

WORKERS' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS AUGUST 7-20, 1975 #126 15c

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Banks Freeze New York City Wages

IT'S ROBBERY!

NEW YORK CITY— The wages of city workers here have been frozen. A savage speed-up drive is being officially organized by the city. Transit fare will jump to 50c on September 1.

For weeks, city union leaders swore they would never accept a freeze. Now it is official—and it's only the beginning.

It became official when Mayor Abe Beame, "Big MAC" (The Municipal Assistance Corporation, set up by the state to re-organize city finances) and the city union leaders made their deal.

The agreed on the freeze. Then they kept it secret for two days, to give the union leaders a little more time to talk tough, before announcing it in public.

The wage freeze is to be effective at least until 1978, and possibly beyond. In addition, raises which have been in effect since July 1st are being reduced. In a period of high inflation, this wage freeze is for all practical purposes a drastic wage cut.

This agreement has been accepted by District Council 37 AFSCME, the largest city union, and by the sanitationmen and Local 237 IBT.

The leaders of other uniformed service unions have denounced it as a sellout. But instead of organizing for a strike against the wage freeze, they are talking about negotiating their own wage freeze agreement.

city and Big MAC said that they were "compelled" to layoff the 13,000 city workers they've already fired.

There's nothing to stop them from deciding they are "compelled" to layoff 13,000 more. Because, of course, they're "compelled" to meet the pay-

ments on old bond issues to the banks which are sucking the city's blood dry.

Unified strike action by the unions would have broken the wage freeze and the layoffs. It would have terrified the courts, the banks, and the city managers who are forcing the working

people of New York to pay for the city's crisis.

But it will take tremendous pressure from the rank and file to reverse the deal their unions have made.

City workers haven't heard the last from Big MAC. It is now demanding a city budget

freeze and the right to bring in its own "experts" to supervise running the city. If these pay cuts and layoffs don't make the bonds sell, they are sure to demand more.

If city workers don't stop Big MAC now, there will be fewer and fewer city workers—getting paid less and less.

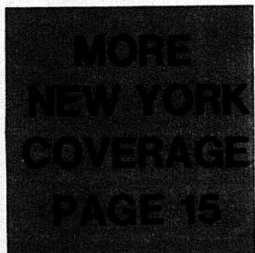


Detroit police face angry black youths.

GOOD INTENTIONS

In return for the wage freeze the unions have gotten a declaration saying, "it is the intent of the city that there will be no more layoffs in this fiscal year."

As deputy mayor James Cavanaugh said, the city "will not lay off unless we are compelled to do so." But the



Black Anger Explodes In Detroit

DETROIT—It started the night of Monday, July 28.

Obie Wynn, an eighteen-year-old black youth, was shot and killed by Andrew Chinarian, a white bar owner.

Chinarian also manages the bar, a hang-out for white cops and hoodlums. Chinarian shot Wynn because he was "fooling around" with his car.

A crowd of several hundred gathered in front of the bar, but they were held back by police.

Later that night, however, it was learned that Chinarian had been released on \$500 bond. Hundreds more gathered. There was looting and fires. For the first time since the sixties, the specter of a full-fledged rebellion in the black community was raised.

The second day, despite the pleas of Mayor Young, Detroit's liberal black mayor, thousands went into the streets. A car was used to storm Bolton's bar. It was invaded and torn up. Only after a tear gas attack did the crowd retreat.

A huge section of northwestern Detroit was cordoned off for three days. Mayor Young and his aides went personally to the area. Squads of black ministers were mobilized. A special "Peace Patrol" was organized to drive people off the streets. And the police kept their distance.

Another death resulted from this racist killing when a white motorist was pulled from his car and beaten by black youths.

It all started as an ordinary ghetto tragedy, destined for an ordinary racist conclusion. Obie Wynn dead, his white killer free.

EVERYDAY RACISM

But Detroit's black community is frustrated and angry this summer. And especially the young people. Unemployment is 60% for black youth and the future holds little hope.

And ever since the auto industry lay-offs hit Detroit almost a year ago, people have been afraid. Afraid of the summer, and afraid of another 1967, when a police raid led to five days of rebellion, and in the end 43 people were officially counted as dead. Thousands were

jailed. Thousands of homes were burned.

Now Mayor Young, the cops and the media are all occupying their time congratulating themselves. They are taking credit for the fact that it was not 1967 all over again.

But the truth is different. Behind all the talk of progress for black people in Detroit, little has changed. A black youth was shot for nothing. His white killer is free.

Monday and Tuesday were not 1967, but not because of Detroit's liberal face. Underneath, Detroit is the same. With each day that passes, as long as conditions remain the same for the poor, the blacks, the workers in Detroit, the potential for a real rebellion increases.

WHAT THE RICH WORRY ABOUT



Most of us have spent the last year worrying about being laid-off, or if we have remained working, worrying about making ends meet. But the rich and the super-rich have been worrying about other things....

Headache #1:

Where To Live

New York's housing problem has been solved—at least for 210 super wealthy families. Renting now and opening in September is Olympic Tower, the world's most expensive apartment building.

Olympic Tower was the brain-child of Aristotle Onassis. It is designed to accommodate the crowd he ran with.

A one bedroom apartment sells for \$122,000 plus monthly maintenance of \$267. A nine bedroom duplex, complete with a fireplace, circular staircase, elevator and sauna bath, runs \$650,000, with a monthly maintenance charge of \$956.

The 52 story building is located at 51st and 5th, just beside St. Patrick's Cathedral. Down the block are exclusive stores, Tiffany's and Cartier's.

WATERFALL

The building features a block long indoor park, a 3 story waterfall and 2 floors of shops. There is also a financial communications lodge for group watching of stock market activity.

Those wishing greater privacy for perusing the ups and downs of their fortunes can have a ticker tape reading system built into their televisions.

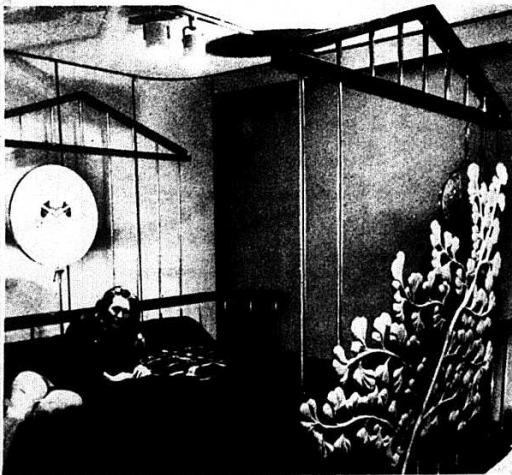
A health club and a private wine cellar are also available. As are a limousine service, helicopter service, yacht charter and jet charters.

Three quarters of the apartments are already rented. 92% were paid for on the spot. No financing, no monthly bank payments, no bank executives looking down their noses—and no interest.

Most of the apartments are second, third or fourth homes. They will be occupied only a few

Headache #2:

What Furniture To Buy



Having bought an apartment there's always the problem of decorating it.

If you can afford Olympic Tower you might be interested in the "cage-bed." It was designed by artist Max Ernst.

The cage-bed features a pair of movable round mirrors mounted on a headboard and footboard of vertical brass rods. The footboard sports a leafy branch carved from alder wood.

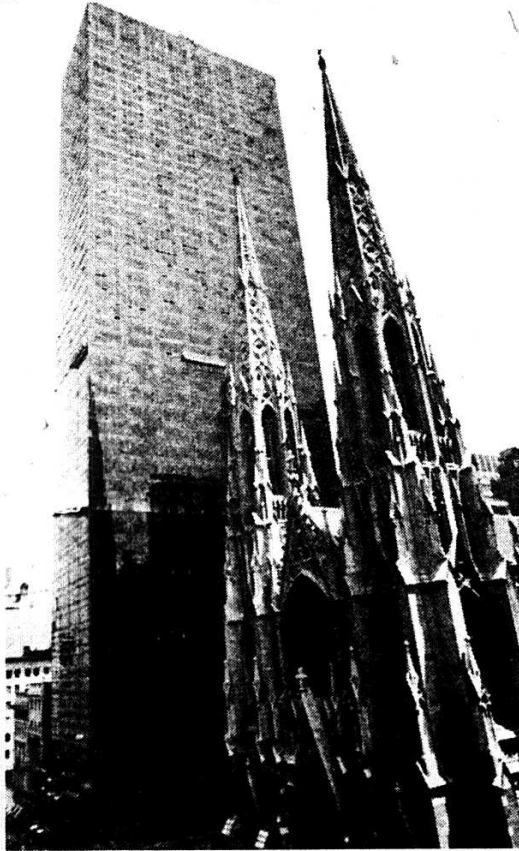
Hidden compartments contain a telephone and a reading lamp. The whole thing is topped with a mink coverlet.

Ernst describes his "cage-bed" as an "apparatus for dreaming." The apparatus costs a mere \$35,000.

If interested you'd better move fast. The bed is limited to an edition of twenty two.

The first one was bought by Nelson Rockefeller for his official Washington residence as a "gift" to the nation.

Thanks—it's just what we've always needed.



That's Olympic Tower, nestled unobtrusively next to St. Patrick's

months a year.

Every service imaginable will be provided; bonded maid service, 24-hour room service, 24-hour dry

cleaning, and three concierges to do whatever is requested.

Olympic Tower is obviously a bargain.

Headache #3:

Where To Eat

Then of course there's always the problem of finding a decent place to eat.

Just a short limousine ride from the Olympic Tower is New York's most expensive restaurant—The Palace.

Two can eat there for just under \$200 (if they go easy on the wine.)

The fixed price for a dinner of your choice is \$50 per person plus tax bringing it up to \$65.50, plus a 23% tip plus wine.

The wine list runs up to \$300 per bottle.

Headache #4:

Getting Away From It All

Life at the top has additional worries—there is always the chance that those at the bottom will rise up and push you off.

For the very rich who worry about such things there is a new kind of club—a doomsday club.

Somewhere in the snow tipped hills of California are 712 acres of untamed pine forest belonging to the Scott Meadow Club. There are no swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, bars or shops.

The only thing provided is a communal house and a place to escape to in the event of catastrophe.

Membership costs \$12,800 plus \$300 in annual dues and is open only to 300 families.

BLINDFOLDED

Prospective members are blindfolded before being brought to the retreat. Any member leaking the club's whereabouts will be automatically expelled without a refund.

Each member is required to maintain a one year's supply of dry food at the club.

In the event of nuclear war, riots, flood, famine, or revolution, membership cards will be a passport to survival.

After the 300 families have reached the retreat the roadway will be dynamited thus cutting the Scott Meadow Club off from the dangers lurking in the real world. □



The last line of defense. This is an aerial view of the Scott Meadow Club in California where the super-rich will gather when disaster strikes.

SEEMS TO ME
SOMETHING SHOULD
BE DONE
ABOUT IT!



Workers' Power 126

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Farmworkers On The March

by a team of Workers' Power Reporters

SALINAS, Ca.—Over 7,000 farmworkers gathered here last weekend as part of the most massive organizing drive yet seen in US Agriculture.

For the first time in 25 years a new industrial union may be built. It can reshape the lives of millions of farmworkers across the country and may help reshape the whole American labor movement.

Salinas Valley is just one stop on a 1,000 mile United Farm Workers organizing march through California. The march began a month ago at the Mexican border, and continued through California's agricultural valleys.

MEET

Each night the marchers stop and meet with local workers to discuss the organizing drive, hold rallies, and collect authorization cards to make the UFW the official bargaining representative.

In the Delano grape fields 5,400 cards have been signed. In Oxnard strawberries there are 1,300.

At the Salinas rally, UFW organizers circulated through the crowds collecting hundreds of authorization cards. In addition, the UFW set up booths with the names of the ranches in the area and workers from those ranches formed long lines to sign up.

The Bud Antle lettuce ranch is the largest in the world. It has long been under a Teamster sweetheart agreement. The Bud Antle booth at the UFW rally signed up 400 Antle workers in just a few hours.

SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS

After years of struggle, farmworkers have won the right to secret ballot elections in California for union representation.

The law will take effect August 28. There will be a large number of important elections during the first few weeks of September.

While this is a victory for the UFW, the law also contains a number of anti-UFW provisions.

It allows valley judges to issue anti-labor injunctions. It allows agribusiness to recruit scabs, and it limits the UFW secondary boycotts.

Most important for now, the law allows the Teamster sweetheart contracts to remain in force until the elections.

This allows the Teamster bureaucracy/grower forces to further intimidate workers while preventing worker contact with the UFW.

The newest Teamster office is located in the middle of the labor camp by Silver Creek Ranch in Mendota. So open is the grower-Teamster collusion that workers are forced to sign Teamster authorization cards if they want to continue to live in the camp.

At the Lucas Ranch in Salinas, a foreman openly brags about how he distributes Teamster literature while kicking UFW organizers out of the field.

Because of the Teamster-grower sweetheart contract, most of the farmworkers who have signed UFW authorization cards must work every day in fields under Teamster "contract."

UFW CONVENTION

Over 3000 delegates and supporters are expected to attend the United Farm Workers' convention the weekend of August 15. Because it is occurring during the huge organizing drive, the convention will be a show of unity and strength. There are many critical issues facing the union, but for now these are staying below the surface. A report on the UFW convention and pictures and interviews from the great organizing march will appear in the next issue of Workers' Power.

Here they are subject to intimidation and economic threats. Workers who have refused to sign Teamster "ratification" cards have found themselves laid off.

At Mann Packing, under Teamster contract, 110 of 124 have signed UFW cards. The workers are told that only those who sign with the Teamsters are entitled to the raise in the recent "renegotiated contract."

If there were really fair elections in the fields the UFW would win them easily. But the elections are not fair.

The Teamsters have grower cooperation and help; they have a

huge budget for flying in organizers, trying to bribe farmworker leaders, and hiring goons; and they have the law which allows them to use their sweetheart contracts to get rid of pro-UFW workers.

Against these odds, the UFW spirits are high.

220 farmworkers from ranches throughout California have com-

pleted field organizers' training in La Paz, and a new crew is graduated every four and a half days.

These workers are often supported in the fields by groups of farmworkers under Teamster contract.

Every morning at 5:00 AM, as people go to work, the UFW is distributing leaflets to outline workers' rights under the law, and emphasize the need for unity in the face of grower and Teamster intimidation.

CONTRACTS NEXT BATTLE

As the UFW well knows, winning the election does not mean that the

growers have to agree to a decent contract. The growers have fought long and hard against the UFW.

Many will keep fighting by bringing in scab workers. But the spirit and force that is being built in the election battle are the tools to continue the battle with the growers.

The strongest weapon the UFW has is the workers' ability to stop production. In 1970, when 1,700 workers walked out of the Salinas fields, they won their contract.

Today, Salinas remains the UFW's strongest area.

The growers may have to see their production and profits ground to a halt again before they will sign contracts giving farmworkers wages and working conditions comparable to other American workers.

This will happen only if the organization of the UFW is built after the elections on the energy and anger of the farmworkers. Si Se Puede.



Earlier this year, farmworkers' supporters marched on Modesto, California to build the UFW boycott of Gallo wine. Today the UFW marches through California again.

Scabs and Racism In Egg City

Egg City is the largest egg producer in California. Workers there with UFW support have walked off the job. They are fed up with a Teamster "contract" where they wind up with less than minimum wage. The growers responded by bringing in 200 experienced Vietnamese scabs from a local refugee camp.

Also near Egg City is the M. Caratan Farm Labor Camp. It is inhabited almost completely by Arab farm workers. Almost all have signed UFW authorization cards.

Teamster organizers at the camp first tried racist arguments, and then tried arguments with pipes, sending one worker to the hospital. It didn't work. After he got out of the hospital, the injured worker went straight to the UFW meeting to help in the unionization drive. □

Judge Slows Joan Little Defense

by Karen Kaye

The presentation of testimony in the trial of Joan Little continues to be slowed and overshadowed by other courtroom procedures.

Little, a black woman, age 21, is accused of murder in the death of Clarence Alligood. Alligood, a 62 year old white man was a jailor in the Beaufort County Jail. He was attempting to rape her in her cell when she killed him in self-defense. She fled and turned herself in eight days later.

The prosecution will try to establish evidence that she lured him into her cell and killed him in order to escape.

The case has attracted international attention, and from the beginning, widespread support from women's and black organizations. There are almost daily demonstrations to "Free Joan Little" outside the courthouse.

SEXISM ON TRIAL

The racism and sexism of American society are on trial in the southern courtroom, and both sides are keenly aware of the importance of the case.

Thus jury selection took eight days of questioning 113 individuals. The prosecution tried to exclude blacks; the defense was looking for people without racist or sexist attitudes.

With jury selection complete, testimony began. But it was shortly interrupted. Judge Hobgood dismissed one of Little's seven lawyers. A prosecution witness accused lawyer Morris Dees of pressuring her to change her testimony. The witness worked at Beaufort County Jail.

He denies it and says he just told her to tell the truth.

A few days later the defense attempted to add lawyer William Kunstler to the defense team. Kunstler came to fame for his defense of the Chicago Eight in 1969. Defendants in that case included Black Panther Bobby Seale.

When Judge Hobgood refused, Kunstler called his conduct "outrageous." The judge found the lawyer in contempt of court and sentenced him to two hours in jail. He was then banned from the courtroom.

The judge has also denied Little the right to represent herself in court. This would allow her to speak to the jury without being cross-examined.

If Little takes the stand as a witness, the prosecution is expected to attack her credibility and character. At the time of Alligood's

death, she was serving time for breaking and entering. She had previously been acquitted twice on shoplifting charges.

They will also cite rumors that Little was a prostitute. They will use this to say that she was an unlikely prospect for rape.

All of this is aimed at feeding into the sexist myth that a woman who is not white, middle class and chaste cannot be raped. In reality, a black female prisoner is at the mercy of a white male jailor such as Alligood, because he knows society condones these ideas.

A good legal defense is important for Joan Little. But already it is the support which she has attracted which has kept her from a routine conviction.

Other women face the same situation daily. To stop that, the real crimes must be exposed and abolished—the racism and sexism built into this society. □

SOLD OUT FOR A CIRCUS

CLEVELAND—"It's one hell of a price to pay to bring a circus to town." That was one reaction to the contract which settled the three-week strike of city employees here, members of AFSCME Local 100. The circus is the Republican National Convention, which Mayor Ralph Perk hopes to attract in 1976.

The price is a three-year contract, rather than one year. "To promote labor peace," Perk said. The contract grants only a 10c wage increase the first year, rather than

the 35c the union wanted. Wages will go up 25c in the second year, and 35c in the third.

Garbage workers, firefighters, freight and cab drivers honored AFSCME's picket line, giving the strike some real muscle. But the cops ran numerous scabs through the lines. A brother by the name of Big Frank put it this way: "When the cops were out on strike, nobody crossed their line... now look what they're doing to us." It's a lesson well taken and not soon forgotten. □

COURT FORCES WORK RULE CHANGES ON ST. LOUIS TEAMSTERS

by Jimmie Higgins

ST. LOUIS—Two weeks ago local cartage drivers in Teamsters Local 600 agreed to major changes in their work rules. The changes will result in lower paychecks and irregular working hours for many drivers. The concessions were, for all practical purposes, handed over by the courts after the employers had been unable to win them alone.

The work rule changes were approved under pressure of a \$5.7 million court judgement against the local. Teamsters throughout the country may remember that it was Local 600 members who struck along with Chicago and Los Angeles in 1970. Those "wildcats" won significant wage increases for Teamsters covered by the Master Freight Agreement throughout the country.

As a result of that wildcat, however, the local Motor Freight Companies and the local Cartage Association sued Local 600 for revenues lost during the walkout. Recently a federal court found in favor of the companies and ordered Local 600 to pay the money.

The local may have been able to pay part of the fine, except that last year four local officers were found guilty of misuse of union funds. The local union was broke.

FITZ JUST SITS

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, had said the International would stand behind the local and make sure it would not have to pay the entire fine. But no help came. That's not much of a surprise, since the 1970 wildcat made Fitzsimmons look real bad just after he had taken office.

With the local broke and liable for \$5.7 million, the employers proposed a deal: they would write off most of the fine if the local would accept changes in work rules.

Before this, St. Louis, along with Oakland, California and a few other cities, still had relatively good work rules. Most other cities had lost them in recent years.

The changes allow the employers to be much more flexible in using drivers. Previously, drivers would work a straight Monday through Friday week, beginning at 8:30 each morning. Anything above that was at overtime rates. Now employers will be allowed to add Saturday as a regular work day (at straight time rates) and also start up to 10% of the drivers as late as 10:00 each morning.

That's for local cartage drivers. The Motor Carriers Council has even bigger changes in mind for over the road drivers. It's not

finalized yet, but they want the starting time moved back to noon for up to 25% of the employees. And by March 1, they want no restrictions at all on starting times.

To step up the pressure on the union to agree to this, the trucking companies have filed a garnishment action in US District Court against the dues of the local's 6400 members.

One St. Louis driver told Workers' Power, "A lot of pay checks will be much smaller. The companies will just bring people in whenever they want to work them. But what makes me most sick is that Fitz could have paid off that fine and not have even batted an eyelash." □

WEAR A WORKERS' POWER T-SHIRT

Colors: orange, yellow, grey, white, white w/ red or blue trim.

Sizes: S, M, L, XL.

Children's T-Shirts: S, M, L. Yellow, Orange, only.

Price: \$3.00, children's \$2.00.

Order from: Big Bevo Graphics; P.O. Box 24135; St. Louis, MO



labor notes

by Jim Woodward



A government study shows that the United States has the highest unemployment rate among nine major industrial countries. And they say this is the richest country in the world, right? Makes you wonder who's getting all the riches.

Guess who's getting a pay raise? Congress, federal judges, and the 14,000 top government bureaucrats in the country. Actually, Congress just voted itself an annual "cost-of-living" raise. President Ford, who vetoed a recent bill to create jobs for some of the unemployed, is expected to go along with this one. Some Congressmen noted that the pay raise is only 5%. But on a salary of \$42,500 a year, that's over \$2,000.

Workers' Power wasn't the only publication to point out that postal workers aren't getting much in their new contract. Here's what Business Week, the nation's leading management magazine, had to say:

"A tentative agreement reached early this week by the US Postal Service and four postal employee unions for a three-year contract is almost certain to be the cheapest major labor contract negotiated this year. A relatively low pay raise—less than 5% in the first year—...compares with an average increase of 9.5% in major agreements negotiated in the first quarter of this year containing cost-of-living escalators and 10.2% in agreements without them."

A committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has been organized in Communications Workers Local 1101 in New York. The committee says it will "bring women together to fight against company harassment and discrimination, and to demand that the CWA become more responsive to telephone women's needs." The committee was organized by rank and file telephone workers who are members of the New York City CLUW chapter.

For two days, a foreman at International Harvester's Rock Island, Illinois works insisted on making lewd advances to a woman worker. The company ignored complaints. That cost them a day's production, as all three shifts wildcatted on July 23-24. The company claimed the strike was a subterfuge to get it to rescind disciplinary action against various workers.

Across the Mississippi River, at the East Moline Harvester works, the local union has been trying for five months to get strike authorization from the UAW International due to safety and unfair discipline. So far they've gotten no okay from Solidarity House.

The Labor Department is proposing standards for exposure to hazardous substances that cause cancer among steel workers who work around coke ovens. Part of the proposed regulations would require the companies to switch workers to other jobs if medical exams indicate their health has been damaged by working around the coke ovens. But the Labor Department specifically rejected a proposal that would have allowed workers who were transferred to retain their seniority and earnings level. This way the companies will be free to ruin a worker's health, and then throw him into a low-paying job where he can easily be laid off due to lack of seniority.

Last year, companies that make vinyl chloride were howling that new regulations which reduced worker exposure to this dangerous substance would be so expensive that the companies would be driven out of business. But six months under the new rules has forced no plant out of business. In fact, four new plants have begun operating. And all this while prices of vinyl chloride products are down, due to the recession. It's an example worth remembering the next time an employer threatens to go out of business.

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

Women Demand End To Rape And Murder Terror

DETROIT—A hundred people marched in front of the main police station here to protest police inaction on stopping a man who has raped, sodomized and brutally murdered eight women so far.

The killings, which have been going on for several weeks, have left women residents of Detroit's "Cass Corridor" district living in terror.

The protesters charge that police have been lax because the crimes have gone on in a poor neighborhood. In addition, most of the victims were prostitutes.

"Would a rapist be allowed to roam the streets of Grosse Pointe?" asked one protester. "No," shouted the crowd. Grosse Pointe is a wealthy suburb where many auto executives live.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Women's Defense and Education Committee. The Committee recently held a benefit to raise funds for the defense of Inez Garcia and Joan Little.

A leaflet distributed by the Coalition pointed out that the description of the killer's car is quite detailed. He commits his crimes in his car, a "clean, highly polished, brown-over-beige Delta 88 Oldsmobile." Still the police are unable to find him.

The killer's unusually large hands and feet have earned him the name "Big Foot." Demonstrators chanted, "Catch Big Foot, free Joan Little; Catch Big Foot, free Inez Garcia." □

Detroit CLUW Supports Clothing Workers

by Jenny Singer

DEARBORN, Mich.—The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) joined the picket lines at the Albert's chain clothing store here and backed off both management and the police.

On Friday, July 25, Albert's management called the cops on pickets who were urging shoppers to boycott Albert's.

On Saturday morning CLUW members mobilized to triple the size of the lines, and the police decided not to make any arrests after all.

Workers at one of the stores voted 3 years ago to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACWA), and have been tied up in the courts ever since.

Although the National Labor Relations Board has found Albert's guilty of numerous unfair labor practices, the chain still refuses to bargain.

The militants in Wayne County CLUW plan to use their successful support of the Albert's workers as a first step to get CLUW moving on organizing the unorganized and the other goals CLUW supposedly stands for. □

Sharon Steel Workers Protest Receivership

SHARON, Pa.—About 50 members of the United Steel Workers held a demonstration here recently, protesting that the USW International still has their local union in receivership. The local covers workers at Sharon Steel, which has over 50% of its workers on lay-off.

The receivership was imposed early this year, supposedly because of "financial irregularities." In fact, the local has been a problem for the leaders of the International union. Three times it voted down the International's proposal to extend the no-strike deal (ENA) to

Sharon. Sharon Steel was not covered by the original no-strike agreement because of its small size. On the fourth try, the International managed to get the ENA approved.

USW staff man John Dillinger was put in charge of the local when the receivership was imposed. Since then, members say their grievances haven't been properly handled. The USW held a hearing on the receivership in April, but has still not issued a ruling on whether it is to be continued. □



Which Side Are You On?

by Kim Moody

Whose Boom?

Gerald Ford wants to keep his job. So he has worked out a plan for winning the 1976 election. He will maintain a low rate of inflation for the next year and a half and will, thereby, win the confidence of the American people.

There is no doubt that even Gerald Ford could win some people's confidence by keeping inflation down. The memory of the fantastic inflation of the past couple of years is still strong. In fact, many people have probably not even noticed that inflation has slowed down some recently.

If, however, inflation was slow for a full two years, a lot of people would notice it. For many people there would be a sense of relief.

TRICKY

But inflation is a tricky matter in an economy with a \$100 billion war budget and an annual national debt approaching \$100 billion. As long as the US economy was in a depression these pressures toward inflation could be off-set—by mass unemployment, idle factories, and relatively low wage increases. But as the "recovery" slowly winds itself up, the pressures for inflation return.

What Ford really wants is a business recovery, a continued big arms budget and national debt, and a low rate of inflation. The problem is that there has to be an area of slack in the economy that will relieve the pressure toward inflation. Some section of the economy has to stay in the depression so the rest of it can enjoy "recovery" without inflation. Guess who? Every single policy Ford has put forth in the past years and months makes it clear that it won't be the employers.

No. The economic slack is to be paid for by workers. In particular, it is to be paid for by maintaining high unemployment levels and keeping wage increases as low as possible. Ford's plan, as described by the economists of the First National City Bank of New York, is to keep unemployment around 8% throughout 1976; that is, for the next year and a half. This level of unemployment would keep close to 8 million workers out of work. It would put pressure on the unions to settle for smaller wage increases.

Ford wants to maintain the current depression-level conditions for the working class while giving business and the middle class a recovery with low inflation. A depression for the workers, a recovery and boom for the bosses. To keep his job, he plans to take away the jobs of millions.

NOT NEW

This idea of a depression for the workers and a boom for the bosses has happened before. During the 1920's, a business boom that was accompanied

by unemployment rates as high as 13%. During those years, the working class saw few real wage increases. For those with work, the average work week was 50 hours, without overtime pay.

The bosses accomplished this economic rip-off by vast scale, and breaking strikes by military power.

In a pre-election period, and facing an organized labor movement that is much stronger than that of the 1920's, Ford is not likely to use such full-force tactics. But he'll do as much as he can get away with.

Part of his strategy is to convince the labor leaders to go along with his plan for the promise of lower inflation. Standing behind "voluntary" efforts, however, is the growing likelihood of wage-price controls.

A bill granting Ford the same powers under which Nixon imposed wage controls has already passed the Senate. As under Nixon, it is the Democrats who were behind this bill. As with Nixon, Ford denies any intent of imposing controls. But, also as with Nixon, Ford may just turn around and slap controls on the unions. The scene is all too similar: the end of a recession (much deeper this time), business demands for increased profits and productivity (speed up), and a shaky recovery.

BARGAINING ROUND

This time, however, the government faces the beginning of a big bargaining round. In the next two years, the contracts of the biggest unions expire. It is these unions (IBT, UAW, USW, and others) that could win big wage increases and real job protection. It is these unions that could upset Ford's scheme. So the pressures for wage controls are even greater.

It is the growing rank and file movement and not the conservative labor leaders that is going to make this bargaining round produce for the workers. If the rank and file movement is not prepared to fight off government intervention and wage controls, it will be unable to protect and expand the working class living standards.

The fight against wage controls or other forms of government intervention begins now—before it is too late. The first step is for the rank and file movement to understand and state that it will not accept wage controls. Workers should begin to make it clear that they will not accept contracts that do not provide an increase in real living standards and working conditions.

The rank and file of labor needs to say that there is no reason on earth why workers should foot the bill for the cynical plans of politicians and profit hungry bosses.

MINERS' CLINIC WORKERS CONTINUE STRIKE ACTION

NEW KENSINGTON, Pa.—Members of United Steel Workers of America Local 14077 are moving into the second month of their strike against Miners' Clinics Incorporated (MCI).

In the past two weeks of the strike more patients—who are working and retired coal miners—are refusing to cross the picket line. And of those who are crossing, more are coming out angry because they are unable to get decent health care from the scabs MCI is using. One child was reportedly unable to get a shot because the doctor had for so long depended on a nurse to do this, he's forgotten how.

Chief spokespersons for MCI's board are Louis Antal, director of United Mine Workers District 5, and Donald Conwell, an MCI administrator.

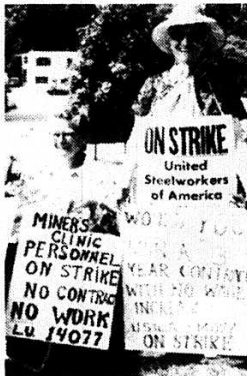
Unbeknownst to the strikers, the board posted a leaflet in all the area

mines filled with lies about what the contract offered. The leaflet failed to mention that MCI is using scab labor and that Lou Antal himself has crossed the picket line. The strikers have since leafletted the mines to present the real facts about the contract to the miners.

It appears it is going to take more than a cut-back in business for MCI to make a decent contract offer. The strikers can't afford to sit back and let MCI or their international union representative make the next move.

When the strikers leafletted the mines they were warmly received. Were they to put up pickets in front of these mines there is little question that miners would go out on sympathetic strikes.

MCI knew right off that if they wanted to win the strike they had to get the miners solidly behind them. Strikers should realize and act on this before it is too late.



Patients at Miners' Clinics are now refusing to cross the picket lines.

LOUISVILLE CWA PROTESTS INFORMATION CHARGE

LOUISVILLE—On July 25, members of CWA Local 10310 set up an informational picket in front of the main office of South Central Bell in downtown Louisville. The demonstration was called to protest the proposed charge for information calls in Kentucky.

Despite a hot, humid day, telephone workers walked the line for four hours singing and chanting. They were helped out by women workers from the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Many D.A. (directory assistance) operators came out and walked the line during their break. Local TV, radio and newspapers carried the story.

Starting with the fourth informational call of the month, Ma Bell wants to charge you 20c per call. Because of the charge, fewer people would use D.A., and fewer D.A. operators would be needed. When the charge was added in Atlanta, 33% of D.A. operators lost their jobs. In Cincinnati, it was 40%.

UNITED ACTION

Members of United Action, a group of rank and file militants, proposed at the June union meeting that a demonstration be planned. The motion passed. A committee was set up and a member of U.A. was made chairman. Organizing the demonstration was done entirely by D.A. operators and U.A. members, with virtually no help from the executive board.

At its peak, 30 telephone workers, many of them D.A. operators, walked the line. But regardless of

the fact that the executive board members would be paid for such official union activities, only two showed up. As one U.A. member, put it, "As far as we can tell, the executive board isn't interested in this at all. We pulled this entire thing on our own."

The executive board is famous for blaming the average union member for being "apathetic." But when it comes to taking on the company, the real apathy lies in the executive board.



This Directory Assistance operator may lose her job.

Stop Killer Cops!

CLEVELAND—Over 100 people gathered in Public Square, Saturday, July 19 to protest the police killings of Derrick Browne and Dwayne Hawkins. Hawkins, 19, was shot in his home on Memorial Day weekend by Patrolman Sidney Rosen.

Rosen claims the victim came at him with two knives. Hawkins was shot in the back.

Browne was gunned down by Patrolman Ralph Thomas on June 6. Thomas suspected the motorcycle Browne was riding had been stolen. Patrolman Thomas has been indicted on a first degree misdemeanor in the incident.

DEMONSTRATION

The demonstration was called by the People's Coalition Against Police Repression and Brutality. The crowd was addressed by Browne's mother, Gloria Adams, and Ms. Ruth McCoy, whose son was beaten by police after a rock concert.

Members of the International Socialists and the Red Tide participated in the protest.

After the rally, participants marched to Central Police Head-

quarters. A clear message was emblazoned on placards and shouted through bullhorns—Stop Killer Cops! Racist Police Off The Force! An End To Police Repression In The Black Community!

Hotel Workers Face Sellout

MADISON, Wis.—Workers at the Concourse Hotel recently received a bonus in their pay envelopes. It was a note from their International Union representative telling them they would receive no strike pay or benefits.

The workers, members of Local 257 of the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union are on the verge of being completely sold out by the International.

Many of them make only \$1.90 an hour. They are demanding a 30c hourly increase in each year of a two-year contract.

Although management's most recent offer was rejected by 94% of the workers, Allan Graskamp, the International rep, has threatened to sign a contract over the heads of the workers.

Portland CLUW Begins Labor Education Classes

Portland CLUW began a four part educational series on July 15. Fifty women attended representing seven unions. This first session covered labor history from 1850 until the present, with special emphasis on the role that women played.

Five women did a dramatic reading adapted from the play "Women's Work is Never Done."

The presentation was interspersed with slides and labor songs by a local group of musicians.

The rest of the series will include negotiating a contract, grievances, and safety and health on the job.

The interest for these educational came out of workshops at the June CLUW conference. Many women there expressed the need for a greater understanding of the collective bargaining process. These educational evenings will help women participate effectively in their unions and better defend their rights and working conditions.

PORTUGAL

The struggle for

EYEWITNESS REPORT BY COLIN SPARKS

From an eyewitness report by Colin Sparks in Lisbon:

The struggle in Portugal is no longer for this or that improvement in living standards. It is a struggle to decide which class will hold power.

The Armed Forces Movement is splitting at the seams. Some officers are very much on the right, while others, and much of the rank and file, support the workers. And the bulk of the officers stand in the middle, paralyzed by indecision.

Every time an attempt is made to use the army to break a strike, it fails. Discipline collapses and men do not cooperate with the orders they have been given. Yet the army cannot be used to destroy the organized base of reaction, either.

A month ago the leaders of the armed forces seemed to be backing the Socialist Party and its call to restore capitalist "order." Yet, two weeks later they were calling for the setting up of "popular power."

The armed forces' plan called for setting up a network of workers' and tenants' committees, linked to the army through appointed officers. But it does not suggest how these committees can take over supreme power.

CONTROL

Yet it is only by taking power that workers can solve the crisis ripping Portugal.

Workers already control many factories. They have occupied thousands of houses to solve the housing problem. They have taken private hospitals into their own hands.

But the economy as a whole is still run for profit. There is still a

massive waste of resources on luxury goods for the middle class.

The legal minimum wage, \$170 a month, is still a tenth of the legal maximum wage. While the unemployed go hungry, the rich still flash by in their sports cars.

The problems of production, unemployment, and inflation can only be solved if the workers take over the economy as a whole, end

the luxury consumption of the rich, and create a democratic plan that ensures a decent living standard for everyone.

In the present situation every hesitation by the working class ensures that the economic crisis gets worse. Every attempt to seem moderate enables the ruling class to advance, drives more people into opposing socialism.

It is possible that the demonstrations of the Socialist Party and the right wing will cause the leaders of the Armed Forces Movement to swing back toward the right.

They are running what is still a capitalist country. The crisis cannot be solved in capitalist terms without the most vicious attacks on wages, working conditions and workers' organizations.

That is why the revolutionary left in Portugal is fighting not only to set up workers' and soldiers' councils. They are fighting for

these councils to take power and to build an army of a new sort, one that cannot be used against workers because it is linked with armed workers in the factories and localities.



But rank and file building workers wanted to march as planned. So the police launched a vicious attack.

They began by firing canisters of CS gas into the mass of workers. Worst of all were the tear gas bullets which can maim and kill.

BYSTANDERS

Then the police turned on bystanders. They fired tear gas at people's balconies, rushed into cafes and side streets to terrorize the population, and smashed hundreds of shop windows with their tear gas bullets. Then they blamed their bloody work on "extremists."

Workers and students, who joined in the struggle, managed to destroy an armored police vehicle by throwing a concrete mixer on it from a scaffold on a building site.

By the end of the 12-hour street battle, two workers were dead, hundreds wounded and hundreds more under arrest. According to one reporter: "The center of Athens stank of tear gas, and everyone was saying it was exactly like the time of the Junta."

There is major industrial unrest in China. 10,000 troops have been moved into factories in the central coast city of Hangchow, capital of Chekiang Province, on orders from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The use of such a large number of troops indicates that strike activity has been militant, and has taken place in a large number of factories.

Official broadcasts say troops were sent in because Hangchow workers were "unable to increase

production under the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary line and the bourgeois factionalism, and due to the sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies."

Reports like this from the official China press usually mean two things. One is that there are conflicts between factory managers and the central government in Peking. The second is that workers are taking things into their own hands to fight back against speed up and low wages.

STRONG ACTION

On this occasion it seems that workers have taken strong action. At least 13 factories have been affected, including silk dyeing, woolen textile, automobile and meat-processing plants.

The last time troops were used to break strikes in China on a massive scale was during the Cultural Revolution. At the high point in 1967, workers in Shanghai began a general strike and nearly took over the city.

The frightened Communist Party government overcame its internal differences to let the Army break the strike.

Workers in China are constantly told they must work harder and produce more, in return for less pay. When they fight back they are called "counterrevolutionary."

The use of troops to smash strikes by the Chinese government proves that it is really the Communist Party bureaucrats who are counterrevolutionary. Commun-

But even more important, it shows that the workers of China have not given up their struggle. □

Will Army Crack Over Angola?

The civil war raging in Angola threatens to explode the Portuguese Army. The relationship between Portugal's Army and its former colonies including Angola has already toppled one Portuguese government. Portugal's present rulers don't want to see it happen again. But there is little they can do.

They came to power supported by Portuguese masses who wanted an end to the colonial wars. But they are part of the military which still has responsibilities to colonialism.

Angola will achieve full independence in November. But rival organizations are currently fighting over which one will rule independent Angola.

Portuguese troops stationed in Angola are supposedly trying to keep the two sides apart. But they have lost control of the situation. Last weekend an attack by Portuguese troops in Luanda left 20 Africans dead. They were MPLA members.

Rank and file soldiers do not want to fight Angolans. They just want to get out alive.

The military officers of Portugal's government, the Armed Forces Movement, are clearly

frightened. They have clamped censorship on all news reports from Angola.

ANGRY

The longer the Army stays in Angola, the angrier and more explosive its ranks become. The MFA risks losing support in an already unstable situation.

But they are not strong enough to pull the troops out. In Angola live nearly half a million white Portuguese settlers. The Army is also supposed to be protecting their interests.

Already, thousands of the settlers have returned to Portugal. They have found no jobs available. Those who were managers and professionals in Angola have encountered hostility because of their sympathy for the old fascist-colonialist regime.

The returning settlers have joined the powerful forces who oppose Portugal's military government from the right. If another right wing coup is organized, they will be central to it.

If Portugal's military rulers pull out the troops from Angola, they risk such a coup. But leaving them there is almost as dangerous. If they lose control of the army in Angola, they may lose control in Portugal as well. □

power is on

DEFEND THE WORKERS' COUNCILS! DEFEND THE REVOLUTION!

by Dan Posen

The crisis of the military government in Portugal seems to be coming to a head. The Army's ability to hold the country together any longer is very much in question. And also in question is the fate of the most revolutionary working class in the world today. The former ruling body, a committee of officers of the Armed Forces Movement, has been replaced by a three-man directorate.

No government has been able to establish stable rule in Portugal since fascism was ousted in April 1974. That coup unleashed demands for more freedom and power from every section of Portuguese society.

But the different sections have different interests, often opposing interests. In the 15 months since the coup these forces have organized and struggled with each other, formed alliances and broken them, in the attempt to win power.

At least four governments have formed, and toppled. And in the process, the forces have shifted.

The capitalists' political organizations have collapsed. The major capitalists have no party to directly represent their interests. But Portugal is still a capitalist nation—for the capitalists still own the factories and shops. That is their strength.

WORKERS

Workers in Portugal know that their interests do not lie with the capitalists who gave them fascism for so long.

Immediately after the April (1974) coup, massive numbers of workers joined leftwing parties. But in recent months, some Portuguese workers have formed another kind of organization, workers' councils.

Through the councils, workers have been able to do what none of the existing working class parties have done. They have directly

challenged the right of the capitalists to own and run things.

Through their councils, Portuguese workers have organized strikes and occupied factories. They know that they have to do this to win the freedom that the end of fascism promised them.

Fascists still exist in Portugal too. The far right is a weak minority now, but they are waiting for the other forces to destroy each other. Then they hope to move in.

For several months, political power in Portugal rested with a committee of about two dozen officers of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), called the High Council of the Revolution.

The MFA was a section of the army which had moved to the left. They were the only group that could get enough support from Portugal's many left wing parties to hold governmental power at all.

FACTIONS

But the High Council itself was ripped by factional struggle. It has now been replaced as the supreme authority. The new ruling body is a three-man directorate.

It consists of the three leading representatives of the main political forces within the MFA.

One of these is President Francisco de Costa Gomes, a vacillating "moderate" officer who is often associated with the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is fighting to protect a Western European style of capitalist rule.

The SP has been able to win a lot of working class support however, because it opposes undemocratic actions of the military and the Communist Party. It just doesn't tell the workers it's for capitalism.

The second leader is Premier Vasco Goncalves, who is very close to the Communist Party. The CP is the only political force in Portugal which has consistently supported every single policy of the MFA government.

But it has been extremely critical of militant factory occupations, strikes and workers councils organized by revolutionary workers in Portugal.

COPCON

The third member of the new ruling body is Otelo de Carvalho. He is chief commander of the military unit, COPCON, which is responsible for internal security.

The three-man committee was established when the struggle between political parties in Portugal, and their power bases in the Army, paralyzed the whole regime. But the new set-up has not brought the struggles within the Army itself to an end. It has only intensified them.

COPCON has been identified with the extreme left wing of Portugal's revolution. So far, it has supported the workers councils, and their demonstrations calling for a revolutionary government.

But Carvalho is now part of the new ruling committee which is certainly not a revolutionary government. In his new position he can't continue to play both sides.

Carvalho, returning from a trip to Cuba, promised "harsh repression" for those he labelled as "counter-revolutionary" elements. He did not spell out, however, exactly who the targets of this repression would be.

The next day, there were the first signs of a possible major shake-up and crackdown within the Army. Thirteen officers of a special commando unit near Lisbon were reportedly arrested.

These rapidly moving events are occurring against a background of increasing tension and violence. In the northern part of the country, there are almost daily right-wing attacks and bombings of headquarters and homes of Communist Party members. There are also reports of infiltration by armed



fascists from Spain.

THREATS

As the crisis becomes more polarized, the military government faces threats from two directions. There is the right, both the Socialist Party which wants to protect capitalism, and the far right fascists.

On the left are the revolutionary workers' councils, which stand for workers' control of industry and socialist revolution.

Now things are coming to a head. It seems almost certain that the workers' councils of Portugal will come under the gun of repression—perhaps not immediately, but it is not far away.

The generals speak in the name of "socialism," "liberation," and

"the revolution." But to ensure their own control of the country, they will stick the knife into the working class, whom they see as just a tool.

The task of revolutionaries is urgent. The revolution in Portugal must be defended. Above all, that means defending the workers' councils.

The councils are the answer to the crisis. They must be built into a broad, powerful movement that has the strength to smash the right and challenge the generals' control of the Army and the country. They are also the key to the further development of the revolution.

The struggle in Portugal is our struggle. We must do everything we can to back the workers' councils every step of the way. □

YOU CAN HELP

"Proletarian internationalism is the life-blood of working class struggle, particularly now, when imperialism and capitalism are undergoing a great crisis. Thus, internationalist solidarity means above all that workers get deeply involved in the task of making the socialist revolution in their own countries.

"In Portugal the working class is living through a decisive period of its confrontation with the ruling class. The question of power is at this moment the vital one, and in pursuing their struggle Portuguese workers are in practice carrying out proletarian internationalism."

This appeal is from a letter written by Raul Mendes, on behalf of the Portuguese revolutionary organization Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades, or PRP-BR.

We are asking our readers for contributions to defend the Portuguese revolution, build the workers' councils and support the struggle of the PRP-BR. We need to raise as much money as we can in this crisis.

Send contributions to: Workers' Power Portuguese Solidarity Fund, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.

The Rip-off of Portugal's Economy

While the political crisis deepens, Portugal's economy gives every sign of heading for collapse.

A recent document from the supreme military council outlined a fall in Gross National Product (total production) of 6 per cent. Unemployment, officially at 8%, is really rising toward 11% at least. Inflation is galloping at the highest rate in Western Europe.

What is happening, in simple terms, is that the capitalists of Portugal are strangling their own economy.

Investment has practically stopped. Companies have sold off their inventories and made no effort to replace them.

Things are bad enough that many workers are forced to accept less than the legal minimum wage to keep their jobs. Those who refuse to accept, and strike, are denounced by the military for acting in a "counter-revolutionary

fashion, endangering political stability and playing into the hands of rightists.

FOREIGN CAPITAL

But things aren't hopeless for everybody. Foreign capital is still very interested in Portugal—especially in buying up firms that are now so cheap it's worth the risk of possible nationalization.

Here's what one American manufacturer had to say as he pulled out a briefcase stuffed with balance sheets from local firms:

"I can purchase control of most of these companies for so little that I'll have my money back in a year or 18 months at the outside. After that, it's all profit. Where else can you get a deal like that today? On those terms, I can ride with the revolution."

While large sectors of domestic business have been nationalized

foreign investments haven't been touched. And if they are eventually taken over by the military, it's assumed they will be well compensated.

The workers of Portugal are paying a heavy price as the rip-off artists steal the country's productive resources. But as long as they don't hold political power, there isn't very much they can do about it.

Workers have been able to stop some of the most blatant sabotage from within. They stopped the bankers who financed right-wing parties and tried to smuggle funds out of the country.

But they can't force the capitalists to invest their capital, or prevent them from selling the country's wealth at dirt prices as long as capitalism exists.

The only way out is to seize that wealth and that capital totally. That's the step that will make or break Portugal's revolution. □

Thirty years ago this month—August 6, 1945—was the date of one of the most barbaric crimes in the history of war.

In one blinding instant, in the most powerful flash of light and heat ever released on the earth's surface, most of Hiroshima disappeared.

The statistics barely outline what the moment was like. Tens of thousands of men, women, children were incinerated without a trace. Many more were crushed when homes, libraries, hospitals and office buildings collapsed.

But that was only the beginning. A quarter of a century later, the atomic bomb was still killing people in Hiroshima by slow torture.

None of the generals or statesmen who ordered the dropping of that bomb were ever charged or prosecuted for their deliberate act of mass murder. The reason is simple—they were on the winning side.

Instead, they were applauded as the heroes who won World War II and saved the world from fascism. That first atom bomb was the beginning of a new age in weapons of total destruction—the age of megamurder.

Nuclear weapons of fantastic size and diversity are now stockpiled by the ruling classes of the United States and Russia to use against each other. Half a dozen other-nations, at least, are laying in their own supplies.

A single one of today's monster nuclear warheads could trigger a world war which might cripple modern society for a decade, a generation, a century—or possible destroy it forever.

The struggle to get rid of nuclear weapons, and eliminate the possibility of their ever being used, is the struggle for our survival. But so long as the social systems which produce these weapons are left in place, there will always be the danger of their being unleashed.

What was the bombing of Hiroshima about? Was it really intended to save lives by shortening the war? What were the politics of the war that led to it?

With nuclear weapons spreading every day, how can we hope to end the age of megamurder? These are the questions we must ask thirty years after Hiroshima.

by DAN POSEN

Why They Fought World War II

The horror of the atomic bomb often makes us overlook many of the other events of World War II. But the bomb dropped on Hiroshima was not something set apart from the war, or from the politics that led to it.

Many months before the atomic bomb was dropped, there were massive incendiary raids on Tokyo. Firebombs from hundreds of B-29s incinerated the city. Over 100,000 people died—which according to official estimates is even more than the number killed at Hiroshima.

The same thing was done at Dresden, Germany. In both cases the firebombing was not done to destroy particular military targets, but to terrorize and shatter a civilian population.

All these raids were personally ordered by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain. They were ordered after the outcome of the war itself was no longer in doubt. Germany and Japan were already crumbling and in full retreat.

All this was done, according to official American history, to save the world from the menace of Hitler and fascism. It was done to save freedom and democracy. But was this what the war was really about?

IMPERIALISM

World War II was fought for many things. But democracy was not one of them. The war was the product of a world capitalist system that was choking on its own contradictions.

During the Great Depression, industrial production in the capital-

ist countries nearly collapsed. Tens of millions of unemployed workers were thrown into the streets. The whole future of capitalism was in doubt.

IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES

The decay of capitalism led the ruling classes to adopt new, incredibly brutal means of repression and exploitation to save their system. It brought about the rise of fascism in Germany, in Italy and Japan.

When capitalists couldn't invest at a profit at home, they scrambled to find colonies abroad to export their capital. But the problem was that there were no new colonies—they were already all divided up.

Those capitalist powers which held colonies in Asia and Africa used every possible means to keep their stranglehold. Those who didn't began trying to grab some of their own. Old imperialist rivalries were intensified, and new ones were created.

Japan began spreading its power into East and Southeast Asia. It seized a large chunk of China. Unavoidably, Japan collided with the old colonial powers.

Japan's growing power also threatened another growing power which intended to control the Pacific Ocean. That power was the United States.

In Europe, German imperialism under Hitler began its own expansion into Central and Eastern Europe. Within a few years Germany had the most powerful industrial and war machine on the Continent.

"I can still picture t mind-like walki

There was no warning. Shortly after 8 a.m., a single B-29 US plane appeared over the city of Hiroshima.

Already that morning, there had been warnings from air raid sirens. But the all-clear had been sounded before the single plane appeared.

No one paid much attention to it. Every morning, the United States had deliberately been sending single B-29s over the city—so that the one carrying the bomb would attract no particular notice.

It was the time when ordinary people were going to work. Tens of thousands of people who lived outside Hiroshima but came in to work every day, were now within the city.

At exactly 8:15, by a carefully pre-arranged sequence, the B-29 released its load and banked sharply up to be safely away from the holocaust it left behind.

The uranium bomb, whose explosive force was to be estimated at 13,500 tons of TNT, detonated at a height of 1850 feet, a third of a mile almost directly over the center of the city.

INCINERATED

One study of the effect of the bomb reported: "At points close to the hypocenter, heat was so intense that metal and steel melted, and human beings were literally incinerated. The area was enveloped by fires fanned by a fierce 'firewind'; these broke out within a radius of up to two miles."

Here are a few of the statistics about the bombing of Hiroshima.

• **Numbers Killed:** According to American estimates and the national Japanese police force under the American occupation, there were between 70,000 and 80,000 dead and about 68,000 injured. But the city of Hiroshima has a different estimate. Based on estimating the number of non-residents who were in the city during the day, its officials calculated the death toll at 200,000.

• **Intensity of Destruction:** At a distance of 3000 feet from the center, over 90% of the people were killed. At a distance of 6000 feet, the figure is over 80%.

• **Other Effects:** Following the explosion, thousands died within days or weeks from acute radiation poisoning. It literally destroyed their blood cells. One of the most common occurrences was people vomiting up enormous quantities of yellow radioactive gas they inhaled from the air.

Long-term effects include incurable cases of leukemia and lung

cancer. These are still appearing over 30 years after the blast. In the first six months of 1971 alone, for example, 23 people died of cancer at Hiroshima Bombing Hospital. The leukemia rate at that time in Hiroshima was 16 times the national average.

• **How Targets Were Chosen:** Hiroshima was chosen partly for shock value, since it had suffered very little earlier damage in the war. The second atomic bomb was

dropped on Nagasaki killing an estimated 40,000 three days later, before the Japanese government had time to surrender. Nagasaki was a substitute target for Kyoto. Secretary of War Henry Stimson was afraid there would be bad publicity if the US bombed Kyoto, where there were many religious shrines.

There are hundreds of eyewitness accounts from people who



By 1939, there was no way out. In Asia, in Europe, in the Pacific, war was inevitable.

The war was fought not just with bombs and bullets, but also with political slogans. The Nazi rulers fought under the banner of white supremacy and the "Master Race." The western Allies fought under slogans of saving freedom and democracy — while they cracked down even more brutally in their own colonies.

Russia, under Stalin, joined the Western camp when Germany invaded Russia. According to Stalin every worker had to fight for western imperialism in order to defend what Stalin called "socialism" in Russia.

DIVIDING THE SPOILS

But the war had nothing to do with any of these high ideals. It was fought to decide which set of bosses would rule the industries,

the colonies, and the peoples of the world.

By 1944, that question was answered. The Allies had smashed the German-Japanese offensive and were rolling toward victory. The Allies' main concern was no longer how to win the war. It was how they were going to carve up the world among themselves after the victory.

In a series of conferences at Tehran, Potsdam and Yalta, the Big Three leaders — Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin—re-drew the map of the world. They maneuvered against each other to determine whether America or Britain would dominate post-war capitalism, and how far Russia would expand into East Europe and Asia.

That was where the atomic bomb came in.

The bomb was nearly ready for use—but as things worked out, it was irrelevant to winning the war. The US had intercepted cables proving the Japanese government

realized its defeat and was actively discussing surrender.

However, after all, \$2 billion had been spent creating it. And it was useful for another purpose: showing Russia, Britain and the rest of the world exactly who was going to be the boss.

Russia was on the verge of declaring war on Japan, so it could grab the areas of China which Japan had seized. The United States planned to keep China in one piece, under its own influence. It didn't plan to let anyone else muscle in on the Pacific, either.

Dropping the atom bombs on Japan, incinerating Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was a good way to demonstrate that the United States had the muscle to do what it pleased in the post-war world.

So they dropped it. A quarter of a million or so Japanese died, not so that the US could win the war—but so that Washington could establish its right to run the world for the next 20 years.

...them in my
...ring ghosts."

described what the moments and hours after the blast were like. This is one of them:

"The appearance of people was...well, they all had skin blackened by burns...they had no hair because their hair was burned, and at a glance you couldn't tell whether you were looking at them from in front or in back...and their skin—not only on their hands but on their faces and bodies too—

hung down...If there had been only one or two of these people, perhaps I would not have had such a strong impression. But wherever I walked I met these people...

many of them died along the road—I can still picture them in my mind—like walking ghosts...they did not look like people of this world...they had a special way of walking—very slowly...I myself was one of them."

Building A—Bombs

NUCLEAR NATIONS A GROWING CLUB

Constructing the first atomic bomb was a gigantic scientific, technological and engineering project. It required the full commitment of the most powerful war economy ever organized.

The United States spent well over \$2 billion in the Manhattan project that built the bomb. Whole factories employing over 60,000 people sprang up.

But today, building nuclear weapons is trivial by comparison. Underdeveloped countries, where

hundreds of thousands of people may be starving, have ready access to the means of building them.

SIMPLE

Once they were discovered, the principles of the atomic bomb turned out to be simple.

The basic idea is to split the unstable Uranium-235 atom, breaking it into smaller atoms and releasing the enormous energy involved in the reaction. If this is

done rapidly enough, a tremendous explosion results.

The problem was that U-235 is extremely rare. But it was soon discovered that plutonium would work just as well. And plutonium can be easily produced from the ordinary, more common variety of uranium, U-238.

The process of creating the bomb is easily understood by every nuclear physicist. The technology is relatively simple. In fact, it is for sale from governments which sell nuclear reactors to be used to provide cheap energy.

In other words, any government that can get its hands on a supply of plutonium, and is willing to spend the money needed for nuclear reactors, can go into business as a nuclear power.

There are supposed to be international safeguards, under which inspectors keep track of all the plutonium in nuclear reactors to make sure none is "leaked" to be used for bombs. But these safeguards are a joke.

Inspection procedures are easily evaded, even when the reactor has been leased from a major nuclear power. And nothing can force any government to submit to any inspection if it has built the reactor itself.

An error of only 1% in accounting for plutonium would allow enough to be "leaked" to produce an uncontrollable boom in nuclear proliferation. Already a flourishing international "black market" in uncontrolled plutonium has sprung up.

JOIN THE CLUB

The Nuclear Proliferation Treaty recognizes five countries as the existing nuclear powers: United States, Russia, Britain, France and China. The aim is to keep these weapons from being built by other countries.

This treaty, which has no binding force, is based on hypocrisy. When the United States and Russia have enough nuclear stockpiles to destroy the world over a dozen times, how are smaller countries expected to stay out of the "club"?

India, the biggest military power in South Asia, has exploded nuclear weapons. In the Middle East, it is almost universally assumed that Israel has already stored nuclear weapons. Egypt is expected to respond with its own.

Other possible, soon-to-be nuclear powers are looming on the horizon. In Latin America they include Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

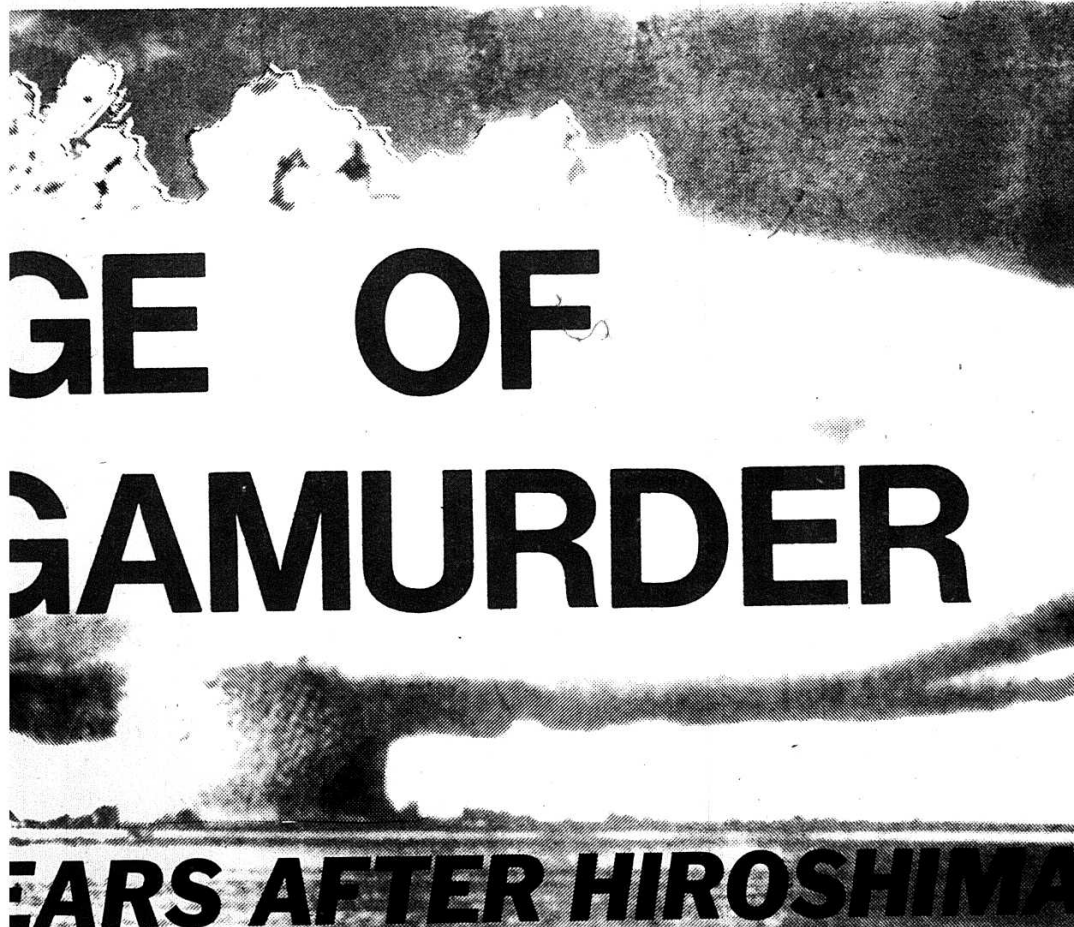
The black nations of southern Africa may soon be living under the shadow of atomic bombs held by the white racist Republic of South Africa.

Every national ruling class, big or small, is concerned with its own preservation. The truth is that any such class with nuclear weapons at its disposal is likely to use them—if its existence is threatened.

In the coming years, the danger of atomic warfare doesn't come only from the two giant super-powers "pushing the button" on global thermonuclear annihilation.

It could occur in any of a dozen possible smaller wars, from the Middle East to Cyprus to South Asia to the Persian Gulf. Today, even the "small" nuclear weapons that can be built by regional powers make the monsters that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki look tiny.

If and when these weapons are first used, no one knows how it would spread. No one knows what the effects would be. The disastrous consequences are, literally, incalculable.



AGE OF HAMMURDER

THIRTY YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA

THERE WAS ANOTHER CHOICE

There was one force that could have prevented World War II, defeated fascism, overthrown capitalism and imperialism, and made sure the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima was never built. That force was the revolutionary socialist workers' movement.

But all over Europe, the working class was defeated in the 1930s. It was defeated not only by the capitalist ruling classes but by its own leaders, the Communist Parties.

The Communist Parties, which were once revolutionary, became the agents of Stalin's state machine in Russia. When Stalin briefly allied with Hitler, they cheerfully went along with that. When Russia joined the western Allies against Germany, the Communist Parties became gung-ho, pro-war chauvinists.

The working class everywhere was dragged into the preparations for the capitalists' war.

REVOLUTION

Thirty years after Hiroshima, the map of the world is very different from 1939. But the threat of world-wide nuclear war is now

permanent, and growing more dangerous year by year.

Today there are two super-powers, the United States and Russia, which between them have stockpiled an amount of nuclear explosive power which is equivalent to one Hiroshima-bomb (15,000 kilotons) for every man, woman and child living on earth.

This staggering figure says all we need to know about what World War III will be like. And there will be a World War III, if the governments and the ruling classes which produce these weapons are left in power.

There is no way in the world that the capitalist ruling class in the United States, and the bureaucratic ruling class in Russia, will peacefully disarm themselves.

They will be disarmed only when they are overthrown. They must be overthrown by working class revolutionaries which are determined to replace them with a socialist world. Workers who control factories and industries for their own use won't need to fight each other for colonies and markets. That's the answer to the threat of nuclear war. It's the only future we have.

YOUTH DEMAND MORE JOBS

Young people have a hard enough time getting jobs when the economy is in good shape. When a crisis hits, young people are out of luck.

Even the government is saying that black high school graduates won't have jobs until the 1980's!

In Detroit conditions are particularly bad. Young people have been hired by the government to work for the city at extra-low wages. But many of the young workers haven't received any pay for weeks of work.

The city says everyone will eventually be paid, but the young workers are getting angrier.

Unemployment and low wages have always plagued working class youth while the bosses live in luxury and send their children to private schools.

This has got to change. To make sure it does, The Red Tide, (the youth section of the International Socialists) has launched a summer campaign to fight for jobs for young people.

The campaign will culminate on August 7th.

On that day demonstrations will be held in cities across the country around the following key demands: Jobs for young people at decent union wages; Full unemployment benefits for youth; Free and open job training for all young people. Open the schools to young people for job training and recreation; Stop police harassment of youth; End the military budget. Use the money to provide jobs.

Red Tide Unemployment Committees were formed to lead the struggle for these demands.

Similar demonstrations this summer in Los Angeles and New York have mobilized large numbers of young people. In at least one case they won some jobs.

JOBS FOR YOUTH! AT DECENT UNION WAGES



Demonstrate August 7th

OAKLAND—12 noon, City Hall
CLEVELAND—11am, City Hall
LOS ANGELES—10am, City Hall
Sponsored by the Red Tide Unemployment Committees

Red Tide poster.

So far August 7 demonstrations have been called in Cleveland, Los Angeles, and Oakland, CA.

The unemployment campaign is described in detail in the August issue of the Red Tide newspaper. For a copy, and more information on the campaign, write THE RED TIDE, PO Box 64402, Los Angeles, CA 90064.

Jerry Pavlich

WHAT'S ON

Oakland, Friday, Aug. 8—"Health and Safety on the Job." Jan Levanthal, hospital worker and member of Bay Area Committee on Occupational Health and Safety (BACOSH); and Leo Seiditz, staff member of Labor Occupational Health Project and member BACOSH. Oakland Tech, 43rd and Broadway, in the Choir Room. 7:30 pm. A Workers' Power Forum.

Talking About Socialism... And Crime

by Bernard O'Higgins

I recently got a letter from a Workers' Power reader in Cleveland. The writer, a Teamster, told me that, though people he worked with like some of the articles in the paper, they were really turned off by all the coverage of prisoners and their struggles.

Their attitude was that prisoners are just "common criminals" and deserve the treatment they get. Unfortunately, this is a fairly common attitude about prisoners, especially among white people. It just happens to be dead wrong.

First of all, how does someone end up in prison? The obvious answer is for breaking the law, for committing a serious felony offense. But another common way of ending up in prison is simply being in the wrong place at the wrong time, and being black, or poor, or both.

In either case, if you go to prison, they say you broke the law. But what is the law? Who created it and what is its purpose?

STATE MACHINE

Earlier columns in this series have talked about the capitalist state machine and its various institutions—the police, the army, the legal system. They all have one basic purpose—to preserve the rule of rich capitalists who produce nothing, over the working people who produce all goods and services.

The purpose of the law is to preserve and protect capitalist property rights. This includes everything from laws against shoplifting, to laws against "criminal syndicalism"—the legal term for the idea that workers should take over the factories and run them for their own benefit.

Most people go to prison for violating these capitalist property rights in one way or another. They violate them for reasons that are built into the capitalist system itself.

Most people steal because they are poor and hungry. And capitalism always keeps some people poor. It will never allow "anyone willing to work" to get work.

It is all the more unbearable because of the tremendous wealth

this country produces—obviously more than enough to provide all its citizens with a decent living if the social structure wasn't what it is.

If you're born into poverty and you can't get a job, and you see all the wealth that exists in America, and see no legal way to get any of it, the idea of picking up a gun and going out and taking it begins to



...the wrong place at the wrong time, and black.

look pretty good...It also very often lands you in prison.

Most crimes of violence also result from poverty and oppression. When people are angry and frustrated and see no way out, they turn against each other.

Most violent crimes in this society involve poor people killing and beating up each other while the people who keep them poor are safe and comfortable in a better part of town. Those unfortunate enough to get caught also end up in prison.

Prisons supposedly exist to "rehabilitate" you and make you a productive member of society. But as anyone who knows anything about prisons can tell you, it doesn't quite work out that way.

It's no accident that prisons are also referred to as "schools of crime."

The real purpose of the American penal system is to punish the

victims of American capitalism and to break their spirit. Poor people aren't angry and frustrated because they're crazy—they have good reason for feeling the way they do.

But the prisons treat you as wild animals that have to be tamed. All kinds of physical and psychological violence is used to achieve this, from guns and clubs to solitary confinement, drugs, "therapy," to pre-frontal lobotomies for those who can't be controlled.

PRISON REVOLT

So is it any wonder that prisoners revolt? If anything, it's surprising that they don't revolt more often. Such uprisings as the Attica rebellion are attempts on the part of the prisoners to reassert the human dignity that the prison system tries to take away from them.

So prisoners are not just "common criminals." A lot of them can legitimately be considered political prisoners. They are victims of a legal system that gives executives who steal a few million dollars a year or so in minimum security prisons, or two to three years probation. Yet poor people who hold up liquor stores or gas stations get long or indeterminate sentences.

The way socialists propose to eliminate crime is by getting rid of the biggest cause of crime—the capitalist organization of society.

In a socialist society, people would have no need to steal—there would be plenty for everyone.

There would be much less violent crime because most people would no longer feel frustrated and powerless. Instead, they would be running all the social and economic institutions that affected their lives.

This isn't "idealism," but a fact. Every time there's been a major upsurge of working people fighting for their rights, for example—the Minneapolis general strike of 1934—crime of all kinds has fallen dramatically. That's because all that anger and frustration was being channelled into changing society.

Once a socialist society really gets going, most crime will rapidly become a thing of the past.



What We Stand For

The International Socialists are open to all who accept our basic principles and are willing to work as a member of our organization to achieve them. We stand for:

WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION

Working class revolution will destroy capitalism. Reform schemes cannot patch it up. The wealth produced by workers will be collectively controlled by workers to provide a decent life and freedom for all. Today that wealth is stolen from working people by the capitalist class. Socialism can be won only through workers' revolution. The capitalist state must be destroyed. So must its institutions: the legislature, army, police, and courts. A socialist society will be ruled democratically by mass organizations of all working people.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Today the trade unions are the only mass working class organizations. We work for rank and file control of the unions to make them fighting instruments of workers against the employers. We fight for workers' action against the economic and social crisis of capitalism: Defend working conditions. No controls on wages. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. The right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without compensation and under workers' control.

BLACK LIBERATION

We stand for black liberation. Full equality for black people and all national minorities. Defend the black community and other oppressed peoples against all forms of racism, police terror and discrimination. We call for independent organization by black and other specially oppressed people to struggle for their liberation and to build the unity among all workers that will lead to socialism. Independence for Puerto Rico.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

For complete social, economic and political equality for women. Free quality childcare, birth control and abortion on demand. Abolish oppression of gay people, and all sexual oppression.

YOUTH

Equality for young people. The right to good jobs for all youth. Stop police intimidation of young people. For schools controlled by students, teachers and community. For a revolutionary socialist youth movement.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM

We oppose US imperialism, its nuclear weapons and its alliances such as NATO. Unconditional support to movements for national liberation. We oppose Russian imperialism and its war bloc, the Warsaw Pact, which controls Eastern Europe. For an independent movement of the working class and oppressed peoples everywhere against imperialism, East and West.

FOR WORLD SOCIALISM

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. Workers' councils, political parties and trade unions were all crushed. Today Russia, China and the rest of the "Communist" countries are not socialist, but societies in which workers are exploited by a bureaucratic ruling class. We support workers' struggles in Russia, China and Eastern Europe for democracy and freedom. For workers' revolution to overthrow Stalinism and replace it with socialism.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To win the fight for socialism the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The revolutionary party is a political force linking workers in separate factories, unions and industries, helping to organize and lead them to take state power and control society as a class. All the activity of the IS is directed toward building such a revolutionary party out of the struggles working people are waging today.

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DEFEND THE BUSES!

In city after city where there will be busing plans this fall the battle lines have been drawn, the organizing has begun. The root of the opposition to busing is white racism. The anti-busing forces want to keep black children out of white schools. They want to protect the structure of segregation which subjects blacks to the worst possible conditions.

We stand against this racism. Busing is a simple enough reform—it aims to provide equal educational opportunities for all children by ending school segregation. But this reform requires a hard fight to be won. The Klan, the Wallacites, the reactionary racists are not playing games. They do not want any integration, and are organizing to halt it. We must organize too, and are organizing to halt it.

Many black parents oppose busing or have deep misgivings about it. They are afraid of the consequences for their children. The fears are well-grounded. What the papers don't tell us, but the black community well understands, is that the burden of these busing programs falls on black parents and children—not whites. Blacks will be the targets of most of the violence that arises, both inside the schools and outside.

INADEQUATE

The busing plans are feeble and inadequate—and often racist as well. The Louisville plan is a good example. There black children will be bused for up to eight or nine years, whites for only one to three. In Detroit, cross-district busing—the only kind of plan that would merge the white suburbs with the black city—was defeated. Busing will be for black and poor white students only.

Arrangements like this don't happen by accident. The courts deliberately make every compromise to

defuse the white racists, while holding to the "letter" of their laws.

The main reason the busing programs are so bad is that the vast majority of black people have been deliberately excluded from the struggle for them. The programs are the result of suits brought by "civil rights moderates" of the NAACP and Urban League. These middle-class black leaders are ready to make any compromise to preserve their own respectability and hold the system together. So they make deals with

racists, and the result is busing programs which place the greatest possible burden on the victims of racism. But if these plans are not defended, racism will increase.

Despite differences over specific plans or fears of danger, black people must make their support for busing clear. Any other response gives aid and support to anti-busing forces that are organizing to force blacks to remain in the ghetto schools.

ORGANIZE

The black community must organize itself to make sure the buses are defended and the busing plans fully implemented. Last year's mobs in Boston prove how necessary this is. It is even more critical this year.

Defense of busing is the first step. We will have to fight to extend the busing to cross-district or metropolitan busing, so there is real de-segregation and so there can be genuine equal funding of the schools. The discriminatory parts of the programs, which make black people take the burden of the process of integration, must be swept away.

This will not happen until the black community and its supporters organize to make their outrage clear. Outrage against the racists who would battle with children's lives and futures. Outrage at the black leaders who compromise with these same racists. Outrage at the massive cuts in educational spending that will further destroy the schools. Outrage and willingness to fight harder than the racists to see that equal education becomes a reality for black children.

A defeat would throw the struggle for black liberation back a decade. The line has been drawn. There can be no turning back.



Postal Contract The Worst Yet

by Cal Williams

The proposed contract between the postal unions and the postal service is so rotten that a long and growing list of embarrassed local union leaders are advising their members to vote no.

This attempt to save face is now most widespread among the local leaders of the National Alliance of Letter Carriers (NALC). Local presidents representing a clear majority of the union's national membership have now called for rejection.

The list includes most of the nation's big city locals: New York,

Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Flushing, Coram (Long Island), Orange County (Southern California), and Atlanta.

Smaller locals are also represented: Nashville, South Miami, Portland, Ore., Memphis, Chattanooga, and many more.

In the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), the list is not so long, but John Richards of the Pittsburgh Metro local has called for rejection. And Moe Biller, the president of the New York Metro local has promised not only a "no vote" movement in New York, but also a nationwide campaign.

The amazing thing about all this opposition, however, is that thus far, not one of these local presidents has proposed a single step toward action. No demonstrations are planned. No new demands are put forward. No one will even say what they intend to do if the contract is actually rejected.

The US Postal Service, on the other hand, is clear on its position. It will refuse categorically to return to negotiations. It will accept only binding arbitration.

NO SECOND VOTE

James Rademacher, the president of the NALC, is also clear. In the July issue of *Postal Record*, he went on record as saying that, if the contract is rejected, there would be no second vote on the contract. He will make the final decision himself.

The problem for the rank and file is this. The majority of the membership, while opposed to the proposed contract, is confused and demoralized. At a meeting of New York APWU, for example, nearly 300 stewards voted for rejection, with just one voting in favor. But no action was planned.

There is a lesson to be learned. Rank and file postal workers were ready to fight for a decent contract in 1975. They were militant and united. But, they tied their fate to the tough talk and big promises of the Sombrotto, the Billers, the phony opposition. And, to put it honestly, they were sold out.

This cannot be allowed to happen again. The rank and file should vote no and fight for a clear rejection now, regardless of the threats of the Postal Service, and the promises of the unions.

But this is just the beginning. The new contract gives the postal service a green light to continue and step up its campaign of speed-up, harassment, forced transfers and job elimination.

The union leaders have announced they will not fight back. The rank and file must. And if it does, there will be no repeat of the farce of "Contract 75."

Analysis Reveals More Losses

Summaries of the proposed contract released by the postal unions thus far reveal new losses for postal workers.

• **On time and work standards.** In the "Memorandum of Understanding between the US Postal Service" and the Unions" the service has the right "to conduct a test or tests of standards in one or more installations."

Only when the Service "intends to convert the tests to live implementation" nationally, does

the union have the right to initiate a grievance.

And then, "if the grievance is unresolved within ten days," the matter must be submitted to "priority arbitration."

All this does several things. First, it gives no clear opposition to the Kokomo Plan. Second, it gives local unions no mandate to fight unfair work and time standards. Third, it gives professional arbitrators, who are no friends of the workers, the final decision.

In other words, the new contract gives the service the right to continue what it is already doing: bring Kokomo in the back door.

• **Casuals,** used for periods of up to 90 days under the past contract, will now be used up to "two (2) ninety (90) day terms of casual employment in a calendar year. In addition to such employment, casuals may be re-employed during the Christmas period for not more than twenty-one (21) days."

This means that casuals can now be used 201 days.

• **New restrictions have been placed on the rights of stewards.** "Stewards will be certified to represent employees in specific work location(s) on their tour: provided no more than one steward may be certified to represent employees in a particular work location(s)." In the past, when necessary, workers were able to call on the assistance of stewards outside their immediate location.

• **And new restrictions have been placed on the rights of machine operators.** While some operators have been upgraded from 5 to 6 (giving them an additional \$600 a year), it will now be more difficult to transfer from the machines to other work.

All this, of course, is in addition to the low pay (3.5%), the poor cost of living (1c for .4), no pay differential for expensive cities, and the three year contract.

Sombrotto— "I'm Doing Plenty Already"

NEW YORK CITY—On August 5, The New York branch of the NALC held a special meeting to discuss the national postal agreement.

At the meeting, rank and file carriers proposed the union, headed by Vincent Sombrotto, lead a national campaign to reject the new contract.

They demanded that Sombrotto call a press conference, and announce plans for national demonstrations against the contract. They also proposed that Sombrotto do a national mailing to letter carriers, advising them to vote no.

Sombrotto attempted to have the entire subject ruled out of order, but was unsuccessful. The motion, however, was defeated, though 40% of those present voted in favor of the campaign.

When asked why he refused to take a public stand on the contract, or to lead any action, Sombrotto told the membership, "I'm doing plenty already."

In the words of the bosses. . .
"Almost certain to be the cheapest major labor contract negotiated this year."

Business Week, August 4, 1975

BILLER ON RUN

On July 24, Moe Biller, the president of the New York APWU, went out to the Jersey City Bulk Center. He wanted to talk with workers on the evening tour during their 15 minute break. He wanted to tell them to vote "no" on the contract.

No such luck. Biller was chased from the center by booing, jeering workers. Chairs were thrown, and he was lucky to get out alive.

It was a fitting reception. Biller has rarely bothered to visit the center, especially since January, 1974. Then he helped defeat a big wildcat strike by failing to organize support for the Jersey workers, and finally gave in to management.

The Jersey City postal workers do not like the contract either. And in the long run their action will do more good for postal workers than all of Moe Biller's promises. This includes his latest one, the official vote "no" campaign.

Nashville - It Sure Glitters

Directed by
Robert Altman
Screenplay by
Joan Twekesbury
Paramount Pictures

"Nashville" is a big flashy movie. It is a smash success at the box office and is being hailed by critics as the best in American movie-making today.

The movie pretends to tell us something about the country music scene as it is, and as a symbol of America and Americans today.

Set in the heartland of country western music, its thin plot revolves

around the campaign of a third party Presidential candidate, Hal Phillip Walker.

It is around the attempts of his advance man to line up big name country entertainers that we meet the other 23 main characters. Stars, hopefuls, hangers on and those accidentally caught up in the events

populate "Nashville."

The criss-crossing of their lives as they scramble for success culminates after five days in a senseless, violent death. "How American," comments a British character.

GAUDY

The film paints a gaudy picture of empty, ambitious, and often brutal people, cynically using each other. No one is spared, from the big time star to the people at the bottom. Just "how American" is this view?

"Nashville's" contempt does not stop with its shallow characters, thinly drawn stereotypes. The contempt stretches beyond, to the music and the audience.

Through skilled technical means, the audience is drawn into the movie almost as a participant. The political rally, and the performances of 27 songs, each have an audience within the film. The documentary-like camera work and sound system

create a sense of events in the making.

But behind the bombardment of sight and sound is an empty space. "Nashville" is like a gloriously wrapped Christmas present with nothing in it.

Even the music is fake. Written by the cast, the music is mediocre.

None of the performers are themselves country western musicians. Only the back-up musicians are pros.

The characters often brilliantly capture the look of real people—

but not their substance.

In one scene, Suleen Gay, a talentless waitress, is manipulated into stripping at a fundraising smoker in exchange for a promised singing spot at the big political rally.

The scene is grotesque. The corruption of the clean-cut advance man and the vileness of the drunken Walker supporters is clear. They jeer and boo the confused young woman who thought she had been hired to sing, not undress.

But Suleen Gay, the victim, was already an unsympathetic character herself. She can't sing. In fact, she is the worst singer imaginable. Her pathetic delusion and ambition make her foolish with or without clothes.

By creating situations only like this, the movie escapes taking sides. It tells us that everyone is worthy of contempt, both victors and victims.

AVOIDS

Through cynicism, the movie avoids confronting any real questions posed by the country music scene, the South, or America today.

The political campaign of Hal Phillip Walker, for instance, represents an impossible mixture of anti-big money, anti-lawyer, anti-church populism dressed up in the American flag. College students are his base.

Walker combines Wallace and Eugene McCarthy. The message: Left and right alternatives to mainstream politics are hopeless so they may as well be the same.

But in real life, they aren't the same. True, both Wallace and McCarthy were dead ends. But they weren't the end of political alternatives.

RACISM

"Nashville's" treatment of blacks and racism is where its emptiness is most clearly revealed. Blacks are almost absent from the movie. With two exceptions, they are shown only marginally.

Failing to deal with blacks and racism in a movie that claims to say something about America, especially through the symbol of the South, reveals a giant hole in logic.

The movie portrayed victims such as Suleen Gay as being just as disgusting as their oppressors. So, they deserve what they get.

To include blacks and be consistent, "Nashville" would have had to say the same about black people. That would have meant showing them in racist stereotype.

No one could get away with making a film like that today. So, because blacks and racism raised questions the film couldn't answer, they were simply ignored.

It ends with a murder. Immediately after the killing, a talented hopeful takes the mike and begins singing.

Within minutes, the rally audience has forgotten the shooting and is moving with the music. And so is the audience in the movie theatre.

We watch a profoundly cruel movie and come out singing. Our senses have been brilliantly manipulated.

Are we supposed to go away sharing "Nashville's" contempt for people, grateful that it let us identify with its cynical superiority?

Or was the manipulation intended to place the audience under the same scorn, as we, also typical Americans, leave smiling after a murder.

Either way, the message fails. "Nashville" is a string of empty clichés. It is bright, fast-moving, technically brilliant—and hollow.

Gay Semel



Without Cloak Or Dagger

by Rodney Larson

Early in 1941 a talented young officer of the German SS intelligence branch named Walter Schellenberg was given the assignment of disposing of one of Hitler's old party opponents.

Schellenberg was introduced to a scientist, who demonstrated a bacterial serum that would instantly kill an individual. It was virtually undetectable.

The serum could be left in a glass in a dry state, and when an unsuspecting target filled it with water he was conveniently terminated.

Schellenberg was horrified by the demonstration. He took care to immediately dispose of the serum.

It is now known that a very large part of German World War II intelligence was secretly taken over by a group of US intelligence managers just before the end of World War II. It was used for decades, under General Gehlen, to further the CIA's network in scores of countries.

But the CIA has developed a capability far beyond their Nazi teachers.

CONFIRMED

Phillip Agee has mentioned the use of drugs in his tale of CIA covert operations in *Inside the Company, CIA Diary*. There is now an amazing verification from a pro-CIA source.

A very high level ranking official of the CIA is now busily engaged in revealing just enough secrets to attract an audience, mostly among specialized readers, and then trying to convince them, in the end of the overall necessity and power of the Agency.

His name is Miles Copeland. For years he was a confidante of Presidents, Kings and spymasters all over the world.

Copeland's latest book is entitled *'Without Cloak or Dagger*, and he clearly states that he has not been subject to the type of legal censorship or prohibition that has

plagued Agee and Victor Marchetti in the US.

"I have been my own censor," he says. It is clear that the CIA has encouraged him to publish while energetically harassing other former agents.

Without Cloak or Dagger is a very interesting book. While seeking to convince the reader of the awesome efficiency of the CIA, Copeland recounts the weapons developed to quietly immobilize a target.

Some of these included "really effective truth drugs which would automatically lower a person's 'discernment' threshold without his being aware of it", and some "undetectable chemicals and bacteria which would induce anything from a mild headache to a hallucination and which could be transmitted in an ordinary letter."

Copeland has a message for the uncooperative agent who leaves the agency or the prospective agent who refuses to cooperate and knows too much. Some are "quietly

liquidated—and under circumstances so terrifying as to defy description."

There are other stories about persons suddenly developing "pneumonia" or suffering sudden heart attacks.

WHITEWASH

It is too much to suppose that any group composed of known apologists or collaborators of the CIA, like the Ford Commission, would go into such stories. It is a fact that every member of that Commission (headed by Nelson Rockefeller) had close connections with the intelligence apparatus of the US government.

Now that the Ford Commission's investigation has produced a whitewash, it is clear that the job of exposing the CIA menace is in the hands of the press and groups that can bring out the facts without pre-censorship. As Miles Copeland says, "It takes only one indiscretion to expose a CIA officer for all time."

Letters

to

Workers' Power

\$60,000 For Promises

Dear Workers' Power,

On July 7 the second shift was recalled at Lynch Road Assembly. It used to be when you came off of layoff you would simply be reinstated. Now everyone had to go through an orientation program.

Management flunkies from the

Chrysler Institute ran a session to find out what bugs us about the plant. The program was set up by the new plant manager to find out why there is so much absenteeism and poor quality work. All through these classes we were told how smart the new plant manager was. Everyone thought he could not be all that smart if he

was spending \$60,000 to find out what is wrong with the plant. All he has to do is walk through the plant with his eyes open and he would see plenty.

For the first two hours of the program, you tell your gripes about the plant. Everyone had the same gripes—parking lot hassles, too much work, lousy company doctor, holes in the roof and the cafeterias. Funny thing, most of these items were supposed to be taken care of in the last local agreement which was forced down our throats.

After a couple of hours of listening to us and taking notes on our complaints we were assured that these things would be fixed. Then we got management's side of the story. "Chrysler is in bad financial shape, so you better do good work." "After all the future of Detroit is Chrysler, and so every one of you is the future of Detroit." The final word for the day was that we were all one happy family and what is good for Lynch Road Assembly is also good for you.

We were told that Chrysler had to build the new Cordoba in Windsor because they could not get a quality car built in Detroit. Yet Cadillac could build a quality car in Detroit. The plant manager answered that GM hires many people from places like Flint and Pontiac while Chrysler hires most of its people from the inner city. He hinted out that most inner city people are poor blacks. Does this mean that Chrysler Corporation believes that poor black people cannot do quality work?

Everyone had to go through this program if they wanted to return to work. It was all done on our own free time. The only thing we got was a free cup of coffee and lots of promises that there would be changes in the plant. Well, there have been lots of changes. More speed-up, petty harassment, enforcement of shop rules that we have never heard of before and generally deteriorating safety conditions.

This program cost the Chrysler Corporation \$60,000. Why didn't they use that money to make this a better place to spend eight hours a day?

E.E.
Detroit

Exhilarated

Dear Workers' Power,

I'm still exhilarated from the Detroit IS convention. Your convention was really a turning point for me. I have never been witness to or part of such an intrinsically democratic organization. The direction and solidarity I felt there was dynamic.

I work for a small Unemployment Insurance agency, staffed by people with zero standing. I listen to the endless horror stories tumbling out of very nearly everyone I talk with during the course of the days at work.

Knowing that it is not our personal faults if we are left jobless helps. Finding out other people are angry, feel helpless and ravaged helps. But what truly seems to set direction here is Workers' Power and its message. It's a good team—the paper in the waiting area (where does one wait longer than the unemployment office)—and me at the desk.

I have run out of back issues of Workers' Power. They've been recycled to readers in the waiting area; tattered one day, gone the next.

Please send any extra Workers' Power copies possible. I could use about 10 to give and leave at the office. Maybe 1500 extra—one to each member of my union!

S.H.
Madison, Wisconsin

L.B.
Lincoln, Nebraska

UPS Super-Snoop Strikes Again



Pittsburgh UPS workers wearing their Workers' Power tee-shirts gathered recently for a group photo. One UPS worker is being

disciplined for reading Workers' Power and other magazines on the job.

Dear Workers' Power,

A friend of mine, Chuck Zilliot like most other Pittsburgh UPS workers, reads Workers' Power and other magazines on the job in his spare time. Three weeks ago he found out he had been given four write-ups for doing so, as well as five others, on other ridiculous "offenses."

But no one told Chuck about his write-ups or warned him that he had been given any. He was never personally informed after he had gotten them.

The company keeps a file (like those of the CIA?) on each worker. Chuck asked to see his. This was the only way he found

out his supervisor ("Super Snoop Sam") had given him nine write-ups.

The next day at the company's afternoon "pep" meeting before the shift, Chuck spoke out about his file. The Super Snoop told Chuck to cut it out, but he refused to be intimidated.

That evening Chuck was called upstairs. "We don't like what you're doing," the company told him. They later said he would be given a warning letter, but they didn't know what for. When asked why, they said, "Because you deserve it."

Chuck got his warning letter. It said nothing about the incident

with "Super Snoop Sam." It did say he didn't follow instructions, although it never mentioned which ones.

"In the future should you fail to follow instructions you will be subject to further disciplinary action."

UPS doesn't like workers who speak out against the company, especially when it's at one of their meetings to gear up production.

Is this what they mean by the statement in the UPS Policy Book that "We Respect Every Employee's Point of View," and "We Treat Our People Fairly"?

The warning letter was an example of how "We Do Our Best

To Give Every Employee Complaint Prompt, Sincere Attention!"

It will be easier for the company to try disciplinary action against Chuck Zilliot if they can pick him out as an individual. If every UPS worker demands to see his or her file and organize to have watchdog harassment done away with, the company will have to think twice.

Pittsburgh UPS workers should at least demand the right to have charges against them explained and proven, or else thrown away at a public meeting.

name withheld
Pittsburgh

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.

Write to: Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

DROP-OUT OR REVOLUTION?

Dear Workers' Power,

Out of the mid-sixties rebellion of youth against the status quo, many white youth developed an attitude which we might refer to as "do-my-own-thingism."

Many white youth not only sought their individual freedom from society's shackles, but also sought to bust loose the collective chains; sought to change the nature of what they saw as a monstrous System.

However, young white america did all this under an incorrect assumption, that they were dealing with a democratic country, with an Establishment that could be repaired by some massive moral pressure.

Ultimately then, the action of the sixties degenerated from a struggle for collective freedom and rights to a massive drop-out wherein individuals, who could not see hope for a free america, sought personal "freedom" by doing their own thing.

The question might be asked, "Where do blacks, chicanos, and other american minorities fit into all of this?" Of course, third world young people played a part in this, in fact, gave birth to the movement of the sixties.

But the motivations were not the same. The concerns of third world youth were more gut concerns so to speak: poverty, police brutality, hunger, etc. Frustration was nothing new to the blacks, browns, yellows and reds of this nation.

The struggle for survival in urban ghettos had meant automatically that young blacks were going to do their own thing. But such was more a way of life than a verbalized attitude.

The problem now is this; as far as the raising of the consciousness and the mobilizing of black youth is concerned, the do-my-own-thing way of life has become, for all practical purposes, an ideology.

In black communities, pushers sell dope, pimps sell our sisters, informants and other pig agents sell us out to the racist court system, provocateurs dismember progressive organizations.

And these destructive (to solidarity, to the building of mass revolutionary consciousness) elements put up a quick hand in front of criticism, saying, "I'm doing my own thing, don't bug me."

Yes, they're doing their own thing. They're doing their own thing within the capitalist ethic: "Line your pockets with gold, even if you have to destroy everyone around to do so."

This current plague of individualist outlook upon freedom is a problem that all of us, regardless of nationality, must seek to overcome. For this individualist "freedom" is an obstacle to the struggle for true and collective freedom.

Since we're all in this (the world) together, how can any one of us be truly free unless all of us are free?

David L. Rice
Omaha, Nebraska

KEEP IT UP!

Dear Workers' Power,

I think your paper is doing an excellent job of covering events in the US labor movement.

Keep up the good work.

S.H.
Madison, Wisconsin

L.B.
Lincoln, Nebraska

STRANGLING NEW YORK

Abe Beame - "Labor's Friend" ...

by Anne Quill

"I believe that the real Abe Beame will stand up and not be found wanting." Vic Gotbaum, president of AFSCME District Council 37, said it in 1973. Well, the real Abe Beame is standing up—13,000 layoffs, wage freeze, transit fare increase, \$32 million cut from the budget at the City University.

"I know Civil Service, I came up through it, and my administration will have the finest Civil Service in the country. I know your needs and aspirations. I believe that labor unions deserve and merit the same respect and attention that business and other groups get."

Sound good? That was Abraham Beame back in 1973 while he was running for mayor. The man who is laying off city workers and freezing wages for the rest, billed himself as a friend of labor and especially of the city workers.

Al Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, Vic Gotbaum of DC 37 AFSCME, John DeLury head of the Sanitation Workers, and Richard Vizzini of the Fire Fighters joined him enthusiastically.

Gotbaum described Beame in October, 1973 as "a man of dignity, honor and respect who never makes deals." Now Beame and Gotbaum have both "made a deal"—the wage freeze.

ENDORSED

The UFT endorsed Beame in both the primary and the November election. It was the first time UFT endorsed candidates in a city election.

Shanker said, "Our endorsement of Abe Beame reflects teachers' growing political awareness." He called Beame a "progressive and enlightened public official."

Beame was also endorsed by the Sanitation Workers and the Fire Fighters. John DeLury announced his union's endorsement standing outside union headquarters with Beame.

Beame said, "John DeLury and I have always seen eye to eye." Beame and DeLury may still see eye to eye, but this is cold comfort to the 1400 sanitation workers laid off.

Fire Lines, the Firefighters magazine, said, "Members should not pass up the opportunity to give the city and the state a shot in the arm in the general election of November 6."

"Vote for the candidates who can provide new leadership for the city and at the same time give a vote of confidence and appreciation to the candidates who have proved they are friends of firefighters and labor and deserve to be returned to office."

Beame before the election put out a statement on what he was going to do for Civil Service workers. He included promises to speed up collective bargaining so that there would be no contract extensions, eliminate delays in retirees getting their pensions, and making promotions go by seniority.

PROMISES

Some of his promises would have especially benefited black and Latin workers. They included increasing representation by city

employees and minority groups in Civil Service exam preparation, and courses in the public schools and colleges to help applicants prepare for exams.

If any of these reforms have been made, the new Beame sellout makes them useless.

Forget about speeding up bargaining when the unions are giving up gains won in contract negotiations. Forget about new hiring and promotions—if you're lucky you just get the wage freeze, not the pink slip.

In 1973, Beame and the city union leaders saw eye to eye, all right. The problem is that they still do.

Gotbaum, Shanker and DeLury understand Beame's problem. They understand he's running New York City for the banks, the corporations and the wealthy who hold the real power.

CRUMBS

The union leaders supported Beame because they thought he could throw them a few crumbs. They still support him.

The working people of New York have been screwed again, by the Democratic Party machine they put in office.

It's another proof that the working class needs its own party. Abe Beame, like every great Democratic friend of labor, turns out to be management after all. □

STRIKE THREAT

"If this subway were to stop suddenly... You know we'll probably do that if the big bankers don't stop." So Matt Guinan, leader of the Transport Workers Union, told 2,000 cheering transport workers to prepare for a strike if they are denied their cost of living increase due in mid-August.

In a militant demonstration against the fare hike, the transport workers were joined by the Central Labor Council, Postal unions, hospital unions, seafarers, and department store, clothing and hotel workers.

Carrying picket signs that read "No Fare is only Fair for the Poor," "New York has a Rotten Beame," they demanded that big business



pay for mass transit.

Guinan is not the first union leader in this town to talk tough in the current crisis.

There's no doubt that the transit workers have the power to turn things around. As Guinan said, "We have more economic wallop than anyone else in the city." A transit shutdown cripples New York like no other city in the country.

But it will take a lot more than brave talk to prove to the banks who run this city that the transit workers' union is ready to use that power. They will start taking notice only if serious preparation for a strike begins. □

Maura Matthews

West Side Coalition and I.S. To Hold Forum

CHICAGO—On August 17, West Side Coalition and International Socialists are co-sponsoring a picnic and forum to discuss community organizing and shop floor organizing; how we can collectively fight our oppression at all levels, in the neighborhood and on the job. The Coalition was formed a few years ago by West Side residents organizing their neighbors to confront community problems together.

The West Side of Chicago is a black community which faces some of the worst conditions forced on people by capitalist society.

As one organizer put it, "We have to rely on ourselves. No one else is showing that interest."

The Coalition members see their role not only in making concrete improvements in the neighborhood, but also in getting people to gain self-esteem, respect for others

and awareness of the power of collective action. They issue leaflets, call meetings and social events, and form block clubs.

DIGNITY

The Coalition considers all issues important which relate to human dignity and decent life that have been denied to poor and working people.

They encourage neighbors to plant grass, to establish parent-child participation programs, to visit neglected older people in nursing homes, to discourage gang crime by setting up recreational activities for teen-agers.

One of the most significant victories for the Coalition was preventing a landlord from illegally raising the rent.

Several weeks ago the Coalition, along with UAW Local 6, helped defend a house from being fire-

...Holds A Knife To Workers' Throats

by Joan McBride

9000 tons of garbage in 90 degree heat. That's why they call it Stink City. But garbage makes an effective weapon for angry New Yorkers to fight back.

The sanitation men are working very slowly. People from neighborhoods in Brooklyn, Harlem, and even middle class Queens are piling the garbage in major streets and blocking morning rush hour traffic.

Other people are setting fire to the garbage, 292 fires in one day. And they've laid off so many firemen they can't answer all the calls.

It's all a way of saying cut it out Mayor Beame, stop selling out to the bankers. Stop killing the city.

PROTESTS

The garbage protests are the most newsworthy, but the protests are going on all over.

There are hospital sit-ins, transit workers threatening to strike, daily demonstrations at City Hall, usually ending in taking over nearby Brooklyn Bridge.

It's already been taken over by hospital workers and firemen.

The city politicians, doing the bidding of the banks, are cutting everything. The opening of the new Lincoln Hospital, long fought for by people in the South Bronx, has been postponed.

The brand new building stands empty while people have to continue to use the decrepit old facility.

Fire department doctors are sending firemen back to work before they have recovered from injuries.

An entire class of nurses' aides, mostly young black women, are to be laid off as soon as they finish their training at Bellevue Hospital.

The city hits those least able to fight back—they're closing cancer hospitals and baby clinics.

Layoffs in Morrisania Hospitals mean 300 old and crippled patients have to look somewhere else for treatment. Perhaps they think these people are expendable.

ANGRY

As a conveyor operator at Bellevue said, "They hit all the small people—the clerks, elevator operators, housekeepers. They're not touching the administrators."

People everywhere are angry. They are no longer just blaming the banks. Mayor Beame, Governor Carey, the political parties, and the union leaders are all being attacked. The old people are cursing Beame, regretting that they helped put him in office.

A hospital worker explained that Bellevue has been hit with cuts twice before. "People are disgusted. When someone's laid off, we have to do their work so we take our time about everything."

A worker at Harlem Hospital: "I don't know what our union leaders are doing. The unions are supposed to be strong, so how come they're letting all this happen without a fight."

A woman at that hospital thought she'd "like to stop Beame with a bullet."

Sanitation workers are being threatened with more layoffs. One driver said, "The only thing that might stop them is if all the city workers go on strike together."

Another sanitation worker: "It doesn't matter if it's Beame and the Democrats or when it was Rockefeller and the Republicans. All those guys are in with the banks."

A housekeeper at Bellevue just thought it was a shame. "They got money to send those people up in space the other week but they got no money for us."

Yes, But Can They Haul Garbage?

Rumor is going around that when the MAC officials went to Washington to ask for money last week, they told federal officials that in the case of a strike by city workers, the government better not send in the National Guard.

They'd better ready the 82nd Airborne. After all the National Guard is made up of sanitation men, firemen, and other New York City workers.

We don't know if this story is true. But it might be fun to see how the 82nd would do trying to pick up garbage and run the subways. □



Kenny Campbell, Betsy Campbell, and William Blake of the West Side Coalition.

bombed by racists who didn't want black families living on their block. This campaign too was successful and the family moved in without further incident.

As the Coalition grows in num-

bers and strength it hopes to be able to tackle other, larger issues like eviction and crime. At present there are active members in an area covered by 27 blocks in one direction and 31 in the other. □

WHAT HAPPENED TO JIMMY HOFFA?

CHICAGO—The disappearance of Jimmy Hoffa comes after years of conflict with the current Teamster president, Frank Fitzsimmons. Fitzsimmons took over when Hoffa went to jail in 1967. Nixon finally pardoned Hoffa in 1971, but only after preventing him from engaging in any union activity until 1980. Hoffa was convinced this restriction was a political payoff to Fitzsimmons for his support of the Nixon Administration.

Hoffa has been trying to get the support of Detroit Teamsters Local 299. There, his loyal stand-in, Local President David Johnson, is challenged by Fitzsimmons' son Richard.

The conflict has been violent. Richard Fitzsimmons' car was bombed July 10. Johnson has been beaten by a Teamster organizer, his windows shattered by a shotgun, and his 45-foot cabin cruiser blown up. Hoffa probably invited his own death when he said at a news conference that "outsiders" were involved.

OUTSIDERS

Some very dangerous outsiders are involved, and rightly felt threatened by what Hoffa knew. For years Hoffa has been dealing with the Syndicate, as has Fitzsimmons.

When Hoffa rose to power in the Central States Conference of Teamsters in the 1950's, he became friendly with Paul Dorfman, a close associate of Al Capone. Dorfman took over the extremely lucrative pension business, which his son Allen runs today. The fund takes in \$400 million a year and more than \$2 billion since it was formed.

In the last weeks Hoffa had been busily visiting various local presidents. He was trying to line up support for his battle to regain the IBT presidency, as well as trying to find out more about Fitz's deal with Nixon.

Hoffa was treading on very dangerous ground when he threatened that if these Teamster officials didn't cooperate with him, "he would have no loyalty to them as far as Uncle Sam was concerned." That's what a Mob tipster told a reporter.

Hoffa had helped these local officers get kickbacks from employers in return for arranging loans to Syndicate-connected businesses. He threatened to begin cooperating with various ongoing investigations.

The Mob has been watching him carefully since his release from prison. They even sent Anthony Giacalone, head of the Detroit Mob and Hoffa's good friend, to move next door to Hoffa after Jimmy

bought a home in Florida, to keep better track of him.

TOO RECKLESS

The Syndicate felt Hoffa was getting too reckless in his talk of squealing to federal investigators, and so rubbed him out. Of course, this stands to benefit Frank Fitzsimmons and his son. Although it is unlikely they would be so stupid as to plan Hoffa's death, this possibility cannot be totally ruled out.

More important from the view of the rank and file Teamsters is what all these Mob connections with Teamsters mean. And they are not limited to Hoffa.

Last year Fitzsimmons met with Lou Rossanova, a Chicago mobster at the La Costa Country Club (the R&R facility for the Mob near Palm Springs, California, built with Teamster money). They discussed channeling \$1 billion in Teamster health and welfare money over to a Mob-connected medical outfit.

The Syndicate is all over the Teamsters. Probably few people are aware that the Teamsters has an entire subsidiary union, the Laundry, Cleaning and Dye House Workers International, which was expelled by the AFL-CIO along with the Teamsters for corruption. Local 46 in Chicago is controlled by Gus "Windshield" Zapas, a business agent and close friend of Hoffa's. With more than 40 arrests, he is linked to the kidnap-murder of Robert Greenlease.

Joey Gimco, also of Chicago, controls 15 teamster locals, and represented IBT Local 777 at the last union convention. His favorite saying is, "The first guy that tries something wise gets a bellyful of slugs in the head. Understand?"

Gimco's annual income from union and business activities is \$840,000. His arrest record includes assault with an auto, racketeering through terrorism, perjury, armed robbery, and assault with a gun with intent to murder. Fine atmosphere for rank and filers in his local!

COPS, COURTS, AND CROOKS

The police, courts, and politicians are no help in dealing with the Syndicate in the unions. In Chicago, for example, police are regularly indicted but not convicted for being on Mob payrolls. The heads of the Police Internal Affairs Division which investigates corruption are frequently dismissed for the same reason.

Several Aldermen have close Mob connections, as do local Congressmen who advance bills to pardon Mob offenders. Federal as well as state and local judges are appointed by a Democratic Party machine that takes in millions each year from the Syndicate in contributions.

Local crime reporters write stories on one section of the Mob at the request of a rival section. They

Workers' Power

HOFFA'S LEGACY: 'The first guy that tries something wise gets a bellyful of slugs in the head. Understand?'



smear rank and file oppositionists as hoodlums, as happened recently in the Chicago Truck Drivers Union, while ignoring Business Agents with Syndicate records. There is no hope for rank and filers then from the police, courts, or the media.

MEANY

The only way to clear the Mob out of the Teamsters is by a fight inside the labor movement. George Meany and the top brass will do nothing to aid the rank and file despite all their pious talk about ethical unionism.

Meany refuses to endorse the United Farm Workers' boycott of Gallo wine, because Gallo has contracts with the Distillery Workers Union. This small union of 35,000 members is thoroughly corrupt. Yet Meany protects such corrupt unions at the expense of unions like the Farm Workers.

Part of the task of the rank and file movement now being built in steel, auto, telephone, and other areas is to aid the brothers and sisters in the Teamsters who face

Mob attacks. But this will involve changing the whole labor movement, as today's labor leaders have no interest at all in taking on the Mob.

HOFFA'S LEGACY

Hoffa has been done away with by the same characters he chose to deal with, and who undoubtedly ensnared and entrapped him by always threatening to expose his connections to them.

Hoffa could talk a very militant position. When asked recently what kind of trouble faced the country, he said, "Class warfare. Rich against poor. Not just black—black, white and brown." To alleviate this he advocated, "A shorter work week and more money, whether they like it or not."

He will be remembered for pulling together the hundreds of separate trucking contracts into one Master Freight Agreement, but doing it from the top down. If anyone won more than the national pattern, he moved to crush them, as he did in the San Francisco Bay Area 15 years ago.

He led the employers to fear the power of a national trucking strike, but he never called one. The first national strike was a wildcat against his hand-picked successor Fitzsimmons in 1970.

Hoffa once bragged about ordering an oppositionist killed. Teamsters who today fear for their lives if they open their mouths at a union meeting are still living with the Hoffa tradition.

Workers admired Hoffa for delivering the money, but many feared him as well as hated him. The Kennedy Administration's attack on him was an attempt to weaken the union. Militants opposed that attack, even knowing full well that Hoffa opened the way for it by bringing in the Syndicate.

Hoffa's legacy is the current shape the union is in: detrital, with a bloated, repressive bureaucracy. But the union also has a militant rank and file, with a contract covering 400,000, who know they have power and will have to use it both against the employers and against Hoffa's friends and associates.



Anthony Giacalone

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