

WORKERS' POWER

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FORD'S PROGRAM: MONEY IN THEIR POCKETS

by Gay Semel

Last Monday President Ford informed us that our economic problems could be greatly alleviated by the government "exerting leadership through a clear and coordinated national recovery program."

He then proceeded to show us that he is capable of neither.

Upon becoming president, Ford informed us that our crushing problem was the fight against inflation and thus he presented us with his WIN program. He lost.

Now Ford is telling us that our most crushing problem is to fight the recession. His new program does not have a catchy title, but like the WIN program it will be totally ineffective in achieving his stated task. We still have inflation and we will still have recession.

Ford presented his new economic program in an unscheduled broadcast over national television. His sudden appearance came two days before his scheduled State of the Union address to the 94th Congress and only hours after the Democrats had one-upped him by releasing "their" economic program to the New York Times.

Speaking from the White House library, Ford attempted to project an air of stern authority. His hands, in rehearsed motions, rose when he discussed inflation and dipped upon mention of unemployment.

It didn't work. Rather than inspiring confidence Ford's choppy motions and halting speech produced the sensation that one was watching Frankenstein play the President.

FORD'S PROGRAM

The main features of Ford's program are an across-the-board tax rebate of 12%, a \$3.00 per gallon tax on crude oil by April, a one year moratorium on additional Federal programs, a promise to fight much of the legislation already in existence behind Federal spending—like

education, health and welfare; and to limit cost-of-living increases for Federal employees, military pensions and social security to 5%.

Many working people will see Ford's program as a step in the right direction because of the promised 12% tax rebate.

But let's look at this a little more closely. For example a family earning \$10,000 a year, paying an average of 25% in taxes would get back only \$240.

The \$3.00 tax on crude oil, according to the Wall Street Journal, will raise gas and heating oil 11-15c per gallon, electricity 25% and train and plane fares 25%—immediately.

That means that the \$300 rebate will be eaten up by the direct effects of Ford's tax on crude. But that is not all—there will be indirect inflationary effects as well.

The cost of everything, from soap to corn flakes, will rise. The costs of energy to business will rise and they will pass their costs on to the consumer. The cost of transporting goods, through increased costs of trucking and freight, will also rise. These costs too will be passed on to the consumer.

Real spendable income of the average American worker dropped 6.2% last year as inflation rose to 12.1%. And that was under an anti-inflationary federal fiscal policy.

INFLATIONARY

Ford's new program is an inflationary policy. That means that inflation will continue and the real income of working people will continue its decline. A measly \$250 will not even keep us in the same place.

Ford's program is designed to quickly pump money into the economy to stimulate buying. Businesses, he argues, will then be able to increase profits by raising prices faster than their costs rise. In turn, we are promised, business will be stimulated to expand—producing more jobs. Business will be further stimulated to expand by

tax rebates on capital expenditures.

But, the \$16 billion tax rebates, promised in Ford's program, is not nearly enough for recovery. The Great Depression lasted 10 years and a great deal more was pumped into the economy than Ford's miserly program will provide.

But even then it took a war and massive arms spending to end the Depression. All Ford's program will do is give a quick temporary shot in the arm to corporate profits.

But the problems in Ford's program are not really problems to Ford. His promises to be the President of all the people to the contrary, Ford's program is designed only to boost sagging corporate profits.

CUTBACKS

The other aspects of his program are clearly and directly part of the continued attack on the living standards of working people. The promise to fight social spending could mean greater cutbacks in social services that are ever more important to working people under the current economic crisis.

A 5% ceiling on social security is most cruel. Already poverty among the nations' aged has reached terrifying proportions. Near starvation and inadequate heating are common. With rampant inflation continuing, a 5% increase means greater degradation for the old.

Ford promised to put the \$30 billion gained from the tax on crude oil back into the economy. But he never explained how.

However, he gave us a clue when stating that he also is pressing for national energy self-sufficiency by 1985. Much of the \$30 billion will be spent in subsidies to the energy industry for research and development. The tax on crude oil will indirectly mean even greater profits for the oil industry.

Ford's program does mark a new direction for his administration as it breaks with his



fight against inflation and his conservative fiscal policy.

But it does not represent a break for working people. In fact, Ford's program, like the similar though less specific program presented by the Democratic Party, is to preserve profits for the capitalists by making the working class pay even more.

JOBS

Gerald Ford says that what people in this country need is more money in their pockets. Well and good. But what six and a half million unemployed workers need, in order to put money in their pockets, is a job. Which is exactly what Ford's promises cannot and will not provide.

Not only will Ford's program not put people back to work, it will do nothing to prevent additional millions from being laid off in the coming year.

That gets to the heart of the problem. Neither Gerald Ford nor any other capitalist President can stop the capitalists and their system from throwing workers on the street when exploiting them is no longer profitable. No government which protects this rotten system can enact laws or measures which violate the system's most basic law of all—the law of profit.

We want the right to a job for everyone, whether or not the corporate giants say they can provide it—and if they can't, nationalize them and run the plants under the control of the workers, at the expense of the capitalists.

What American workers today need, as the top emergency priority, is a job and a full wage for all. We can fight for this, but only if we rely on our own strength and not on phony promises of capitalist politicians. □

CIA: Big Brother At Home

1975 opened with the end of Watergate and the exploding of a brand new bombshell: the revelation that the CIA is heavily involved in spying on Americans.

The CIA has engaged in "domestic intelligence operations" on at least 10,000 people in this country. The subjects included Congressmen who may have given lip-service support to the anti-war movement. The sudden scandal over this activity—which directly violates the laws that supposedly govern CIA practices—has forced out several senior CIA officials and may cause the retirement of even more.

Some important facts are being forgotten or ignored in this new scandal. The first is that the CIA was simply caught doing, illegally, what the domestic federal police agency, the FBI, does with full Congressional consent.

Only two months ago it was revealed that FBI spying and harassment included obtaining tax returns of members of radical groups; furnishing arrest records to employers; using informants to disrupt and create dissension within radical groups; forging signatures of radical groups' leaders; and investigating radical leaders' sex lives to publically embarrass them. A few columnists commented on these disclosures, which were then more or less forgotten. Revelations about the FBI were forgotten because the FBI's methods were aimed at controlling and destroying political opposition in this country—exactly what the FBI was set up to do. Now the

CIA has been caught doing the same thing.

But if democratic rights and the freedom to organize political dissent are being destroyed in this country—and this is exactly what the domestic spying by government agencies is intended to accomplish—then the question certainly is not which particular agency carries out the spying. Furthermore, this spying and political persecution is not governed by any law, but by the needs of the capitalist social system which this government protects.

This is true not only in this country, but even more brutally in US dealings abroad. The needs of American capitalism demand that US corporate interests be allowed to wheel and deal throughout the world, overthrowing governments, murdering political enemies and controlling the political life of whole nations with the full backing of the US government. That backing is exactly what Congress established the Central Intelligence Agency to provide.

The list of examples of the CIA's work and its bloody results, from Southeast Asia to Africa to Latin America, would take up well over a page. Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in '54, right up to Vietnam in the 1960's and Chile in 1973, are only the surface. Today CIA agents have poured into countries like Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece determined to prevent governments which might threaten Washington's interests from coming to power. That is what the CIA is all about.

But it would be foolish to think the story could end there. The very use of methods aimed at

crushing democracy and political freedom around the world, helps create conditions that make it necessary for this imperialist system to use the same methods at home. Because US imperialism was fighting a dirty war in Vietnam, a militant anti-war movement sprang up in this country. And it was only natural for the CIA, as the agency of US imperialism, to bring its methods to work in this country to try to destroy this anti-imperialist movement.

None of this has anything to do with law. With or without giving itself the legal right, this government will violate every democratic right—because it cannot run an imperialist system around the world and at the same time permit democracy at home.

Democracy in this society is only a sham to make pretty speeches about—and to mask the reality of the capitalist rule. Every Congressman who is now proclaiming shock and concern over CIA domestic spying knows this well.

The lesson of the CIA revelations is a simple one. The crimes of US imperialist policy abroad are coming home to roost, in the form of police-state measures to control people in this country. It is completely pointless to talk about "cleaning up" or "controlling" an agency like the CIA, for the simple reason that domestic police-state spinoffs from CIA work will go on so long as the CIA is allowed to exist. Anyone who really wants to get rid of the causes of government political spying can have only one attitude toward the CIA—to smash, dismantle and abolish it.

Dear Workers Power, The ar

THE CIA AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT



George Meany—Another Hunt?

junks abroad.

This leads to the real question that is raised by your publication of some of the unions and union officers that are involved in these overseas operations: CWA, AFSCME, BRAC, etc.

How much internal control of these unions is in the hands of trade union equivalents of the Barkers, Hunts, etc.

Every trade unionist should immediately begin to scrutinize the roster of people in their unions who have been involved in support of these programs—and now we can begin to find out who the CIA people are who are working in our unions in the US.

Peter van Schaack Oakland

The articles that have appeared in Workers' Power regarding multinational and intelligence agency domination of the foreign affairs of the AFL-CIO were excellent. This is a subject that has been ignored too long in the radical press in the US.

What is needed is a more complete discussion of the real motives of Meany and his friends in the CIA, the State Department and the giant corporations. Their policies overseas are obviously part of a global plan.

Can we assume that this vast enterprise is carried out in Latin America and elsewhere without affecting the domestic policies of the AFL-CIO?

Moreover, can we assume that the personnel that staff these positions overseas do not have a tremendous influence internally in the unions that they use as a base and a cover for their foreign machinations of the international trade union movement?

The recent disclosures of domestic activity of the CIA have proven what many suspected for years—that the CIA would eventually turn inwards in an attempt to secure a proper base for their imperialist



Victor Gotbaum—Another Barker?

Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF) receives US government funds for "overseas operations." This is not true. The IUF receives no funds from any outside source. Its annual budget of US\$350,000 comes from per capita dues and its accounts are public and can be verified by anyone at any time.

The IUF is an organization based on the assumption that workers have common interests in all countries and that it is the function of an international trade union organization to express this common interest. In everything we do, the point of departure is the immediate interest of the worker at the point of production, and all our policies derive from it.

We are sure your readers will appreciate this correction.

Dan Gallin
General Secretary,
International Union of
Food and Allied
Workers' Associations
Geneva, Switzerland

CHEERS FROM ACROSS THE WATER

I recently received your appeal for me to renew my sub to Workers' Power. As I have been trying to circulate my copy amongst American colleagues and acquaintances here, and urging them to get their own, I won't renew with you, but will get my copy from IS Books instead, and order S-10 with them regularly.

I heard of some excellent steps forward you're making from a comrade recently, and of the tremendous prospects for growth. I am spreading propaganda and news of your activities within a small American colony over here, and should be sending some pretty committed people over to you over the next year or so. All the best.

Don Trudell
London, England

CORRECTION

A reader's letter (Carol Johnson, Detroit) in the October 31 - November 13 issue of Workers' Power stated that the International

JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

The history of the United States, its policies and practices of exploitation, imperialism and racism are the fundamental factors governing the ideology of revolution today. Two hundred years ago, like today, there existed numerous organizations practicing the age old theory of revolutionary tactics.

However, the logic and methods used by such revolutionary groups today are reflective of personalism. They are not operating as a collective unit. The ultimate goal in this country should be, and I believe is, annihilation of capitalism. Many organizations of today, practice defeatism.

In this country there are two distinctive ideologies, the militant and non-militant. Both believe in destroying the capitalist machine. I am neither militant nor non-militant, I am both.

All peoples of the United States Revolutionary Army must unite. I am not saying to believe in me, but I am saying to believe in us.

From Anarchism to Socialism, whatever your philosophy on life or liberty, unless we unite as a collective unit, we will be destroyed group by group, one by one.

The foundation for our revolutionary aim was established in the 60's. It is now time that we finish the war on America's Ruling Class. It is pure fallacy to conceive that either militant or non-militant can obtain their goal without each other.

The Ruling Class of America is the most complex machine in the world, and it will not be defeated

by 10 or 1000 brothers and sisters who have nothing but a .38 special. We must create an organization built on determination and competent logic. To adequately defeat capitalism is to destroy a human machine that we cannot fear. □

R.D.
Atlanta, Ga.

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.

"Millions of Americans were going hungry"

by John W. Anderson

Many who now try to live with inflation might be interested in the conditions caused by the deflation of the thirties.

Potatoes sold for less than a cent a pound; bread for 6 cents a loaf; milk for 6 cents a quart; eggs for 20 cents a dozen; sugar for 5 cents a pound. There were 5 cent hot dogs and 5 cent hamburgers.

A meal in a restaurant could be had for 25 or 30 cents. Gasoline was 12 cents a gallon. You could rent a room for \$2.00. The cost of clothing was likewise deflated.

In spite of these low prices millions of Americans were going hungry. President Roosevelt said, "A third of the nation are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed." That was an understatement.

Wages of those working in the factories were often as low as ten cents per hour. Few earned more than 50 cents per hour. Most worked a short work week. Few took home more than \$15.00 per week.

Working for the government on WPA (Works Progress Administration), \$16.00 per week was the

standard wage. Some earned less.

Young men who were recruited into the CCC camps (Civilian Conservation Corp) were paid \$30.00 per month. Most of this had to be sent home to their families who were on welfare.

MORE SERIOUS

The problem of unemployment is far more serious now than in the thirties because in the thirties the work force was little more than 40 million, now it is approaching 90 million.

Then 30 percent of the population lived on farms. Today less than 10 percent live on farms. Then there was a national debt of about 30 billion; now it approaches 500 billion.

Franklin D. Roosevelt in his 1932 election campaign called for a "New Deal" for the American people. From the worker's point of view the most important part of the New Deal was the Wagner Act, giving the workers the right to organize and bargain collectively.

This law was of little value until John L. Lewis and other AFL leaders organized the Committee

for Industrial Unionism, the CIO. It gave support to the idea of industrial unionism which in a few years swept the mass production industries.

The depression created many radicals among the workers. A few of them joined the Socialist Party, many more joined the Communist Party. These people became the shock troops who built the CIO and the AFL.

From the 2 million members the AFL had in the craft unions in 1932, the two organizations grew to some ten million members by 1940. The AFL modified its craft union structure, organizing millions of the unorganized.

CREATING SCARCITY

FDR's farm policy was one of creating scarcities thus forcing farm prices up.

He advocated plowing under every third row of cotton, killing pigs as soon as they were born, contaminating potatoes, making them unfit for human consumption. Thousands of gallons of milk were dumped on the ground by the farmers protesting low prices.

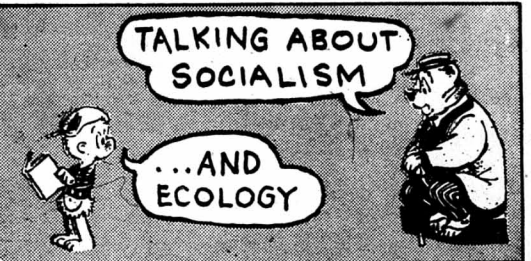
While children were going without milk in cities like Detroit and

Chicago, the dairies in these cities were dumping large quantities of milk in the sewers because they couldn't sell it for a profit. Workers were unable to pay their milk bills.

In spite of all the efforts of the

New Deal and the laws passed, after eight years—in 1940—there were still more than 10 million unemployed.

The depression lasted more than ten years. It wasn't until World War II began in Europe, and the US began arming itself and its allies that the problem of unemployment was temporarily lifted. □



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

For the last five years, ecology has been a very popular topic. Our attention is constantly being drawn to the fact that the natural environment is being destroyed and that something has to be done about it.

But what? It is common knowledge that industry is the major source of pollution that is causing ecological imbalance. Giant factories pour tons of poisons into the air, the waters, and the earth itself.

Thus many people blame the problem on "industrial society" as such. If "industrial society" is at fault, then socialism would be just as destructive of the environment as capitalism is.

Therefore, many argue, the only way to escape the problem would be to go back to pre-industrial society. This would mean not only a lower standard of living, which those societies had, but a different kind of class society, more oppressive than capitalism.

Without industry, most workers would be impoverished peasants or slaves, ruled by rich kings and lords. Is this really necessary to save the world?

Some say no. One of these is our government, for the government wants industry—but capitalist industry.

The ecology movement gained national prominence in 1970, when Nixon declared April 22 "Earth Day." It was supposed to be a day for people to set aside to think about the environment.

LITTER

Since then we have been bombarded with TV ads telling us that "people cause pollution" and we should pick up litter to end pollution. Well, this is an easier solution than going back to being peasants or slaves! But it is painfully obvious that litter does not make smog, or kill the fish and birds.

It's no accident that the capitalist government and the mass media began promoting the ecology movement at the time they did in 1970. The US standard of living reached its peak in 1967 and has been declining ever since.

And at that time many Americans were protesting government and business policies. The black liberation movement, anti-war movement and women's movement were still strong. Strikes were increasing.

The government wanted to channel protest into harmless anti-litter campaigns. They also wanted to make people accept a

lower standard of living, on the grounds that our former standard caused pollution. Finally it was a way to hide the real causes of ecological imbalance: capitalist industry.

IMPOSSIBLE?

Even when government and business people admit that industry causes pollution, they say it is "impossible" to do anything about it. What they mean is that it would be unprofitable, business would fail if they spent the money.

For example, a few years ago they were setting stringent standards for auto emission control. Now business and labor leaders alike are saying that emission control can wait, since the auto industry is in a slump. But can the air we breathe wait?

Sometimes they try to close a plant that is causing a lot of pollution, until it cleans up its poison. But they never take into consideration how this will affect the workers involved. They don't demand that the workers be paid their full wages until the plants are reopened. So even though workers don't want to work and live in unsafe, poisonous environments, they would rather at least be working.

Does all this mean an industrial society must pollute and eventually destroy the world? No. It is only the way our industrial society is organized that makes it seem impossible.

Each company is fighting for the highest profits, and will do anything to cut costs to get them. They use up materials that can't be replaced instead of recycling.

It's cheaper to dump waste in the water than purify it. Then each company takes its wealth and uses it to make more profits for themselves in the same careless way.

SOCIALIST INDUSTRY

Socialist society will be industrial too. But industry will be run by the whole working class. The goal of production will be human enrichment instead of private enrichment.

Industry will be planned for the good of the whole society, instead of each industry pitted against each other. So the wealth of society will be able to be used to make industry safe and clean, instead of being tied up in a race for private profit.

The solution is not to simply pick up litter, nor to go back to feudalism or slavery, but to work to build a socialist world. □

AT&T's Watergate

ST. LOUIS—The Southwestern Bell Telephone Company (SWB), controlling the phone service for the entire southern midwest, recently gained a lot of publicity it didn't want. It has been charged with taking kickbacks from contractors and architects, keeping two sets of books (one for auditors and one for themselves), using company property for personal purposes and engaging in illegal wiretaps.

But to top these off, SWB has

But to top these off, SWB has been caught finching a political slush fund of \$80,000 per year over eight years.

James Ashley, a former staff manager for SWB, contends that the company financed the fund, through 140 of its executives, from 1966 through at least mid-1974. At least 40 executives, from 1966

least 40 executives in the St. Louis area alone were involved.

High-level executives were given \$1000 salary increases to cover their "contributions." Payments were made monthly with pressure applied to late contributors.

Ashley said that at the assistant vice-president level, the contributions were a "condition of employment." Ashley himself made the payments for over four years.

RATE HIKE BRIBES

Much of this money, significantly, went to candidates for state offices. It is usually state officials who appoint Public Service Commissioners, who in turn "regulate" the local Bell affiliate.

This regulation includes rubber-stamping multi-million dollar telephone rate increases. Currently,

Southwestern Bell is pressing for a \$52.3 million raise in Missouri alone.

Ashley, employed for 23 years by the company, was fired last October in San Antonio after a company investigation. The investigation was prompted by the refusal of Ashley and another executive, T.O. Gravitt, to continue going along with the SWB's "corporate rapacities."

That same month Gravitt, former head of Texas operations for Southwestern Bell, was found dead in his garage from carbon monoxide poisoning. His death was ruled a "suicide."

Notes written by Gravitt shortly before his death support the charges made by Ashley. Among these notes is one that says "Watergate is a gnat compared to the Bell system." Ashley, and Gravitt's representatives, are now suing Bell for \$29 million.

MA BELL'S WATERGATE

What Watergate and the surrounding scandals showed was that the policies and practices of capitalist parties are controlled by the wealth and power of the corporations. The Watergate break-in itself was organized by the same committee which funnelled millions from corporate slush funds into Nixon's re-election.

The case of Southwestern Bell shows that the same use of corporate power exists at every level throughout this system. The ordinary, day-to-day workings of capitalist government are oiled by payments and favors to the political officials who protect the corporation's profits.

At first SWB made every attempt to hush up proceedings around this

NO ONE IS FORCING YOU TO DO BUSINESS WITH US.



case. Publicity arose just as hearings on the rate increase began, making the traditional rubber-stamp approval more difficult.

SWB's Watergate-style cover-up continued with the company's attorney's filing motions for pre-trial secrecy. Ashley's attorney's countered that executives had refused to answer numerous questions, including those concerning the political payments.

Zane E. Barnes, President of Southwestern Bell, when forced to abandon his initial silence on the matter, asserted limply that "Ma Bell has not turned into Ma Barker." No one told him that no changing had to be done. □

Jim Berenson

REVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATION

by Tony Cliff

[This issue's "Road to Revolution" is a special guest column. The author, Tony Cliff, is a founder and leader of the International Socialists of Britain.]

Revolution often starts as spontaneous acts. The French Revolution of 1789 started with the storming of the Bastille, the hated prison in Paris. Nobody organized that action.

The same is true of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and of February 1917. The 1905 revolution started with a bloody clash between the Tsar's army and police and a mass of workers—men, women, and children—led by Gapon, a priest and agent provocateur. The workers were far from being organized by a clear leadership with a socialist policy of its own.

However, after being triggered spontaneously, revolutions move forward in a different way. In the French Revolution the people of Paris, spontaneously and leaderless, rose up against the King, after decades of oppression.

But the people were too conservative, too lacking in historical experience and knowledge, to distinguish, after only two or three years, between those who wanted to drive the revolution forward to its limit and those who aimed at its compromise.

A bitter struggle was required against the party of compromise, the allies of yesterday.

The Jacobin Party was the group that consciously undertook the great task of fighting the compromise of the revolution.

Nor was the October Revolution in Russia a spontaneous act. It was organized in practically all its important particulars, including the date, by the Bolshevik Party.

MAY, 1968

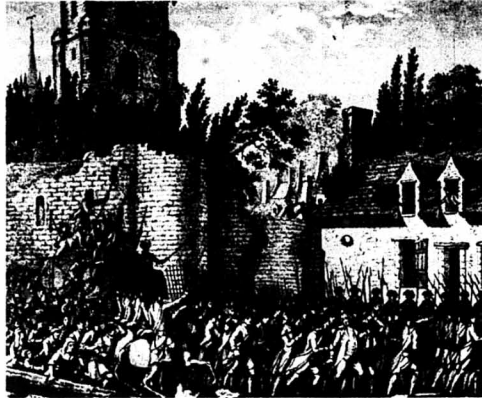
The events of May, 1968 in Paris showed clearly that while a few hundred students or workers can build a barricade, to overthrow the capitalist regime and seize state power a much larger centralized organization is necessary.

If only the workers in Paris in 1968 had remembered the experience of Paris in 1936, they would have known the strength of sitdown strikes.

If only they had remembered the experience of the Italian workers in 1920. The workers' councils they formed in Turin and Milan organized factory occupations which led to the brink of revolution. But is there a way that workers can remember these things at the decisive moment?

If the Parisian workers in '68 had had a revolutionary party—yes. For such a party is also the memory of the working class, the store of experience of class struggle internationally.

The ruling class is easily able to organize its affairs according to a coherent strategy. It is



Nobody organized the storming of the Bastille. But after being triggered spontaneously, revolutions move forward in a different way.

highly centralized with a massive state apparatus at its disposal, many newspapers, massive research organizations.

If militant workers are going to win the arguments with their fellow workers and counter the plans of big business, then they have to be organized as well. They have to be able to refute every piece of employers' propaganda with arguments of their own, and to suggest tactics that will lead to unity and victory every time the employers try to divide the workers.

None of this is possible

without a revolutionary party, linking together the most militant workers in every factory, mine and office. Through such an organization, militants can develop the experience of working together and of relating every struggle to the overall aim of overthrowing capitalism.

INSTABILITY

Because of the instability built into capitalism there are going to be many sharp changes in objective economic conditions.

Because these changes do not

find immediate expression in the consciousness and activity of the working class, impeded as they are by tradition and by reformist organization, we must expect many turns in the struggle, from economic strikes to political battles and vice versa; from semi-revolutionary situations to reaction; from lulls to mass strikes whose scope and temper is insurrectionary.

The unevenness in experience and activity between sections of the working class, between different factories and industries, is going to continue, and sometimes a levelling up, and always an upset of whatever equilibrium is achieved.

What is necessary under such conditions is a revolutionary organization that is able not only to distinguish between a revolutionary situation and a counter-revolutionary one—that is quite easy—but between all nuances in the intermediate stages between them, an organization that would be stringent in its principles, yet highly adaptable and elastic in its tactics, and always aware of the sharp turns in the situation.

The IS is attempting to build such an organization. Through supporting, building and giving leadership to workers' struggles today, we can prove to workers the need to join a revolutionary socialist organization and to build a revolutionary party. Thus today's struggle will lead to victory, and not defeat for the working class. □

THE ROAD TO RICHES

"In Puerto Rico, we have an abundance of bright, energetic workers.

"Open a plant that provides work for our people and we'll guarantee you no taxes, federal or local."

—Rafael Hernández-Colón, Governor

"Although industry is booming in Puerto Rico, we are far from full employment," says Governor Hernández-Colón.

"The people of the Commonwealth need jobs and want to work. We offer manufacturers a combination of tax incentives, plentiful labor, and business-like assistance that has led to remarkable profits in industry after industry—the double the comparable profits on the mainland in most cases, and in some industries many times more."

"In Puerto Rico you can make good profits—and keep them. I don't think you can afford to overlook Puerto Rico when considering any plans for expansion."



Governor Hernández-Colón chats with a few of Puerto Rico's non-millionaire eager workers.

Reasonable labor

Wages are reasonable in Puerto Rico. And the government will help you find and train the workers you need. Trainers and instructors can be paid through government grants.

Whatever your requirements—power, services, transportation facilities, communications, or financing—chances are you'll find it on this booming island.

Your success story

The happy experience of other manufacturers in Puerto Rico can be repeated by you.

You can earn higher profits—completely. You can get all the labor you need—at reasonable wages. And you can operate confidently in the only place in the world that is under the U.S. flag, enjoys duty-free access to the U.S.

market, and offers manufacturers total tax exemption.

With the threats manufacturers face these days—currency fluctuations, inflation, economic uncertainty, and competition that can develop overnight—you should carefully consider the advantages Puerto Rico offers. We think they'll top any other plant site. Mail coupon for the full story.

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Economic Development Administration
Dept. 45
1290 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y., N.Y. 10020
Fill in your name, address, telephone number, and other details. When it's time to contact you we'll be in touch. The product I am interested in manufacturing in Puerto Rico is:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Country _____

©1968 Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

[The following notice is reprinted directly from a mass circulation advertisement published by the "Economic Development Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" to attract US colonial investments. Actually, this agency is not located in Puerto Rico. Its offices are on the Avenue of the Americas in the heart of midtown Manhattan.]

"Open a plant that provides work for our people and we'll guarantee you no taxes, federal or local. Although industry is booming in Puerto Rico, we are far from full employment," says Governor Rafael Hernández-Colón.

"In Puerto Rico you can make

good profits - and keep them. I don't think you can afford to overlook Puerto Rico when considering any plans for expansion."

Manufacturers are automatically exempt from federal taxes in Puerto Rico. You pay no corporate or personal taxes. And by Commonwealth law, you are exempt from Puerto Rican taxes.

This includes taxes on corporate income, real and personal property, municipal taxes, and license fees - for up to 25 years.

In the chemical industry, the profit-to-sales ratio averages 48.9 percent in Puerto Rico against 5.9 percent on the mainland. In electrical machinery, 26.1 percent

in Puerto Rico against 3.3 percent on the mainland.

One company in the Fortune 1000 earns more than 30 percent of its total corporate profits from its plants in Puerto Rico.

The happy experience of other manufacturers in Puerto Rico can be repeated by you.

You can earn higher profits. You can retain those profits - completely.

You can get all the labor you need - at reasonable wages.

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Bolshevik Militant Still Alive

Maria Mikhailovna Joffe, a Bolshevik militant reported dead some 40 years ago arrived in Tel Aviv from Russia last week. She is the last surviving prominent member of the Left Opposition, which Stalin ruthlessly destroyed. Now 75 years old, Maria Joffe revealed that she spent 26 years in Russian forced labor camps, from 1929-56, for her opposition to Stalin.

She is the widow of Adolph A. Joffe, one of the great leaders of our movement. A.A. Joffe was a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee in 1917, and played one of the most active parts in the October Revolution.

Chief Soviet negotiator at Brest-Litovsk, a Bolshevik emissary to the German and Chinese Revolutions, as well as Soviet Ambassador to those countries, Joffe was a

prominent member of the Trotskyist Left Opposition. He committed suicide in November 1927, in protest at the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Communist Party.

Maria Joffe was part of the hard core of the Left Opposition. She was a communist who held firm to the program of Lenin and the October Revolution. She was in the front ranks of those revolutionaries who fought the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy from the platform of workers democracy and international socialism.

For her revolutionary proletarian convictions she and her son were deported to Central Asia after A.A. Joffe's death. Her son died, and Maria Joffe was imprisoned several times.

Her reputation among the de-

ported Bolshevik-Leninists' was of firm, unyielding political, moral, and revolutionary character, an exemplary model to her comrades.

On arrival in Tel Aviv she said, "I have little time left but I have a commitment to humanity to write so people will know what happens in the Soviet Union. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn wrote about the horrors of the concentration camps and I have my own story to tell of this difficult time..."

Her political views today are not known, but if they too have survived the ordeal of Stalinism, then she is one of the last Bolshevik witnesses of that generation of great proletarian revolutionists associated with the October Revolution and the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. □

Joel Geler

ONE SUNSET A WEEK

[One Sunset A Week by George Vecsey; Saturday Review Press/Dutton 247 pp. 1974; \$7.95]

One *Sunset A Week* is the story of a living contradiction. Dan Sizemore was a radical miner who learned to hate the profit system. He made lots of enemies in his community because of his political views. He came to understand what the coal companies had done to the hills and people of Appalachia. And yet Dan Sizemore was and remained a foreman, a company man.

Dan had started working at Cold Creek No. 6 Camp in 1936, doing time studies with a stopwatch on the section crews. If a man couldn't make the production Dan wanted him to, he was suddenly unemployed in a one-industry region.

Dan's superintendent told him, "Dan, you're the only man I can trust to fire people." And Dan was proud to be "the exact type of bastard we're looking for."

CHANGES

So when Dan was laid off in the recession of 1958, he didn't worry



about being able to find another job as a foreman. But "Ike's Recession" had brought the coal industry crashing down, and the unemployment lines in the West Virginia coal fields were long.

Dan was luckier than many miners—he was only out of work for nine months. But the experience changed him. He had worked hard for the coal companies, hiding their secrets, pushing up their

profits, always assuming that anything that went wrong was the worker's fault.

Now he saw how he was rewarded for his loyalty—laid off

when the dividends fell. He decided that from then on his loyalty would be to himself and to the men who worked for him.

Dan began reading what Marx and other writers had to say about the relationship between capital and labor. He became friends with the young VISTA volunteers who came to "help the poor Appalachians." He read about the history of the region, how the coal companies had established their economic and political domination.

And he came to the conclusion that the enemy was the profit system. The fact that men in New York made a profit forced Dan Sizemore to be a bully foreman in unsafe mines.

So what did Dan Sizemore do with his new ideas? He became an outspoken critic of the Vietnam war. He and his wife organized a citizens' group to save the free lunch program.

He was for nationalization of industry, and a shorter work week, to spread the work around. Dan supported Arnold Miller for president of the UMW—but quietly, since he was still a company man, not a member of the union.

PARADOX

And this is the heart of the paradox of Dan Sizemore, the radical foreman. He is against the coal companies—he knows what they have done to him, to his fellow miners, to the hills he loves. And he is against the company-owned politicians who fill the statehouses and legislatures of Appalachia.

But although Dan understands the source of miners' exploitation, he does not know where to turn to begin a fight against the enemy. He does not look to the rank and file miners who work under him.

Although he is angry when outsiders look down on "hillbillies," he himself shows no signs of believing that ordinary working miners could get together to change their conditions. He is for state ownership of the mines, but he doesn't seem to understand that nationalization wouldn't make a difference in miners' lives unless the mines were run by those who work in them.

Dan is an eccentric, a Marxist foreman who has neither the politics nor the position to organize the "poor dumb miners" themselves to fight for better their conditions. Although he cares very much in a paternalistic way for "his men," Dan is forced to remain, by his own admission, a company man.

SOLUTIONS?

Although *One Sunset A Week* is weak on solutions of Appalachia's problems, it still makes worthwhile reading for the pictures it draws of life in the coal towns of Appalachia. You get a glimpse of the closeness that exists among miners who work in danger of a possible quick death from a cave-in or of surer suffocation from Black Lung.

You hear about the militant Kentuckians who sat down in front of bulldozers—or shot them up—to keep their hills from being stripped away. You read about the Miners for Democracy who threw Tony Boyle out of the UMW.

You get to know men who have worked "sixty years out of forty" and can't get Black Lung compensation, and the company doctors who used to recommend chewing tobacco to keep the coal dust from going down.

Unfortunately, you don't get a feel for the potential power of the ordinary miners, if they organized themselves to use their union to fight the coal companies.

Unlike Dan Sizemore, many miners know what needs to be done. When he portrays miners as fatalistic and ignorant, the author of *One Sunset A Week* is missing the boat.

Jenny Slinger

Lone Fighter

[Lenny, starring Dustin Hoffman and Valerie Perrine. Directed by Bob Fosse]

Lenny Bruce was a brave comedian whose outspoken honesty—within his own limitations—eventually led to his own destruction both as a comedian and as a person. He died of an overdose in 1965.

Lenny came of age and began his career in the 1950's during the time of the Rosenberg trial, the Cold War, and McCarthyism, and their aftermath.

Lenny was a bitter, sarcastic, brilliant spokesman for the growing rebellious spirit of the 60's.

People who were "into" Lenny Bruce were active in or sympathetic to civil rights, against the war, and probably considered themselves relatively sexually liberated and hip.

Many people who had never seen him or heard his records knew he got busted for using the word "cocksucker" in one of his routines. One of the greatest contributions he made to the developing consciousness of the 60's was to point out the enslaving power people permitted words to have over them.

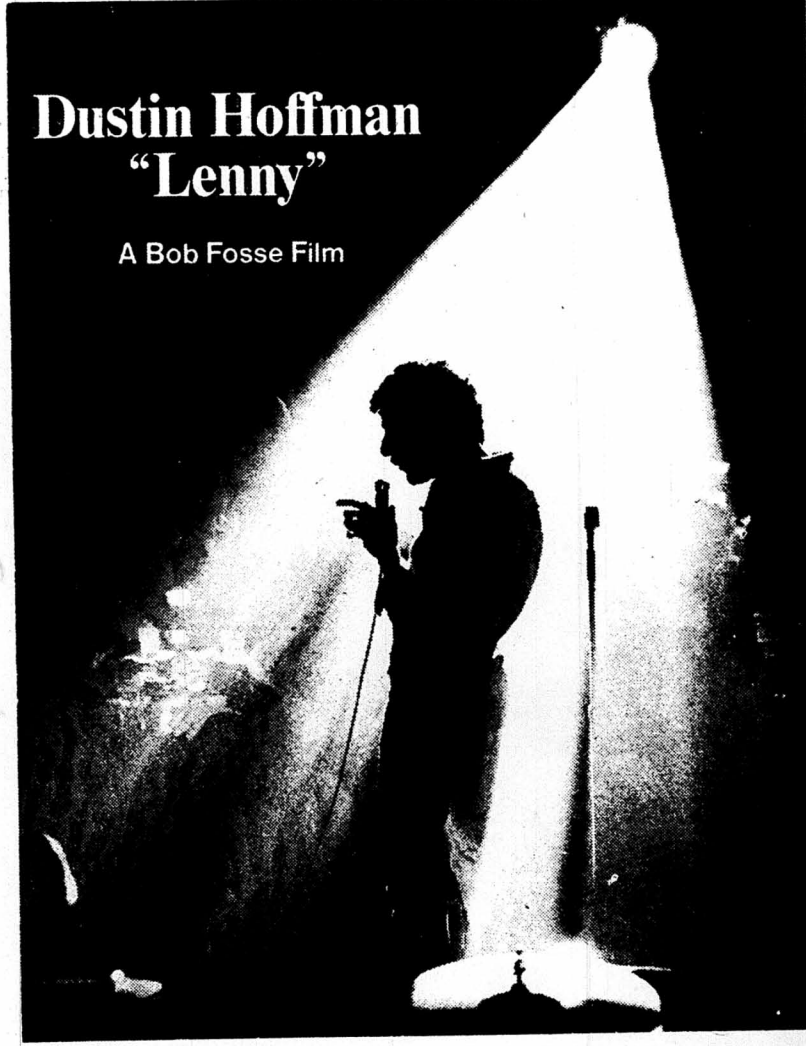
A sequence in the movie shows him going around a tense nightclub pointing out people by the racial and ethnic epithets that too many people have died over: "There's a nigger, there's a kike, there's another kike, there's a coon, here's a wop, there's a chink. So what have we here: 3 niggers, 4 kikes, 2 WASPs, 2 wops, one chinaman, do I see 2 Chinamen, SOLD AMERICAN!" The club and the movie theater laugh with relief.

DUSTIN

Dustin Hoffman doesn't look like Lenny Bruce, but he is such a superb actor he brings him to life on the screen. Valerie Perrine is also excellent as his wife, Honey, a former stripper and junkie who now lives on the West Coast and was a consultant for the movie.

Lenny Bruce pointed out the hypocrisy and dishonesty that have to exist in class society. But he could see no way out, so he retreated into cynicism, methedrine, mescaline, heroin, and legal battles over his right to speak as he chose.

The scene in which he begs the



Dustin Hoffman "Lenny"

A Bob Fosse Film

judge to please LISTEN to him is a painfully drawn caricature of what happens to people who appeal to the legal arms of the state to go against the nature of the state.

His solitary battle to defend truth in that conservative, hypocritical time made his end that of a pathetic, defeated martyr. But soon after his death, radical protest

movements exploded, and those who fought together for change were influenced by his lone courage to speak truth.

Yvonne

90 Attend West Coast I.S. Conference

The first west coast Workers' Power Conference, "Building the Rank and File Movement," sponsored by the International Socialists, was held on Sunday, January 5, in the Printing Specialties Union Hall in Oakland, California.

As the economic situation worsens, and the employers and government attempt to solve their economic problems through higher prices, layoffs, speed-up and wage freezes, rank and filers in union after union have begun to fight back.

"Building the Rank and File Movement" was a conference designed so that rank and file leaders and activists could gather to exchange experiences, ideas and discuss strategies.

Ken Smith, teamster militant and on the National Committee of the I.S., opened the conference with a talk on class struggle unionism. He spoke of "the necessity of replacing union leaders more committed to keeping management going than fighting to protect workers' rights."

"Workers fight back again and again," he said, "but to win we need to build a movement that is consciously committed to a class struggle strategy... If this conference helps us to see our own small struggles, our defeats and victories, as part of a growing class struggle movement, then it will be a big success."

Following Ken was a panel of five rank and file leaders. They shared the successes and failures



Participants at the west coast Workers' Power conference.

they experienced and the relevant issues concerning their work in forming caucuses and committees locally and statewide.

After lunch, Kay Eisenhower, WAGE Vice President, and Manja Argue, a leader of CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) spoke on working women's organizations. They explained the exciting potential of cross-union groups like WAGE and CLUW to link up the struggles of all working women, organized and unorganized.

Mike Patrick, National Committee of the I.S., concluded the conference by describing the eco-

nomics crisis internationally and showing the connection between rank and file struggles and the fight for socialism. Parker talked of the need for building a revolutionary party which helps build and lead the rank and file struggle.

The conference was very successful. 90 people participated, both discussion periods were lively, and plans for future conferences and workshops are being made. □

What's On

Seattle, Saturday, January 18— "The Coming Revolution in Latin America," Marilyn Danton, I.S. National Secretary. Downtown YWCA, 5th & Seneca. 8 pm.

Seattle, Tuesday, January 21— "The Coming Revolution in Latin America," Marilyn Danton, I.S. National Secretary. Univ. Wash. H. U.B. 12:30 pm.

Portland, Thursday, January 23— "The Coming Revolution in Latin America," Marilyn Danton, I.S. National Secretary. Reed College, Eliot Hall. 2 pm.

Portland, Friday, January 24— "The Political Economy of China." Reed College, Faculty Office Bldg. 7:30 pm.

Detroit, Sunday, January 26— "Building the Revolutionary Party" (rescheduled). For details, phone 869-3137.

Concord, Calif., Wednesday, January 29— "The Left in Latin America, a Revolutionary Socialist View," Marilyn Danton, I.S. National Secretary. 1510 Meadow Lane, 7:30 pm.

Detroit, Saturday, February 8— Dinner Discussion: "The UAW in Washington—What Next?" For details, phone 869-3137.



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 more effective than rank and file and national rank and file opposition caucuses in the International Union.
- *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. 40 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 independence. For 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. For strictly childless 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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International Socialists



If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to:

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a new magazine, by and for active militants in the UAW

The first issue of this bimonthly will be available February 1. The theme will be FIGHTING THE LAYOFFS, with articles by UAW militants from all over the country on their ideas, experiences and strategies for organizing against unemployment.

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DETROIT AUTO UPRISING

1973

by Jack Weinberg

This pamphlet analyzes the strikes and sitdowns that hit Detroit Chrysler plants in 1973.

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Attica: From the Inside

Looking Out

An Interview
With Dalou Ashai



The rebellion caught many of us by surprise. We were simply given no warning. The helicopters flew over the yard telling inmates to put their hands over their heads and walk slowly toward an officer. They would not be harmed.

They kept repeating these commands but simultaneously they dropped gascannisters in the yard and the firing opened. The firing was so great that bullets literally set fire to the tents that we had built out of sheets.

Many brothers were cut down while they were surrendering. It was just like a war situation. Many brothers were shot. Many lost legs and limbs.

When it was all over 43 inmates were dead. Out of that 11 guards had also died.

[Dalou Ashai is an indicted Attica Brother. He recently toured the midwest and spoke at International Socialists' forums. During the tour he gave Workers' Power the following interview.]

People say that Attica was a rebellion, a riot, a revolt. Whatever it was, there is a statute in the penal law for rioting and not a single one of us has been charged with it.

They claim that our rap was inflammatory, and we advocated to deal with the existing form of government. And we did. Yet none of us have been charged with section 24050 of the New York State penal code, which is the Anarchy Act.

None of us are charged with these laws because they will bring up the political significance of what occurred and what motivated our committing those alleged acts.

With crimes such as murder, kidnapping, contraband and unlawful imprisonment the authorities want the public to see us as criminals. We are charged with over 1400 charges and we face over 40,000 years in prison if we are convicted and collectively sentenced.

THE GRAND JURY

The grand jury from Wyoming County, New York is all white. It is predominantly rural. All the grand jurors know guards that have either worked at Attica or are currently working there. Some of them are relatives of guards at Attica.

Three were friends of hostages at Attica. The foreman of the grand jury rode the school bus for the village of Attica, and knew all the guards there.

There are now 42 indictments against prisoners, and not a single indictment against guards or any acts they committed.

AMNESTY

Rockefeller has said that the issue was amnesty and that we wanted the world. He said he did not have that power. That's a lie. As Chief Executive he had the power to grant clemency and pardons.

Ford did it to Nixon, so why

couldn't Rockefeller pardon the Attica Brothers? I think Rockefeller wants to prove it to his fellow politicians that he's not that old great liberal Rocky. He would order and condon the massacre of those who dared to rebel and struggle against the capitalist system. He proved himself as a person in that class of elitists.

PRISON LESSONS

The purpose of the prison system in this society 'is to make the individual concentrate on their failures and self-deterioration, instead of having the programs and the environment to make the individual develop the positive side of him or herself. Prisons, in theory, claim to be rehabilitation centers but they are known to keep people in criminal life.

The medical facilities at Attica were deplorable. The medical treatment of prisoners was degrading. We were examined through a wire screen mesh by the doctors.

Working conditions were deplorable as well. Inmates slaved at slave wages, 25c per day, working for 5 hours in the metal shop, a sweatshop where the temperatures reach 105-120 degrees.

The Emancipation Act of 1868 says that all persons shall be exempt of servitude or slavery except all persons convicted of a felony and serving terms in prison.

Prisoners work under slavery conditions. We are part of the working class movement, and of great significance to the whole struggle. In prisons pressure is the most intense.

There's only one answer to preventing further victimization of

prisoners: revolution. We first have to organize the working class movement. It is the backbone of this society, that's where the power lies. Revolution is the only solution which can abolish the slavery conditions in prison.

IMMEDIATE ACTION

However, there are more immediate actions that will bring better consciousness to people. Exposure must be done of prison conditions. No steps have been taken by any state official to prevent what happened at Attica on Sept. 13 from happening again.

What's more, the events that have occurred have gone unchallenged. People must try to put pressure on the appropriate officials. Or people could organize mass demonstrations. I think that if a movement can be organized and mobilized, the level of consciousness of many people can be raised.

WON SOME GAINS

We did win some changes in the Attica rebellion, but most of them are cosmetic.

Toilet paper is issued upon request instead of one roll a month. We used to have a shower once a week, now we see two showers a week. Prisoners are called inmates and residents. The labels have changed, but conditions have deteriorated.

More money has been poured into the security arena. More towers have been built in Attica, and more weapons have been accumulated. □

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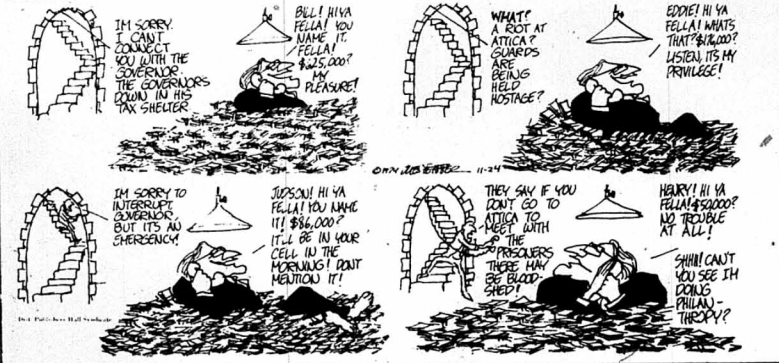
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Feiffer



ATTICA TRIAL ENDS IN VICTORY

BROTHER ACQUITTED; JURORS DENOUNCE PROSECUTION, EVIDENCE CALLED FABRICATION

BUFFALO—A jury took less than thirty minutes Dec. 19 to return a verdict of not guilty for Vernon LaFranque, an Attica Brother. LaFranque was charged with possession of prison contraband in connection with the 1971 Attica prisoner uprising.

Several jurors said afterwards they believed the state's testimony against Vernon had been fabricated.

Brother Vernon was accused by the state of possessing a tear gas gun during the early hours of the Attica uprising on September 9,

1971. Four days later, at the end of the uprising, several hundred policemen and prison guards fired shotguns and automatic weapons into a crowd of over a thousand prisoners.

While Vernon was one of 62 prisoners indicted on hundreds of charges in connection with the uprising, not a single guard or policeman was indicted. The crimes committed by guards during the massacre left 43 people dead.

After announcing their verdict, a number of jurors told reporters they found the state's case "con-

fused," "bankrupt," "full of holes from the start," "trumped up," "a bunch of hashed up little stories," and "like some junk they just got together." One juror said "the grand jury shouldn't have returned an indictment—the state was looking for scapegoats."

The defense team charged that the state had destroyed, fabricated and manipulated evidence in an effort to blame Vernon LaFranque and other Attica Brothers for the misdeeds of state authorities.

During Vernon's trial it was revealed that a crucial document from the prosecutor's files had been "lost," police investigators had failed to keep notes of interviews with witnesses, and witnesses had repeatedly changed their stories before the trial.

WITNESSES FOUND UNBELIEVABLE

The state's case against Vernon rested primarily on three witnesses: a prison counselor, a prison guard, and an inmate informer. All three witnesses claimed to have seen Vernon with a gas gun on September 9. The jury said they were unable to believe any of the state's main witnesses. Some jurors said they felt the state's testimony was dishonest and rehearsed.

The defense took less than a day to present its case. Since all four of the defense witnesses were Attica Prisoners involved in the 1971 uprising, all face the threat of indictment by the still-sitting Attica Grand Juries in retaliation for their testimony. Two of the four are still prisoners, and they face the additional threat of reprisals by guards and administrators in the prisons where they are now held.

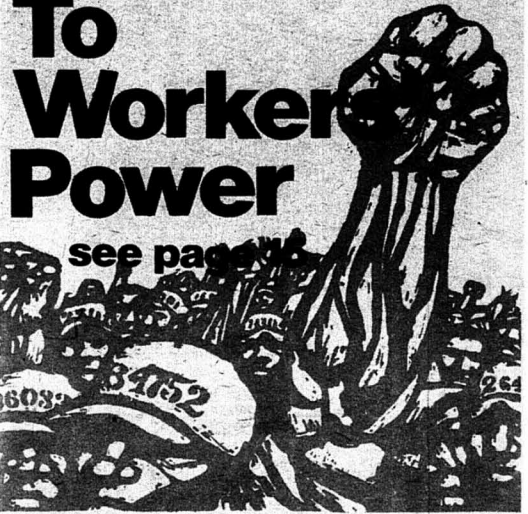
DEFENSE WITNESSES DESCRIBE REPRISALS

Two defense witnesses said they were confined in the same gallery with Vernon LaFranque in September 1971, and they said they were all locked up together in the gallery

Workers' Power

Attica Brother Talks To Worker Power

see page 14



Crestwood - Jobs on Line

DETROIT—Fifteen pickets were arrested at Crestwood High School in suburban Detroit Jan. 6 as the school board attempted to reopen the schools with scab teachers. The teachers of the Crestwood Education Association (CEA) had been on strike since the end of November. They were defying an injunction ordering them back to work.

On December 27, the school board fired the striking teachers and began taking applications for scabs. As schools reopened Jan. 6, the scab teachers were met with a picket line of 3-400 persons. Most of them were teachers from other school districts but there were also members of the UAW and other unions present.

Sixty cops were also there. The sheriff's department even brought its helicopter. One picket sign said, "Harry Bennett is alive at Crestwood." One teacher said, "I didn't know who Harry Bennett was at first, but I learned soon enough when I picked up this picket sign." Bennett was the head of the Ford Service Department during the UAW organizing drives in the 1930's and 40's. He ruled with a reign of terror, which included assaults on rank and file workers and union organizers alike.

The Crestwood school board's reign of terror did meet a response, though. Teachers from other districts understood that their own bargaining position would be weakened if the Crestwood board was successful. One sign read, "Today Crestwood—Tomorrow US." Sixteen teacher unions affiliated with the Michigan Education Association announced they would engage in a one-day strike in support of the Crestwood teachers. Tom Turner, president of the Detroit AFL-CIO also said sympathy strikes by his members were possible, although some rank and filers questioned his sincerity.

But faced with this possibility, a special circuit court ruled that the teachers had been fired illegally. The court ordered the school board to take the teachers back. But the fight is not over, as the CEA still does not have a contract. □

for the entire morning of September 9. Their testimony directly contradicted the stories placing Vernon in a tunnel at that time with a gas gun.

One witness, former prisoner Red Murphy, said he was locked in the same cell with Vernon after the

massacre of September 13. Red described how he, Vernon and other prisoners were thrown down the steps, forced to crawl in mud, stripped naked, beaten repeatedly, insulted and accused of various crimes in the days following the end of the uprising. □



Two thousand people demand Attica Brothers' freedom. Demonstrations such as this are vital parts of defense work.

WHO MURDERED KAREN SILKWOOD?

In the middle of November Karen Silkwood died in an automobile crash.

The crash was fixed to look like an accident. However a professional investigator found that Silkwood's car had been hit from behind forcing her off the road and plummeting to her death.

Silkwood had been a lab technician at the Cimarron Facility of the Kerr-McGee Corporation near Crescent, Oklahoma.

The Cimarron facility manufactures plutonium fuel rods for nuclear reactors.

Silkwood was a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. She had just led a successful fight to maintain OCAW representation at Cimarron.

Silkwood had also been exposed to large and dangerous amounts of plutonium only two weeks before her death.

She and others had charged Kerr-McGee with unsafe practices and false reports. They claimed that X-rays showing faulty rods were deliberately fogged, computer programming was changed to come up with the right "safe" answers and workers were ordered by management to pass unsafe rods.

EVIDENCE

Silkwood was bringing evidence to a meeting with the OCAW and the press when she was killed.

There are a great many more potential deaths involved. Dr. Henry Kendall, a leading nuclear physicist at Massachusetts Institute of Technology stated that faulty rods could "start off an accident which would result in the release of huge amounts of radio-

activity." At the same time Kerr-McGee was named as one of the five best managed companies by Dun's Review for 1974.

According to Dun's, "Probably no other company has planned quite so well to take advantage of the exploding energy business."

We assume they are including the passing of unsafe equipment and possibly the killing of a militant in the planning. □



Karen Silkwood, killed as she was taking evidence of unsafe nuclear operations to the press.

A LITTLE BELT TIGHTENING MUSIC, PLEASE

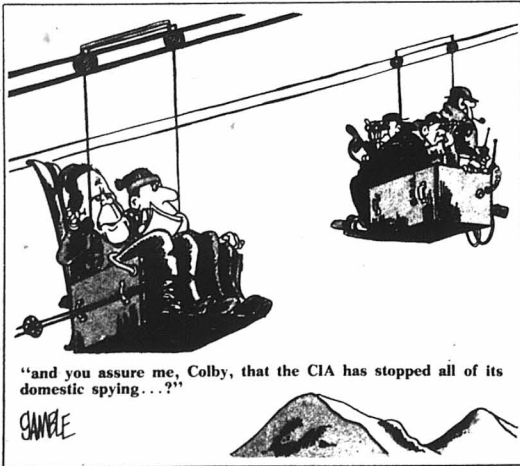
While hundreds of thousands of auto workers were being laid off last month, President Ford was still telling us inflation was our biggest problem.

Ford continued to advise us to bite the bullet and save a little to solve our problems.

On December 8th, he gave us a

demonstration of how it is done. Ford and his wife Betty, along with 800 other budget-watching, inflation stoppers, attended the National Symphony Ball.

Tickets were \$125.00 per person. Guests dined on filet mignon, atihokes, fresh broccoli and wine. Obviously a bargain. □



"and you assure me, Colby, that the CIA has stopped all of its domestic spying...?"

GAMBLE



AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

The CIA

Rocky & His Friends

On November 19th Nelson Rockefeller was confirmed as Vice President by a Congress overanxious to leave all Rocky's skeletons in the closet.

A few days later a story in the New York Times exposed the fact that the CIA had been spying on at least 10,000 Americans—right here in the good ole USA.

What's the connection? Apparently there are two.

In 1961 President Kennedy set up the Presidents Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. The purpose of the Board was to provide "high-level outside review of secret intelligence operations."

That is, the Board was supposed to officially spy on the spies. We must assume that the Board has full knowledge of all CIA work including domestic operations.

CIA domestic investigations accelerated in 1968 under Nixon. We must also assume this occurred with the full knowledge of the Board.

In 1968 Nelson Rockefeller—our shiny new Vice President—was appointed to the Board by Nixon.

Rockefeller is still a member of the board—in fact he is its best known and most influential member.

In other words, all of the illegal CIA operations the liberals are now screaming about went on under the nose and sanction of our Vice President. The final insult is that Rockefeller has just been made head of the Presidential Committee to investigate illegal CIA operations.



Connection number two involves the New York Times which has backed Rockefeller throughout his political career.

The story was not published until immediately after Rockefeller's confirmation. Since the story involved a long period of investigation it is difficult to believe that the Times did not know of Rockefeller's position on the Board during the

Vice Presidential investigative hearings.

The Times just sat on the story until it could no longer hurt their favorite son.

The Times claims to be "All the news that's fit to print." But what is fit and when to print it is decided by the rich and powerful who own the press, TV, and radio. □

THEY CHEAT YOU ALL YEAR - THEY CHEAT YOU ALL YEAR BUT THEY CAN'T CHEAT YOU OUT OF YOUR HOLIDAYS



THEY CHEAT YOU ALL YEAR - THEY CHEAT YOU ALL YEAR BUT THEY CAN'T CHEAT YOU OUT OF YOUR HOLIDAYS



THEY CHEAT YOU ALL YEAR.



THE GREATEST TAX DODGE OF THEM ALL

I have a friend who works at International Harvester. He makes \$240. He pays \$55 in income taxes, 20% in federal taxes.

That's 19.5% more than International Harvester pays. In 1973 Harvester paid only 0.05% in Federal income taxes.

When I lived in New York City I banked at the Chemical Bank. Every year, around tax time, they would send me little slips of paper

telling me how much interest I had made so that I could report it to the IRS.

Whatever I paid in taxes was more than Chemical Bank and its fifty branches.

In 1973, Chemical Bank paid nothing in Federal income tax. Nor did Texas Gulf Inc., Freeprot Minerals Co., United Airlines, Trans World Airlines, Con Ed of New York, American Electric Pow-

er, Western Bancorporation, Bankers Trust NY, and Continental Illinois Corp.

The tax returns of all these corporations were all completely legal. □

These corporations also paid outrageously low rates of taxation:

- International Harvester Co.: 0.05;
- Kennecott Copper Corp. 0.4;
- LTV Corp. 1.2;
- Anaconda Company 1.4;
- Occidental Petroleum Corp. 1.8;
- Texaco Inc. 2.3;
- Chase Manhattan Corp. 2.5;
- Gulf Oil Corp. 3.1;
- McDonnell

- Douglas Corp. 3.2;
- Standard Oil of Ohio 3.5;
- El Paso Natural Gas Co. 4.5;
- Mobil Oil 5;
- Uniroyal Inc. 6.5;
- International Minerals & Chemicals 7.1;
- Chrysler Corp. 7.5;
- Gulf & Western Industries 7.6;
- National Cash Register Co. 9;
- Southern Railway 9.1;
- Union Oil Co. of California 6.6;
- Continental Oil 9.9.

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DETROIT KEEP THE COPS OUT OF THE SCHOOLS

by Merry Busch
DETROIT—Coleman Young, who became Detroit's first black mayor through a campaign to combat police brutality and harassment, is rapidly losing support from the black community. Young announced he was placing armed police in all the high schools and 13

of the city's largest junior high schools.
Under Young's plan, police officers will arrest anyone who is carrying a weapon in a school as well as anyone who is not actually a student. The decision was announced on Dec. 20, a week after the deaths of two students in Detroit high schools.

reaction of inner city parents to putting the cops in the schools. When there is a strike, working people see the police help break it. When there's any trouble, the police bust heads.

The DFT, UAW, and other unions should demand that the police be kept out of the schools. Workers should make a fight for their unions to issue a statement against putting police in the schools.

Young is still urging the school board to accept his proposal, but has stated he might go ahead and put them in without the board's approval.

A leaflet was distributed by supporters of the newspaper, Red Tide, at many Detroit high schools. This paper is published by revolutionary young people.

The leaflet pointed out violence occurs for reasons, reasons the students have no control over.

"Why are there murders in the schools? What are the reasons for killings or armed robberies or rapes? It is unemployment, racism and deteriorating schools that cause the violence. None of these things are our fault..."

"Cops will only make things worse! We don't want trained killers patrolling our halls. With cops in every hallway and I.D. cards on demand, it'll be more like prison than a school. We're saving right now—No cops in the schools!"

Oil Workers Gain 27% In New Pact

Workers at Gulf oil refineries have won significant wage increases in new, two-year contracts. The Gulf contract is likely to set a pattern for most of the 60,000 oil refinery workers represented by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union [OCAW].

for agreeing to the wage reopener. The first is that new wage controls are widely expected. If controls are effective next January, it will mean that the OCAW will have to fight the government as well as the oil companies for wage increases.

Secondly, the oil companies are now stuffed to the gills with profits. Their public image is one step below that of King Midas. Many of them are expecting lower profits in the coming year. Although their profits will still be astronomical they may expect that their public image will have improved by then, and that they will therefore be in a better position to resist the union's wage demands.

As Workers' Power went to press, strikes were continuing against Gulf over local issues. Two years ago, OCAW waged a long, bitter strike against Shell over health and safety conditions. That strike was finally defeated.

It is not clear whether A.F. Grosprion, OCAW President, made any concessions on health and safety questions, in return for the wage increases in the new contract.

In Canada, strikes of oil workers are widespread despite the fact that their contracts do not expire for another year. Many of the workers there are also members of the OCAW. They are demanding an immediate nation-wide raise of \$1.50 an hour to make up for the effects of inflation.

CANADIAN STRIKES

The Canadian strikes are centered in Montreal. More than 2,000 workers there are striking against Shell Canada, BP Canada, Texaco Canada, Union Carbide Canada, and Petrofina Canada.

Some OCAW members from Montreal have travelled across the country to British Columbia to picket refineries at Port Moody. Workers there refused to cross the picket lines.

Expanding the strike in this way is a key to winning oil refinery strikes. The refineries are automated to such an extent that management can often keep them running for long periods during strikes.

Jim Woodward

Refinery workers currently average \$5.85 an hour. The Gulf contract will raise that 26.75% in three stages by next January 8. A 75-cent an hour increase is retroactive to Jan. 8 of this year. An additional 4% increase is effective in six months, and another 8% increase on January 8, 1976. In addition, a wage reopener is scheduled for Jan. 8, 1976 if inflation is over 5% this year.

WAGE REOPENER

One item the OCAW wanted but didn't get was a cost-of-living clause. Despite its profits of one billion, 15 million dollars last year, Gulf was firmly against cost-of-living. The OCAW agreed to a wage reopener instead.

Gulf may have had two reasons

DAVID RICE CASE

Gov't Frames Panther

ST. LOUIS—David Rice is one of the countless victims of the government's attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party. In 1970, David Rice was framed up on a murder charge and since then he has served four years in prison. He was a member in Omaha of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), an organizing arm of the Panthers.

Last July, Rice's conviction was overturned by a judge who ruled that evidence used in the trial was unlawfully obtained. The state decided to appeal, even though their case was based on witnesses who changed their stories repeatedly and admitted police threats.

On December 12, the appeal was heard in the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. Attorneys for the government admitted that there was no probable cause for the search which led to Rice's arrest. However, they argued that the NCCF was "known to be dangerous" and that the police must be



allowed "flexibility."
"Known to be dangerous" means only that the state knows the Panthers were fighting racism that

the government perpetuates and defends.
It is clear that the state is demanding that police be allowed

to use whatever procedure they think necessary to crush radicals. The state wants legal permission to easily and openly destroy radical and black militant organizations like the Panthers on any pretext.

The circuit court will probably make a decision within two to eight weeks. If the lower court is upheld, Nebraska has the right to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, even though his conviction has been overturned, Rice sits in jail. The judge who threw out his conviction did not see fit to grant bail. Similarly, Ed Poindexter, another victim of the frame-up, is in an earlier stage of the appeal process.

The state of Nebraska clearly intends to use as much of the defendants' time and money as possible—even if they can't make a conviction stick. You can help the victims by sending a check to: David Rice Legal Defense Fund, 3105 North 24th Street, Omaha, NE 68110.

layoffs the focus of our work in New York has been voted on by the activities committee since this is a major problem facing women.

A quick vote and an arbitrary ruling by the chair denied the membership the right to decide on this important issue. The chairperson pleaded with the outraged members, "Trust us, we'll give the proposal all consideration."

This meeting gave many of us a real picture of the kind of CLUW the bureaucrats want to have. They brought their members out to vote their favorite trustee onto the executive board. These women then went home and forgot about CLUW.

The women bureaucrats have made no real attempt to build CLUW in their union. They have only encouraged their members to elect the right people and leave it up to the leadership to take care of things.

After the meeting was left in shambles many women were arguing that these women leaders must be doing their best. They said, "After all, we can't expect them to take positions on something their international unions aren't doing." In other words, if the unions won't fight the layoffs, CLUW shouldn't do it either.

Rank and file militants are going to have to organize to fight that attitude. CLUW can and must take the lead in pushing the unions to do their job.

We must build a CLUW membership that is not afraid to act on crucial issues and build an organization that will make a real difference to the lives of working women. A campaign to fight the layoffs is our first task in that direction.

Joan McKiernan

WORLD IN CRISIS



Vietnam

With the fall of Phuoc Binh city and the province of Phuoc Long, another link in the rotting chain of the government of South Vietnam has crumbled away.

Heavy fighting and military setbacks are nothing new to the Saigon government despite the so-called Paris Peace Agreement signed in January 1972. This time, however, it appears that the military position of the regime has collapsed to a new low. Yet President Nguyen Van Thieu still maintains his brutal though precarious hold on power.

The Thieu government is known to everyone as one of the most vicious dictatorships in the world. It is also one of the most corrupt.

Yet in spite of their famous Tiger Cage prisons, confiscation of newspapers which in any way oppose the government line, and tremendous political and military backing from the United States, this regime is losing control of the country bit by bit.



Anti-Thieu rally

The National Liberation Front, backed by North Vietnam, now controls two provinces next to the Cambodian border, and has practically unrestricted supply routes for weapons and other material from the North.

The NLF (which is identical to the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and controlled by the Vietnamese Communist Party) is also in a position to threaten the crucial city of Tay Ninh. There is nothing that Thieu's forces can do to regain Phuoc Binh, because it has no extra reserves to throw in and virtually no one left to draft into the Army.

U.S. PUPPET

In fact, Thieu's government has become an embarrassing burden for the United States government which keeps him in office. Ford, Kissinger and the CIA could topple Thieu from power themselves in a moment, and they probably would, except for one problem—they have no one to replace him.

There is one, and only one, force behind the Saigon government—US imperialism. Thieu's government cannot rely for support on any social class or independent political force in Vietnam.

There are no new, "clean" politicians or leaders to whom the US could turn to head its puppet regime in Saigon, because many of the generals, police officials and bureaucrats who back the regime would split if a more liberal figurehead were installed.

So American support keeps pouring in to aid this government which is rotting alive.

CEASE FIRE

The Vietnam cease-fire was meaningless from the moment it was announced in January 1972. It was merely a cover for both sides to strengthen their positions in as much of the countryside as they could. Proven massive cease-fire violations by the United States and its Saigon puppets are too numerous even to list.

The cease-fire served one purpose for the United States. Because it was imposed on the Vietnamese by both the US and North Vietnam's ally Russia, the cease-fire forced the Vietnamese national liberation forces to accept military and political limitations which have



postponed the defeat of Saigon and thereby given the US extra time to reinforce its power in Southeast Asia.

But the long-term struggle for power in Vietnam is one which Saigon's generals cannot possibly win. So long as the US rules South Vietnam through its puppets in Saigon, the war will drag on. The overwhelming mass of the population supports the NLF.

Those peasants, workers and refugees who do not actively back the NLF still accept it as the only national force which can kick out the US, even if they do not like the kind of government they will live under once the NLF takes power.

NLF VS. REVOLUTION

The other side of this picture is that the NLF itself has made no effort to complete the overthrow of the Saigon regime through popular mass upheaval.

Saigon police have practically lost control of several recent demonstrations. Tens of thousands of marchers defied government orders and hundreds fought in the streets with rocks against police chargers. Yet nothing has been done by the NLF to prepare the people of South Vietnam to topple the dictatorship themselves.

There are two reasons for this. The international politics of the 1972 cease-fire agreement still exist on paper. This agreement was a deal between the two superpowers, the US and Russia, to prevent America's troop withdrawal from leading to a clear NLF victory. Hanoi, in order to keep getting Russian aid, must partially live by and enforce these terms.

But there is a second reason—

the politics of the NLF and North Vietnamese Communist Party leaders themselves.

They are not fighting for a revolutionary upheaval which might become a fight for socialism. Rather they are interested in putting themselves in power, as the bureaucratic rulers of Vietnam. They are leading the military struggle against imperialism in Vietnam, but mass upheaval and socialism are the last things they want.

Like Communist Parties around the world today, the CP in Vietnam cannot come to power through working class revolution. If the workers, peasants and refugees in South Vietnam were to form revolutionary councils to fight for power, the CP would be unable to control them or to force them to accept the rule of the Communist Party bureaucrats.

Thus the NLF, throughout its history since 1960, has never relied on or organized urban workers. Instead, it organized guerrilla armies in the countryside and middle-class front groups which workers could not influence or control.

In the giant Tet offensive of 1968, when NLF forces were able to seize large areas of major cities, it became clear that practically the whole population was for the NLF.

Yet even then, the NLF leadership did nothing to organize or arm the masses in the cities to resist the brutal US counter-attack or to hold on to power themselves. Nor does the NLF have any intention of doing so today.

What the NLF wants instead is to increase the military pressure, to force Thieu out but replace him with what is called a "broad government of national unity," or



coalition government.

For this reason, the NLF and PRG programs appeal not for revolutionary action by workers, but for "progressive" and "patriotic" landlords, capitalists and priests to support a coalition government.

This government would not represent South Vietnamese workers and peasants. It would include middle-class politicians who could be dominated, and finally dumped, by the NLF and the Communist Party. In this way the CP plans to take power without ever facing the threat of workers' revolution from below.

But this policy itself allows the desperate war to continue even longer, as Thieu's generals fight for every bloody acre of territory. So the bitter agony of the people of Vietnam will go on.

Which Way For Ethiopia?

The military junta in Ethiopia is trying to step into the vacuum created by the near-total collapse of the feudal structure of the country.

The ruling generals have proclaimed that they will make Ethiopia a "socialist state." Newspapers and TV in this country are echoing this theme.

However, the generals have no intention of introducing a system that resembles socialism in any way. They are not interested in allowing the peasants to seize the land, or Ethiopia's workers to take over the running of the factories and the state for themselves.

The generals need massive popular support, because they have to destroy what remains of the power of the old ruling family. But their aim is to use this support to solidify

their own rule—not to make the masses of people the rulers.

They began by promising reforms, the end of corruption and emergency relief to starving peasants. But the crisis was so acute that even the promise of reforms intensified the struggle and made far more drastic action necessary.

ROOTS OF CRISIS

The military provisional government took power last year from the ruling family of Emperor Haile Selassie. At that time the countryside was ravaged by famine, and students and workers were staging strikes and mass demonstrations in the capital city.

Under Ethiopia's land system the royal family, church and aristocracy, and the government

together owned 80% of the land. The masses of desperately poor peasants divided up the other 20% or worked for landowners who took as much as three-quarters of the crop. Starvation and permanent poverty were the results.

Faced with continual severe problems in ruling this system the generals split among themselves and for months were practically paralyzed.

The impasse was broken last month when General Aman Andom, chairman of the provisional military government, was shot and 59 prisoners executed. Most were former premiers, governors and generals.

The surviving faction of the military rulers has now turned in a new direction. They have promised sweeping transformation of land ownership, although how it will be carried out is unclear.

60,000 students have been ordered into the countryside. This move will help to implement government policies there, and extend its control over the peasants. It will also isolate the student movement from workers' struggles which could threaten the generals.

How far the generals' program will go is a big question. They may ultimately fail to challenge the tremendous power of the landlords. They must also come up with a solution to the crisis in Eritrea.

Eritrea is a province at the mouth of the Red Sea where a national

liberation movement has been fighting for independence for years against Ethiopian armies equipped with American weapons and Israeli advisors.

So far US military shipments to the new regime are going through without interruption, and the generals have refused to accept the demand for Eritrea's national independence.

What the generals will not do is to organize Ethiopia's workers as a revolutionary force. Already they have fired on strikers and jailed them. If the generals have their way, there may be either a compromise settlement with the feudal landlords or—if that is impossible—the creation of a new bureaucratic state regime over the heads of the country's people.

JOBS THE MAJOR ISSUE

UAW To March On DC

by Bill Hastings

One of the most important political demonstrations for some time will be held in Washington, D.C. February 5th. Several thousand unemployed members of the United Auto Workers will be there demanding government action on the present economic crisis.

The action is significant because it represents the first halting steps that the leadership of any major industrial union has been forced to take to deal with unemployment.

The auto industry has been hit first and hardest by the recession. A quarter million auto workers are unemployed. But it's coming to other industries, and coming fast. Construction workers, truck drivers, and city employees have experienced severe layoffs. The steel industry, at the end of a long boom, is beginning to be affected.

What happens in the UAW is important to workers in other industries as well. The leadership of all unions, faced with the same economic situation, is likely to react in similar ways.

When layoffs first hit, the UAW's response was a big zero. Worse, in fact. Vice President Bluestone actually suggested that workers take a wage cut in order to save the SUB fund.

Slowly, however, opposition arose, demanding that the union act. The United National Caucus was instrumental in setting up unemployed committees in Detroit and in some of the locals. The committees fought the do-nothing and wage cutting attitudes of the international leadership. Independently as well, rank and file resentment began to mount.

MODEST PLANS

This increasing anger and militancy has prompted the International to take the first small step in fighting layoffs. The UAW plans for the demonstration are exceedingly modest. They are currently



High unemployment causing militancy among auto workers forced UAW leaders to call Washington demonstration.

planning for an attendance of only 5 or 6 thousand. Nevertheless, every UAW member should try to go.

The civil rights and anti-war movements began with demonstrations on specific problems. They convinced millions of people of their ideas. February 5th can begin to do the same for unemployed workers.

The largest possible demonstration in Washington at this time will serve notice on the government and the corporations that they must provide decent jobs for all at full pay. Already the UAW leadership is being put on the spot and is finding a growing awareness among autoworkers of the need for

political as well as economic action.

But rank and file auto workers will most likely have to fight their International leadership over the question of what demands to raise in Washington.

JOBS

For years the UAW leaders have argued that if the corporations make a profit then the workers benefit too. Now that theory is coming back to haunt them. With the corporations claiming to be losing money, the union leadership is disarmed. It cannot defend its members' jobs. The only thing it may be able to ask for is government subsidies for the auto corporations.

But auto workers should be going to Washington to demand jobs. The corporations which for so long have raked in the millions don't need more money from public funds. The available work should be shared among all, and the full assets of the corporations should be used to guarantee every worker a full paycheck, no matter how much work there is.

The corporations have a responsibility to the workforce to provide jobs. If they can't do this, then let the workers do it. A company which can't pay its workers a living wage should be nationalized, with the workers controlling production.

If a company can't make it and

still provide a living wage for its workers, then that's just too bad for the company. We want jobs—by any means necessary!

Every UAW member should attend this demonstration in Washington. The greater the number involved the more of a fight can be made on guaranteeing jobs. Already many members have called on their locals to turn out as many people as possible.

Other unions should also support and attend the UAW demonstration. What's hitting auto workers today will hit the rest of us tomorrow. The time to fight is now, and the place to fight is Washington, February 5th.

Government Gives In

Press Rules Scrapped

by Sara Blake

There's been a lot of crying lately from large industrial corporations about the high costs of health and safety. They want the government to ease up on pollution control, automobile safety, and industrial health and safety requirements.

The government seems to pay a lot of attention when corporations cry. And so on December 2, 1974, workers lost another round. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) agreed to revoke its "no hands in dies"



standard for power or stamping press operation.

Stamping plants are one of the most dangerous places to work. In Michigan, there were 1,280 amputations on stamping press workers in 1966 (the last year figures are available). These included 675 fingers, 76 cases of thumb and finger, 23 hand amputations, and in one case both hands were lost.

The amputations occur when fingers or hands are caught under the die, as it crashes down onto a sheet of steel with tons of pressure. Several years ago, OSHA proposed a rule that would have required these presses to be designed so that it would be impossible for operators to place their hands under the die. That was the surest way to eliminate the cause of most of these accidents.

The US Chamber of Commerce and big companies did a lot of lobbying to prevent this standard from going into effect as scheduled last August 31. They argued that the costs of modifying their presses would be "prohibitive" and that the regulations weren't technologically possible at present. And OSHA Director John Stender cited exactly these reasons for rescinding the standard.

PINCH POINTS

Some other standards for press safety remain. But the fact of the

matter is, if your hand never has the chance of being in the danger or "pinch points" of a press you won't lose fingers, a hand, or an arm.

What's it like in a stamping plant? Well, one of the first shocks a new hire faces is the sight of fellow workers missing fingers or a hand. It is not a pretty sight. Try to imagine what you'd do without a thumb.

The foreman sometimes shows the workers how to put the piece of steel into the press with a safety tool—but most often not. Many pieces of steel or too big for a safety tool. There's no way to put them in the press safely unless the dies are redesigned.

Many times working safely means working slower. If the production rates aren't being made the foreman is on your back. The key here is profits.

PRODUCTION

There are many jobs in a plant where workers could use safety tools, but don't. Why? The answer is that the workers are bribed with longer breaks, better jobs, leniency with shop rules, and many other things. In Chrysler stamping plants production is set up by the hour. The faster you work, the bigger your break at the end of the hour.

Industry argues that there are other safeguards built into a press

or other less costly safety devices. For example, on some presses, two control buttons have to be pushed simultaneously, one with each hand, to start the press cycle; the press stops at the end of each cycle until the buttons are again pushed. But without warning a press may repeat its cycle and come down again.

Sometimes a worker takes his hands off the buttons to adjust a piece, but the press doesn't stop. These "safety devices" aren't failsafe.

Because the work is so boring and the noise incredibly loud, most workers try to work as fast as they can to get a bigger break.

Maintenance on presses is also inadequate. It's all determined by how fast the company wants production to start up again. If they want it like yesterday, then a bandaid is placed on the most glaring mechanical problem.

During the 1972-73 boom, when cars were really selling well, stamping plants were being worked around the clock, seven days a week. Maintenance was minimal and accidents were more frequent.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act was passed on April 28, 1971 to "assure as far as possible every working man and woman in the nation safe and healthful working conditions and to preserve our human resources..." It was to be the great hope of workers

everywhere. Since then the enthusiasm has died down. Companies still have the upper hand. Profits come before safety and health.

OSHA's budget is inadequate and doesn't allow for enough inspectors. Inspectors are bought off; penalties go unenforced. And safety regulations are determined on the basis of the corporations' financial health, rather than the workers' health.

NOT NEUTRAL

The situation points up the need for strong shop floor and union organization on health and safety issues.

Some gains can be made through OSHA. But its decision to revoke the "no hands in die" rule says one thing very clearly: like all other government agencies, OSHA is not neutral. It starts from the point of view of big business.

During the recent hearings on the "no hands in die" rule, the UAW leadership testified against the proposed revocation. That's fine. But it wasn't enough. Unless backed up by the threat of direct action, all the UAW's testimony amounted to was a little begging.

A little begging will win a few crumbs. A safe and healthy work place will be won when rank and file workers make ignoring health and safety too costly to the government and the corporation. □

labor notes

by Jim Woodward

George Meany has called a meeting of the AFL-CIO general board Jan. 23 to adopt a "program of action" for dealing with the recession. The general board, which rarely meets, consists of presidents of all 110 AFL-CIO unions. Meany did not announce what program the board would be asked to adopt. But an AFL-CIO spokesman said that rumors a general strike might be called were "ridiculous."

Meany certainly isn't one who's much for general strikes. More typical is another meeting he'll be involved in later this month. That meeting will be with James J. Needham, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange. Needham says he and Meany will discuss how to overcome the shortage of capital facing the major corporations.

For years, US Steel has been polluting the city of Gary, Indiana. Several years ago, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) ordered the company to clean up the pollution. On December 31, US Steel closed its No. 4 Shop open hearth furnaces, rather than comply with the EPA's order. Yet, in the first nine months of 1974, US Steel made a net profit of almost half a billion dollars, an increase of more than 100% over the previous year. Now to avoid spending a few of those dollars on pollution control, they have thrown hundreds of people out of work.

Last year Teamsters President Fitzsimmons and Secretary-Treasurer Miller donated \$25,000 of Teamster money to the National Citizen's Committee for Fairness to the Presidency. That committee was among the four die-hard defenders of Richard Nixon, after much of the truth about Watergate was made public. Responding to membership complaints, the Teamsters executive board recently endorsed the contribution as entirely proper.

Thieves Fall Out Department: I.W. Abel, president of the Steelworkers union, is having labor troubles of his own. The 800 USW staff members, represented by the Staffmen's Organizing Committee (SOC), are demanding a \$6,000 salary increase in a new three-year contract. Abel has offered them less than half that amount. The huge number of USW staffers are Abel's lackeys who keep local leaders in line and maintain tight control of the union.

Some auto companies are beginning to cut salaries and benefits to their non-union workers. American Motors will not pay future cost of living increases to its 7500 white-collar employees. AMC is also postponing the introduction of a dental plan for these workers. Chrysler has suspended cost-of-living payments for its non-union white collar employees. Normally the auto companies grant their non-union workers whatever wage and benefit increases are won by the unions.

Workers in Kentucky are experiencing even less protection from health and safety laws than the generally poor protection provided nationally. Kentucky is one of the 26 states that have been allowed to adopt and enforce their own safety laws, rather than comply with the federal laws. A recent survey showed that fines for "minor" violations of the Kentucky health and safety standards averaged \$8.68. Nationally, the average was a whopping \$13.85. For "major" violations, the Kentucky fines averaged \$558, against \$629 nationally.

I.W. (no-strike) Abel is moving up in the world. From now on he will be rubbing elbows on a regular basis with Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller and Abel, along with Donald Burnham of Westinghouse Electric, will be the executive committee of the new National Commission on Productivity. The Productivity Commission has been restructured, since the last Commission did not accomplish very much. One of the new Commission's responsibilities will be to improve labor-management relations. I.W. Abel will likely bring in his own unique approach in this field.

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



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Steel Industry's Consent Decree

Seniority Dispute

CLEVELAND—At a meeting here on Sunday, January 5, 100 steelworkers listened to speakers attack the steel industry's "Consent Decree" as "discrimination in reverse" and an attempt to bust the union. The audience consisted mostly of workers from the Jones & Laughlin and Republic plants. Similar meetings have been held in Pittsburgh and Youngstown.

This meeting was called by two J&L workers, Russell Bonchou and Robson Rice. They said the Consent Decree penalized workers for discrimination which occurred years ago, and over which they had no control. They called it "discrimination in reverse."

Speakers at the meeting repeatedly made the point that their movement was not meant to support discrimination. They criticized the Consent Decree for failing to provide enough back pay as compensation for discrimination.

The Consent Decree is a court-ordered plan signed last April by the nine largest steel companies, the steelworkers' union and three US government agencies. It is supposed to eliminate discrimination in the steel industry. In addition to awarding some back pay to minority steel workers, it requires the companies to overhaul the seniority system. It replaces the departmental seniority system with one based partially on plant seniority.

But in both respects, the Consent Decree is a sham. It is designed simply to get the steel companies off the hook as cheaply as possible.

The back pay awards are token sums. A worker who accepts this back pay is prevented from suing for more. And the new seniority system is only a modification of the old racist system.

JUSTICE COMMITTEE

The speakers at the meeting were members of the Steel Workers Justice Committee centered in Pittsburgh. They included Frank O'Brien from the Pittsburgh J&L plant, and the committee's lawyer, Richard Kirschner of Philadelphia. They said that the Consent Decree destroyed the "concept of seniority" because it does away with the old system. They emphasized that steelworkers should not be made to pay for the "sins of the industry." Their strategy is to hire lawyers to fight the Decree in the courts. Their goal is to force a return to the departmental seniority system.

The Justice Committee admitted that the industry has discriminated. They even cited specific examples of jobs denied workers because they were black, and agreed that was wrong.

But their only concrete proposal was to return to departmental seniority—a system which has already been proven to be racist. Workers don't choose the department they are hired into. So black workers get hired into the dirtiest and lowest paying departments, like the coke ovens, as a matter of company policy. And if they transfer out into a better department, they lose their departmental time and cannot advance in the new

department.

So, under the old system black workers are effectively trapped where they are hired.

PLANT-WIDE SENIORITY

The only fair system is one of complete plant-wide seniority—the person with longest service gets the job, regardless of what department the person or the job is in. Rather than going back to the old system which was unfair to everyone, steel workers should be demanding that the Consent Decree be extended. Steel workers should be fighting for complete plant-wide seniority.

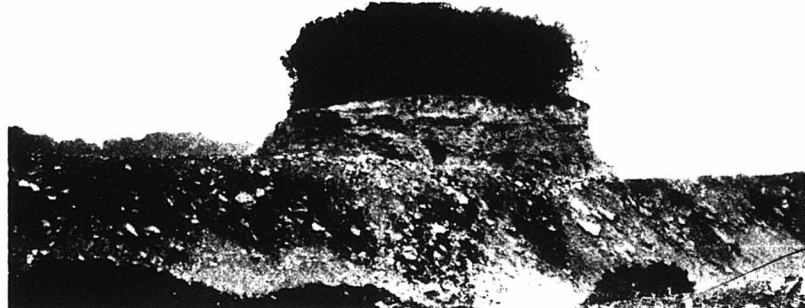
If the Justice Committee were really interested in justice, it would demand precisely this, and insist that real steps be taken to destroy discrimination. The victims of past company discrimination should be compensated for everything they lost out on: the \$30 million the Consent Decree awards in back pay is not enough. The Justice Committee itself said \$430 million was a more accurate figure.

In addition, minority workers should have the right to advance to the skilled jobs on a preferential basis. Only then will they be adequately compensated for the denial of those jobs in the past.

Several speakers from the floor opposed the Justice Committee strategy. One woman steelworker from J&L said the Consent Decree provided more opportunities for women, minorities and in fact all workers. Another worker spoke in favor of plant-wide seniority. □

STRIP MINING

The Land Dies



Remains of West Virginia mountain after strip mining.

[The giant earth-moving shovels that are used in strip mining operations scoop up trees, grass, soil, coal... and enormous profits for the owners. When an area is stripped of everything in this manner, the operators go elsewhere. What do they leave behind? John Tiller, a miner from Virginia knows. The following is excerpted from a longer article which originally appeared in Mountain Life & Work.]

by John Tiller

If you have strip mining, you can't have tourism. No one likes to look at a picked carcass, whether the picking was done by a live vulture, maggot, or a mechanical one such as a D-9 dozer.

Many of the hills and valleys of Appalachia are already eyesores. There has never been a demand for guided tours of our hospitals to see cancerous growths on humans; and there will never be many tourists who want to see scalped hills, huge cancerous gashes on the mountain sides, or mud slides.

If you have strip mining, you can forget hunting. How many squir-

rels have you seen in your own area lately? The last squirrels this writer has seen were on Long Island in New York City and in the nation's capital.

Strip mining has destroyed the natural habitat for forest creatures throughout Appalachia. It would seem that any animals left in strip mining areas would be quite deaf due to the blasting. How many sportsmen would kill a deaf deer?

If you are cursed with strip mining in your area, you can't enjoy fishing. The acid run-off from stripping is impossible to control and these acids will kill most marine life. The silting that is a direct result of stripping destroys natural fish beds.

The acid will make water that once sparkled like clear diamonds look like sickly, orange pop. It makes hill people wish that the streams that run through Camp David and the oceans near San Clemente and Key Biscayne had the same soul sickening color.

I have a giant-sized gob pile in my backyard. A coal company had

dumped it there because it was the easiest thing to do. Nothing will grow on this pile of slag, but I will leave it for my children and my children's children.

Something wet runs in a silt-filled gully in front of my house. It isn't water, for I have seen clear water running in streams in other places. It is some kind of acid solution. Giant rats live along the banks of the orange colored stream that runs in front of my house.

The kitchen sink, the bathtub and the wash basin that my family use are changing color—from white to orange, and no amount of scrubbing can change the process. It makes one wonder if my digestive tract and stomach have that same orange color as the stuff in the silt filled gully that runs by my house.

It is hoped that some Appalachian cadavers will have been preserved and a million years from now cause some anthropologists occasion to wonder. Will their amazement be our only victory? □

Them what has, break strikes

The Rockefeller family has part interest in Arizona lemon ranches. Workers Power has learned. That makes this prominent family strike-breakers. Again.

The United Farm Workers union has been on strike against all the lemon ranches in the Yuma, Arizona area for several months. While the strike has caused serious economic losses to the growers, they have not yet agreed to the union's demands. The UFW is seeking union recognition and trying to improve the intolerable wages and working conditions.

The Rockefeller interests are represented by the family of the late Arkansas governor, Winthrop Rockefeller. The Rockefellers join

with the super-rich Cabot family of Boston as part owners of the Desert Valencia Ranch near Yuma.

TAX LOSS

The Desert Valencia Ranch consists of 10,000 acres of citrus. Offices are on Park Avenue in New York, in addition to Yuma. An investor joining the First Resources Preference Program in 1970 had to contribute \$7,500 in the next five years. If he had \$102,000 a year income he was promised a tax savings of \$1,240 on the expected \$2,000 a year tax loss as the young citrus was growing. Here is farming Wall Street Style.

Much of Arizona citrus is owned by absentee owners. Wagner Ranches of Yuma is named after Kermit Wagner, vice president of Wagner Mills grain elevators near Schuyler, Nebraska. The 2,000 acre ranch is owned mainly by absentee owners including some citrus growers from California.

The 347 acre Hesara Farm Corp. is owned by Sigmund Herman of

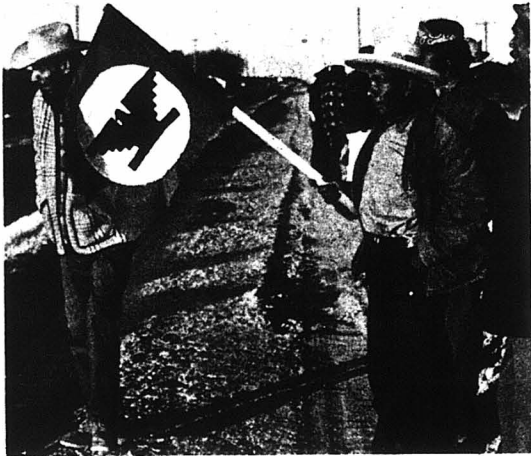
1200 S. Hill Street, Los Angeles. That's not known as farming area.

Frank and Arleen Booth of Laguna Beach and Fred Gleason of Newport Beach, both wealthy Southern California resort areas, turn up as lemon "farmers." The Yuma Citrus Co. and Clark Packers are part of Blue Goose Growers. Blue Goose is owned by Pacific Lighting Corp., the big Southern

California gas company.

The next time you hear something about the generosity of the Rockefeller family or other members of that class, remember the striking lemon pickers in Arizona. The Rockefeller generosity for the rich is based on greed when dealing with the poor.

Kevin Bradley



Rich absentee owners reap profits while farmworkers like these lemon pickers are forced to strike for recognition of their union, United Farm Workers.

The Hospital Business

OPERATION RUSH

When I began my job as a surgical orderly, I was somewhat prepared for the whole business of the patient being treated as an object, and I went into the job determined not to be sucked into that aspect of it.

But as I arrive at the nurses' station to pick up a patient the first thing I have to do is ask for the patient's drug-sensitivity chart. If I ask for Martha Edwards' chart, chances are nine out of ten that the nurse doesn't know which room Martha Edwards is in.

But if I ask for room 243's chart the nurse knows exactly where on the chart rack to look. As I proceed down the hall to Martha, another nurse will invariably ask me if I've come to get room 243.

And as I wheel Martha into the seven-room surgery hall one of the assisting nurses will ask if this is Dr. Jacob's patient.

All that the surgery nurse knows about the upcoming case is that she is working with Dr. Jacob and perhaps Martha is going to have her gall bladder removed, but she has no idea of what Martha's name is.

This entire situation leads Martha to believe that she is really just Dr. Jacob's gall bladder, and as far as the hospital structure is concerned, that is exactly the way it is.

TENNIS ANYONE?

The motto in surgery is do as many operations as you can as early as you can so that the specialists can get back to their offices and the anesthesiologists can get out to the tennis courts.

After the operation, the recovery

room takes over, and these people will see Martha only out of her post-operative daze. It's their job to wake Martha up and get her out of there as quickly as possible, administering a painkiller if needed.

We handle 25-40 cases a day, but the recovery room is only equipped to handle about seven patients at a time.

Consequently, "too much" care administered to the patient means a slow-up in the surgical process and a violation of the motto.

So as soon as Martha can answer a few reasonable questions (Where are you?) she is rushed back to 243 and that's the last the recovery room will see of her.

NO TIME FOR PAINIC

Back at the room, Martha has become a real nuisance to the overworked nurses. She's in pain, she hasn't eaten for almost 24 hours, but her stomach won't hold anything down.

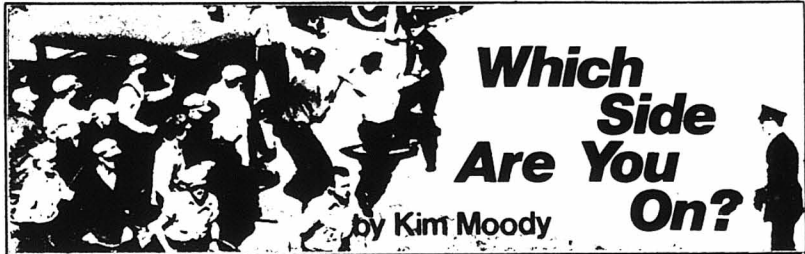
Her husband wants to talk to the surgeon who is already well into his next operation.

Martha will be released in a couple of days—checked out by someone in admitting who has never seen her before.

The hall nurses are the only ones with a chance to do some humane patient care but they are so overloaded that any leisure time or sincere conversation spent with the patient puts them way behind.

As health care workers, we are all concerned about the patients, but efficiency is priority number one with the administration.

Rick Ralston



Miners Weren't Organized

The 1974 coal miners' strike could have been a major victory for the working class. It could have broken the falling income pattern set by earlier contracts. It could have made the right to strike over grievances an issue throughout the labor movement.

Most important, it could have shown that the rank and file can control its union leadership.

As Workers' Power has reported in detail, however, the United Mine Workers settlement was far from a victory. While it was the "largest" package in 1974, it did not include many of the miners' most important demands.

In particular, the right to strike over grievances and the right of the union to close down an entire mine for hazardous conditions were sold out.

The reasons why the new leadership of the United Mine Workers gave in to pressure from the companies and the government were discussed in the last issue of Workers' Power. In summary they were that the Miller leadership accepted essentially the same pro-capitalist, and therefore pro-company, outlook as the rest of the American labor bureaucracy, also, the leaders removed themselves from the coal fields and the influence of the ranks.

TRAGIC FACTS

These tragic facts, however, cannot explain how the UMWA leadership got this contract by the ranks.

The rank and file of the UMWA has been fighting lousy contracts for years now. All during the late 1960's, mass strikes swept the coal fields.

It was this persistent use of direct action that undermined the power of the old Boyle leadership. The final blow to that rotten bureaucracy came when these movements got organized.

The Black Lung Associations made it possible for the miners to carry on a long range fight against the effects of that occupational disease.

The rank and file Black Lung Associations pulled off a state-wide strike in West Virginia in 1969. That strike led to the passage of legislation establishing compensation for black lung.

The strike movement, Black Lung and pension reform activists came together to form the Miners' For Democracy in 1970. MFD carried through the campaign that defeated Tony Boyle.

Each time the rank and file

miners fought and got organized they won something.

NOT ORGANIZED

But in 1974, the rank and file miners were not organized enough to defeat a sell-out contract.

There was nonetheless a movement against the contract. Scores of local unions in West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois and other areas fought the settlement.

In West Virginia's District 29, a Miners' Committee for the Right to Strike was organized. But rank and file organization didn't get beyond the local level in most districts. It never got beyond the district level anywhere.

The union leadership, however, has a national apparatus. It organized its fight for contract approval in all the districts. The Miller leadership had a newspaper at its disposal. And the UMWA Journal is a pretty good paper. In short, the leadership had every advantage organization brings.

In spite of that, the contract passed only by 56%.

Suppose the rank and file activists who tried to stop that contract had been organized. Suppose these militants had a national caucus like the Miners' For Democracy before Arnold Miller disbanded it.

No doubt, most active miners didn't think they would need an organized caucus. After all, most of these militants were supporters of the new leadership. It was these same fighters who put Miller, Patrick, and Trbovich into office. And Miller did talk a good game before and during negotiations.

But that is the lesson of the miners' strike. Unless the ranks of the unions, not just the UMWA, are organized they are in no position to control their leaders or win their demands.

In most unions, rank and file caucuses are needed to replace the current leadership and put the union on a new basis. But changing a union is a process. It isn't done by just winning elections.

A lot of changes are needed to make today's conservatized unions into fighting organizations. Work place organization must be rebuilt. The ranks have to be brought into the administration of the union and the contract.

Conservative workers must be convinced of the need to fight the bosses. Members and leaders alike must be educated in the realities of class struggle.

The rank and file caucus is a programmatic organization that can guide and carry through this process. Part of that task is to keep the leaders under the control of the ranks. As members of the caucus, responsible to it, newly elected leaders would not be free to make major decisions as individuals.

Any union leader faces enormous pressures from the companies, the government, and from conservative union bureaucrats.

In a period after a rank and file movement takes control of a union, such as the UMWA in 1972, the caucus provides the backbone for resisting those pressures. Indeed, the caucus must make it clear that it will oppose and depose leaders who give in to the bosses.

LEARN FROM SETBACKS

Setbacks are not defeats if the workers learn from them. The miners cannot change the present contract for now, but they can prepare for the next step in making the UMWA a fighting class struggle union.

They can organize a caucus in opposition to the Miller leadership. The caucus can train an alternative leadership, with an alternative outlook.

The UMWA has made some important progress in the last couple of years. There is no reason for that to stop. But it won't happen by itself.

Progress, it seems, always comes kicking and screaming. It has to be fought for and a successful fight requires organization. And there's not a union around in which that is not true.

HOW CH

This account of how one Chilean dock worker escaped from Chile's military rulers is one of the most powerful documents we have ever seen. It gives the real inside picture of what the coup in September 1973 meant to the millions of Chilean working people who were trapped in it. Roberto's story is the story of the ordinary workers who were the vast majority of the Generals' victims. It is people like Roberto who make up well over 99% of the 30,000 Chileans murdered, the 500,000 thrown out of work in the first year of military rule.

But this 99% has not captured most of the headlines. They are not among the well-known political figures murdered or jailed by the junta, whose names we know and who are kept alive by the international protest movement against the regime. There is really only one thing that is almost unique about Roberto—the fact that he was able to escape and live to tell his story.

What we learn from Roberto is more than simply what it was like to live through the coup. We also learn what life was like before the coup—and the picture is just as shocking. For Roberto was only one among millions of militant Chilean workers who wanted to defend the government of Chile's President Salvador Allende, the leader of the Socialist Party, and to resist the Generals. But their own parties, the Socialist and Communist Parties, along with Allende, ordered them to keep quiet and left them helpless and without any leadership as the government they supported was threatened.

American readers, especially, should also remember who supported the Generals' coup and enthusiastically welcomed them into power. It was American capitalism and its institutions—the press, the government, and the CIA—who did so much to help make it all possible. Papers like the Wall Street Journal, which make so much of what they call "the strength of stable democratic processes" in this country, were glad to see all democracy exterminated with machine guns in Chile—because they knew it would be good for business.

Henry Kissinger, who cuts such a fine figure in fancy ballrooms all over the world, told us that of course military takeover in Chile was "tragic." But he insisted that the fault lay with Allende, who "endangered stability"—because he failed to stop Chile's workers from threatening important US economic interests. This same Kissinger was the director of the secret committee which directed the CIA's role in Chile. He directed the sabotage of Chile's economy, to make sure there was enough chaos to collapse Allende's government. And this whole operation was discreetly whitewashed, until it was much too late.

The chain of crime surrounding the coup in Chile stretches from the corporate boardrooms of corporations like ITT to the chambers of government in the US. It is workers like Roberto who are its victims—but they are members of the same international working class which will destroy the system that brought about those crimes. □

Roberto is 30. For 11 years he was a docker in the port of Valparaiso. He was the Secretary of the Maritime Port Organization, the biggest dockworkers' union in Valparaiso. He was also a member of Allende's Socialist Party.

His story begins in the summer of 1973, when events were building up to a climax. On June 29 there was an attempted military coup. The docks were taken over by armed naval patrols. Roberto was attending a monthly union meeting when the news broke.

As they tried to leave the meeting, Roberto and other known militants were arrested by the Naval Police and taken to the Naval Barracks.

At midnight, when it was obvious the coup had failed, Roberto was released. He was told by a Navy officer that had the coup gone the other way he would have been summarily executed. He was followed home by a Navy patrol.

ARRESTED

A month later, on August 8, 100 socialists in the Navy signed a statement saying they had proof that the Generals and Admirals were preparing a military takeover.

Allende (who must have known by now it was true) still refused to act. He said the whole thing was an "internal Navy matter" and allowed the 100 to be arrested. They were never released.

The same day, Roberto was arrested at a Socialist Party meeting. He and his comrades were held for a day and a night, and then handed over to the Naval Police.

He was held in the same prison as the 100. For two and a half days he was beaten up and tortured. Then he was released.

He now knew he was marked so he decided to go underground. He tried to get his instructions from his party organization.

But the local organizer refused to accept how desperate the political situation was becoming. So Roberto never got his battle orders from the Socialist Party.

He later found out he had been detailed to go to Allende's house for military training and, if necessary, to defend it. Other dockers did get their instructions and went to Allende's house. As far as Roberto knows, none is alive today.

He stayed in Valparaiso, though convinced a coup was coming. At the end of August, Roberto received definite information that the coup was planned for early September.

He tried to convince the Socialist Party to prepare but they would not listen. They said he was a lunatic, a "mad bomber."

The Party was too busy preparing for the September 18 Independence Day celebrations. By that day, most of the Socialist Party would be dead.

The coup came on September 11. The Navy occupied all the municipal buildings.

Again Roberto tried to raise the Socialist Party to defend itself. He drove round the backstreets of Valparaiso on his motorbike, but even now the Socialist Party would not listen.

FAITH

So Roberto went home. His wife was a member of another party, the left-wing MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and she had different instructions. They took their four-year-old daughter to her grandparents and then split up. Roberto never saw his wife again.

He made his way out into Valparaiso Province to a village where some of the peasants were sympathetic to the Socialist Party.

But nothing could be done. The peasants were convinced the coup



The wires of Santiago Football Sta workers, separates a prisoner and his



REPRESSION: The Junta's soldiers guard prisoners. The crime? Being trade unionists.



I ESCAPED CHILE'S MILITARY JUNTA

There were nine who agreed to go: from a variety of different jobs, and a variety of different socialist organizations.

CLIMB

All were on the Junta's death list. All knew they were in a position to betray their comrades and that the information would be tortured out of them.

Before they left, they made a pact: they would shoot each other rather than allow anyone of them to be captured alive.

The mountain passes across the Andes are patrolled by fascist guards. The nine were forced to walk over the mountains at their highest point, 22,000 feet.

It was a very difficult climb across some of the most rugged terrain in the world. It was also bitterly cold, because all wore light clothes in case they had to make a run for it.

Neither could they be weighted down with food. They each took only a pound of sugar and some chocolate.

The journey took three days and nights, and they walked for another day and a half before they reached the first village in Argentina.

The peasants were suspicious, especially as by now their clothes were in rags. But they picked up casual farm jobs and made their way to Mendoza, an industrial city in Northern Argentina.

Here, by coincidence, they made contact with the Argentine socialist movement, which helped them get to Buenos Aires.

It was particularly dangerous for Chileans in Argentina; more so because he was an illegal immigrant and on the Chilean wanted list. He knew he had to get out.

INFECTED

He went to the United Nations to get refugee papers but was told he first had to get an entry permit from a country prepared to accept him.

Roberto thought it logical to go to a "socialist" country. He applied to the Soviet Embassy. He told them his story. They told him to come back in a year.

Here was a man, wanted by the Junta, his wife executed, an outlaw in Argentina, and the Russians wanted to give him a complete political screening to make sure he hadn't been infected by any "unorthodox" ideas.

One by one, Roberto went to all the "socialist" embassies—Romania, East Germany, Poland. The message was the same: Come back in a year. If you are alive.

JOB

The British Embassy was the last on the list. The Consul treated him to a lecture on how much he wouldn't like Britain: 26 days later he got the news that the new Labor government was prepared to let him in. He arrived in August.

He worked in a flour mill until, a few weeks ago, Southampton dock shop stewards forced the employers to give him a job in the industry he knows.

That is Roberto's story. Through a mixture of courage and blind chance, he escaped. His wife is dead. He may never see his daughter again. His brother is still in prison.

His life has been uprooted 4000 miles from his home to a strange land, where he does not even speak the language.

But Roberto was one of the few lucky ones. At least he escaped. At least he is alive.

Most of his comrades weren't so lucky. □

Micky Fenn
Bob Light



stadium, the Junta's first cage for his child. Now the cage lies over that

country. Within it are Roberto's four-year-old daughter and his murdered wife. Outside it, in Britain, is Roberto, exiled—but alive.

instructed everyone to return to their homes. He also warned any member of left-wing parties to declare himself "for his own safety."

No one moved. But already Roberto could sense the deep fear and distrust all round. He knew then that resistance was impossible.

He went into hiding, staying

under cover until October, when he was arrested in the street after curfew.

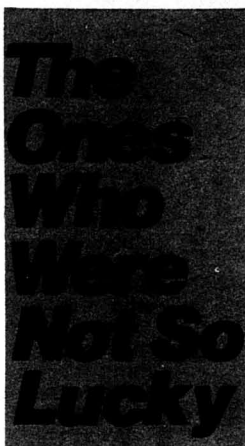
Once again he was taken to the Naval Prison. He knew he would be tortured and, once they knew his identity, executed.

He was led into the torture cell blindfolded. But when the blindfold was taken off, he recognized the officer in charge of the interrogation. He was a member of the MIR!

The officer recognized him, too. He told Roberto he was deserting the next day to go underground, and offered to release him if he was prepared to deliver a letter to the home of another officer.

Roberto, though deeply suspicious, knew he had nothing to lose.

He went back to the hills where he lived rough for two months. On New Year's Day 1974, Roberto decided to escape to Argentina.



On the day of the coup, all dockers in Valparaiso were instructed by the Navy to return to the port. There, hundreds of men were arrested.

Anyone known as a militant or a socialist was put onto Navy prison ships and taken out to sea. They were all tortured. Men were chained up and thrown overboard, while every one else was forced to watch.

Groups of ten or a dozen were taken up in Naval helicopters, and one man would be thrown out—all to encourage the others to talk.

These were not mere statistics, these were the men that Roberto worked with, these were his friends:

Hugo Acevedo—thrown from a helicopter.

Daniel Heredia—told his wife would be shot unless he betrayed his comrades. He refused. They shot him—while his wife looked on.

Carlos Ianini—Chief of Port Police in Valparaiso. His crime? He was a friend of President Allende. He was thrown out of the fifth floor of the Navy Building with his hands tied behind his back.

Exzequiel Ponce—national leader of the Socialist Portworkers Union, he is still in prison. His hands have been smashed into pulp. He has been so badly tortured that he can no longer speak.

Carlos Zuniga—an accountant who worked in the port. He was a comrade of Roberto's in the Socialist Party. He was arrested by the Navy Police, who broke both his legs and kicked his face in. Roberto last saw him in Valparaiso, dragging his legs round the streets with a tin cup round his neck begging.

Richard Johnson—British by birth, he had settled in Chile. An engineer in ship repair, he had never been a member of a political party but was known as a socialist.

To the Junta that was crime enough. He was arrested. The police raped his wife and eldest daughter. They castrated him. He was then shot.

These are just some of the names of the men and women Roberto knew who have been imprisoned or tortured or shot since September 11, 1973.

Some names we could not understand. Others Roberto knew only by their first names: knowing too many people is dangerous in Chile.

In the port of Valparaiso alone, many dockers have been executed. And 1000 or more have been fired and blacklisted. □