

WORKERS' POWER

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Elections, 1974

THE BIG CON

by Gay Semel

Election day, 1974, is here. It is less than three months since Nixon's resignation and the political crisis that threatened to destroy the Republican Party. It is also the beginning of the most severe economic crisis since the 30's.

Yet, the political campaigns of both the Democrats and the Republicans are just as empty, contain as few issues and present as little choice as in any other election year.

President Ford is stumping the country trying to stave off a Democratic landslide. His only defense—don't give any one party (the Democrats) too much power.

The Democrats are running on a series of negatives.

"Don't blame us—we voted Democratic.

"We didn't bring you Nixon, we didn't pardon him, we didn't bring you Ford, we didn't bring you Rockefeller, and we didn't bring you this economic crisis."

They also didn't bring us an alternative.

THE DEMOCRATS AND THE ECONOMY

One of the major aspects of the growing economic crisis is inflation. The two major causes of this inflation are military spending and monopoly.

The Democratic Party has controlled Congress for decades. Throughout these years the power of monopoly has grown, as has the arms budget.

In fact the Democratic Party controlled House and Senate just passed the largest arms budget—\$82.6 billion—ever.

The Democratic Party was also responsible for legislating wage and price controls—the economic program that in 1971, in spite of its name, allowed prices to soar while holding back the wages of working people. It also created boom conditions for the capitalists.

The Republican Party is a party of corruption, arms spending, "tight money"—and recession. The Democratic Party is a party of corruption, arms spending, "pump priming"—and inflation.

Both these parties put capitalist profits and the interests of corporations first. As the system goes into crisis, the differences between them get even

narrower—and they represent less and less of a choice.

THE DEMOCRATS AND WORKING PEOPLE

Just before November every other year, Democratic politicians remember working people. They barnstorm the country crying out against this inequity and that piece of anti-labor legislation supported by their Republican opponent. After the election they go back to business as usual.

This year is no different. Wage controls hurt working people so badly that few Democrats are openly running on a program that includes controls. Nonetheless wage controls is the program of the Democratic Party.

Last April, just prior to the expiration of controls the Senate Democratic Caucus endorsed legislation giving the President the power to extend controls.

During Ford's economic summit, top Democratic economists, including John Kenneth Galbraith, Joseph Pechman and Arthur Okun, called for re-introduction of wage/price controls.

Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield didn't even wait until November 5. During an interview on "Face the Nation" October 27, he said, "I think it's just going to be a matter of time before we come to wage and price controls."

After election day we will be hearing a lot more about controls from Democrats.

WHAT TO DO

During Watergate the trade union leaders came up with a slogan calling for a "veto proof" Congress. They shortly dropped that—it was "too radical." They replaced it with a "good Congress."

They mean the same thing—a Congress controlled by the Democratic Party—their so-called "friends of labor."

After November 5, they will have their wish—with a vengeance. The Democrats will control the House and Senate even more overwhelmingly than before.

What will this country look like with the Congress controlled by labor's "friends"?

There will be higher unemployment, a deep recession or depression, and more inflation.

There will be more spending and less spending—more on arms to prop up the military economy, less on social services, housing and jobs.

There will be more controls and fewer controls—more on workers' paychecks, fewer on corporations so their profits will go back up.

Congress and the White House will fight, squabble, and compromise. But we'll lose every time.

The Democratic Party, like the Republicans, is a capitalist party whose programs reflect the needs of the capitalist class.

It stands for a "bipartisan" foreign policy—imperialism—for "law and order" against black people and other minorities, for stopping strikes. It is the party which began the Vietnam war, and which sent troops to crush black rebellions.

Many working people believe that no matter how rotten these parties are, it's still necessary to vote for one of them—usually the Democrats—or else you're just "throwing your vote away."

But the worst thing workers can do is throw their votes away on the parties of big business.

By voting for Democratic or Republican candidates, workers are only voting for their own exploitation and the sharpening attack on their lives.

Working people need their own party. But in this election with no independent labor alternative in the running, the only way working people can protest against this system, its economic mess—inflation, wage controls, racism and imperialism—is to cast a protest vote. To do this, working people can cast a vote for any of the socialist or radical candidates on the ballot.



SUPPORT THE MINERS

"My father was a coal miner and he had the black lung so I know exactly what this issue is all about and that's why I support the miners. And I feel that this contract will affect every man, woman and child in the mountains, because we have a lot of poverty, here in West Virginia. I feel that everyone should be behind the miners on this. The pictures that you see in the news-

papers and hanging on the wall about the scenery don't tell the whole story, because you can't eat scenery and you can't live scenery. But if the miners win something here, they will win for us all..."

—Amy Parks, Community Organizer, Black Lung Association, Fairmont, West Virginia

For what the miners want, see p. 5.

Congress: THE PAY AIN'T BAD...

Members of the House have left Washington for a month-long Congressional election recess.

While drumming up votes in their home towns, they will promise us all the things they promised four years ago but failed to deliver.

And undoubtedly, they will exhort us to be satisfied with smaller raises and to spend less in the great fight against inflation.

Undoubtedly, they will also fail to mention the raise they secretly maneuvered for themselves before leaving Washington.

Over the past year House members have eased through a \$9,280 raise for themselves. This was all done without a floor vote and public hearings, under the

guise of an increase in "expense allowances."

\$2250 of the increase comes in the form of a 53% increase in "stationery allowance." The stationery allowance, however, does not have to be used for expenses of any kind, and can be directly pocketed by members of Congress.

In total, each House member's expense allowance now adds up to \$25,840 a year, a 56% raise from last year, and an almost 22% raise in their salary of \$42,000. Meanwhile they have been asking us to stay within 5.5%.

Officially they have not raised their salary of \$42,000 since 1969. Unofficially, most of us would like to do as well. □

..BUT YOU CAN'T BEAT THE FRINGE BENEFITS

Illegal contributions by the milk trusts helped bring down Richard Nixon and ended the political ambitions of Texan John Connally.

(Connally had been a long time protege of Lyndon Johnson and a newly converted Republican and Nixonian. Connally befriended men in power hoping that someday he would be President.)

Along with the milk trusts, 15 other major corporations have voluntarily confessed to illegal campaign contributions in 1972.

While still Special Prosecutor, Leon Jaworski claimed that the fall of Nixon and Connally and the public confession to illegal contributions by Goodyear Tire, Braniff Airlines, Gulf Oil, American Airlines and Carnation Company, among others, will end corruption in political campaign funding.

Associated Milk Producers, Inc. of San Antonio, the largest political committee of the dairy industry and responsible for ending Connally's political career, isn't worried.

GUILTY

Only 30 days after pleading guilty to handing out hundreds of thousands of dollars to both Democrats and Republicans in 1972, AMPI announced that it is prepared to give \$1.5 million to combat dairy imports keeping the prices of dairy products high.

AMPI stated that it believes the other dairy committees would be

doing the same thing. Together the three committees are prepared to spend \$2,340,775.

Since 1972 the Dairymen have already contributed \$102,450 in gifts of at least \$500 to members of Congressional subcommittees concerned with dairy prices.

This year the total number of recipients will reach 85. Most of them are receiving the money this month to aid their campaigns.

AMPI assures us that all their contributions now follow all legal requirements.

Leon Jaworski may be satisfied but it seems to us that underneath a lot of fancy legalisms nothing has changed. The dairy trusts are buying the political favors of Congress to assure that you and I continue to pay high prices.

And they try to tell us that it is our greed that causes inflation! □

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AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel



Whose Law And Order?

For the last decade almost all politicians have run on strong law and order platforms. They, helped by the national news media, have managed to create something approaching national hysteria over "crime in the streets."

Much of this hysteria has been vaguely disguised racism and "law and order" came to be a code word for anti-black. This occurred even though blacks are the most victimized by mugging and petty theft.

Now facts and figures have surfaced that reveal crime on a far grander scale.

The perpetrators of these crimes are well dressed businessmen who

rip off millions of dollars from behind mahogany desks.

A recent symposium on "Crime in Business" revealed that only 5% of the white collar criminals ever appear before the courts and only 1% are even jailed.

Four times as much property is ripped off by the white collar robber and six times as much money is taken from banks by insiders than by outsiders.

White collar criminals rip off \$40 billion a year through embezzlement or fraud. This does not include the wholesale thievery allowed in everyday business prac-

tices. However, news of growing white collar crime does not make the front page and neither the Democrats or the Republicans are running on a program to "lock them up."

The fact is that crime in America is determined by class and race.

If you are black or working class you can rot in jail indefinitely whether guilty or not, for petty theft.

If you are an upper class businessman you can steal millions with odds of 95 to 1 of not getting caught and 99 to 1 of going completely free if you are caught. □

a killing in real estate

Thomas Fair is 74 years old. He is dying of cancer. He also almost lost his house for \$25.00.

Fair was a carpenter. In 1942 he bought a house on Detroit's west side. Since then he has almost completely rebuilt the house himself.

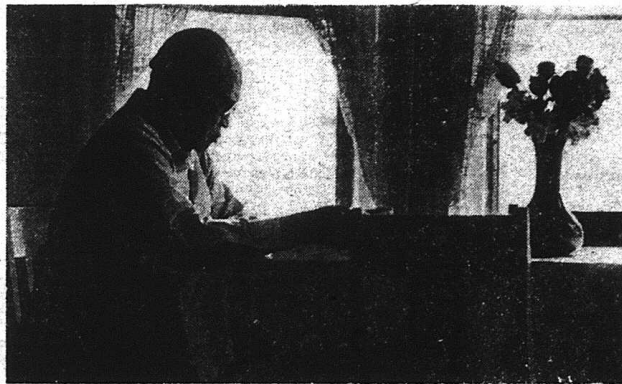
Last month, Fair's daughters were informed by the Constructive Land Co. that he no longer owned his own home. In order to continue living in his house Fair would either have to buy it from them for

\$1,000 or begin paying \$75.00 a month rent. Constructive Land Co. is in the business of buying up houses the government sells because of failure to pay taxes.

Fair was one of their victims. Fair failed to pay taxes on his home since 1969 when his wife died. He owed close to \$2,000.

Constructive Land Co. bought his house for \$25.00.

When Fair's daughter, Mrs. Sibert, discovered he was not paying taxes she and another daughter attempted to pay up. They were told by the county that Constructive Land had already paid them \$25.00. They could not accept money from Fair's



Thomas Fair at his diningroom table.

daughters. For \$25.00 the property was legally in the hands of Constructive Land.

George Edwards, spokesman for Constructive Land then offered to sell the house back to Mrs. Sibert for \$1,000.

After adverse publicity Edwards broke down and sold the house back for \$400. The man is all heart.

Constructive Land has bought up 40-50 homes on tax liens in the last year but is considering getting out of the business.

"Everybody has a hard luck story," Edwards said. Shudder. □

FORD IN MEXICO

Wheeling And Dealing

The meeting of Luis Echeverria Alvarez, President of Mexico, and US President Gerald Ford on October 21 might be called a "hop-scotch summit"; designed more for publicity than results.

Faced with mounting unemployment and inflation on both sides of the border, the two Presidents met in Nogales, flew into Mexico and then back to Tucson, Arizona, in order to parade in front of as many crowds as possible in a single day.

White House advance men, who have been having hard times getting an enthusiastic response for Ford in the US, were delighted with the greeting helpfully staged by the Mexican government. In Magdalena de Kino, schools and stores were closed, buses sent throughout the countryside to collect people, and cheerleaders with bullhorns stationed along the parade route to lead the applause.

Two major questions were supposedly the focus of the Ford-Echeverria talks: Mexico's newly discovered oil fields, and Mexican workers entering the United States in a desperate search for subsistence. There was no indication that any serious decisions were reached on either question.

IMAGE AND REALITY

The staging of the meeting was closely tied to the images which the two Presidents are trying to hold up.

Gerald Ford is out to build his reputation as Richard Nixon's successor in foreign affairs. Ford wants to be the smiling statesman receiving the hero's welcome from masses of friendly people around

the world—while behind the scenes he imposes Washington's imperialist policies on their governments.

Luis Echeverria, on the other hand, was anxious to establish the warm relations with Ford which he previously enjoyed with Nixon. At the same time, Echeverria keeps up the appearance of talking tough to the US giant, staunchly defending Mexico's independent interests.

Behind Echeverria's image, which is useful in silencing opposition in Mexico, stands a willing tool of imperialist interests. In 1968, for example, hundreds of students were massacred with machine-gun fire in Mexico City so that the Olympic Games two weeks later would not be disrupted.

The Ford-Echeverria talks were set up to help each President prop up the image of the other.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Last June, Mexico's Foreign Minister delivered a stern note about the mistreatment of Mexican nationals in the United States.

The Minister was not so concerned with the plight of Mexican workers without documents in the US, as he was with his own image as "an emissary of the United States." The Mexican press had just revealed he had turned over to the Chilean junta political refugees in the Mexican embassy.

With 38% of Mexico's 16 million workers either out of work or underemployed, many Mexicans are forced to leave their homes and look for work in the US. The number of Mexican workers without documents in this country, who are called "illegals" (last year over

20,000 DEMAND—

"Viva Puerto Rico Libre y Socialista!"
20,000 people from all over the country and from all political tendencies on the Left cheered for Puerto Rican independence in Madison Square Garden on October 27.

The rally was sponsored by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, a loose coalition of left groups centered around the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Political leaders included Juan Ponce de Leon, the Secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and entertainers included Delta Benitez were joined by well-known leftists like Antonio Davis, Jane Fonda and Pete Seeger.

Representatives of liberation struggles throughout the world expressed their unconditional support for the struggle for Puerto Rican independence.

People from cities as far away as Denver and Los Angeles; and from Puerto Rican Socialist Party groups at several colleges and workplaces attended.

The rally was high in spirit. Political speakers, some in English, some in Spanish, alternated with entertainers in expressing the demand for independence.

From the large attendance and enthusiastic response it was clear that there is in this country active opposition to United States government policies toward Puerto Rico and its Latin American neighbors.

FREE PUERTO RICO!

700,000 were deported), range from 3.8 to 7 million.

Many more people move to the northern part of Mexico, where US corporations hire them to work in plants in a 12-mile duty free area, to assemble US-made parts which are then shipped back to the US. These workers, mainly women, receive from \$5.19 to \$6.79 a day.

The tailspin in the US economy has hit many of these plants, mostly clothing and electronics. As a result Mexican unemployment has become even worse, and the effects of American corporations using Mexico as a semi-colony have been exposed.

Echeverria's response is to hit upon the oil crisis as his main hope of gaining a few concessions from the US. Large oil deposits have just been "discovered" in southern Mexico (although residents of the

state where it was found have seen it oozing up from the ground for years).

Initially Echeverria talked tough, promising that Mexico would not use its oil deposits to undercut the price set by oil-producing countries. Now, however, Echeverria has held out to Ford some hope of lowering oil prices if the US will re-institute the bracero program which was disbanded in 1964.

Under this program, the US government tells the Mexican government it wants a certain number of Mexican workers (up to 450,000 a year). These workers are then assembled by the Mexican government, sent to work in US fields while they live in closed camps, then shipped home with their earnings to be spend in Mexico.

This government contract labor

scheme would bring even more suffering to Mexican workers, and present US growers with another strikebreaking tool.

While these deals are worked out, US interests maintain control of Mexico.

Heavy CIA influence in the Mexican government has been revealed by ex-agent Philip Agee. Furthermore, an unidentified American oil company admitted that it was responsible for floating the sensational story that Mexico's oil deposits are "bigger than Alaska's"—in order to use Mexico as a battering ram against the Arabs.

Only a workers' movement on both sides of the border can change this vicious imperialist relationship. Echeverria, and all his rhetoric, cannot.

Dugan Wheeler

Steel: ABEL FORCES DISABLED

by Steve Carter

CHICAGO—Cracks are beginning to appear in United Steel Workers President I.W. Abel's once ironclad hold on the union's official machinery. In mid-November, 130,000 USW members in the union's District 31 (Chicago-Gary) can drive a wedge into one of those cracks by voting for Ed Sadlowski, the anti-Abel candidate for District Director.

Despite serious shortcomings in Sadlowski's campaign and uncertainties about his future role, his victory would be a stunning defeat for Abel & Co.

Abel has committed himself and the resources of his political machine to the election of Sam Evett. Evett was a long time office manager for Joe Germano who ruled the District like a tyrant from the union's founding until his retirement in 1973.

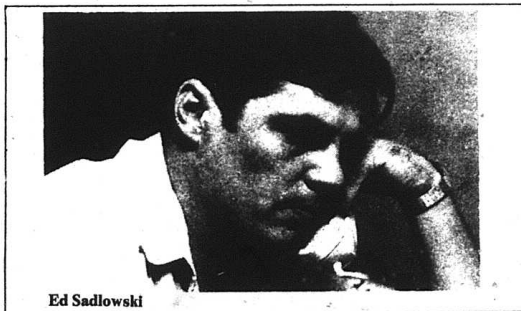
In 1973 Sadlowski and Evett ran to fill the vacancy. While Sadlowski got the most votes, massive fraud gave the election to Evett.

The International Executive Board at first certified Evett's election. But since then Local Union and Government investigations forced them to agree to a rerun.

This election is crucial for Abel because he knows the next couple of years will be tough for him and he wants the maximum control over the union's machinery.

In the year from June 1976 through June 1977 Abel will face local union elections, the union's Constitutional Convention, election of International and District officers, negotiation of the 1977 contract, and extension of the no-strike deal to the 1980 negotiations.

Abel and Secretary-Treasurer



Ed Sadlowski

Walter Burke must retire, in 1977. The other national officer, Vice President John Johns, effectively took himself out of the running as successor due to his incompetent handling of the September Convention.

SCRAMBLE FOR OFFICE

Abel knows there will be a scramble among union politicians for top office. But if that fight can be kept within the "official family," he can retire as a labor statesman with his "historic" no-strike deal extended through 1983.

However, resentment is growing among the ranks about Abel's policies.

At the last Convention he faced his most determined opposition in years over the no-strike deal, salary increases for International and District officers and a dues increase.

The results of the first Sadlowski-Evett election were also an indication of anti-Abel sentiment. And that was before the no-strike deal

and the dues and salary increases.

If this resentment is built into a democratic rank and file movement committed to class struggle policies, Abel knows he will retire as a useless hack. His heirs will no longer be able to deliver the sold-out interests of the rank and file to the companies on a silver platter.

To try to defeat Sadlowski, Abel & Co. have utilized a front group called the Committee for Continued Leadership. This outfit has solicited "donations" of \$50 from 80 International-appointed staff reps and \$500 from the 25 District Directors. They have also moved their top organizer, Elmer Chatak, into District 31 to help Evett.

A Sadlowski victory will be a clear defeat for Abel. Whether it will be a real step forward for the rank and file depends on what happens after the election.

Abel has tamed dissidents before—most recently Joe Odorchich of District 15, who ran as an anti-International candidate in 1969, won, and has not been heard from since.

Abel himself defeated Dave McDonald in 1965 on a program against "taxed unionism" and for union democracy.

Whether or not Sadlowski can be tamed depends on the strength of rank and file pressure on Sadlowski to keep him from caving in.

Comparisons are being made between the Sadlowski campaign and the overthrow of Tony Boyle by Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy (MFD). In the United Mine Workers, Miller rose to power on an organized rank and file base capable of waging effective strikes for mine safety laws and against the 1971 contract.

It is the continued militant organization of that base in the miners union that keeps Miller from going the way of most reform candidates. The ranks can pressure him to fight, and back him when he does.

BEGINNING OF A MOVEMENT

The Sadlowski campaign comes at the beginning of the movement in steel. A movement like the MFD has yet to be built. It is because a Sadlowski victory will weaken Abel and give the ranks more confidence, that his victory is important.

Judgement of Sadlowski's future role will depend on whether he will fight to build a democratic rank and file movement. Within District 31, rank and filers still face a host of local union presidents who may vote against a dues increase but will meekly put their names to a no-strike deal and still run their locals in a thoroughly top-down fashion.

A long, hard, and political fight will be necessary to bring District 31 and its locals under solid rank and file control. The pressure on Sadlowski to be "realistic" and

make his peace will be great. Already he has decided not to speak out squarely on issues like the no-strike deal and the Consent Decree on discrimination for fear of alienating some votes.

An ongoing fight in District 31—the union's largest—for rank and file control against policies like the no-strike deal can spur on the movement in the union as a whole—particularly if this fight is supported by the district leadership. Sadlowski can break the image of Abel's monolith if he speaks out from his position on the International Executive Board.

He has spoken out on several important issues in the past—rank and file ratification of contracts, minority representation on the International Executive Board, the union's policy on the Vietnam war. However, at the recent convention he judged the time was not right to vigorously organize an opposition to Abel's policies and confined his criticisms to the dues and salary increase and the time allotted for appeal of elections.

During his career as a local union president and a staff representative, Sadlowski has shown no particular concern for building a democratic rank and file movement.

The Sadlowski campaign has gained the support of the best rank and file militants in District 31 because they do not want Sam Evett and believe that Sadlowski's record and personality offer the hope he will continue to fight for the rank and file.

The gains of a Sadlowski victory will only be realized and protected by a mass, militant rank and file movement. Whatever Sadlowski's role, building that movement will remain the task of all steel workers.

WORLD IN CRISIS



NIXON: BRING THE BUM BACK?

Most people think that Richard Nixon is a crook who should be behind bars—and would be if his hand-picked successor Ford hadn't taken him off the hook with a blanket pardon. In fact, in this country most politicians who once lined up to be seen with Nixon now

wish everyone would forget he ever existed.

But even in his forced retirement, Nixon has more than his slim \$60,000 pension to console him. A few of his friends are still behind him—in particular, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chiang Ching, the wife of Chairman Mao and known as one of the leading "radicals" in the Peking power structure, had a long friendly talk with Madame Imelda Marcos, the wife of the dictator of the Philippines where Communists are outlawed and hunted down in the jungle.

Mrs. Marcos reported that Chiang Ching praised Mr. Nixon as a "brave man," and dismissed the Watergate scandal with the brief remark "Watergate, Watergate! Gone with the wind!"

Chiang Ching couldn't understand how Americans could waste time on such trivial matters as Watergate with so many important issues in the world.

"She said Nixon started the detente between China and the United States," Mrs. Marcos said, "and that as far as she was concerned his virtues surely outdid whatever his liabilities were." □

RESISTANCE LEADER SLAIN

Chile: More Murder

Miguel Enriquez, the General Secretary of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and one of Chile's most heroic fighters for socialist revolution, has been brutally murdered by the uniformed assassins of the Chilean military junta.

Enriquez was shot dead in a working class house in Santiago on Saturday, Oct. 5. The gun battle lasted two hours. His death is a severe blow to the revolutionary resistance movement which continues the struggle underground in Chile.

The right-wing newspaper El Mercurio, the only regular daily paper allowed to publish in Chile by the military dictatorship, claimed that the regime had succeeded in uncovering the entire infrastructure of MIR across the country. This claim was made just prior to the shooting of Enriquez.

The paper published the names not only of the top MIR leadership, but a long list of names which it claimed included the leading activists of MIR at the district and even down to the village level.

There is no way of knowing whether the list of names in the hands of the generals is complete or genuine. But the government's success in hunting down Enriquez indicates that they do have considerable information about the revolutionary left in Chile.

While many other left-wing leaders and officials of the Allende government fled the country after the military coup last year, Miguel Enriquez was one of those who stayed in the working class areas of Chile and kept the resistance movement alive.

The murder of Enriquez is

SPAIN: CRISIS AHEAD

Recent newspaper reports have disclosed that the Central Intelligence Agency is pouring men and money into Spain. The CIA reportedly believes that Spain could be the next major "trouble spot" where mass unrest threatens a previously stable, pro-US dictatorship.

There are real reasons for the CIA's worries. General Franco is lying, and so is ruling class faith in fascist Spain that is deprived of participation in the European Capitalist Club called the Common Market.

The question is what kind of regime will replace Franco. An upsurge of working class struggle, based on militant economic and political demands, could create a crisis like that in Portugal—only on a much larger and more explosive scale.

Hundreds of political arrests have been made in Spain following a recent strike wave in which workers have shown tremendous courage and determination. In a country where all strikes are illegal, all strikes that occur are also political.

The strikes are being spearheaded by auto and electrical workers. 60,000 workers waged sympathy strikes and demonstrations in the town of Valladolid, in support of Renault workers demanding a 5-hour week and \$80 a week pay.



The International Socialists of Great Britain participating in protest at London's Chilean Embassy.

another bitter defeat for Chile's workers. But it will not end the struggle. Miguel's brother Edgardo Enriquez, also a member of the MIR Political Committee, made the following declaration:

"Miguel Enriquez leaves behind him an example of a struggle and a party which will survive him, and which is a nightmare to Pinochet [the leader of the military junta] and his collaborators. The work of the General Secretary of the MIR

does not end with his death. "Another member of the political commission has picked up the gun of the General Secretary, and has taken over the leadership of the

Party. "The party of Miguel Enriquez has comrades who will know how to follow him, and remain loyal to his example and his memory." □

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"The government would have been happy if our people died quietly."

—Bitter remarks by a relief official in Bankura, India, where at least 200 people have already died of starvation.

Racists Rattled

Five hundred demonstrators in Durban, South Africa braved the brutality of the police to support the new government dominated by FRELIMO in Mozambique. The demonstration was organized by the militant black South African Students Organization and the Black Peoples Convention. Police unleashed 300

police dogs on the demonstration, and many people were injured.

The events in Mozambique have fueled increasing ferment among black workers and students in South Africa, and are of increasing concern to the white racist South African government. □



Miners Ready To Fight & Win

by Cal Williams

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—The miners of Appalachia are confident. They expect a victory this year, one way or the other. If Miller can win this at the bargaining table in Washington, they will be satisfied. If not, they will win it in the coal fields.

One of the reasons that the miners are determined not to "settle cheap" is the fear of hard times ahead. The ghost of depression always lurks in the mining camps and poor hollows of West Virginia, and the miners know the next one will hit them too.

But the problem is not just economic. "Even at \$50 a day," said an Ohio miner, "we're still the moles of society." And, at any time the walls can come crashing down. "We've had 31 deaths since the negotiations began," says Fred Fuller.

Death and disaster are always close. The coal operators, the strip miners, tear the mountains down, and heap the waste in huge piles that dam the valleys and scar the hills. And, everytime it rains, memories of the Buffalo Creek disaster haunt the inhabitants of the narrow valleys which lie beneath these dams.

At Buffalo Creek, West Virginia in 1972 rain burst the company's weak dam. 125 people were killed in the company-made flood, 1,000 were injured, and 500 homes were destroyed. Many were miners and their families.

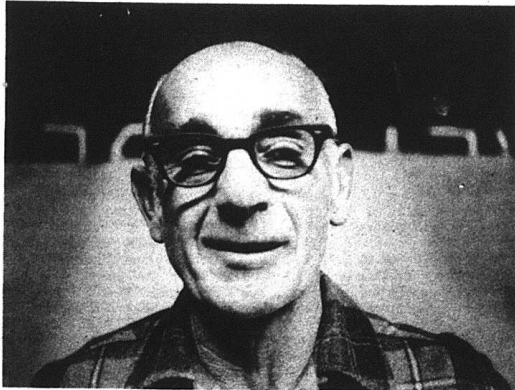
There is also the black lung. One miner told me, showing the x-rays of his young son, that he wished it was tuberculosis. At least there would be a cure.

Yet even today when the black lung is easily diagnosed, the burden of proof remains with the miner, and no amount of pain and torture can convince company doctors and company judges.

A young Ohio miner said that he worked as little as he could afford. He was trading his lungs for food on the table.

And finally there are the unorganized. In Southwest Virginia alone there are literally hundreds of unorganized mines. In Eastern Kentucky, despite the victory at Brookside, the operators have launched a counter-offensive against the union.

Full page ads warn miners of "outsiders" and "agitators." They mean the UMWA. They have also organized a right-wing vigilante group, and have let the miners know that they are prepared to kill again, rather than see the union victorious.



Sam Verge, Fairmont, West Virginia, Local 9909, retired, Consolidation Coal, Black Lung Association, District 31.

I think there should be something in this contract about the black lung, the men that have the black lung. If a man has the black lung, if his doctor says he has the black lung, then he should get it, he should get the benefits. He shouldn't be pushed around, at the hearings, by these judges, judges that have never seen a coal mine, that have never worked in a coal

mine. What do they know about a miner's health. Myself, I've worked 36 years in the mines and I've had the back aches and the breathing condition, and I still can't get the benefits and this is not fair. And any man that put in fifteen years and has the black lung, he shouldn't be fighting for it. And the union should be behind us on this....

The contract then, is just the tip of the miners' struggle. Nevertheless it is the key to continuing, and victory is the precondition to winning more. All eyes, therefore are on Miller and the reform leadership. This is the first great test.

Nevertheless, it will not be easy to force a sell-out on the membership, and miners are already worried about too much compromise. Most are prepared, in John Lasobek's words, to take great care and "read the fine print." For that is where the productivity

"We've had 31 deaths since the negotiations began."

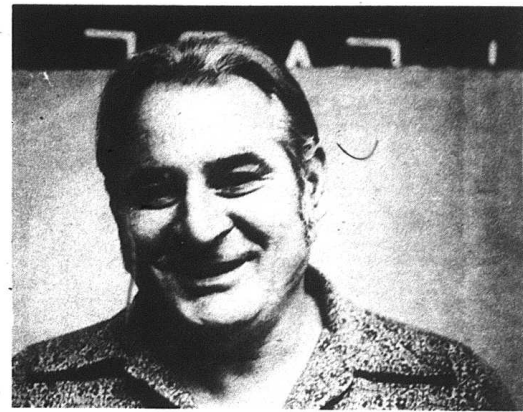
And there is some skepticism. "In Ohio," said one miner, "there are no Miller supporters, just Miller watchers."

Still, most miners feel well-represented. At the same time, however, the rank and file is poorly organized and ill-informed. The bargaining takes place on high in Washington, much as before. Most rank and file miners can do little more than wait and wonder.

Miller and the new leadership have also failed to prepare the membership for a strike, and few miners are prepared for a long one.

clauses will be pushed through the door. And that is where the right to strike will be curtailed.

The strength of the miners is part of labor's folklore, yet few times has it been more obvious than now. They entered the contract negotiations on a wave of insurgency. At a time when industrial workers throughout the nation have suffered defeat after defeat in the battle with time and motion, the speed-up, and productivity campaigns, the deep miners have forced productivity down by 28% since 1969.



John Lasobek, Fairmont, West Virginia. Local 9909, Consolidation Coal.

The biggest issue which brings up the problems, the wildcats, is really seniority. The present contract is seniority with qualification which gives the company the right to just choose anybody they want to do a certain job, leaving out the old man, the man that has seniority. Where he wanted a job, the company gives it to somebody else

they wanted. I would say that, well, all the wildcats we've been on have been about that, seniority, and that's the issue right there. Money isn't the big issue, although it is an issue because you know food prices are going up, and that leaves us way behind, and we're going to have to get our percentage raise according to the cost of living....

The key to this victory has been the wildcat strike. In the Ohio Valley alone, for example, District 6 miners have averaged little more than three and four days work in the past six months. And the time lost has been lost on strike. The strikes have been over working conditions, safety, seniority, work rules and harassment. And they have been over work itself.

One group of rank and file miners in McDowell County, W. Va., has already launched a campaign to defend the right to strike. This may well be necessary. In Virginia, a right to work state, local judges have begun issuing vicious sentences and laying heavy fines on individual miners who participate in "illegal" strikes.

If the union strikes, there is no doubt that the membership will be solid. And even at Brookside,

the leaders of the Brookside strike. "We're not supposed to strike, but I don't know what will happen. I can say that if one man puts up a picket sign no one will cross it."

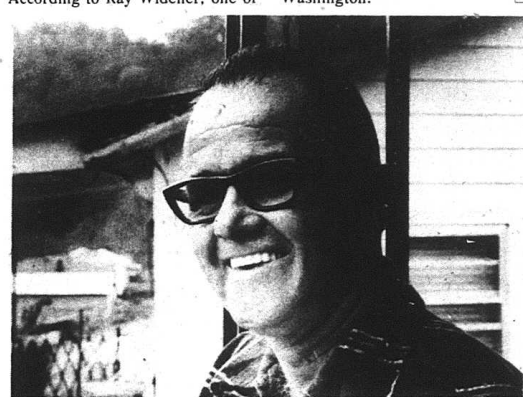
Right now, most miners are counting on the leadership to negotiate a good settlement. They expect a token strike at most. They think the companies would be foolish to fight.

This is the miners' year, and they know it. Coal is king again, and the miners have rarely been more militant. The future, however, is another story, but this too adds to their determination. "If we can't win this year," in the words of Fred Fuller of Local 1256 in Southwest Virginia, "we never will."

The only problem may be that so much more might be won, and the rank and file has no voice to let this be known. Mostly, there will be nothing done on black lung, on strip mining, and in preparation for the dark days ahead.

The key to the miners' struggle still remains an organized rank and file for there can be no doubt that big battles lie ahead. Whether these begin this November, or are put off until later, miners can be certain that they will not be won in Washington.

where the new agreement forbids a contract walkout, the membership is not certain what will happen. According to Ray Widener, one of



Fred Fuller, Clinchco, Virginia. Local 1256, Clinchfield Coal (Pittston), SW Virginia Chairman Black Lung Association, Local 1256 Safety Committeeman.

The proposal on safety in the contract is good because the union is asking that the safety committeemen at all mines be elected by the membership and paid by the company. This is a good idea, provided that the man be an experienced miner and trained in safety. Our accident rate is still about double what it is in any other industry, even though there has been a lot of legislation, especially since 1969. A lot of the companies

are just not willing to spend the money that would make the conditions more safe and more healthy for the coal miner. A full-time safety committeeman would not have his regular job to do, the way it is now. He could go to wherever any unsafe condition is, whether it was the ventilation, bad roof, bad track. He could check for unsafe equipment, he would watch for gas build up....

Gov't Scab Plans

The government is drawing up plans to break a coal miners strike. The plans are revealed in documents obtained and published by the United Mine Workers Journal.

The documents obtained by the Journal come from the Federal Energy Administration. They relate to allocation of coal from non-union mines during a strike, an embargo on coal exports, and the possible redistribution of coal from users with large stockpiles to those with low supplies.

The FEA documents do not discuss other means of government intervention in a coal strike. If a strike is not ended quickly, the use of court injunctions or federal troops is a real possibility.

The thrust of the FEA plans is to delay the economic effect of a coal strike as long as possible by transferring coal from utilities

(many of which have stockpiles of 2-3 months) to steel mills and other users, where stockpiles are down to 20 days or less.

In the event of a coal strike, steel production would likely be cut by 25% almost immediately, and perhaps by 70% within a month.

The government has already begun a monitoring plan, determining the needs of about 1,000 industrial users of coal. But the monitoring plan does not include such apparently non-essential facilities as schools, hospitals, and similar institutions that depend on coal.

BIG BUSINESS COMES FIRST

UMWA Vice President Mike Trbovich pointed out the reason for this. "Instead of worrying about the effect of a coal strike on

hospitals and schools, the FEA is ignoring them and looking out for big business instead," he said.

"They'll let the people in iron lungs fend for themselves, but if U.S. Steel forces a strike and loses some profits because they won't settle it's a national emergency."

Other UMWA officials said the FEA intervention could only prolong a strike by delaying its economic impact.

Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick was not surprised by the FEA action. "Look who runs that agency. Oil men, coal executives and bankers, that's who," he said. "We want a decent contract and are going to fight with everything it takes to get it no matter what the Ford Administration does."

Fine words. If the rank and file can force its leaders to keep them, they'll be in a strong position. □

labor notes

by Jim Woodward

STRIKE FOR JUSTICE



The value of a UAW pension has gone down in the last ten years. That's the word from Vice President Doug Fraser, speaking at the UAW Women's Workshop and Luncheon. Fraser said that because of inflation a worker would need \$638 a month to match the 1964 pension of \$400. UAW pensions now are \$625. Most workers who are eligible to retire under the new 30 and Out program are not doing so because of fear they could not afford it with the current inflation.

The gulf between I.W. Abel's machine and the rank and file in the Steel Workers union is under lined by recent incidents at U.S. Steel's Clairton coke works near Pittsburgh. Jim Smith, Abel's assistant, has tried to hold three meetings there to discuss coke oven problems. The rank and file's response to this PR effort was to shout him down the first two times. During his final effort, Smith reportedly got into a fist fight with one of the workers.

At the recent White House economic summit meeting, Leonard Woodcock of the UAW said that a no-strike deal such as the one in the steel industry could be used to make the auto industry more competitive with foreign auto producers.

Coal miners aren't the only ones feeling the profit-hungry pinch of their bosses. Coal operators are often mixing dirt, rock or inferior grades of coal with shipments to coal-burning utilities. Some utilities have complained when their coal didn't burn as hot as it was supposed to.

Almost 1,000 unemployed Chicago workers staged a march and rally October 7 to demand more jobs. The march was organized by Operation PUSH, and supported by community organizations and trade unions, including the Meatcutters, AFSCME, OCAW, UE, and others.

Elections for officers of the New York City Taxi Drivers Union (AFL-CIO) are in progress. Incumbent president Harry Van Arsdale is being opposed by the Taxi Rank and File Coalition which is running long-time opponentist Charlie Wertheimer. Also in the race is a long-time opportunist, union secretary Tom Iandoli. At the time of the last union elections, Iandoli began by opposing Van Arsdale, but ended up back on the Van Arsdale slate.

The Teamsters Union leadership is dismayed with the support European trade unionists have given the United Farm Workers' grape and lettuce boycott. Usually workers there have simply refused to handle scab produce, leaving it to rot. Now the IBT is threatening to retaliate by refusing to transport Swedish Volvos that are imported into the U.S.

The United Mine Workers' organizing drive in Harlan County, Kentucky has run into trouble. Preliminary results of the representation election at the Highsplit mine show the Southern Labor Union (a company union) ahead by a margin of 90-78. However, there are 23 uncounted challenged ballots, most of which are likely favorable to the UMW. The NLRB has not certified the results of the election, pending disposition of these challenges and unfair labor practices charges filed by the UMW. These charges relate to supervisors electioneering on company time, and payments for workers to support the SLU.

Officials at AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington have refused to wear buttons promoting Ford's "WIN" anti-inflation program. Their objection is not to the anti-labor content of Ford's program, but to the fact that the buttons bear no union bug. If Ford will put a bug on the button, the AFL-CIO will put a union label on his program.

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

HARLEY-DAVIDSON STRIKE A VICTORY!

MILWAUKEE—A four month strike against the Harley-Davidson Motor Co. here has ended in victory for the members of Allied Industrial Workers Local 209.

The most important aspect of the victory is its cost-of-living protection. Harley-Davidson workers will get a raise of 12 1/2% in the first year of the contract and 10% in each of the second and third years. However, if the increase in the cost-of-living exceeds these percentages, the workers will get a raise equal to the rate of inflation.

The victory came shortly after a rank and file group, the Harley Action Workers Group (HAWG) launched a nationwide boycott of

AMF products. AMF is the parent conglomerate of Harley-Davidson. Following the announcement of the AMF boycott, the company called for negotiations to resume.

At the next session, an AMF representative threw a boycott sticker on the table and asked the union's bargaining committee why they couldn't control their membership. The union committee's reply was that the membership controlled the union and not vice-versa. The settlement was announced a few days later.

HAWG called the new contract a victory, and said it was due to the unity of the workers. □

Parcel Strike In Ninth Week

NEW YORK—The United Parcel Service strike here is in its ninth week, but much of the militancy with which it began has been dissipated.

The strike began with Teamsters Local 804 members from New York picketing in New Jersey to regain the support of Local 177. Previously, the two locals had bargained jointly. This year, however 177 settled early and separately, giving UPS the right to increase the use of part-timers.

UPS is attempting to use more part-timers in many of its operations across the country, cutting down on full time jobs and wages.

The response of Local 177 members was good, but the picket lines were removed when the death of a picket led to orders from the

Teamsters International to get out of Jersey.

Since then, the 804 leadership has substituted bureaucratic maneuvering for direct action.

They appealed to New York Mayor Beame and got the cops off the backs of the pickets (the pickets weren't doing anything anyway). They appealed to the New York Joint Council of Teamsters and won verbal support with no commitment to act. They appealed to IBT President Fitzsimmons and got an embargo on the handling of New York goods in New Jersey and Connecticut.

This is not enough. UPS is a national corporation with a national strategy for defeating unions. Splitting Locals 177 and 804 was part of that strategy. It has already

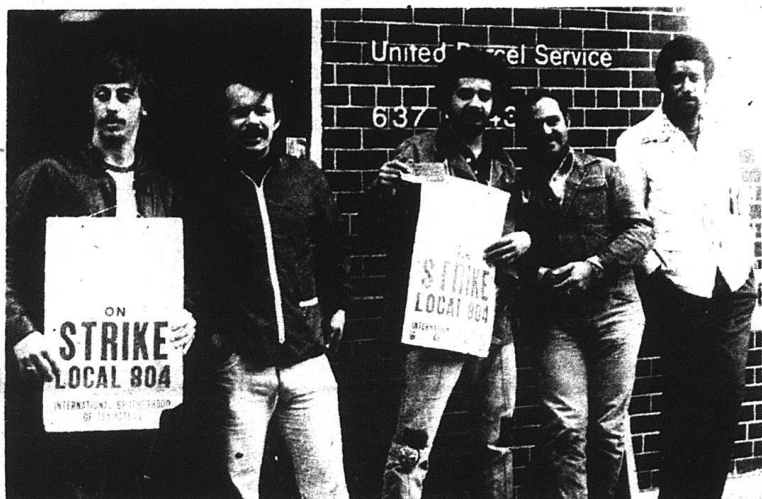
worked against 177.

Weakened by the breaking up of its bargaining unit, 804 may lose also. Should it win because of its strategic location, it will still be isolated. Just across the river, UPS will have a cheap source of labor which it can use to do some New York work as it threatened to do before the strike.

Weakened by the loss of jobs, 804 would then be in a poor bargaining position for the future.

The alternative is to develop a national strategy for dealing with UPS. A beginning is an effort to reunite these two locals to fight for a joint contract without the part-timer provision and with significant economic gains. □

Joe Norton



Striking drivers and package handlers at the United Parcel Service center in New York.

UFW Mushroom Strike

STRIKEBREAKERS CAN BE STOPPED!

MORGAN HILL, Calif.—On Monday, October 14, 100 UFW strikers and supporters attempted to stop a bus loaded with scabs heading for a mushroom plant here.

The strikers were workers at the Steak-Mate mushroom plant, a division of Ralston Purina. They had been on strike since September 6. The strikers were responding to the company's refusal to grant higher wages and the unjust firing of a fellow worker.

The workers held a meeting and decided to contact the UFW. After meeting with a UFW organizer, between 80 and 90 workers signed authorization cards and the strike was in full swing.

The action around the bus was planned by the strikers and members of the Berkeley UFW Support Committee, a group centered on the University of California Berkeley campus which works under the direction of the Oakland Boycott.

BUILDING A MOVEMENT

Members of the Committee had walked the picket lines with

strikers. It became clear that the only way the scabs could be kept out of the plant was by stopping the bus.

Past strike support activities had centered mainly around picketing chain stores to remove scab grapes, lettuce and Gallo wine. The action was a step toward building a mass movement around the UFW strikes by bringing UFW supporters from the campus and community together with the strikers in a direct confrontation against the scabs.

The bus had two pick-up points for scabs, first downtown San Francisco and then downtown Oakland.

In San Francisco, 60 policemen were patiently waiting to escort them onto the bus. After herding the scabs onto the bus, the police blocked freeway entrances so that demonstrators could not easily follow the bus to Oakland.

At the Oakland pick-up point, the UFW strikers and supporters were able to surround the bus. However, hired goons emerged from the bus using knives, broken bottles and general thug tactics to drive demonstrators off with the help of a

few Oakland police officers.

UNION CHANGES POLICY

The union, fearing that the militant demonstrations to stop the bus might lead to incidents of violence and publicity, decided that stopping the bus was no longer a priority.

The union ordered some changes in the local leadership of the strike and restrictions on contact between strikers and supporters. These changes in policy and leadership were not decided by the strikers themselves, but by the UFW leadership.

The action showed that many UFW supporters can be mobilized at a moment's notice to join with strikers in stopping scabs. Farmworker supporters can make contributions to the struggle other than picketing stores.

A mass movement must be built in support of the farmworkers struggle, and the union must recognize the necessity of militant actions to stop scabs. □

John Halligan
Jenny Lawrence

Publisher Fires 300 Organizers

NEW YORK—Starting October 14 about 300 employees of MacMillan, Inc., one of the largest publishers in the country, were abruptly fired. They included editors and maintenance men; some departments were axed completely. Some of them were given only an hour or two to leave the building.

Raymond Hagel, the chairman of the company, claimed the cutbacks were necessary because of "poor business conditions" and had no connection with an organizing drive by Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union.

The union had filed a request for an election with the National Labor Relations Board the week before the firings took place. The day the union filed, supervisors were told to draw up lists of people working under them who were expendable.

Local 153 has charged the company with unfair labor practices and called a strike.

The union has also called a boycott of MacMillan and two of its subsidiaries, Brentano's and G. Schirman music publishers.

SEX DISCRIMINATION

The strikers have received support from MacMillan authors, workers at other publishing houses, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

MacMillan also had an active women's committee, which had filed charges of discrimination with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. New York Attorney General Lefkowitz's office has also charged MacMillan with sex discrimination. Almost all the women on the women's committee lost their jobs.

MacMillan is a huge conglomerate with 1300 employees in New York, 13,000 world-wide, and subsidiaries ranging from Brentano's bookstores to the Katherine Gibbs Secretarial Schools.

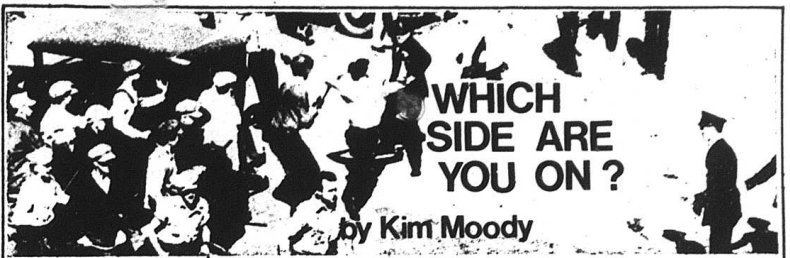
Chairman Hagel makes about \$119 an hour, more than some of his employees make in a week. MacMillan's sales and revenues for this year are running ahead of 1973.

Publishing in New York is ripe for organization. Harper & Row led the way with a successful strike. The day after the strike began at MacMillan, District 65 (Distributive Workers) leafleted 30 publishing houses announcing the formation of its publishing division.

If the publishing houses are organized, then banks and insurance companies will be next.

What happens at MacMillan will affect not just workers there but the future of unorganized office workers all over the country.

Anne Quill



WHICH
SIDE ARE
YOU ON?

by Kim Moody

Back the Miners!

[Third in a series of articles on the United Mine Workers and the miners' upcoming contract fight.]

A strike by 120,000 coal miners when their contract expires November 12 is a real possibility.

Negotiations between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) are continuing in Washington. Although the BCOA's initial stiff resistance has cracked somewhat, the bosses have de-

clared an "unacceptable hazard."

As a recent issue of the UMWA Journal points out, 800 miners have died since 1969, tens of thousands have been maimed, and nearly 3,000 have died each year of Black Lung.

Under these kinds of conditions, the UMWA's demands for strict enforcement of the health and safety laws and for the right of the union to declare what is safe and what is not is nothing less than a matter of life and death.

United Auto Workers and the United Steel Workers, have given away the right to strike over grievances. Instead they have elaborate arbitration procedures which are slow and ineffective.

If the UMWA won the right to strike over grievances, it could set a trend for other unions. The ranks in other industries could use the UMWA as an example in their fight to regain the right to strike during the life of the contract.

As with everyone else, the miners have been hit hard by inflation. They will be asking for a substantial wage increase and, for the first time, a cost of living clause. Most miners don't view wages as the big issue this year, but that doesn't mean they will ratify any contract that offers only peanuts.

The miners can win in the 1974 contract fight, even though resistance from the bosses and the government will be strong. But it will take militant and imaginative tactics, the kind used recently by the miners and women at Brookside and Highplint. A cautious, go-slow policy will not convince coal-owning corporations that the price of resistance is too high.

FINANCIAL GIANTS

The miners are not just facing their own bosses. The UMWA faces the most powerful group of employers in America, today and in the future.

The names of the companies that own over half of US coal production and most of the available coal reserves read like a who's who of American capitalism: U.S. Steel, Kennecott Copper, Bethlehem Steel, General Dynamics, Standard Oil of Ohio, Exxon, Gulf Oil, Continental Oil, Reynolds Metals, and Pittston Co. to name a few.

Behind many of these companies stand the equally impressive giants of world finance. Chase Manhattan (Rockefeller) and Morgan Guaranty, the third and fifth largest banks in America, appear again and again in connection with the coal-owning corporations.

A decisive victory will require the support of rank and file workers and their unions in other industries.

The UMWA has no strike fund. The union has urged its members to save up for a long strike, but it is clear that in these days of inflation the average miner could not possibly save enough to outlast the bosses.

The UMWA will need money to run a strike, and the ranks will need money to live on.

Workers throughout US industry can help the miners by getting their unions, local and international, to give both moral and financial support in the event of a long UMWA strike.

This fight will be seen by the entire American capitalist class as a test of strength between themselves and a union rank and file that appears to be "out of control."

For this reason alone, the future of every trade unionist in the US is at stake. If the rest of us ignore the miners, we will be hurting our own future.



Is health and safety for miners "unreasonable"?

clared the miners' demands unreasonable—particularly those dealing with health and safety.

The bosses are prepared to be more generous when it comes to wage increases if they can have their way on the so-called non-economic matters, which they fear could end up costing them far more.

CONTRACT DEMANDS

The UMWA's bargaining demands were first drawn up at its Convention in December 1973, and have been refined in a series of rank and file conferences held during 1974. It is a big, ambitious package of over 200 demands that would cost the coal industry a fortune and put the miners in pretty good shape.

Neither the ranks nor the leaders expect to win all of these demands. But among them are some that are of life and death importance to the miners.

At the top of the list are those associated with health and safety. While the bosses want to scrap health and safety legislation and limit the miners' right to walk out over unsafe conditions, the UMWA is demanding further control over safety-related working conditions.

The UMWA now has the right to walk off the job in cases of "imminent danger." But, of course, "imminent danger" may only be visible when it is too late—as with an explosion.

The union is demanding the right to close down a mine when its own safety inspectors declare

One of the most popular demands is for paid sick days and disability benefits. It is incredible that in an industry as unhealthy as mining the union has never won paid sick days.

The UMWA is also asking for large increases in the welfare and pension plan.

As it stands now, the monthly pension for bituminous coal miners is \$150. By the standards of other unions that is simply a scandal—another shameful part of the Lewis-Boyle heritage.

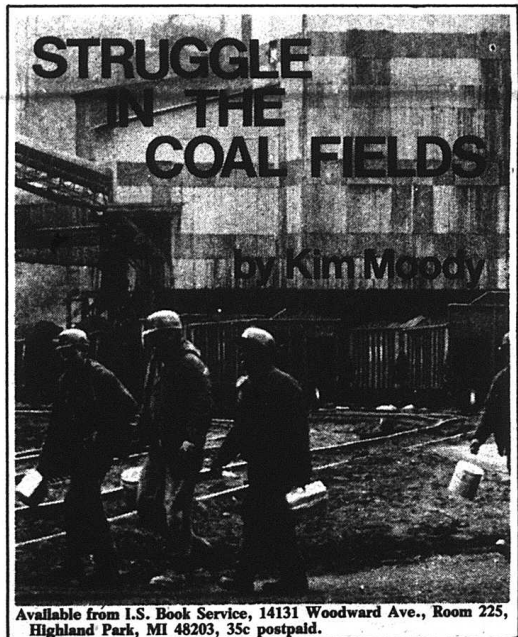
The pension comes out of a welfare fund which is financed by employer contributions on each ton of coal. Currently the contribution which backs up that \$150 is 80c a ton.

To double or triple the pension would mean nearly doubling or tripling the employer contribution. And that is something the bosses don't want at all.

The union is fighting for the right to strike over "any grievance or dispute including discharges." This is in addition to the right to walk off the job automatically over unsafe conditions. It is important to the miners because the companies often abuse the seniority system in trying to advance favorites.

Naturally, the companies also try to fire militants. A miner who walks out "too many" times over safety is regarded as a trouble maker. So the miners need the right to strike over any such issue.

Most workers in the US have lost this right. That is, many of the big industrial unions, like the



STRUGGLE
IN THE
COAL FIELDS

by Kim Moody

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

UFW Boycotts At St. Louis Stores

ST. LOUIS—In recent weeks supporters of the United Farm Workers have taken to a new tactic in building the boycott movement here. Members of the boycott staff and other supporters have been going into the area's supermarkets and talking with the customers.

Small groups of UFW people go into the supermarket, stand around the lettuce, grapes, and Gallo wines and tell the customers about the boycott that is on. In most stores they have received a good reception with many people refusing to buy scab products.

A number of store managers have not been so responsive. At two of the local supermarket chains, TARGET and ONTARIO, the managers have called in the police and tried to prevent the UFW supporters from talking with the customers. In the past three weeks a total of 30 persons have been arrested on charges of trespassing.

A mass demonstration is planned at one of the stores where people have been arrested. The local UFW movement is refusing to be intimidated.

THE CARE THAT RC



by Jimmie Higgins

Despite their image most of today's hospitals are run to make a profit. Days have long gone since hospitals were charitable institutions dispensing essential health care to the sick and needy. The entire health care field, and hospitals in particular, are Big Business.

Most hospitals don't make profits in the way plants and factories do. They don't pay dividends to stockholders. But the rates charged are well in excess of what is necessary to provide decent health care.

Billions and billions of health care dollars provide large profits for the drug companies, hospital supply and equipment companies, the construction industry, and the health insurance business. The profits of these industries are some of the highest in America.

In 1970 over \$25 billion was spent on hospital care in the United States. Ten billion dollars went to private companies whose major purpose was to make a profit and pay dividends to their stockholders.

The drug companies alone had a rate of profit in 1972 of 15.3%. Their profits were up over 16% from the previous year. In the same year eleven of these drug companies were listed among Fortune's top 300 industrial corporations.

In 1969 all of the companies in the health care sector of the economy had after tax profits of over \$2.5 billion. Millions are spent unnecessarily—expensive and unneeded packaging of equipment; even more on advertising. Still profits keep rising.

Super high built-in profits are continuing to soar with today's inflation. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has reported that since wage-price controls have expired hospital charges have increased 17.7 percent nationally and physicians fees have risen at an annual rate of 19.1 percent.

HOSPITAL CHARITY

Hospitals also make profits in other ways. They use their charitable and tax exempt status to avoid paying billions of dollars in state and local property taxes.

Hospitals, however, are anything but charitable institutions. No one can enter a private hospital today unless they have either money or insurance to pay the bills. "Charity cases" are kicked out at the first opportunity.

Hospitals are always trying to bolster their public image by publicizing how much free medical care they give out each year. The truth is not quite so favorable. Uncollected bills are a large percentage of what is listed as free medical care.

Hospitals bill everyone they treat. They make every attempt to see that bills get paid. Many people whose insurance runs out, or who run up fantastically high bills simply can't pay.

After attempting to collect the money the hospital will write these cases off as bad bills and call it free medical care. Their intention, however, is never to give anything out free.

The tax-exempt status of three hospitals in Kansas City, Missouri is being challenged. Attorneys representing Jacking County contend that these facilities earn a profit and give preference to persons who are able to pay. At stake is over \$2.7 million in state property taxes.

A brief filed in the case with the Missouri Supreme Court states: "A hospital which makes investigations into a patient's financial status before the patient enters the hospital and then exhausts its collection procedures in regard to that patient and then writes off the uncollectible had debt as free patient care, does not meet the essential elements of charity."

In addition to unpaid bills, teaching hospitals also give so-called "free medical care." They receive government funds and must treat a certain number of charity cases in order to remain eligible for federal funding.

Most often these patients are chosen for their scientific merit;

Death of a Hospital

by Kay Stacy

Highland Park, Michigan is a city located inside of Detroit. Like Detroit, it has become mostly black in the last two decades.

Once upon a time Highland Park General Hospital was a decent hospital. Not great, but decent. The Hospital Board, which runs the place, is made up of doctors. Like the profession, they are all white, all male.

Most of the employees and most of the patients are black.

As the cities—both Detroit and Highland Park—decayed and their patients moved to the suburbs, these doctors moved their practices out of the city too. With no place else to go, the hospital became the doctor for most of the black people.

Once Highland Park had a clinic for pregnant women. Many of the women who were expecting children did not have obstetricians. They often did not come in contract with a doctor until quite late in pregnancy. The infant mortality rate was very high—one of the highest in the country.

The pre-natal clinic was pretty good. In addition to seeing a doctor regularly, the women saw dietitians to help them work out the most nutritious, low-cost meals. They saw social workers for help with food stamps, if necessary, or other state aid. They saw psychiatrists and family planners and pediatricians.

The clinic was a lot more than an obstetrician, and the infant mortality rate began to drop. It became one of the lowest in the nation.

But the clinic cost a lot more than an obstetrician, too. And when the Hospital Board found that out, the die was cast. It cost about \$800 per mother and child for the clinic. Each woman could be sent to an obstetrician for around \$350.

The clinic was destroyed, and the infant mortality rate began to climb. It is now, once again, one of the highest in the nation.

LOSING MONEY

The hospital began losing money. Nobody could figure out why exactly. All hospitals, especially small ones, were having

tough times, but Highland Park seemed to be going down the tubes fast.

Then the employees found out that there really wasn't much of a hospital left.

Each hospital is made up of many different departments. Each department has a budget; some departments make more money than others. A lot of the profitable departments at Highland Park had been leased out.

Leasing out meant that a doctor would take a department and run it. He would make the profits, and give the hospital a little cut.

rotten they no longer used it. And their not using it meant the beds stayed empty, services weren't used, and the hospital sank deeper into debt.

FOR SALE?

The clinics were awful. The emergency room was a joke—so bad that the police stopped bringing seriously injured people there. Patient care on the floors was terrible. And it got worse, because in a cost-cutting measure the hospital laid off 25% of the nurse

Park General, many of the patients from these nursing homes were admitted. They suffered from malnutrition, because they didn't get enough good food to eat; dehydration, because no one had time to encourage them to drink; and bedsores, because there is never enough help to keep the patients clean, dry and as active as possible.

Sometimes the patients admitted to Highland Park General had all three: they were starving, dying of thirst, and they had bedsores. I saw one man with bedsores so severe his arm fell off.



The laundry was leased out. Then the pharmacy. Food services, both patient and employee, were rented out. Nuclear medicine, x-ray. The EEG-EKG department (very profitable) went to the Chief of Staff. Physical therapy. Then the lab.

There just wasn't much of a hospital left. What there was was going broke.

And all the contracts were negotiated and signed by the Hospital Board. Some of them to themselves.

The workers noticed that few of the white doctors came around any more. They had stopped admitting their patients at Highland Park.

The hospital had become so

Rumors were rampant about the hospital being sold. Then it came out who the buyer was. A group of doctors headed up by the present Chief of Staff was "willing" to buy the place—take it off the city's hands.

This Chief of Staff already owns five hospitals. He turned each into nursing homes. The homes are run in the most economical—vicious and brutal—manner possible.

No union. Not enough workers per patient. Nobody cares very much about many of the patients, so each month the pension check and the social security check for each gets turned over to the hospital.

While I was working at Highland

BS

they have some rare ailment or particular disease that young interns need training on. Free medical care is not given because someone needs it, but because the hospital needs them.

PROPRIETARY HOSPITALS

Certain hospitals are run specifically for profit. These are called proprietary hospitals. They differ from the more traditional voluntary hospitals in that they are usually owned by larger corporations, they only accept those who can pay, and they sell shares of stock. They are run by businessmen to make a profit.

While these "hospitals for profit" have only recently made the news they have a long history in America. Back in 1910 56% of all the hospitals in America were proprietary hospitals. By 1928 there were 2,435 of these hospitals.

During the 1930's depression however, their number rapidly declined. When people were out of work and had no money they could not pay for medical care. They had to depend on charity.

Today the proprietary hospitals are making a comeback. There are 1,050 such institutions in the United States. Combined they have over 97,000 beds. In many localities they provide the only hospital care available.

Where they do compete with voluntary hospitals they are taking more and more of the people who can pay for hospital care. This means that the voluntary hospitals are left with a greater percentage of charity cases. The way the system is set up it also means that the quality of health care in the voluntary hospitals affected is going down.

These institutions are in business for the money, they are not charitable institutions.

"To make a profit out of hospitals, you would have to forget all the old voluntary-sector inhibitions about hospitals as a sacred trust and a public service. This is exactly what the new hospital companies are doing; they select well-to-do neighborhoods and turn away any nonpaying patients who might find their way in. They avoid outpatient and emergency services insofar as possible. They encourage admission of short-term patients and reject those with chronic diseases in order to gain a high turnover rate...."

The American Health Empire Health-PAC, 1971

Most of these proprietary hospitals are owned by larger chains of hospital corporations. Five of the largest have stock which is sold on the New York Stock Exchange. Even Holiday Inn owns their own chain of hospitals, Medcenters of America.

Hospitals are big business. If they do not make a profit directly they make it indirectly. Hospital costs are going up at an extraordinary rate. Yet, the wages of hospital workers are pitifully low and health care deteriorates.

Medical care in this country is perhaps one of the most powerful arguments against the capitalist system, a system whose hospitals ask what kind of coverage one has before asking what is wrong. □



"I've heard doctors brag about how much the unconscious patient would have to pay."

by Tom Jackson

In the operating room (O.R.) suite where I work as an orderly, the surgeons and anesthesiologists reign supreme. The doctors and the administration have officially agreed to schedule each day "as many operations as possible." This way the doctors rake in the surgery fees and the hospital bosses rake in the house fees.

So the doctors really control the O.R.—without them bringing in patients, the hospital makes no money. Hospital bosses will go to any length to please the doctors. The doctors' pickiest request becomes more important than working conditions of nurses and orderlies and technicians.

Speed-up is a way of life in the O.R. This means sloppy patient

care—patients operated on well before they expected, inadequate clean-up after operations, and rushed preparation for the next one. Literal running up and down the hall for something "forgotten" by a rushed nurse happens all the time. And nurses constantly have to apologize to doctors for something they "forget."

When I first started working in the O.R., we did an average of about 25 operations daily, finishing in the early afternoon and giving us time to stock supplies and clean-up in the thorough way that an O.R. requires. Now, with no increase in staff, we average 30-35 and often go as high as 40. We still have to do our afternoon chores in between cases or in spare minutes.

Operating rooms should be ster-

ile, but this is a joke. We never have the time to change the water in mop buckets for instance. This should be done after every case, but it's done once a day.

Contaminated rooms (staph infection present) should be treated with special precautions. But everyone has their own idea of what the procedure is. No standard training was given to nurses or orderlies about how to handle these rooms. This can be dangerous to the health of the next patient or the workers.

We go to special pains to double-bag all contaminated laundry and trash only to find out that it's treated all the same in the laundry and trash rooms. As well, I've seen anesthesiologists in the O.R. without masks on (this is common), and I've seen eating and smoking in the O.R.

I would never want to be operated on where I work.

I don't understand how nurses survive all the sexist crap they're forced to take from doctors. Besides all the come-ons and jokes, there's actual physical assault under the guise of "good-natured fun."

The O.R. is shut off from the public, and nurses are pinched on the ass and felt up all the time. It's expected standard procedure that a nurse who's free for a few minutes during an operation will give the anesthesiologist (who sits through the whole operation) a back-rub.

Patients get similar treatment. A doctor's dual-personality becomes clear when he talks seriously with the patient beforehand about the operation or the anesthetic, and then a few minutes later cracks a joke about the patient's unconscious, naked body. These are generally cruel or sexist jokes.

On at least two occasions recently I've overheard one surgeon ask another what the standard procedure is for an operation just before he performed it. I've also heard a doctor brag about how much more the unconscious patient would have to pay for her anesthetic for questioning his method of administering it.

The hospital bosses teach new workers in the orientation program

that we're all one big family—a medical team dedicated to serving and curing sick people. When we deal with patients we're expected to BE the hospital (their motto: you ARE the hospital to the patients), to represent it as a cheery, concerned, friendly place that the patient will return to if necessary. When a patient complains of unsatisfactory service, we are chewed out as if it's all our fault.

The fault lies with speed-up, overwork, poor pay, and lack of opportunity for genuine human contact with patients. The fault is the fault of the hospital bosses who work us on a human-repair assembly line. Patients are sick people with special emotional needs crucial to their recovery. But to the hospital bosses and many doctors it's the money the operation brings in that's important—not the patient's health.

I remember working one Saturday when an emergency case came in—a ruptured abdominal aneurism. This is a bubble that has burst on the main artery to the heart. Within minutes, the O.R. suite was a battleground. People did function as a disciplined team in a calculated effort to prevent the patient from bleeding to death internally.

I can remember the feeling of purpose and worth I had as I literally sprinted to the blood bank for unit after unit of blood. The patient died. But I understood briefly how important my job had been and how well we had worked together to save another human being.

And I wondered what health care would be like if that spirit and cooperation could be tapped and encouraged all the time. I wondered what health care would be like if the profit system did not exist to destroy our dedication, to divide us with racism and education, to make our jobs meaningless, routine, dangerous, and often impossible.

Workers could care for and cure other workers. We could focus on saving lives instead of making someone else profits. But, of course, this could only happen under socialism. □



Unions Must Fight Layoffs

The massive layoffs now hitting the auto industry are the opening gun of the coming depression. They are just the beginning, both for auto workers and those in other industries.

With one announcement, General Motors wiped out six thousand jobs. That makes a total of 36,000 GM workers on permanent layoff. Throughout the auto industry, 48,000 production workers and 15,000 white collar workers are laid off.

At GM's Tarrytown, N.Y. assembly plant, workers with eleven and a half years of seniority are being thrown on the street.

Shortly, Chrysler will announce plans to close permanently its Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant in Detroit, laying off 5,000 workers. Chrysler Chairman Lynn Townsend says that action will be taken unless sales pick up in the next month. No one expects that.

These layoffs should be a scandal. Last year General Motors made over two billion dollars in profits. It wasn't the GM executives and bigwigs that did it, but the sweat of auto workers. The same workers who are being thrown out now that GM, Ford, and Chrysler are running into trouble.

In addition to everything else, Chrysler's closing of its Jefferson plant is an attack on Detroit's black community. The plant is located in an area already hard hit by unemployment. Chrysler's action will complete the devastation. The Jefferson plant will never reopen, even if

business picks up later on. With the depression, Chrysler has a convenient excuse to continue the process of turning Detroit, now a majority black city, into a ghost town.

But the biggest scandal of this affair is reserved for the union—the United Auto Workers. Corporations have always been willing to attack the jobs, wages, and conditions of workers at the slightest excuse. Unions were formed for one purpose—to defend the workers against these attacks. When the union refuses to fight, something is wrong.

Here's a typical example, the October 27 union meeting of UAW Local 3 (Dodge Main, Detroit): Joe Davis, local president, is giving a report on the closing of the Jefferson plant and the possibility of layoffs at Dodge. A member asks, "What is the union going to do to protect our jobs?" Davis: "I guess I don't understand what you mean." Member: "The union exists to protect us. What is it going to do about these layoffs?" Davis: "Didn't you come to this meeting in a Volkswagen? You have to buy more Chrysler products and then we'll have more jobs."

That's why the UAW won't fight. Its leadership, from the top of Solidarity House to the great majority of local officials, has accepted the idea that the financial health of the auto companies is their concern; that if the companies can't make a profit they have a right to lay off workers. It's this kind of logic that leads to productivity deals,

speed-up campaigns, no-strike agreements, and protectionism.

As one worker told Joe Davis, "You tell us to buy Chrysler products. What about Ford workers? You're just setting worker against worker." That sums up what the whole union leadership in this country stands for.

What we need is a fighting union that takes the jobs, wages and conditions of the workers as its starting point, rather than the profitability of the companies.

We need a union leadership that would totally ban overtime while anyone is on layoff. We need unions that would demand the companies cut the work week without loss of pay to save jobs, and organize slowdowns and walkouts to back it up. We need a union leadership that would make it too costly for Chrysler to close the Jefferson plant, by calling concerted strike action at other Chrysler plants.

If workers' jobs are to be saved in this deepening recession, the fight must begin now, not just in auto, but in every industry. Workers will have to force their unions to stand up and fight, to refuse to accept the corporations' plans which would force working people to pay for the mess capitalism has created. Militants who begin hammering these lessons home today will find their fellow workers increasingly ready to listen. □



Dear Workers' Power, We wanted it

FINE ARTICLE

We wanted to add a little extra thank you for the fine article you printed in your September 17th paper. Receiving a copy of it and your letter in the mail was a real "up" for all of us here. Support like yours was definitely a factor in our recent victory.

Our new contract looks better every day in the face of growing inflation and the monopolists attack on the working class.

There is no doubt that we got the best settlement in the Milwaukee area this year, far exceeding the gains made by even such militant workers as the American Motors workers.

We are sorry that it took us so long to get this letter out, but our energy level has been pretty low since the strike ended. Thank you again for your support. Keep on fighting!

Harley Action Workers Group (HAWG) Milwaukee

[See article, page 6.]

YOUR UNION AND THE CIA

Workers Power readers might be interested in finding out if their union is involved in international espionage for the U.S. government.

The following is a list of US unions and international federations receiving US government funds for overseas operations, according to the US Comptroller General's "classified" report. This list is necessarily incomplete, and does not include subsidies from the CIA.

- International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers (IFPCW); US union affiliate: Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW)

- Public Services International (PSI); US union affiliate: American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers (AFSCME)

- International Union of Food and Allied Workers Association (IUF); US union affiliates include: bakery workers, brewery and distillery

employees, bartenders and the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

- Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI); US union affiliate: Communication Workers of America (CWA) (played

a big role in overthrowing the Goulart government in Brazil)

- Others: Brotherhood of Rail-way, Airline and Steamship Clerks (BRAC), Retail Clerks International Association, Textile Workers of

America, American Federation of Musicians.

Carol Johnson Detroit

"WE STAYED POOR"

President Ford is going to stop inflation. At least that is what he said on television.

He sounded like my mother. Eat everything on your plate. (There are children starving in India.) Turn off the bathroom light when you're done.

Wear hand-me-downs. Don't eat meat on Friday. (That's a real funny one today.) You're cold? Put on a sweater.

There were seven of us. All my childhood we did all the things my mother told us to do to save money. And we stayed poor.

I think Workers' Power is a real newspaper. You are doing a terrific job telling people why it is all falling apart and why types like Ford can't do a thing about it.

A Friend

CHICAGO TEAMSTERS

Our local, 714 of the Teamsters, we heard is controlled by Mafia thugs. This puts a damper on shop floor organization which would necessarily spread to the local. The most energetic members could end up with their feet sunk in concrete at the bottom of Lake Michigan.

The Chief Steward appointed a steward when the old one, after weeks of soul searching, became a foreman. He says he wants to change things from the "inside."

Things have gotten worse, not better. Last week a Polish worker who didn't speak English lost his thumb in a press. Many operators passed by to see it lying on the die, maybe to confirm their worst fears of mutilation over a 2c piece of metal.

After lunch the company called a safety meeting to try and sell the idea that we are irresponsible, careless fools. They were quite surprised how our hackles raised as operator after operator gave specific details over safety hazards.

The chief steward and new

appointee were quiet as two overgrown mice. The three supervisors were visibly shaken by the spunky resistance.

Today, Monday, the plant had been cleaned and the foreman's shack painted. The foreman seemed to be trying hard to be cool and aloof.

The operators were in a good mood and one of them posted a well-circulated Workers' Power article on the official bulletin board, next to "Think Positive" and "Buy U.S. Savings Bonds" signs.

Now while we have a slight edge we intend to get together a petition to make the Chief Steward call an election so we can elect our own steward.

Next month union meetings resume after months of no meetings and a delegation of us are going to nose around to see what our chances are.

Vera Greene Chicago



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.

BEN KUCZEWSKI:

Tribute To A Fighter For The Working Class



Ben Kuczewski leads United National Caucus picket line.

On October 9, Ben Kuczewski died of a sudden heart attack. For all his life, Ben was a union activist and militant.

He started as a child in the Pennsylvania coal fields, crawling into the coal chutes and cleaning them out. His earliest union experiences were with the United Mine Workers.

On his return from the service, following World War II, Ben moved to Detroit and went to work for Chryslers. In the early fifties, his activities as a union militant convinced him of the need for a socialist movement and he joined the Socialist Workers Party—at that time a revolutionary socialist organization.

He dedicated himself to the struggle "to improve life." Ben had a deeply rooted understanding that this goal could only be accomplished through the struggle of working people and the labor movement.

KEPT ON FIGHTING

At the time of cold war conservatism and Red-scare during the 50's, the Socialist Workers Party instructed its members in auto to lay low. They warned Ben against sticking his neck out. But Ben quit the SWP rather than pull his neck back in.

Through the worst years, he kept right on fighting. Even when the leftist movements in the plants disappeared around him, Ben never forgot his opposition to the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans—never forgot that working people need their own party.

When the new opposition move-

ment of the late 60's emerged in the auto plants, Ben was right there. He was one of only a handful of old militants who had made it through. He was a founding member of the Local 212 chapter of the United National Caucus.

The following article is excerpted from a shop bulletin put out by his local caucus, The Mack Watchdog.

The Watchdog mourns the death of Ben Kuczewski. For the past 28 years, Ben remained probably the most active and dedicated UAW member in all of Local 212.

Ben never tired of telling young workers who hired into Mack that Local 212 was once the best Local in the whole UAW. "Now it's the worst," he would say. "It's just a part of Chrysler's labor relations department. But before I die," Ben would add, "I hope to see our local union again as great as it once was."

Ben was one of the Watchdog's most active contributors and supporters. He dedicated himself to building an opposition group at Local 212 that could one day return the Local to being a fighting organization by and for the membership.

FIRE

A year ago, Ben was fired during the sit-down. He was home sleeping when it happened, but actively supported it from the outside. Chrysler jumped on the opportunity to fire him. Though they hoped to break his spirit, it didn't work.

Ben, as well as other fired workers, was told by union and company officials that he better lay low if he ever wanted to get his job back. But he kept right on agitating: raising

hell at the local hall; handing out leaflets at the gate.

After two months on the streets, Chrysler had to take Ben back—but with no back pay. Since that day, they hounded his every step. Still Ben refused to lay low.

For years, Ben had handed out leaflets, circulated petitions, sold raffle tickets. Now, he couldn't even turn around without a foreman writing him up. When Ben stayed home sick, Chrysler said his doctor's notes were no good, and gave him more time off. Last August, Ben did a 30 day D.L.O. [Disciplinary Layoff] for absenteeism, even though he had a note from his doctor stating he should stay home when he felt ill.

Ben went to Local officers who said they agreed that a man should not get 30 days off for absenteeism when he was sick and had a doctor's note. But somehow, his grievance never got settled and he served the whole penalty.

It hurt, because by then, Ben's savings were gone, and he had to borrow money from friends just to pay rent, eat, or buy a pack of cigarettes.

RETURN TO WORK

When Ben returned to work in September, he only had a year and a half to go before retirement. But he was on final warning; he could have been fired for any false move; and that would cost him his 30 year pension.

Even when feeling ill, Ben could no longer take the chance of missing a day's work. It was Ben's opinion that the Local union officials had given Chrysler a green light to go after his hide.

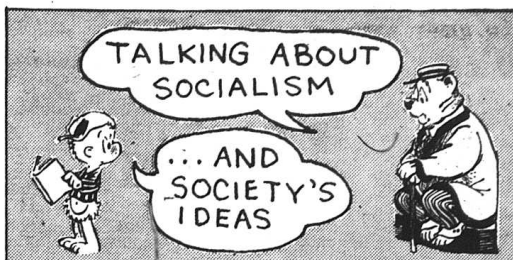
Still Ben didn't want to lay low. All his life he had been a fighter. One of Ben's sayings, that he never tired of repeating was: "Life is wonderful, if you don't weaken." But after fighting for 28 years, the pressure was getting to be too much.

Ben was sickened by the failure of the Local union to provide him the most minimal threads of union protection. He was outraged and humiliated by the straightjacket into which the company had placed him. He was weakened by the need to come to work even when feeling ill.

On October 9, Ben died of a sudden heart attack. The Watchdog believes that Ben was killed by Chrysler just as surely as if he had died in an accident on the shop floor.

Ben is dead, but the things he helped to build in his life go on. The Watchdog dedicates itself to continuing the struggle that Ben started.

His courage should serve as an inspiration to those who are younger and stronger and more able to carry the fight forward. We firmly believe that in the next few years, there will be built a fighting movement inside the UAW which would make Ben proud.



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Marxists are materialists. That means we recognize that the class struggle for social power is what makes the world change—not "great men" who think up new ideas out of the blue.

But there is more to class society and class struggle than the interplay of purely economic or physical forces.

Ideas themselves are born from class conflict, and when they take hold they are powerful. What people believe has a big effect on what they do about their lives.

A working class that understands its power and its interests can rebuild society to meet its needs. A working class that is hypnotized by the ideas of its oppressors is helpless.

"The ruling ideas of every epoch," said Karl Marx, "are the ideas of the ruling class." That really says it all. The "ruling ideas" that persuade workers to accept their oppressed position in capitalist society are what Marxists call "bourgeois ideology."

What makes any false ideology believable is that it takes certain observable aspects of reality and then explains them in a way that's wrong but seems to make sense. This is exactly what capitalist ideology does.

It starts with the fact that we live in a capitalist society, though it would rather call that society "free enterprise" or some other euphemism.

That fact is then used to "prove" that capitalism must exist, that there's no alternative. Not only is capitalism pictured as the best of all possible worlds, it is presented as the only possible world.

The possibility of socialism, a society ruled by the workers, is ruled out.

NO WAY OUT?

Oppressed people will put up with a lot of misery and abuse if they believe there's no way out, that they themselves are incapable of running society.

In the same way, capitalist ideology explains the fact that under capitalism people are competitive by referring to "competitive human nature."

It uses the fact that workers have very little power under capitalism to "prove" that we need a capitalist class to tell us what to do and run our lives.

Under capitalism workers draw their paychecks from individual companies. Capitalist ideology uses this undeniable fact to "prove" to workers that we have the same interests as the company does.

We can't demand a living wage if it would destroy the company's profits—that would be "killing the goose that lays the golden eggs."

But what capitalist ideology fails to mention is that it's the workers who produce the wealth that the capitalists are then good enough to give some back to us in the form of wages.

If you are a militant worker you're in a bind as long as you accept capitalist ideology. Because if you honestly believe that there's no alternative to capitalism, at a certain point you will have to choose between what you and your fellow workers need and what the company—and the system—can afford.

HARD CHOICES

This is especially true in times of recession and depression when what workers need to live a decent life and what the capitalists need to keep making profits come into direct conflict. When capitalism gets itself into economic difficulties—as it regularly does—we have to make some hard choices.

The first choice open to us is to let capitalism try to get itself back together at our expense, by cutting our standard of living, throwing some of us out of work, and working the rest of us harder and longer.

The other choice, the revolutionary choice, is to get rid of the capitalist system that got us into the mess and to reorganize the economy to produce what we need.

If we see no way out of capitalism we have little choice but to let ourselves be screwed. Because under capitalism we can't work at all unless it's profitable for the company to put us to work.

That's why it's so important that revolutionary ideas gain a hearing inside the working class.

The ideas spread by the capitalist media—by the newspapers, the television, the radio, the schools—are designed to disarm workers in the day to day fight against the abuses of capitalism. They are the ideas of our rulers.

They tell us to go along with the way things are in the name of a mythical "national interest" that really just refers to the interests of our nation's capitalists.

They teach us to submit to those in power. They claim that workers of different countries have more in common with their rulers than with each other.

Socialist ideas, on the other hand, are weapons in the struggle against capitalism. They don't tell us not to be too "extreme" in our demands, but to do away with capitalism because it is incapable of giving us what we need.

Socialist ideas give us a method with which to carry our fight against capitalism to its conclusion.



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About You And Me



[Yonnonidio by Tillie Olsen. Delacorte Press; Seymour Lawrence; 1974]

If you like to read fiction by the pound like I do, sooner or later the stories all start to sound the same. Not because writers don't have imagination, but because—you've noticed—they all write about the same people.

Power struggles in corporations, football teams, hospitals, universities, crime syndicates. The "interesting" people—adventurers, private eyes, devilish housewives, politicians, journalists, hippies, movie types, downhome characters.

Are there any novels about you and me? Can you name one that portrays the personal and social relations of a blue-collar or white-collar worker? Joe and Fred are competing for control of Local 1 of the Diddleworkers Union; Fred is making it on the side with Mrs. Joe.

I've never read that book, but I've read that story a dozen times starring executives, senators or physicians.

Say a depression comes. How would a guy with a family react to his buddy quitting the job rather than take speedup? Jim Tracy quit, but he learned, in Yonnonidio by Tillie Olsen.

Written during the Depression, the book was lost till now. Part of it

goes like this:

"Oh he learned all right. He never even got a chance to have a wife and kids hang round his neck like an anchor and make him grovel to God Job. (And I guess it's just as well, Jim Tracy, because even among the pious who head and prostrate themselves its wrath is visited, for Many Are Called but Few Are Chosen, and are not the Sins of the Fathers (having nothing to sell but their labor power) visited on the Sons, and it's no fun to see the old lady nag and worry her life away, no fun to see the younguns pulpy with charity starches drowse and chant the lesson after the teacher: we-are-the-riches-country-in-the-worr-uld).

"So (not knowing) he threw it up, the big sap, thinking, the big sap, jobs grew on trees and (believing the old bull) a man didn't havta take crap off n anybody, he renounced God Job—and the tortures of the damned were visited upon him in full measure, he learned all right, all right that last hour writting in the "piano" in the chain gang down in Florida.

"And there's nothing to say, Jim Tracy, I'm sorry, Jim Tracy, sorry as hell we weren't stronger and could get to you in time and show you that kind of individual revolt was no good, kid, no good at all, you had to bide you time and take it till there were enough of you to fight it all together on the job and bide your time, and take it, till the

day millions of fists clamped in yours, and you could wipe out the whole thing, and a human could be a human for the first time on earth."

Olsen was 19 when she started to write this book. Later, in the 1960's, she was active in the Artists Liberation Front in San Francisco.

COAL PITS

Yonnonidio tells what happens to a family trying to improve themselves. They move from the Wyoming coal pits to Dakota tenant farming and finally to the stockyard slums of Chicago.

Nothing happens to them that would make a headline anywhere except maybe Workers' Power. But still it's as gripping a story as you can pick up.

It relates what happens to each of the people in a family, with their dreams, who fight, against the odds, in a system that only knows how to throw you back from where you came.

It's grim, too, and scary—if you're a working person with a family. When you see your own hassles magnified just a couple of times, you start to realize that there's only a few dollars a day difference between your story and theirs.

David Shoemaker

How Mao Took Power

[The Chinese Revolution, published by the International Socialists. Introduction by Jack Trautman. 54pp. \$1.00]

The Chinese Revolution is a collection of articles in which revolutionary socialists examine the events which transformed China.

This collection is full of information on the background and revolu-

tionary history of China in the twentieth century. First published between 1935 and 1957, the articles describe events as they happen.

They help us to understand what China's revolution and the creation of a new regime under the Communist Party meant to people around the world at the time.

The first article, entitled "The Peasants' War in China" by Harold

Isaacs, appeared in January 1935 in the revolutionary magazine New Internationalist.

At that time the Chinese Communist Party had fled from the cities, leaving almost its entire working class membership behind, in order to organize a peasant struggle in the countryside against the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship.

WORKERS' DEFEAT

This retreat occurred several years after Chiang Kai-shek crushed a workers' revolution in China. The Chinese working class movement was defeated because the Chinese Communist Party, under the direction of Stalin, had told the Chinese workers to rely on Chiang Kai-shek's party to liberate them. (The background and the story of the defeat of China's revolutionary working class in the 1920's is included in Jack Trautman's introduction.)

Isaacs' article correctly predicted that the peasants' struggles would continue for a period of many years, because the brutal Chiang regime would do nothing to institute reforms or end the rule of the country's feudal landlords.

Isaacs also pointed out that although the peasants' struggles were democratic and progressive, neither the working class nor the peasantry in China would be liberated unless an independent workers' party was organized to lead the struggle for socialism.

By 1957, the date of the last of these essays, everything in China had changed. Chiang Kai-shek's regime had collapsed, and the Communist Party had come to power. Capitalism in China, and the domination of China by the western imperialist countries, had

been destroyed.

In the process, however, there had been no revolution by the Chinese working class.

Although the new state controlled by the Communist Party called itself "socialist" and even claimed to represent the "dictatorship of the proletariat," workers and peasants in China had no power, or control over their own lives in Chinese society.

COMMUNIST PARTY RULE

Tony Cliff's essay "Mao tse-tung and Stalinism," first published in 1957, discusses some of the main economic and political features of Communist Party rule in China.

He notes that China's new rulers applauded Khrushchev's regime in Russia for crushing the uprising of the Hungarian workers in 1956.

Cliff goes on to explain why the Chinese Communists took this position: they were afraid that the struggles of workers in Hungary would threaten their power to

control workers in China.

Cliff also showed that, although the Communist Party had been in power for less than ten years, the bureaucratic social system it had created was already beginning to show deep economic and political contradictions which must eventually lead to a new revolution—this time a working class revolution against the new ruling class.

In between these two articles, there are eight others, in which the war between China and Japan, the disintegration of Chiang's rotten regime, and the policies of the Communist Party during the 1930's and 1940's are discussed.

Several of these essays were written by Chinese revolutionary socialists active in the struggles they described.

No one who is seriously interested in the Chinese revolution can afford to be without this collection of articles, which have been unavailable for many years until reprinted here.

D. Posen



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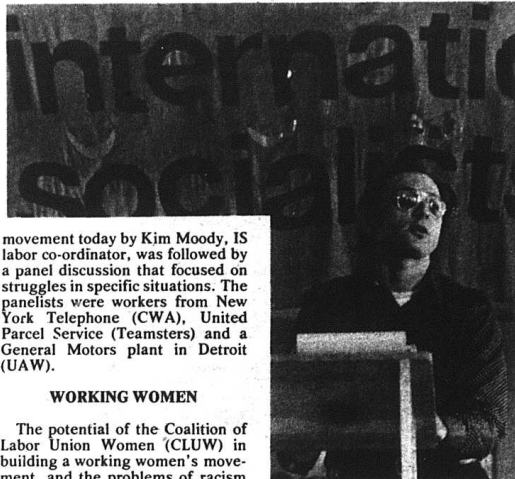
100 Attend New York Rank & File Conference

Over one hundred people attended the Northeast Rank and File Conference sponsored by the International Socialists on October 19 and 20 in New York City. The conference was held to allow militants and revolutionaries from different unions to exchange experiences and discuss the future of the rank and file movement.

Members of the Communications Workers of America, Teamsters, Auto Workers, American Federation of Teachers and other unions participated.

The work of the International Socialists in these unions and the IS's strategy for building a rank and file movement attracted individuals and groups from Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, Albany and New Paltz, NY, as well as New Jersey and New York City.

A report on the American labor



Joel Geier, I.S. National Chairman.

movement today by Kim Moody, IS labor co-ordinator, was followed by a panel discussion that focused on struggles in specific situations. The panelists were workers from New York Telephone (CWA), United Parcel Service (Teamsters) and a General Motors plant in Detroit (UAW).

WORKING WOMEN

The potential of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in building a working women's movement, and the problems of racism in the rank and file movement in the UAW were the subjects of presentations and discussion by participants in those struggles.

The conference also included smaller workshops on particular aspects of the rank and file movement.

Joel Geier, National Chairman of the International Socialists, spoke on the relationship between building the rank and file movement and building a revolutionary workers' party in the United States.



Joan McKiernan, speaking on the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Fund Drive Tops 30%

The fund drive ends its fourth week having collected 30.8% of our goal. San Francisco, Bloomington, and Detroit must be praised for having already reached 40% or more of their quotas.

Given the state of the economy, with prices soaring and lay-offs increasing, money is harder to raise. But this crisis is creating greater openings for revolutionary socialist ideas—so the need to expand our resources is even greater.

I.S. members are very pleased with our recent growth, but there will always be more political work and money necessary for it than just our members can manage.

We are excited about the continued expansion of our literature program, plans for rank and file conferences, additional speaking tours and the fine quality Workers' Power has attained.

We look forward to continuing our work, but our activities require money that we don't have—that's why the success of this fund drive is so important.

Your political and financial support will help build a revolutionary workers' party from today's struggles; the party that will help us make a socialist society.

If you haven't made a contribution yet, please do it today.

Send a check or money order payable to the International Socialists to: I.S., 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.

What's On

Boston, Friday, November 1— "Strategy to Defend the Black Community and Unite the Working Class." L'J Joe (IS Executive Committee) and Mike Hirsch (Boston IS). Boston State College, Kennedy Building Room 307K, 625 Huntington Ave., Boston. 7:30 pm.

Berkeley, Friday, November 1— "A Reply to THE MAOIST CASE AGAINST TROTSKYISM." Joel Chaplin. Stiles Hall, 2400 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California, 8 pm.

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Detroit	3500	1798	51
Portland	300	—	0
Louisville	800	255	32
Los Angeles	2500	735	29
Madison	150	30	20
New York	2700	820	30
St. Louis	900	270	30
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Seattle	1700	470	27
MAL's	1200	222	18
National Office	1500	530	35
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What We Stand For

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

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

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

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

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

THE CAPITALIST STATE

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

MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVISM

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

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To create socialism, the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The party does not represent an elite to rule over the workers "in their interests." It is a political force helping to organize workers and leading them to take state power and control society as a class. The activity of the 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 negotiations. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight, and national rank and file opposition caucuses in the international unions.

*For class struggle unionism. Abolish all anti-labor legislation. No restriction on the right to strike, 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 their liberation struggles. For the right of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, police harassment and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

for their own demands. Independence for Puerto Rico.

*Abolish all forms of sexual oppression. For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion. For a working class women's liberation movement. End discrimination against gay people.

*Against imperialism. East and West. Against all nuclear weapons and imperialist alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. For unconditional support to all national liberation movements, against both US and Russian imperialism. We support the military victory of the National Liberation Front over US imperialism in Vietnam, but we give no political support to the anti-working class dictatorship the NLF represents.

*No support to Republican, Democratic and Wallaceite 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 parties.

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Irish Prisoners Burn Jails

by Sandy Brown

The British government's hope that it had finally crushed Nationalist resistance in Northern Ireland has abruptly ended. Four years of British occupation, repression and bloodshed have only laid the grounds for new uprisings.

When Irish Republican political prisoners burned down the infamous Long Kesh prison camp on Tuesday, October 17, prison riots and strikes and demonstrations in the Catholic ghettos soon spread throughout Northern Ireland.

By the end of the week the British government was hinting that it would end internment without trial.

"Internment" is Britain's practice of throwing in prison, without a trial, anyone in Northern Ireland suspected of any connection with the Irish Republican Army (IRA) or the national resistance movement. This policy was begun by the British Conservative Party government, but the Labor Party in power since last February has continued it.

In Long Kesh the riot started Tuesday night when Republican prisoners jumped a notoriously brutal guard. When other guards tried to arrest these prisoners, they were driven off and the resistance soon spread throughout the camp.

The guards were driven out of the camp and only the fact that Long Kesh was surrounded by armed British troops prevented a mass break out.

The prisoners burned down the huts they have been forced to live in. They armed themselves with clubs made from bed legs and shields made from the windows' wire mesh to prepare for the British army attack that came the next morning.



According to eyewitnesses the Army sent in about 3,000 men to attack 1,000 prisoners. First they sent helicopters over to dump canisters of nausea gas. Then the troops attacked with tear gas, clubs, and rubber bullets.

The Republicans fought for about forty-five minutes. When they were finally beaten down by the clubs and rubber bullets they were forced to stand spread eagled against a fence for seven hours while they were beaten with rifle butts.

SYMPATHY STRIKES

A priest who was allowed into the camp four days later reported

seeing men with broken arms, broken legs, and broken ribs who had received no medical attention and no pain killers.

Prisoners in the other prisons in Northern Ireland rose up in sympathy with the men in Long Kesh and against internment. Catholic and Protestant women political prisoners in Armagh Prison took over a section of the jail and held the warden and three guards hostage.

They released the hostages and returned to their cells only after Catholic and Protestant chaplains assured them that the prisoners in Long Kesh and the other prisons were safe.

A section of Magilligan prison camp near Derry was burned and

there were riots in other prisons.

There were demonstrations and rebellions throughout the week in the Catholic ghettos demanding an end to internment.

In Belfast 2,000 people tried to march to the city center. They stopped short of an Army roadblock and turned around, with the woman leading the march shouting at the soldiers. "We wouldn't give you the satisfaction of doing what you did to our boys in there."

In Derry the central business district was closed when Catholic workers refused to go to work. Human barricades blocked all main roads in and out of the Catholic areas and mass rallies were held in the Bogside.

By the end of the week the British government was publicly hinting that they would end internment in two months. The public hint, published in a Dublin newspaper (in the independent Irish Republic), was obviously aimed at ending the protests. If Britain's Labor government actually ends internment, it will be because they fear another mass upheaval like the one they have just seen.

THE NEW RESISTANCE

The end of internment would be an important and much needed victory for the Irish freedom movement. The political situation in the six counties has been getting steadily more ominous.

In the recent British parliamentary elections the right wing Unionists won ten out of the twelve seats from Northern Ireland and increased their share of the popular vote. The Unionists are the dominant party in Northern Ireland, standing for Protestant control and continued British rule.

Murders of Catholics by Protestant terror squads have resumed after several months.

There will soon be elections to a Constitutional Convention to draw up a new regional government in Northern Ireland. The Unionists seem certain to win a large majority in this convention.

As long as Protestant workers continue to blindly support Unionist politicians there will be no hope of real progress in Northern Ireland.

The Unionist Party stands for, and is completely controlled by, British and Protestant capitalism in Northern Ireland—not for the needs of Protestant workers. Yet it remains in power with the votes of Protestant workers, who view the demands of the Catholic workers for equality, jobs and independence as a threat to their own position.

The importance of the new uprisings is that the struggle of Catholic workers, who had been largely quiet after massive defeats in the last two years, has revived again.

Out of this new courageous resistance struggle there may be another chance to organize a powerful workers' movement in the North. To do this the movement must fight for demands which could begin to crack the power of Unionist politicians over Protestant workers.

Only a workers' movement fighting for the needs of Catholic and Protestant workers—freedom for Catholic and Protestant political prisoners, good houses, decent jobs—can show a way out of this desperate situation.

There will be no quick or easy way to build that movement. But until a beginning is made there will be no hope for Catholic or Protestant workers in Northern Ireland. □

BRITISH ELECTIONS

Wilson Squeaks By

Britain's Labor Party squeaked by with a thin majority in the second general Parliamentary election in the crisis ridden year of 1974. Harold Wilson's government, which had been in office as a minority government since February, will have a majority of about three votes in the House of Commons.

This election was billed as "the most crucial in thirty years" by the leaders of all three major political parties—the Conservatives, the party of big business which was toppled from power following last

winter's massive miners' strike; the Labor Party, which is based on the membership of Britain's unions but supports British capitalism; and the Liberals, who represent a smaller version of the Conservatives with some appeal to the middle classes.

Yet the election itself showed that more people than ever see no real differences between the policies of the parties. One survey showed that 39% of the population saw no differences. In the election, turnout was down to 72% from 78% in February.

In fact, even though Labor won

the election fewer people voted for it than in any other election since 1945—fewer even than in 1959, when Labor lost the election to the Conservatives by over 100 seats.

Labor squeaked through mainly because the Conservatives lost ground to splinter capitalist parties like the Scottish Nationalists.

If the election campaign itself produced nothing but apathy, however, the crisis in Britain is very real. Inflation has reached 17%, and unemployment will soon hit one million. All three parties ran on a platform of controlling workers' wages, raising productivity and forcing the working class to pay the price of restoring the British economy.

Conservative spokesmen were calling for a strategy to bring down wages through massive unemployment, including factory closings. A leading Liberal economic advisor proposed an across-the-board total wage freeze.

The Labor Party's approach is slightly different. Its program is a "Social Contract," in which the leaders of the unions—who are themselves the most powerful part of the Labor Party—agree to hold back on wage demands. Their program is that the unions should take the main responsibility for policing the exploitation of their own members.

The fact that so many workers simply didn't bother to vote showed mainly that Harold Wilson's Labor campaign, even with the radical rhetoric supplied by some Labor politicians who propose nationalizing a few more industries, failed to excite their interest or speak to their real needs in any way.

The International Socialists in Britain campaigned actively for a vote for Labor Party candidates, with the aim of keeping the conservative representatives of big business out of office. For revolutionaries, the issue in the election was that the policies of the trade union and Labor Party leaders, who claim that reforms can be won for workers through co-operation between unions and employers, must be put in office so they can be tested, fought out and exposed.

The main message of the IS campaign, however, was that British workers must prepare to fight by mobilizing their own independent strength, in the shops and the unions, to resist all wage cuts, firings, layoffs, repression, and the rest of the anti-labor policies which Wilson will carry out.

Workers in Britain may be apathetic about the elections—but the wave of strikes, factory occupations and anti-racist demonstrations this year shows they are far from apathetic about the real crisis in Britain.

A vote for Labor today is necessary, in the absence of a powerful organized revolutionary alternative. But the real job ahead, and the real purpose of exposing Labor's policies, is to build that alternative—a revolutionary party rooted in the British working class.

The main strength of the working class in Britain, as elsewhere, lies in production, not in the electoral process. Labor's most vicious enemies—the strikebreaking firms, the racists and the fascists—are organizing to destroy workers' struggles by force. The workers must organize now to defend themselves. □

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INTERNATIONAL
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STOP BOSTON RACISTS!

by Mike Hirsch

BOSTON—The movement to oppose busing and prevent blacks from entering previously all-white areas has changed only in form in the last two weeks. Its overall strategy remains the same: to frustrate busing plans through physically intimidating black children and their parents.

Mob attacks have subsided, replaced with random attacks on blacks. This does not mean a change in strategy, nor reconsideration, or even exhaustion of the racists' efforts. Rather, it indicates their increasing success.

While black people's defiance of the white boycott is growing, their efforts are now deliberately being sabotaged by political maneuvering from the White House on down.

President Ford's statement opposing busing (while "deploring the violence") was a boost to any flagging boycott sentiments.

Reactionary Democratic State Representative Raymond Flynn, a supporter of the white school boycott, suggested that "With the kind of things coming out of Washington these days, we just may not have busing to worry about any longer."

ROAR (Return Our Alienated Rights, the white anti-busing organization) continues to hold its meetings in the City Council chambers, and politicians are attending in increasing numbers.

TAKING SIDES

The racist forces, far from giving up, are actively and effectively enlisting support. Early this week the Eastern Massachusetts Teamsters announced support to the school boycott and opposition to "forced busing."

Local officials of the Steelworkers, Meatcutters, UAW, Farm Workers and several other unions, however, came out in support of a statement supporting busing.

The conservative, middle class Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which is courting the Ford administration for further grants to its "black capitalism" program, also announced its opposition to the busing program.

More significant than any of this, perhaps, were remarks made by Judge W. Arthur Garrity concerning further implementation of his original busing order. Garrity openly admitted his plan to exempt the East Boston and Charles Town communities from

any further busing.

These communities are similar to South Boston in being "culturally homogeneous" (all white) and physically remote from the center of the city. East Boston in particular, a poor working class Italian area, can be reached only by bridge or tunnel.

Earlier, police suggested that whites would be "expected to blow up the Callahan tunnel, if it came to that."

Garrity's statement was a capitulation to the racists, and an important victory for them.

the Supreme Court decision.

At this moment black leaders in Boston are on the defensive, with no real strategy except to call for the stationing of federal troops to protect the existing plan. Black children are attending "Southie"—this week as many as 431 attended—but they remain at the mercy of the whites.

The local press has played its traditional racist and class-biased role. Early in the dispute both newspapers and networks agreed to give the white riots a low profile so as not to "stir up

attacks were then played up out of all proportion.

Residents of Columbia Point, a largely black and Puerto Rican housing development adjacent to South Boston, had begun systematic defense against sporadic white incursions and further racist attacks when they were occupied by the Tactical Police Force—supposedly as their defenders.

This example of working class self-defense was effectively sabotaged by the police. Police wrecked both the project's Youth Center and its day care center, which were

attend the schools.

On October 13, hundreds of blacks marched to a rally at Boston Common to protest the anti-busing racism. The demonstration was called by the state legislature's black caucus.

At first Mayor White had tried to prevent the rally, even though the racists have been allowed to demonstrate freely. But he was forced to back down.

1,500 people, including white supporters, heard speakers including a child who is being bused. "I am not going to run from South Boston," she said, even though her cousins had been beaten up.

An October 19 rally was organized by tenants' organizing committees throughout the city, and featured both black and white speakers calling for unity in the struggle against racism.

The rally drew 800 people, mostly from white working class suburbs surrounding the city.

CONFRONTING RACISM

Bill Cunningham of the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee saw the demonstration as a "show of support" for the struggles of the black community.

This rally should be seen as an important beginning—but only the beginning.

The NAACP's response has been to call for the stationing of troops to enforce the busing. This passive stance reflects its own weakness, its lack of a strategy and its unwillingness to lead the black community in a real struggle.

The example of the Tactical Police Force in Columbia Point only gives a small hint of the enormous dangers in the call for troops. Troops stationed in Boston could be turned against black people on a far more massive and bloody scale.

The politics and strategies of the current black leadership in Boston provide no solution. Uncompromising defense of the busing program and of the children must be organized. Black people must build a new movement to ensure this.

As for the white people in the mobs, they have been duped into doing the dirty work of their own enemy, the capitalist class. A racist victory will only tighten their chains, it will not improve their children's education.

Nor will education improve white black leaders hesitate or compromise. Racism is at issue and it must be defeated. □



Anti-racist demonstration, Boston, October 13: 1500 marched.

The U.S. Supreme Court's decision this summer in the Detroit case on busing to the suburbs set the stage for this racist victory. In a 5-4 decision the Court struck down the plan for linking the Detroit school system with those of the suburbs.

Despite this setback, black leaders were hoping that a successful desegregation plan could be the prelude to a larger plan to link cities with suburbs and overturn

passions."

As a result, whether calculated or not, attacks on black people went unreported or were minimized, save for the most glaring examples. The effect was that rumors substituted for newspapers as chief sources of information.

The media reversed themselves, however, after the attack on black motorist Jean-Louis Yvon—when black teen-agers shook off the NAACP's demand to "cool it" and began to attack whites. These

mobilizing points for the black community.

Police were stationed on roof tops, supposedly to prevent sniper fire but in reality to control the black community.

Capitalist politicians will always publicly "deplore" racial violence against black people—but they prefer letting the violence continue to seeing blacks organize for their own defense.

The black community and the Left in Boston are beginning a defense of black people's right to

Auto Sitdown

by Joe Fine

ST. LOUIS—Everyone involved in the strike at General Motors' Corvette plant here knew it was different than anything they had done before. The strikers sat down. They didn't go to work, but they didn't go home either.

The sitdown strike occurred October 17 when many second shift workers found their paychecks short. The workers hadn't received call-in pay for the previous Wednesday, when they had reported for work but been sent home because

of a parts shortage.

The stoppage began on the final trim line when eight workers, black and white, refused to do any more work.

The line continued moving and unfinished cars rolled by, but management quickly came in and shut the line down.

The workers rejected pleas and threats from plant management and local union officials, and continued their action for 20 minutes. They agreed to return only after the shift superintendent guaranteed them their pay.

When they did start up again, the line had been substantially slowed down.

The Corvette workers have fought almost continuously since April against the world's most powerful corporation. A line speed-up by GM April 1 led to mass resistance and mass discipline.

UAW Local 25, which includes both the Corvette and Chevrolet assembly plants, was forced out on strike. For 11 weeks the workers resisted attempts to sell out their struggle.

National UAW-GM director Irving Bluestone and his lackeys in the Local told the workers they could "strike until hell freezes over" and the leaders would not bargain for a better deal from GM.

Finally, in a vote of 1000 to 400, the resolute fighters of the Corvette plant were outvoted as the rest of the weary plant gave in to this pressure and voted to return to work.

At first apathy and cynicism reigned. The GM and UAW officials were so confident they had destroyed people's will to resist that they began a campaign to get rid of committeeman Nate Mosley

Workers' Power

and Rodney ("Hippie") Galey, rank and file leaders.

Threats were made on Mosley's life, and Galey was harassed. But within two weeks plant workers bounced back to the defense of their representatives.

And with the October 17 sitdown, they moved to the offensive.

NO FIRINGS

The fight is not over. Management put suspended three-day disciplinary layoffs on seven workers and a 30-day Disciplinary Layoff on the eighth. GM said these suspensions would be enforced at their convenience.

The attacks on rank and files have also continued. Nate Mosley was treated at a hospital October 23 for bites on the face and neck inflicted by "Mad Dog" Willie

Morganfield, a union official who weighs 240 pounds to Mosley's 140.

The Corvette workers' leaflet, entitled "Rebirth of the Union," recalled: "We must once again visualize that the union began with our brothers and sisters sitting down on the line and being viciously attacked by management."

"Now today, when workers must fight for the same things in the same way, they are being attacked both by management and the local union leadership which tries to divide them."

The strength with which the Corvette workers have carried on their struggle is an example for all workers. When their struggle can be united with those of other workers fighting the same battles, a union of, by and for the workers can be built. □

The plant was prepared to walk out in Mosley's defense. However it was recognized that the suspension, in addition to getting Mosley out of the plant, was designed to provoke a walkout which would enable GM to exercise more drastic mass discipline.

It was predicted by many of the workers that GM's move to get rid of Mosley would effect the "morale" of the workers. Sure enough, that night, production and quality control were seriously impaired.

As Workers' Power goes to press we have just learned that on Monday, October 28, Nate Mosley was indefinitely suspended. GM management suspended Mosley for refusing to answer questions concerning the leaflet "Rebirth of the Union." This disciplinary layoff is in blatant violation of paragraph 76A of the UAW Contract, which gives workers the option of accepting or refusing an interview regarding discipline. Other signers of the leaflet also refused to answer questions.