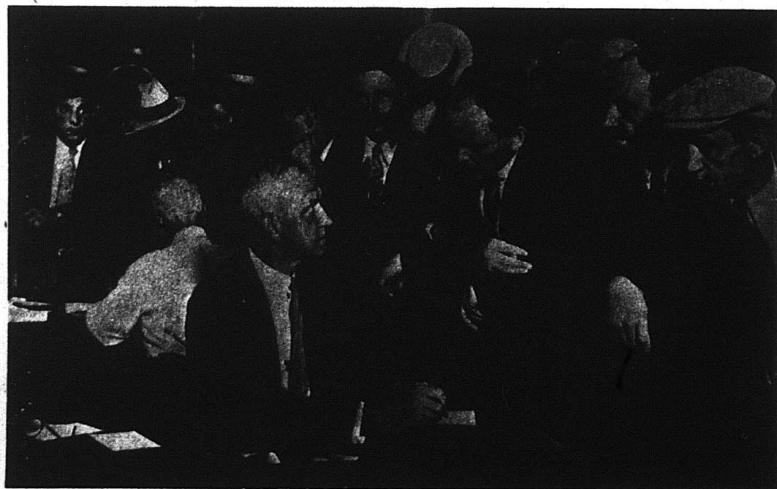
I was 23 years of age, working as a metal finisher in the Highland Park plant of the Briggs Mfg. Co., when the stock market crash of October 1929 took place. I remember the panic and hardship that struck many families when the only bread winner lost his job. They had no income and few had any savings.

I was not immediately affected because I was returning to college. When I graduated in 1931 I was assured by my professors, and a read in the press the depression would soon be over.

For 18 months following my graduation I tried to sell various items door to door. Often going hungry myself, I saw first hand the destitution of the workers: black and white, old and young—people losing their homes, their furniture, their cars and worst of all their pride and self-respect.

HUNGER RIOT

I was trying to sell GE refrigerators in Cleveland, Ohio in March 1932. I read in the papers about a hunger riot that took place at the Ford Rouge plant. Five workers were shot and killed, more than 50 injured by Ford Service men.



"One of the most important questions in the Depression struggles was the relationship of the employed and unemployed workers. There was a solid basis for unity. The employed worker of today was the unemployed worker of tomorrow and knew it."



Above: Unemployed workers line up for a few available jobs in auto during the Great Depression. Below: Militant workers occupy a factory, an important tactic in organizing the CIO.

PRESSION

ick

The employed worker of today was the unemployed worker of tomorrow and knew it. Therefore, they had a stake in the conditions of the unemployed.

Moreover, the struggles of the employed workers—for decent, safe working conditions, against the vicious speed-up, for the shorter work week at full pay, and for a union to fight for these necessary demands—were of direct concern to the unemployed. If these demands were won, employment would go up.

But at the same time, all workers, employed and unemployed, were desperate and worried for themselves and their families. This gave the bosses the chance to play one off against the other.

To recruit scabs when workers went on strike. To get the employed to see the unemployed as lazy and as threats to their jobs. Racial hatreds were also used to intensify divisions.

The unemployed organizations attempted to counter the splitting

trend. The most successful was that organized by the American Workers Party in Toledo.

There the unemployed were mobilized not to scab but to aid in strikes. When the Auto-Lite workers went on strike, the unemployed played a major role in winning it.

As usual, the company got a court injunction prohibiting the workers from picketing. The strike began to die as scabs were freely brought in.

Then the Unemployed League announced that it would join the picketing and forcibly keep the scabs out. Within a short time they had more than 10,000 people on the picket lines.

When the cops tried to bring in scabs they met a pitched battle. The National Guard did no better, but did provoke a general strike.

This successful action helped lay the basis for the successful union organizing drives of the next few years. The newly-born militant unions became the most effective fighters for both the employed workers and for the unemployed.

They knew they needed protection on the job, to prevent another catastrophe. The union could protect them from being thrown on the

street at the whim of the employer.

Creation of the CIO unions was the victory of the workers who had suffered through the Depression. It was their hope that it could never happen again.

But during the economic boom that was born out of World War II, these militant unions grew lax. The leaders worked out a comfortable relationship with the bosses.

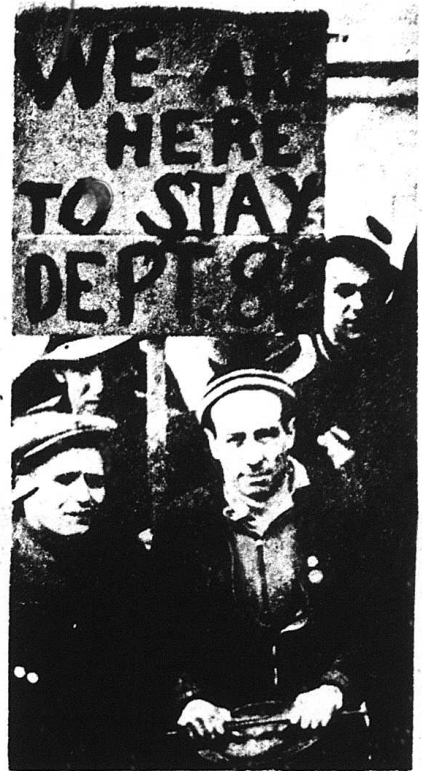
They let union democracy slide away. They let working conditions deteriorate in exchange for higher wages.

Today we are in another big recession. Unemployment is growing again.

Because we have unions, because we have unemployment insurance and welfare, won during the Depression, we are in better shape to fight.

But once again it will be rank and file workers who will have to lead the fight to protect their jobs. We will have to force our unions to become once again the militant defenders of workers that they were.

Left to themselves, today's union leaders will let the bosses once again make working people pay for their economic mess. □



E MAKING OF A SOCIALIST

I decided to return to Detroit and try to get work as a metal finisher. A few weeks after I returned I was walking down Woodward Avenue at Grand Circus Park. It was May 1st, and there was a parade marching into the Park. I saw Detroit Mounted Police charge into the marchers and beat them over their heads with clubs. The demonstration was broken up.

Going to the employment offices I learned the auto companies were laying off workers. They were nearing the end of the 1932-model run. It would be November or December before they would begin hiring men for the 1933 models.

That summer was to be the worst of my life. I had to pawn my watch and borrow money to live on. I lived on less than \$5 per week.

On Dec. 2nd 1932 I was hired at the Dodge Main Hamtramck plant as a metal finisher. My wage rate was 52 cents per hour—all straight time. This was the most difficult labor I ever performed.

On Dec. 24th I was notified I was laid off until further notice. But a few days later I was hired at the Briggs Highland Park plant where I had worked in 1929.

BECOMING A SOCIALIST

The hours and wages and working conditions were so bad

that after working there three weeks I helped lead the Briggs workers out on strike. As a result of this and other strikes I participated in I decided to devote my life to the labor movement.

I became a socialist. I helped organize the UAW. My ideas on the role of workers in the union were in conflict with those of Walter Reuther and other UAW leaders.

After being hired at Fleetwood Fisher Body in November 1936, I remained there for the next thirty years.

The crash that has just taken place in the economy I have been expecting for a long time. The economic problems that brought on the depression of the 30's are still with us. The depression came to an end as a result of World War II.

The economy has been kept going by huge military expenditures, first for World War II, and then for the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the continuing arms race with the Soviet Union. These huge expenditures together with the 25 billion dollars spent on

the space program contributed much to inflation.

In spite of unemployment compensation, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, pensions, and the wage gains made by the UAW, the unemployed auto worker may soon be facing worse problems than those we faced during the depression of the 30's. To avoid such a catastrophe the unemployed must begin organizing to deal positively with every problem faced by the unemployed.

There must be a moratorium on debts and a food stamp program that will prevent anyone from going hungry. The UAW and the rest of the labor movement must insist that the Full Employment Act passed by Congress in 1946 be enforced giving jobs to everyone able to work.

The UAW membership must revive the militant spirit that built their union. Read, study and take upon yourself the responsibility of joining your fellow workers in solving the economic and political problems that face this nation. In unity there is power. □



John Anderson

WHAT

The Line's Been Drawn

The importance of building a mass movement in support of busing, and of black people's struggles for their rights in general, has been sharply underscored in the past week.

The U.S. House of Representatives has passed a House-Senate compromise bill that aims to bring the 20-year struggle for school desegregation to an end. It would make enforcement of busing for integration impossible and illegal.

The bill states that no federal Health, Education and Welfare funds "shall be used to compel any school system as a condition for receiving grants and other benefits to classify teachers or students by race, religion, sex or national origin, or to assign teachers or students to schools, classes or courses for reasons of race, sex or national origin."

The measure was proposed by Republican Marjorie Holt from Maryland, but passed 212-176 in the heavily Democratic House.

What this means is very clear. In this racist society, school boards channel funds, equipment and teachers into white suburban schools leaving black and other minority students trapped in the most run-down schools in decaying inner cities.

With the passage of this amendment, there will be no restriction on federal funds to school boards that practice segregation—even when this segregation openly violates federal law.

This means that hundreds of millions in federal funds will be used to directly prop up segregated school systems.

It is no accident that this measure was enacted at this particular time. It is a direct result of the successful racist mobilization of whites in Boston

to break the court-ordered busing program there.

Every racist organization in this country has taken heart from the ability of Hicks and Kerrigan, the anti-busing politicians, to mobilize up to 25,000 people in the streets of South Boston to stop the buses by force.

Furthermore, while black people have been riding the buses and going to school to break the boycott, the government itself has sabotaged their effort. The federal court has backtracked on the busing program. Gerald Ford came out in open agreement with the aims of the mobs. The same government which said busing was the legal, proper way to answer to unequal education has now handed the white racist leadership an enormous victory. The government is encouraging reactionary mass action against black people's rights.

The Holt amendment is the direct fruit of racism. It aims to give permanent legal force to the temporary victory won by the racist mobs in Boston. And its effects will be felt everywhere.

School busing has become the current testing ground in the struggle for black liberation. Busing as the focal point of this struggle was not chosen by black people themselves—it was imposed on them by the racist response of whites. Busing, or its destruction, is the issue which now draws the line on racism. If blacks can be driven out of schools where white racists don't want them, they can also be driven from housing, jobs, and all the other rights that were won in a generation of bitter struggle.

That is why it is so crucial that supporters of the December 14 marches oppose not only violence—

but also stand ready to fight for the right of the black community to use busing for integration in the schools. And that is also why the next step must be reviving an organized independent movement for self-defense, equality and freedom in the black community itself.

Youth Organization

Capitalism, in its effort to control the workforce, oppresses and exploits wherever it can. Young people are a particular target in the hope they will grow into docile employees. In consequence, they suffer not only as black people, workers, or women, but also various forms of legal and social control reserved for them. Most are wise to the game, but without organization are dismissed as sufferers from "natural rebelliousness" of youth. More and more, young people are becoming wise to the whole game—class society.

This weekend in Los Angeles, several dozen young revolutionary socialists are meeting for the founding convention of the Revolutionary Youth Organization. The RYO will be the youth section of the IS, while developing its own organization and leadership. The members of RYO will organize youth to fight back in schools, offices, and factories.

Workers' Power welcomes the comrades of the RYO into the IS and our common struggle for a socialist world.



Dear Workers Power, We cha

The Fund Drive

We have decided to make a small contribution of \$20 to your fund drive. This is a small token that expresses our comradely feelings towards our American comrades, in our common struggle.

As you know at this time with our poor financial base and large commitments we cannot afford more.

A small group of Canadian Revolutionaries Toronto, Ontario

Kidnap Victim

I am detained at a concentration camp in Georgia, better known to the masses as Atlanta's Federal Prison. I have been behind bars, or in close custody, since March 20, 1972.

Due to my acts of engaging in so-called left-wing politics, I was seized by Mississippi piglets. I was wanted in Louisiana and Texas for cashing worthless checks.

I was re-charged in Louisiana for forgery. I was found not guilty of forgery. But guilty of attempt.

That's when I realized the so-called law is bullshit to repress and legalize murder upon blacks and reds. Any other race that's part of the masses are also in plenty big trouble.

I am aware that I am a legalized kidnap victim.

I am requesting you print this in your newspaper. I want and hope you want the proletarian masses to realize where their hard earned money is going. We also want them to realize that the Pig Ruling Class who is capitalist—is the people's enemy. Any proletarian people can become at any time the victim.

L.B. Atlanta

Rape

In an article about the Inez Garcia rape case, Sheila Carlin supports Ms. Garcia's murder of one of her alleged rapists and raises the demand for her acquittal. But the Ku Klux Klan, too, believes in a vigilantism in which they serve as district attorney, judge, and executioner of alleged rapists.

The only difference is that both Ms. Garcia and her victim are apparently Chicano, whereas the KKK goes into action only in supposed cases of black rapes of white women.

Please note: I am not talking about Ms. Garcia's right to defend herself against rape: everyone has a right to defend himself against violence. Since she killed one of her alleged assailants 17 minutes after the rape, when she was probably still shaking with fear and rage, we should defend her on the grounds of self-defense.



Members of the Inez Garcia Defense Committee. Garcia was convicted of murder for shooting a man who raped her. In response to our article supporting Garcia, one reader protests that "it is false to assume that the rapist is an oppressor who is enjoying his conquest. He is oppressed, too."

But the thrust of Ms. Carlin's defense is different: she tries to justify a vigilante killing since Ms. Garcia had "nowhere else to turn." The tone of Ms. Carlin's article is clearly vindictive and punitive toward the alleged rapist.

Notwithstanding what I have said about KKK vigilantism, there are, of course, very serious problems involved in rape cases. It is true that women have been victimized, especially women of the New Morality against whom police, judge, and juries are prejudiced. But it is false to assume, as one wing of the women's movement does, that the rapist is an oppressor who is enjoying his conquest.

He is oppressed, too, not necessarily in the same way or to the same degree as his victim, but in a real way, nonetheless.

For Marx, socialism is a way station on the road to humanism. The bedrock of humanism is a respect for the human being's worth.

Unfortunately, one militant wing

of the women's movement is moving more and more toward law-and-order vigilantism against rapists. But to be militant is not necessarily to be radical. The radical, knowing that the root of things is man himself, tries to understand and help. He builds for a world of brotherhood and sisterhood where no word will exist for rape, since it will be unknown.

Marvin Mandell W. Roxbury, Mass.

Building CLUW

I was angry, if not surprised, to read in Workers' Power #109 that New York CLUW refused to endorse the Boston anti-racism demonstration planned for December 14. San Francisco CLUW did endorse and vote to support the Boston march and rally, at our membership meeting of November 20.

Shortly thereafter, a support rally was organized to be held in San Francisco on the same date. Several local unions, including at least three East Bay AFT locals, as well as Black leaders, left groups such as the International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party, and many liberal, labor and women's leaders have joined in this united effort.

But the same local CLUW leaders who support these organizing efforts on the part of other people, are still extremely cautious about CLUW's own role. Rank and file efforts to get non-union women admitted to local CLUW meetings "with voice after members have spoken, but not vote"—surely as mild an invitation as one can imagine—was rejected in the structure discussion. It is this cautious, closed approach, and the lack of a clear purpose or direction for SF CLUW, that explains why our membership is stagnating.

Our meetings of 35 or so are smaller than some summer meetings. Unfortunately a number of women have attended a couple of meetings and then vanished. It still remains for the rank and file of

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.

CLUW to propose activities and goals such that CLUW can grow and develop. The willingness of many local CLUW chapters to behave somewhat independently of the top bureaucrats in CLUW nationally shows that even they are troubled by the contradiction between CLUW's potential and its reality so far.

Ann Judah San Francisco, Ca.

Revolution

Workers' Power is really good. The coverage of the miners' struggle was the most complete of any paper on the left. Road to Revolution is your best feature, but the polemics would better serve their purpose if they were not confined to that one column. Otherwise the paper is balanced well.

Les Jacobs Detroit

Free The Prisoners!

TRUTH ABOUT ATTICA

More than three years ago prisoners took over the Attica "Correctional" Facility. The result was the killing of 43 persons—inmates and hostage guards—by state forces. Today, the state is attempting to complete the murders—this time in the courtroom.

On September 9, 1971 prisoners rose up and seized the institution. In July of that year they had presented a list of 27 moderate demands, including a commitment to peaceful change, to Commissioner Oswald and then Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Commissioner Oswald's visit produced nothing more than a taped speech promising future changes. Rockefeller's response was to make no response at all.

POLICE ORDERED IN

Two days after the take-over Rockefeller refused to come to Attica for negotiations and refused to grant the prisoners' demand for amnesty. Instead he ordered thousands of National Guardsmen and State Police to attack the prisoners.

On "Bloody Monday" September 13, over 120 died or were wounded in the assault. Fortythree were killed including 9 hostages. The assault can only be characterized as one of the most brutal moments in the history of American oppression.

There was no plan to insure that only a minimum of force would be used to retake the institution. No signals were established to convey a cease fire order.

Ammunition outlawed by the Geneva Convention, such as unjacketed bullets which expand on impact were used. Twelve gauge rifled slugs containing one ounce of lead were also used.

Ammunition manufacturers suggest the use of this rifled slug by police agencies "in anti-vehicle duty or wherever tremendous shocking power is required, such as reducing a cement block wall to rubble."

NO MEDICAL CARE

Emergency surgical treatment did not start until 4 hours had passed since the shooting had stopped. All this against unarmed Attica prisoners.

Before the assault began Rockefeller and other officials spread rumors that prisoners had slit the throats of hostages in order to whip up public support for the massacre. This had the effect of enraging and inciting those officers who were to perform the assault.

Two days later medical experts stated that none of the hostages died of slit throats. All had died of gunshot wounds, and the government was the only force at Attica that did any shooting.

Immediately following the assault prisoners were stripped and forced to pass through gantlets in which they were beaten and forced to crawl naked across the yard. Prisoners were also beaten on numerous later occasions and shots were heard late into the night.

L.D. Barkley, a major leader of the rebellion, was probably murdered late that night.

COURTROOM MURDER

In order to finish off the job, to get those they missed on Bloody Monday, Rockefeller and company are using the courts to "legally" murder the remaining Brothers. The Attica Brothers Legal Defense and the National Lawyers Guild said no, and have been working to prepare all the Brothers' cases and build a defense movement.

In late November a Special Grand Jury was empaneled to investigate possible violations of the law—whether by prisoners or

police. The jury was all white, elderly and unanimously biased against the prisoners.

Of the 23 jurors twelve had friends or relatives who work in prisons, five have friends who were hostages in the yard, and three knew guards who were killed or wounded. None had friends who were prisoners.

The Grand Jury handed down 37 indictments against 59 Attica Brothers. No employees or government officials were indicted. They are charged with a total of 1500 felony counts with a cumulative maximum sentence of some 60,000 years.

The State of New York has spent \$7-8 million to prosecute the Attica Brothers. It is the only trial to ever be listed on the N.Y. State budget.

The defense was appropriated \$700,000 and as yet has received none of that money. The State also has the use of some 40 lawyers, numerous aids and secretaries, unlimited xeroxing, and other benefits.

Conditions at Attica, like all other prisons, are brutal. "Correc-

tion" meant daily degradation and humiliation: being locked in a cell for 14 to 16 hours a day; working for wages that averaged \$3.30 a day in jobs with little or no vocational value; having to abide by hundreds of petty rules for which there is no justification.

The opportunity to exercise the right of free choice was practically non-existent. Prisoners are not allowed to freely organize for political, social or religious purposes. Medical services are severely lacking, with only two doctors for the 2,243 inmates.

UNITY

Attica, and what happened there, is a raw and brutal microcosm of the dynamics by which this system runs. Basic to the efficient domination of prisoners is the cultivation of racism.

67% of the inmates in the N.Y. State "Correctional" system are black, Puerto Rican, or other minorities. All are poor. As in any factory or community, those in power actively divide black and white. During the rebellion the cry

rose up "We have the solution. The solution is unity."

Behind every Attica, behind every plant closing or speedup, behind every cut in social services or famine, there are Rockefeller types who make the decisions.

The Attica Brothers, and all political prisoners must be defended. The Attica Defense is in need of money to finance the defense of the Brothers. The first major trial will

begin soon. The ABLD has speakers, films and literature available.

Clifford Bruce

ATTICA—STOP THE TRIALS

Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin Street, Buffalo N.Y., 14202, 716-856-0302.



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

The last column in this series talked about alienated labor, the kind of work we perform in a capitalist society.

We don't do this work because we like it or because it does anything for us as human beings, but because we get paid for it. And we have to get paid if we want to live in this society.

As revolutionary socialists, the International Socialists are fighting for an alternative to the kind of work we suffer through today—a society based on the organized social power of the working class.

Under socialism, work will be something very different from the alienated labor we perform for the capitalists in this society.

Socialism is economically based on workers' control of production. Socialism can only come into being if working people take all the factories, mines, warehouses, and offices away from the capitalists who now own and control them.

It can only survive if workers then reorganize the economy and run it on a democratic basis.

For a capitalist society to function it has to exclude workers from any control over the way work is organized.

Socialism, on the contrary, can only work to the extent that all workers are directly involved in running society, beginning with each individual workplace.

WORKERS' PLANNING

Karl Marx once described socialism as "the rational organization of the producers." Socialism requires an overall economic plan—not the plan of the board of directors of a corporation as in America, or of a bureaucratic Communist Party as in Russia and China, but the plan of "freely associated labor."

A socialist economic plan is something consciously decided by the working class itself.

More than anything else, what will make socialism different from capitalism is that the workers themselves will make all the decisions that affect their lives.

Such decisions can't be made on a purely local level. Modern industrial society is much too interdependent for each factory to decide what it's going to produce in isolation from what other factories are up to.

A national network of workers' councils would democratically decide what kinds of goods were needed, and then coordinate the various parts of the economy to produce these goods. Workers

would collectively control the overall direction of the economy.

Once the general economic plan had been decided upon by the entire working class through its workers' councils, the people at each workplace would control the conditions under which they worked.

The speed of production, safety, working conditions, organization of work—all of these would be under the control of those who actually did the work.

Defenders of capitalism love to argue that workers couldn't run the economy, because they don't have the skills and expertise of factory managers, technicians and economists. But this argument is only a defense of the wealth and power of privileged elites in this society.

There is no reason why every worker couldn't learn these technical skills. Furthermore, as long as specialized technical workers, managers and the like are needed, they could be hired, fired and controlled by a working class that controlled the factories.

WORK FOR PLEASURE

Work would no longer be an alien activity, separate from our real lives as creative human beings.

People like to make things with their hands, and they also like to get a chance to use their heads. Socialism would harness this human creativity instead of crushing it.

Work would become something that develops us as human beings instead of breaking our spirit.

We would work under decent conditions at the speed we decided upon, carrying out decisions that we ourselves had made. We could provide full employment and immediately cut the work week, with no loss of pay.

More and more dirty and dangerous jobs could be fully automated without throwing anyone out of work. If there were less work, everyone would simply work less and have more leisure time in which to have fun and develop their human talents.

Technological progress would finally benefit workers, instead of periodically coming down upon our heads in the form of disasters throwing thousands of people out of work.

This kind of work is now a historical possibility because of the incredible productivity of labor created by modern industry. But it is up to a workers' revolution to make it a reality.



Attica rebellion September, 1971.

DEFEND THE ATTICA BROTHERS

ATTICA

FORUMS IN THESE CITIES:

Louisville
St. Louis
Chicago
Cleveland

SPEAKERS:
Jack Trautman (IS National Executive Committee)
Dalou Ashai (Attica Brother)

For details see "What's On" p. 14

Workers' Democracy

by Joel Geier

Under capitalism, whether in democratic America or in fascist Spain, the economy is controlled by a small minority of enormously rich people. They own it. The only purpose of economic production is to increase their profits and wealth. Because the capitalists own the economy, they control the government also.

The government exists to protect the capitalist system. Its constitutions, laws, and legislative bodies, the police, jails, and armed forces are there to keep capitalism running smoothly.

Whether it is called "democratic" or "fascist," it serves only the employers, and represses everyone else.

It enforces the undemocratic, tyrannical running of the capitalist workplace—whether that is factory, office, mine, mill or school.

Therefore, in any socialist revolution, the workers have had to create new forms of state rule. They have formed organizations of more direct democracy and control, institutions which fit the needs and requirements of the class rule of the workers.

The first instance of this was the Paris Commune in 1871. Then in Russia in 1905 and 1917 the revolutionary workers created councils of workers' delegates called soviets.

HOW WORKERS RULE

Marx and Lenin carefully analyzed the councils of their time. They both concluded, and taught the revolutionary movement, that workers' councils were the state form that a successful proletarian revolution, a workers' state, would take.

In Marx's words, these democratic councils were "the dictatorship of the proletariat," the transition period to socialism.

In this period, the working class becomes the new ruling class. It organizes itself as the state, and exercises power in its own class interests.

In Lenin's words, it "is a state which is democratic in a new way [for the working class and the propertyless in general] and dictatorial in a new way [against the capitalist class]."

Only this kind of state, in which the workers have organized themselves as the state power, can make the economy property of the workers.

Workers as a class cannot own the means of production (the economy), in the form of private property, the way the capitalists do. The only way workers can own the economy is collectively, together, as social property.

It is this relationship to property, which makes the working class the bearer of socialism. It can exercise its rule, it can liberate itself, only by democratically and collectively socializing the means of production.

It is this dynamic which gives the modern class struggle its revolutionary socialist potential. It is this dynamic which impels workers, when they move to take power, to create revolutionary organs of democratic and collective control as the basis of a new state power.

Political discussions, elections, and elections take place at

the factories and work places. The factory councils control the productive process. Councils are also organized to run neighborhoods, schools, and other social institutions.

Government bodies are created by democratically elected city and national bodies of workers' delegates. These delegates and state officials can be immediately recalled from office. This is so that they reflect the political views of the workers, who are constantly involved in political and social life and decision making.

No official, or delegate, makes more than the average worker's salary. The repressive apparatus above the people is dissolved. The police are stripped of their function and the old army is disbanded.

The masses of workers are armed and organized into defense guards, so that they have

"No official or delegate makes more than the average worker's salary. The repressive apparatus above the people is dissolved."

the power to enforce the laws that they make and defend the workers state.

The masses of people are drawn into the decision making and administrative process. Through the councils, they make the laws and regulate their own society. In carrying out the decisions they make, the

masses are able to refine and alter decisions and laws to fit human need. Under a soviet system, in Lenin's words, "every cook will govern."

DUAL POWER

For a workers' state to be successful it must destroy the old state apparatus of capitalist repression. Workers' councils have usually coexisted for a period of time with the old state apparatus.

This period is known as 'dual power, when two powers, that of the workers organized in councils and that of the old capitalist state, coexist in an unstable equilibrium. One of the two classes, one of the two forms of state rule, must ultimately win out against the other.

For the councils to triumph and form a workers' state, there must be a conscious revolutionary leadership in the councils who are prepared to lead a revolutionary struggle for the councils to smash the old state apparatus.

Because the workers' councils are democratic organs of class rule they have representatives from all the political currents and ideas existing among the workers. They are a form of a working class Congress. All political groups and trends among the workers compete in them for influence and leadership.

The revolutionary workers have to organize themselves as a separate revolutionary party. They struggle within the working class and the councils for their revolutionary views to gain support and allegiance of the workers.

Where the revolutionary party has gained a majority in the councils, it then led them from dual power to a successful revolution, overthrowing the old state. This occurred in the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Workers' Councils arose in the revolution of February 1917. They existed in uneasy truce with the old czarist state until the Bolsheviks, the revolutionary party, gained a majority in the councils in the fall of 1917. The Bolsheviks then led a successful insurrection which raised the councils to power and instituted a workers' government.

When there was no strong revolutionary party, dual power led to defeat for the workers. In the revolutionary wave that swept Europe in 1918-23, workers' councils were organized in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Finland, Austria, and elsewhere.

In the absence of a strong, previously created revolutionary parties, these councils were controlled by social-democrats and the trade union bureaucracy. These forces cooperated with the army in restoring the old state machinery and disbanding the revolutionary coun-

cils. In the 1919 Seattle General Strike, a council of workers' and sailors' delegates was formed to lead the strike. Later in Spain in the Civil War of the 1930s, the councils were organized to run the factories and to collectivize the land.

In the great Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the first workers' revolution against the bureaucratic collectivist system, the workers once again organized workers' councils to lead the revolution, and run the factories and government, until they were crushed by the Russian Army's invasion.

STALINISM

The main lesson of modern revolutionary struggles, then, is that a successful socialist revolution requires both mass workers' councils and a conscious revolutionary party. Neither one can lay the basis for socialism without the other.

In Russia itself, the councils declined during the Civil War from 1918 on. The non-Bolshevik parties became a counter-revolutionary opposition to the workers' state, and were banned from the councils. But without competing parties in the councils, their political vitality dries up and they decline as organs of workers' control.

The councils were finally destroyed by the Stalinist counter-revolution in Russia. It wiped out all forms of workers' democracy as Stalin's bureaucracy took a monopoly of all political and economic power. The Bolshevik Party itself was destroyed.

Since that time, democratic workers' councils, as well as workers' control of production, have all been banned in all the bureaucratic societies—in Cuba and China as well as Russia.

The Cultural Revolution in China raised the call for a Paris Commune state—but the Maoist leadership prevented any attempt to introduce the principles of a state based on councils. Only the revolutionary workers' opposition, the Sheng Wu-lien, fought for a Commune state.

The Chinese Communist Party has never organized any kind of workers' councils during all its years in power. It believes in the rule of a party elite over the grateful masses, not in the rule of the masses through their own organizations.

Lenin taught that for the workers to be successful they must smash the old state and create a new one based on workers' councils. But for the councils to take and hold power, there must be a revolutionary party leading them.

The new revolutionary movement must fight for the ideas of Lenin—for both a revolutionary party and workers' councils, twin pillars of a socialist revolution. □



**Moscow, 1905:
Striking railway workers seize locomotive.**

"Political discussion, decisions, and elections take place at the factories and work places. The factory councils control the productive process. Councils are also organized to run neighborhoods, schools, and other social institutions."

COLTRANE'S REVOLUTION IN MUSIC

[Interstellar Space, on Impulse Records. John Coltrane, tenor saxophone; Rashied Ali, drums. Produced by Alice Coltrane and Ed Michel.]

John Coltrane was an artist who, because of his labors, became a legend.

Trane has been seen as the logical continuation of the revolution in music begun by Charlie Parker. As with revolutions in philosophy, literature and art, a revolution in music can be understood only through understanding the social conditions in which it flourished.

Just as Parker represented in music the mood of urban blacks during the 1940's, and Miles Davis the moods of the 1950's, so John Coltrane is a representative of the rebellious spirits of the 1960's and '70's.

As long as the conditions exist which gave rise to the Birmingham demonstrations, the March on Washington and the Watts riots, the surging sounds of Coltrane's horn will have validity.

Significantly, Trane was counterpart to Martin Luther King, Jr. it is Archie Shepp whose music and views correspond to the life and teachings of Malcolm X.

social significance of what he was doing (Shepp did). But what he was doing was expressing the most gut feeling and honesty that he could cough up.

By doing this Trane expressed the hatreds and loves of oppressed blacks in America—the most revolutionary sentiments against existing society. In this respect it was Trane, more than any other musician, who expressed in music what Malcolm X and Martin Luther King spoke.

Because of this, with Nat Turner, Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Bessie Smith, Billie Holiday, and Charlie Parker, John Coltrane has become a folk hero of the American black experience. And as such, he is also an exploitable commodity for capitalists.

Trane could honestly express his feelings musically—to scream, wail, woe, laugh, love and cry through his art. And the consequent popularity of that art among the most conscious and/or rebellious segments of black and white, American, European and Japanese industrial societies has been taken advantage of by these vampires in the flesh.

Organized as music corporations, these capitalists have embarked upon a road of selling Trane's essence, which was blown

out of his horn and captured on tapes. The tapes have been bought from Alice Coltrane and others, and re-sold as "Great Black Music," "Never Previously Released" recordings.

Malcolm X once remarked that to be a capitalist is to be a blood sucker. Malcolm hit the nail on the head.

In capitalist society, entertainers, athletes, prostitutes, scientists and artists are exploited, along with the working class.

Not only labor-power, but talents, brains, and bodies are put onto the market for sale. Moreover, under capitalism not only the creative powers of the living, but also of the dead are exploitable.

Count Dracula was only able to suck the life-giving blood from a living victim. The modern vampire-capitalists are able to exploit their victims even after physical death.

By means of warehouses, refrigerators, and tapes, capitalists can store up, sell, buy, speculate and re-market the products of labor, in a word "exploit" the creators of value, even after these creators have ceased to be.

Such is the case in question, the exploitation of the creativity of John Coltrane seven years after his death.

Anyone that listens to "Inter-



'Trane

stellar Space" will discover that it was a collection of tunes recorded in the process of their development. Large parts of "Interstellar Space" are music played by Trane to himself, for his own understanding. They were written as "first attempts," not finished arrangements.

For example, when one listens to "Mars" closely, one can easily hear elements of what Trane later wrote as "Onunge" and "Offering," "Onunge" and "Offering" on the album "Expressions" is "Mars" in its final, most developed and polished forms. When one hears "Venus" it is actually a "first draft" of what became

"Expressions," the title track on

the album "Expressions." By releasing "Onunge" as "Mars" and "Expressions" as "Venus," ABC/Impulse! and Alice Coltrane either assume that Trane didn't know what he was doing, or that his music was so wild and noisy that his disciples wouldn't know the difference.

In spite of all this, the music speaks for itself. It justifies itself. "Interstellar Space" rises above the clap trap of capitalist commercialism and speaks of true human reality. It is well worth listening to.

Trane's "Interstellar Space" is an indictment of capitalist society. HE WHO HAS AN EAR, LET HIM HEAR!

Li'l Joe



Domestic workers are beginning to organize.

150 Years Of Women's Struggle

[Working Women and their Organizations—150 years of struggle; by Joyce Maupin; Union WAGE Educational Committee; 1974; 33pp. \$1.00.]

Working Women and their Organizations spans the early 1880's to the present day. In that time period of 150 years, Joyce Maupin unfolds each stage of women organizing.

She traces the development of organizations that women formed themselves—like the Women's Trade Union League, and the Female Labor Reform Association. She tells how the women who were in the middle of struggling for their rights soon saw that their goals were the same as other oppressed people, like blacks, were fighting for. They came to realize that the real enemy was the unjust system that kept everybody down.

Maupin gives some excellent statistics on how, at first, women were on the fringes of the labor force. The attitudes toward their labor then were that it was just "extra," just "to fill in" 'till the men, who were more important, came back from fighting the wars.

Today, the fact is that the capitalist economy can't function without the labor that women produce. Women now make up 24.3% (more than that) of the labor

force.

Employers try to use this percentage as a strike-breaking force and as a way to force down wages and working conditions. But many women today know that unless they engage their working brothers—both union and non-union—to fight with them, both will lose.

If you're a working woman and work at a smashing \$2.50/hour job all day long, no one has to tell you about the need to organize. I invite

you to read the pages of this little booklet, Working Women and their Organizations. Because it's our history—about our courage, our battles, and our victories. It just shows you what we can do!

Carolyn Schuette

This pamphlet is available from Union WAGE (Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality) for \$1 plus postage, 10 or more, 80c each plus postage. Send to P.O. Box 462, Berkeley, CA 94701.

Bureaucratic Collectivism: The Stalinist Social System

The revolutionary socialist analysis of Stalinism in China, Russia, past and present.

Articles by Jack Trautman, Max Shachtman, Hal Draper, Kuron and Modzelewski and Chris Harmon

\$1.00 postpaid. Order from: I.S. Bookservice, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203



Fund Drive-Last Week

The International Socialists annual fund drive is reaching its final week. To date we have raised \$17,472, or 77% of our goal.

Although we are running slightly behind schedule, we have firm commitments that the branches will make their quotas.

The recent wave of industrial layoffs has had an effect on our fundraising efforts. IS members and friends have been among the victims, but are determined to make their contributions despite the hardship.

Building a revolutionary workers' organization is essential to fighting the recession.

The IS is deeply involved in the rank and file movement, both among employed workers and the growing ranks of the unemployed.

We have been participating recently in building unemployed committees to fight the layoffs, and make the capitalists, rather than the workers, pay for the economic crisis.

We have also recently launched an IS youth organization. High school students and other young people are fighting the many forms of oppression they face, and are concerned about their future as the crisis deepens.

We urge our readers to make a commitment to building the movement that you read about in the pages of Workers' Power. Workers' Power in the last year has

gained a reputation as the best workers' newspaper on the left.

It accurately reflects the growing class conflict, and contributes to the battle through its class struggle-socialist analysis of events.

We hope to move to weekly publication as soon as possible, so that the paper can be an even more useful tool in the rank and file struggle.

We are happy to announce the receipt of fund drive contributions

from our comrades in Canada and Australia. We are working together to build international socialism, and we welcome their support to our fund drive.

If you haven't yet sent your contribution, please send you check or money order, payable to International Socialists, to:

**International Socialists
14131 Woodward Avenue
Highland Park
Michigan 48203**

I.S. FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Collected	%
Bloomington	500	460	92
Boston	400	224	56
Chicago	1,300	827	63
Cleveland	1,850	1,530	83
Detroit	3,500	3,245	92
East Bay	2,400	1,766	73
Los Angeles	2,500	1,565	62
Louisville	800	800	100
Madison	150	170	113
New York	2,700	2,700	100
Portland	300	70	23
St. Louis	900	810	90
San Francisco	500	500	100
Seattle	1,700	1,439	83
MAL's	1,200	797	66
National Office	1,500	1,043	69
Totals	22,500	*17,492	77

I.S. NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETS

The International Socialists National Committee (NC) met in Detroit during the Thanksgiving weekend.

The reports to the NC from the Executive Committee, and the NC discussions themselves, were aimed at reflecting the growing economic crisis and the rapid political changes occurring in the US.

We expect a much more rapid growth of the rank and file union movement.

Revolutionary socialists in the working class are gaining influence in workers' struggles. Building a much more powerful revolutionary organization in the next few years is a growing possibility.

Our membership has grown by 25% since the Labor Day Convention. But it represents only the first short step in the road we must travel to build a genuine working class revolutionary party.

The National Committee discussed our expectations of a continuing sharp downturn in world capitalist economy in the coming year.

The deep world recession brought on by declining profit rates and accelerated inflation, means that workers' consciousness and the necessity of militant action will increase far more rapidly than in the past.

BUILD UNEMPLOYED CTES

Mass unemployment, which has begun in auto but will rapidly hit other industries, will deepen next year. The NC decided that as part of our ongoing rank and file union work, major attention must be given to struggles of unemployed workers. Building unemployed committees in the unions and

fighting for mass direct action against layoffs are important to this effort. We must fight for demands that will make the corporations pay the cost of the crisis of their system.

Despite the difficulties of unemployment, our increased size must be translated into a stronger presence in the key industrial unions.

The NC gave special attention to the issue of women as industrial workers, and determined that the involvement of women in the key industrial unions must be expanded.

Of particular importance was the decision to commit our resources to the formation of a revolutionary youth organization.

The I.S. will directly assist in building the youth group.

The youth group will be a self-governing section of the International Socialists in political solidarity with the I.S. and its work.

As political openings for socialist ideas and action continue to rapidly develop, our most crucial handicap is our small size and resources. Continuing our growth and taking advantage of the new possibilities is our main obligation in the months ahead.

Detroit Forum Discusses Layoffs

DETROIT—Over 70 people attended a forum here on "The Layoffs and How to Fight Them." Many in the audience were members of the UAW—already laid off or counting the days.

Jack Weinberg, an unemployed member of UAW Local 212, explained that we have got to make layoffs so expensive to the capitalists that they will grant our demand for a shorter work week with no loss of pay.

The only real solution, however, is to end the system that produces layoffs, Weinberg stated.

Glyn Carver, organizer for the British International Socialists, discussed the growing rank and file movement in Britain, how the crisis hit there earlier, and how British workers fought back. Factories that tried to close were occupied and all British workers refused to handle goods from the occupied company. Both speakers discussed the growing rank and file movement and its connection to building a revolutionary party.

WHAT'S ON

Louisville, Thursday, December 12—"Attica," Jack Trautman (IS National Executive Committee, Dalou Ashai (Attica Brother), and Fred Hobby (Workers For Collective Progress). Co-sponsored by IS and Workers For Collective Progress. Harris Recreation Center, 1723 S. 34 St., Louisville: 7:30 pm.

St. Louis, Friday, December 13—"Attica," Dalou Ashai (Attica Brother), and Jack Trautman (IS National Executive Committee). Co-sponsored by Attica Brothers Legal Defense, IS, and National Lawyers Guild. Learning Center, 4504 Westminster at Taylor, St. Louis. 7:30 pm.

Chicago, Saturday, December 14—"Support the Attica Brothers," Dalou Ashai (Attica Brother) and Jack Trautman (IS National

Executive Committee). Lawson YMCA, 30 West Chicago Ave at Dearborn. Chicago, 7:30 pm.

Seattle, Saturday, December 14—"Lessons of the Miners Strike," Kim Moody (National IS Labor Organizer). El Centro De La Raza, 2524 16th South. 8:00 pm.

Vancouver, BC, Sunday, December 15—"State of US Trade Unions," Kim Moody (National IS Labor Organizer). Spartacus Bookstore, 8:00 pm.

Cleveland, Monday, December 16—"Attica—Fighting Back," Dalou Ashai (Attica Brother) and Jack Trautman (IS National Executive Committee). Co-sponsored by IS, Attica Brothers Legal Defense and National Lawyers Guild. Karam House, 2355 E. 89, Cleveland. 8:00 pm.



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 dictatorial rule by a few ruling classes) are based on the exploitation of the working class. The only way to end this exploitation is through the independent action of the working class. We will establish a new rule by the masses of people based on the principles of the working class.

THE WORKING CLASS

The working class is the only mass organization 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' struggles 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. The party does not represent a class to rule over the workers. In their interests, it is a political force to organize workers and leading them to the 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 unions. No secret organizations. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle. All national rank and file organizations to be organized on the basis of the principles of the International Socialists. For class struggle consciousness. Abolish all anti-labor legislation, restrictions on the right to organize, picket or boycott. Defend working conditions. No control on wages. Against unemployment, layoffs and speed-up. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control. Equality for all oppressed peoples. Full support to the liberation struggles. For the right of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, sexism, harassment and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

WHERE WE STAND

for their own democratic independence by Puerto Rico. Abolish all forms of sexual oppression. For complete social, economic, and political equality for women. Free quality children, birth control and abortion. For a working class women's liberation movement. Total discontinuance 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 strategy 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 classes.

I.S. BRANCHES

- National Office: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203
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Arms Race Will Continue Fallout From Summit

by Dan Posen

When Gerald Ford and Leonid Brezhnev emerged from their summit talks at Vladivostok, they announced that the world's two superpowers had made new, unprecedented steps toward ending the arms race.

They explained that they had agreed to place strict limits on the development of nuclear weapons over the next ten years. This agreement, supposedly goes far beyond any strategic arms limitations agreement that the US and Russia could reach in the past.

Both leaders, of course, were modestly willing to take personal credit for this gift to humanity. As President Ford put it: "What we have done is to set firm and equal limits on the strategic forces of each side, thus preventing an arms race with all its terror, instability, war-breeding tension and economic waste."

Secretary of State Kissinger chipped in, calling the deal "the breakthrough we have sought to achieve in recent years."

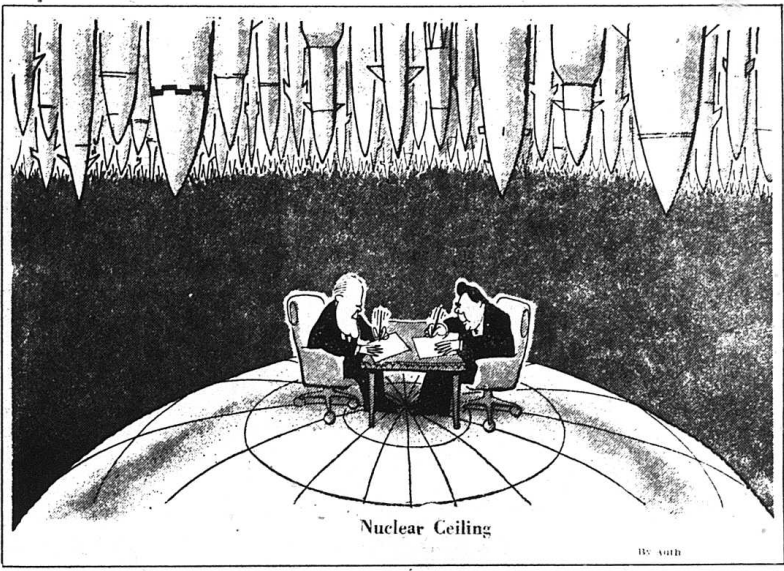
Naturally, everyone is inclined to welcome an agreement that would do away with the threat of the destruction of the world by atomic weapons. With inflation, recession and unemployment tearing up workers' lives, it would at least be good to have one less crisis to worry about.

There's just one problem. Anyone who wants to take comfort from the Ford-Brezhnev "arms limitation" agreement would do well not to look very closely at what it really means.

WHAT IT MEANS

How does this agreement affect military spending and development? It can be quickly summed up this way:

- 1) First of all, the \$18 billion annual US budget for nuclear weapons will not be reduced in the next ten years. Actually, it will probably go up.
- 2) The actual number of nuclear warheads which the United States and Russia aim at each other (and at Europe, China, and so on) will not be decreased. In fact, it will continue to go up at a practically uncontrolled rate.
- 3) The development of more sophisticated and powerful means of delivering these warheads will go on. There is no attempt to control this, or the billions of dollars spent on more up-to-date technology, at all.
- 4) The arms economies of Russia and the US as a whole are not affected at all. The current \$86 billion US military budget will continue to rise at the current rate.
- 5) The arms export industry, under which the US ships billions in weapons, from ammunition to fighter aircraft, to Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Shah of Iran, Brazil, South Vietnam and so on will keep on booming. Of course, the same thing applies to Russian arms exports to its allies and client states.
- 6) The American and Russian imperialist war camps, organized in NATO and the Warsaw Pact,



Nuclear Ceiling

remain intact, poised for war and armed to the gills. Nothing in the agreement would affect US contingency plans for an invasion of the Middle East or Portugal by NATO forces to protect American interests. And nothing would prevent another Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, if there were revolts against Russian domination there—or an invasion of Yugoslavia, if Moscow decides to expand its control.

In short, Ford and Brezhnev have agreed on a formula that guarantees that the arms race will not only continue, but escalate. The only change is the politics with which this escalation is covered.

Throughout most of the 1950s and '60s, the ruling classes of the US and Russia each constantly mobilized sentiment among their own peoples by showing that the other side was bent on world domination. Each side justified its own imperialist crimes by pointing to the other's plans for world war.

Today, these same ruling classes carry out the same repressive policies, the same imperialist crimes, and the same arms race. But today, Washington and Moscow explain to the world, and their own peoples, that they are working together for peace and detente.

HOW IT WORKS

The tens of thousands of words written about the summit talks really boil down to a few simple figures. Ford and Brezhnev agreed that the total number of long-range offensive missiles and bombers on each side will be limited to 2400.

Right now, the United States has slightly under this number, including 1710 missiles and about 500 B-52 bombers. Russia has slightly over the limit, about 2300 missiles and 140 long-range bombers.

This agreement was made possible, in part, because Brezhnev

agreed that US bombers stationed in Western Europe as part of NATO forces would not count towards the US total.

This part of the deal is probably intended to help strengthen Ford's position against Congressional opponents of the detente, and to help a bill improving trade relations with Russia get through the US Congress.

All of this, however, is a fairly small change. The agreement on numbers of missiles was reached only because it is now almost meaningless. The new fad in nuclear technique is called MIRV, which means putting multiple, independent nuclear warheads which can be aimed for separate targets on the same missile.

The US has converted 750 of its missiles for multiple warheads. Russia is now doing the same. The number of such missiles permitted under the agreement is 1320—enough by itself to double or triple existing nuclear destructive capacity.

Meanwhile, arms manufacturers have been assured that there are no restrictions on new weapons programs now in progress—the new Trident nuclear submarine and the B-1 bomber.

The agreement does have one functional purpose. While it in no way halts the expansion of the arms race, it partially assures both sides that neither one will get far enough ahead to completely overwhelm the other.

Both sides will now be able to plan their ever-expanding military budgets years in advance. The Pentagon can now figure out more exactly what it will be spending on nuclear weapons five or ten years from now, with less danger of the amount getting out of control.

Nuclear weapons generally represent a bigger drain on the economy than other forms of arms production: The whole military budget today means a tremendous waste of potentially productive resources. Even within the arms budget itself, however, nuclear bombs and warheads provide the least jobs, and at the current level of specialized technology result in very little knowledge useful for the rest of the economy.

Besides, some military experts now suggest that the US now has so much nuclear capacity anyway that it makes little sense to expand it infinitely. Quite probably many

Russian military experts take a similar view.

The arms race must go on, for both economic and political reasons. For 30 years, capitalism has depended on arms production—wasteful though it is—to stabilize the US economy and prevent massive slumps like the 1930's from coming back.

At the same time the conflict between two imperialist systems, capitalism and Stalinism, impels both sides to throw all their efforts into matching each other's war powers. Detente or no detente, this is still true—even though they can now plan well in advance just how fast to enlarge their nuclear stockpiles.

So the Ford-Brezhnev agreement may help streamline the arms race and enable the war planners to expand it more efficiently. But it does nothing to change one frightful fact: the power to destroy the world, concentrated in the hands of these imperialist rivals, is growing more rapidly than any possible detente between them can control it.

NEED FOR REVOLUTION

So long as these ruling classes control these weapons of world

destruction they will also have a weapon against their own peoples—a weapon to terrify them into silence, into supporting their own rulers' drive for domination, because of the threat of being wiped out by the other side.

There is one simple reason why detente cannot remove the danger of nuclear war. Deals among the imperialist powers cannot get rid of the causes that lead to imperialist wars. And it is imperialism which has created the threat of nuclear war—not the other way around.

The US-Russia detente is not the first time in history that great-power rivals have announced their agreement to live together in peace and divide the world between them. Each and every time, however, the preparation for new wars has continued uninterrupted on both sides.


That is exactly what is happening today. And there will be new world wars unless the ruling classes who organize them are overthrown first.

Even today, we are told that the only way to build peaceful detente with Russia is by constantly expanding the billions of dollars to maintain and build up the US war machine in Europe, in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asia.

If World War III is to be avoided, it will have to be by waging a different kind of war—a class struggle of the workers in both the US and Russia against the imperialist policies of the ruling classes.

The \$86 billion US arms budget, a budget not for defense but to dominate half the world, should be scrapped. The NATO alliance, which props up America's international war machine, should be abolished. America's military bases around the world should be closed. All nuclear stockpiles, which can only be used to annihilate tens of millions of civilians, should be destroyed.

If American workers raised demands like these on their government, they would not only weaken US imperialism. They would also enormously strengthen the ability of workers in Russia to fight against their rulers. In this way, they would help to begin organizing a revolutionary struggle—to organize the workers of both the US and Russia, along with the oppressed peoples in the nations ruled by both, in their own independent camp for international socialism. □



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MINER BILL WORTHINGTON TALKS TO WORKERS' POWER

The miners' strike was an inspiration to militants in unions all across the country because of the tremendous involvement of the UMW's rank and file. Their activity guaranteed the rejection of their leadership's first contract sell-out, and very nearly meant the rejection of the second.

The ranks of the United Mine Workers were deeply involved in this strike because of the rank and file rebellion that has been taking place in the union over the last eight or ten years.

One of the many rank and file leaders of this movement is Bill Worthington. Worthington is currently the president of the Black Lung Association for the five-state district of Ohio, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

Some years ago, Worthington's ankle was crushed in attempting to stop a runaway, overloaded coal car inside the mine. He stopped it, possibly saving the lives of several men working below. He is now unable to work due to this accident.

Several weeks ago at a mountain music-bluegrass festival in Berea, Kentucky, Workers' Power talked at length with Worthington. Here's part of what he had to say about himself, the miners' strike, the rank and file movement, and about politics in this country.

“ My father was a miner, raised in the coalfields, grew up here in Harlan County. During the 20's, late 20's, maybe I'd see my father on Sundays. Go to work a full day, get back late at night. Then we'd sit down and listen to him talk about what was happening in the mines and how the bosses treated people. My father took sick and there was no compensation—you would just starve if you had a family. I had no choice but to go up there. And somewhere in the back of my mind, ya know, I was sayin', "I just won't

put up with that stuff." I was 17.

Long during that time the union organizing was gettin' stronger in the county. I joined in and helped to organize the union.

The first year I was in the mines I was threatened with being thrown in jail 'cause I got into a couple of fights with the bosses. It's the history of my whole being, you know, being involved in union activities. I've always maintained that nobody ever just walks up and says "here's your rights." You fight for them!

Most of the miners know that the government, somehow or another, is out to bust organized labor, due to the fact that most of your political figures really owe the coal operators something.

The government has even threatened to use the Taft-Hartley law if the miners come out—but the miners say "screw the Taft-Hartley law."

The miners are going to ignore the Taft-Hartley law. They're pretty much prepared to buck it. What makes us strong are the pensioners, too the disabled miners—they



are seeing the need of really clamping down; they're going to be out there. There are goin' to be too many for 'em to put us all in jail.

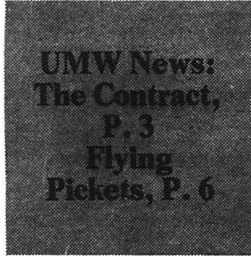
a bureaucratic structure if the rank and file is not on the ball. We do know that in the other unions there's a dictatorship—the rank and file has no say.

I think politically there's going to have to be another party. Miners are going to have to have a say in the organizing of that party. The representatives are going to have to be responsive to the people they're supposed to be representing. Public power is going to have to be taken away from the oil companies and the coal companies. These people are running the country, and the rest of us down here, the little fella, has never a say in what's goin' on—in what we want and need. □

The rank and file movement is needed in all the different occupations—this is something we all need. But the unions don't go for that. I've talked to a lot of these union leaders and they are not for it. They would rather remain dictators of their own groups.

The union can very easily—even in the miners' situation—turn into

Personally, I cannot see the democratic process the way the country is movin' right now. I see a lot of people being indoctrinated into thinkin' there is a democratic process. On the other hand, they're being dictated to by oil companies, coal companies, and other big industry.



AT&T: Busting the Trust?

American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) is the nation's largest corporation. It totally monopolizes the telecommunications industry, controlling 82% of telephone service.

Several weeks ago, the Justice Department filed an anti-trust suit to break up AT&T. They want Western Electric (the manufacturing unit) and the Long Lines Division to be made separate companies.

The government introduced the suit with much fanfare, claiming that it would introduce competition and help force prices down. But will it?

Government suits against the monopoly powers of AT&T are nothing new. In 1939 the Federal Communications Commission issued a report pointing to AT&T price fixing and recommending strong action. Nothing happened.

MONOPOLY

A similar suit was filed by the Justice Department in 1949 only to be quietly settled out of court in 1956, leaving AT&T virtually unchanged.

The current suit will take three years to bring to trial and ten years

to complete, with appeals.

Monopolies such as AT&T are highly profitable enterprises. Because they face no competition, they are able to raise prices almost at will. Much of the inflation which eats away at workers' real wages comes from monopoly prices and monopoly profits.

But monopoly is inevitable under capitalism. It is caused by its supposed opposite, competition, as one company wins out over another in the profit race.

And there is nothing inherently wrong with large production units. They should be able to be more efficient than a system of many small companies doing the same thing and duplicating efforts.

But since under capitalism they are privately owned, and run for profit, their drive for their own profit can be contrary to the interest of the capitalist system as a whole.

For example, telephones are essential to business. But AT&T's prices and practices are unsatisfactory to other large corporations.

"REGULATED"

AT&T's telephone operations

are already "regulated" by the government, through the FCC and state agencies on a local level.

But AT&T is so big, and the collusion between it and the "regulating" agencies is so great, that little is done.

There are now 27 cases involving AT&T before the FCC. 31 cases have not yet "formally" begun. One is an examination of AT&T's rates that was begun in 1966, and is nowhere near completion.

That is why the Justice Department stepped in. But their only interest is to keep Ma Bell from hurting other companies—not to provide good, cheap service to home customers.

Breaking up AT&T is not the way to produce cheap and decent telephone service. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler all "compete" in the American car market, but it is common knowledge that GM sets its prices and the others follow suit.

AT&T would undoubtedly work out a cozy relationship with Western Electric and Long Lines similar to that in the auto industry.

Good telephone service at cheap rates isn't impossible. But it is as long as the telephone system is run

for profit. AT&T should be nationalized under control of its workers.

As any Bell worker can tell you, the phone company contains a huge management bureaucracy whose major functions are to harass the work force and scab during strikes.

CWA

Decisions are not made on the basis of what is good for the customer or the employee, but on what will look good to a foreman's boss.

Inefficiency is rampant. Time after time, it is obvious to members of a work group what could be done to improve service. But unless the improvement registers on the supervisor's production index, it won't get done.

The CWA is the union that represents most telephone workers. It has allowed the giant monopoly to erode wages and working conditions for many years.

The only solution, for telephone workers and customers, is to get the phone company out of the profit business. The ranks of the CWA must lead their union in this fight. □

Ed Karney

