

Workers' Power

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NO. 83 OCTOBER 5 - 18, 1973 15¢

AGNEW'S CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST

"If you've seen one slum, you've seen them all."—Spiro Agnew, 1968

"I am a big trophy for the Justice Department. They are trying to recover their reputations at my expense.... The basic philosophical concept upon which our nation was built was faith in the individual human being.... I've been living in purgatory. I have found myself the recipient of undefined, unclear, unattributed accusations.... I will not resign if indicted!"—Spiro Agnew, 1973

The second quote is the new face of Spiro Agnew—leading law-and-order advocate and America's second highest "statesman." Today, he is blossoming as a defender of the civil rights of the individual (namely himself) against the abuses of the judicial system.

Agnew achieved fame and fortune as the champion of the

racist right wing of American Establishment politics. He re-introduced the term "fat Jap" and labelled black militants as "caterwauling, riot-inciting, burn-America-down leaders."

With his slick speech-making—especially his use of such jewelled phrases as "picayune Pollyannas of appeasement" when denouncing anti-war demonstrators, and his stirring defense of honesty and hard work against the greedy demands of starving children on welfare—Agnew became a household name in the field of entertainment as well as politics.

Today, however, it seems that Agnew's fortune came from more than his political skills. While gracing the governor's office in Maryland, Agnew evidently did quite well for himself as a promoter of extortion, kickbacks and miscellaneous bribery, with possibly a little tax evasion thrown in on the side. He even managed all this without taking time off from his vigorous campaign to smash crime, ghetto rebellions and subversion in general.

Since Agnew has now moved up to Vice-President, his defense

against these charges is simple and straightforward. First of all, he didn't do it. Secondly, if he did do it there was nothing wrong with it. Third, if there was something wrong with it, he can't be indicted without being impeached first. And fourth, he can't be impeached for anything he did wrong before taking office.

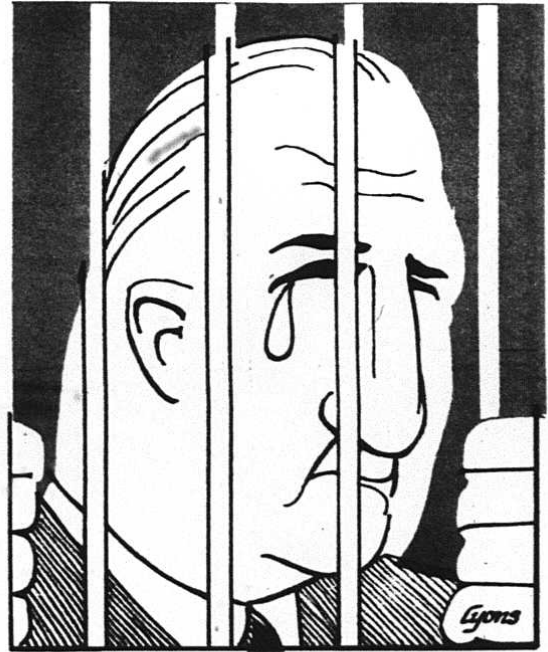
This is an interesting legal defense, and so far no one has figured out exactly how to get around it.

Not that Agnew's kickbacks were necessarily actually illegal. Well, maybe just a little bit illegal.

Standard Practice

As columnist James Reston explains it: "He (Agnew) concedes that it was common practice in Maryland and elsewhere to solicit campaign funds from contractors, and to give government contracts to people who contributed to the party in power, if they had the ability to do the job" (which they no doubt always had, provided the contracts they got were fat enough).

Agnew's unbiased opinion is [Continued on page 15]



Auto: Woodcock's Fraud



UAW's Frank and Woodcock: Why are these men laughing?

A series of slick maneuvers and advertising promotion by the UAW leadership ended in the ratification of the 1973 Chrysler contract over the weekend of September 22-23. Once again, Chrysler workers were defeated by a well-orchestrated campaign of lies told to them, and by their own lack of organization.

On Tuesday night, September 18, UAW president Woodcock and Chrysler reached agreement. By Wednesday the

Chrysler trucks were already rolling. And if they were moving freight, there must be someone in the plants to load and unload the trucks. The trucks are driven by UAW members, not Teamsters.

This came as no big surprise, but it is still a sure sign of a sell-out when the union permits the company to call back the workers before the contract is ratified or even seen by the membership.

These were not isolated incidents. They were part of a great effort on the part of the UAW bureaucracy to sell their

rotten contract to the Chrysler workers. If it couldn't be sold, it was to be rammed down their throats.

UAW Machine

From the beginning the UAW machinery was put into motion to sell the contract. A strike? Oh yes, that cools everyone off. (Of course this one lasted exactly as long as it could without the UAW having to pay one cent from the strike fund). Aided by the press and the auto companies, Woodcock and the others put across the contract

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UFW Convention Report p. 4-5



Editorial

Nixon's Minimum Wage-Gouge

President Nixon's veto of the minimum wage bill is one of those periodic acts in which businessmen and politicians strip away their liberal masks and reveal the ugly reality of American capitalism underneath.

At the same time that the President was announcing his veto and the House of Representatives sustaining it, corporate executives throughout the country were setting up howls of protest at the Cost of Living Council's plan to impose controls on executive salaries.

For low paid workers, the President's action means increasing difficulty in subsisting on as little as \$50 a week after taxes. Executives, on the other hand, will merely have to hire a lawyer and make an appeal to the CLC if they can't squeeze by with a 5.5% raise on top of their six and seven-figure salaries.

The defeated minimum wage bill would not have lifted anyone out of poverty. It called for a raise to \$2 an hour from \$1.60 within two months and then to \$2.20 next July. The \$1.60 figure was set five years ago. Simply to keep up with inflation in the intervening time would require a minimum wage now of \$2.12.

In addition, many workers are not covered by the minimum wage law at all. These include most farmworkers, government employees, domestic workers, and employees of some small-stores, although the vetoed bill would have included some of these categories.

No minimum wage law is really adequate unless it covers all workers without exception, pays enough so that they can support a family on a modest scale, and provides cost of living protection. The vetoed bill would have barely raised a worker to the government's miserable "poverty level." In order to come close to meeting government standards for a "moderate" income, the current minimum wage would have to be more than tripled.

In vetoing the bill, the President is clearly attempting to put the burden of inflation on the poorest section of the work force, on those workers who are least able to fight back. Big business's profits are up 30% this year to record levels, the war budget reaches \$85 billion, and the worker is squeezed into poverty.

This is American capitalism -- a system that exploits and profits from human misery. The hypocrisy of an executive who dares complain about a 5.5% limit on increases to his six-figure salary while paying his employees pennies is beyond belief.

But there's another kind of hypocrisy that needs to be mentioned at the same time -- that of the labor leaders who cry about the plight of the poor unorganized, underpaid workers getting stomped on by the government.

Tears come cheap for George Meany. He called the veto a "callous, cruel blow to the worst-paid workers in America." Yet the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions could, if they thought it important, mount an organizing drive to unionize tens of millions of unorganized workers. They could fight for wage increases for these poorly paid workers both through militant trade union action and through political action. Poorly paid workers might appreciate such actions more than fine-sounding phrases and lofty sentiments.

OUR NORMAN

Evans

AS A GREAT FAVOUR
MANAGEMENT HAS ALLOWED YOU
TO WORK OVERTIME
NEXT SUNDAY!



(Reprinted from Socialist Worker, British I.S. newspaper)

GREAT - SO HOW
MANY'S
WORKING OVER?



Workers' Power 83

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14131 Woodward Avenue., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$5. Institutional subscriptions: \$5. Foreign: \$5. Domestic first class (sealed): \$7. Foreign first class: \$10. Foreign air mail (unsealed): \$15. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months. Bundles of 10 copies or more:

15¢ per copy. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Workers' Power*, which are expressed in editorials.

Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August by the International Socialist Publishing Co. at 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to *Workers' Power*, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

Workers' Power is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and micro-filmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Serials Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.

Profits Climb As Prices Ration Food

Kit Lyons

Food prices have been riding a roller coaster in recent weeks -- record-breaking increases have been tempered by occasional declines. Hidden behind the confusing and contradictory statistics is the fact that food rationing has been imposed in the United States.

On September 21, the government gave out the bad news that everyone had been expecting: retail food prices went up by 6.1 percent in the month of August, the fastest rate in 27 years; the overall consumer price index increased by 1.9 percent, the largest jump since 1947.

This time last year, it was big news if the cost of living went up by 0.2 or 0.3 percent a month. Since August of 1972, overall consumer prices have increased by 7.5 percent and food prices by almost 20 percent. If the rate of inflation recorded for this August were to be sustained for an entire year, overall prices would almost double and food prices would go up 2 1/2 times.

Worse, more bad news is expected when the retail price statistics for September are released, which will reflect the passing on to the consumers of the staggering wholesale price increases in August.

All this adds up to some very bad press for the government, coming on top of a decade-long unpopular war in Vietnam and then the worst political scandals in American history.

The latest Gallup poll reported that 89 percent of the people interviewed rated the high cost of living as the nation's number one problem. This was the highest percentage expressing concern about the economy in the entire 38-year history of the Gallup poll. Moreover, the Poll reported, 46 percent believe that the government itself is to blame for inflation.

Counter-Attack

Not surprisingly, government public relations experts and their friends in the big business press have been frantic for some good news to distract attention from the rising cost of living. No sooner had news of the August price leaps hit the street than government spokesmen counter-attacked with figures showing food prices were heading back down.

On September 29, headlines proclaimed that farm prices dropped 8 percent between mid-August and mid-September. In the supermarket, the Department of Agriculture announced, prices of chicken, eggs and pork chops had all gone down for the first time in months.

Moreover, an explosion in beef prices had been expected

to follow the lifting of the five-month freeze on beef prices. Instead, while there was a general modest rise in retail beef prices, wholesale prices have actually dropped and supermarket prices are expected to follow them down in the near future.

The *New York Times* has decided that a dramatic "Turn for the Better" has been made. Housewives and Government officials, it said, are "reveling in the turnaround in the meat picture."

Nathan Herschberg, a New York State Agriculture Department market expert, almost verged on poetry to express his enthusiasm about chicken price declines. "A modern-day phoenix arose," he said, "and is flying throughout the metropolitan area, settling in the food centers of a multitude of markets and affording a food bargain."

"Low" Prices?

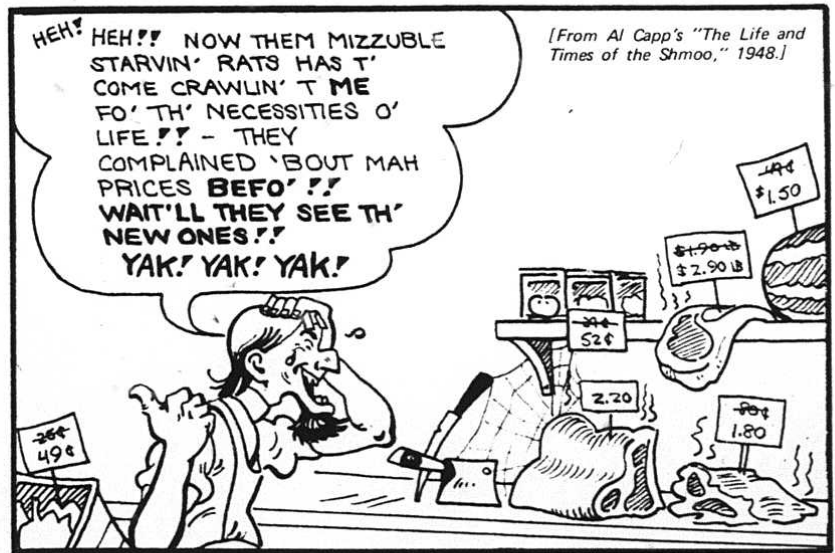
Well, the government may be pleased about what's happened to food prices, but most average Americans are not about to burst into song.

To begin with, the prices of chicken, eggs, beef and pork are "down" only in relation to the record highs of August.

The new, "low" prices paid for farm prices on September 15 were still higher than the levels reached only two months ago -- and 48 percent above prices recorded a year earlier. The new, "low" prices for poultry, pork and beef are still from 25 to 30 percent higher than this time last year.

In the second place, the relative fall in beef prices after the freeze was lifted was largely the result of the end of hoarding by cattlemen and feedlot operators.

After the beef freeze was imposed in March, the cattle industry held their animals off the market, expecting to take advantage of higher prices when the



[From Al Capp's "The Life and Times of the Shmoo," 1948.]

freeze was lifted. But too much cattle was held back; the initial post-freeze surge of cattle onto the market boosted the beef supply beyond the demand, and prices fell instead of soaring.

Once this accidental surplus is used up, supplies of beef will be tight again and prices will go right back up. Prices being paid right now for cattle futures contracts make it clear that very sharp increases will hit in a few months.

For that matter, the government expects chicken and pork too to start going back up again in November.

Food Rationing

But the most important thing to point out about the recent decline in some food prices is that it is food rationing that has brought them down.

Business Week announced this new weapon in Nixon's Phase IV arsenal with a head-

line saying "The consumer holds meat prices at bay." It quoted several executives to the effect that "Consumer resistance is calling the tune."

What does that militant-sounding phrase "consumer resistance" really imply? It means that prices have gotten so high that ordinary working people (not to mention the unemployed and the poor) have been forced to stop buying meat (thus reducing the demand, thus lowering the prices a little). The Department of Agriculture has forecast a 5 percent drop in meat consumption this year.

Or, in other words, high prices have had the effect of rationing the consumption of meat and eggs.

During World War II, food was rationed to make sure (at least on paper) that everyone got an equal share. Today's rationing has just the opposite effect: it makes sure that food is

even more inequitably distributed than usual.

Phase IV rationing by price means the rich get steak and we get beans.

Moreover, as people are forced to shift from beef, pork and chicken to other sources of protein, the cost of these other sources begins to go up and up.

In some cities last week, hot dogs were selling for almost \$1.50 a pound. Milk prices are scheduled to jump in October, as much as 12 cents a gallon in some areas. Even soybeans are selling at record levels.

Working people who used to eat hamburger, and a steak every other weekend or so, are paying more and more for food they like less and less. Poor people who used to eat hot dogs and beans are going hungry.

If the relative drop in prices this month encourages people to go back to buying meat, then prices will go right back up again.

Nationalize Agribusiness

This in fact is what the government and the food industry would like to see in the long run. They're happy with a short-term price drop to quiet popular unrest, but their basic attitude is that high food prices should become a permanent part of American life.

Their program is for everyone to accept a significant cut in their standard of living while food industry profits set almost as many records as prices.

The food industry is the living proof of the monstrous irrationality and inequality of the profit system. It's long past time to nationalize agribusiness and provide ample food at cheap prices for everyone. ■

New Food Wonder: Let Them Eat Shit

If you're tired of all the bullshit from the government spokesmen about how the high price of beef is mostly a figment of your imagination, you'll be glad to hear that they may be feeding you real bullshit in the not-to-distant future.

The first "pilot project" into this possible nutritional breakthrough was announced in the *New York Times* of September 9, which stated that "one of the

nation's largest beef cattle feeding companies began yesterday to include in the normal diet of its herd substantial portions of feed derived from cattle manure."

The idea behind this move is that, what with the skyrocketing costs of soybean and other animal feeds, it may be cheaper to "re-cycle" cattle manure with various chemicals, sterilize and wash it and feed it back to the cattle.

The scientist who pioneered the process put his finger on the "image problem" with the apt statement, "The word recycling sounds good in every context but this one."

Of course, for the time being recycled manure is a delicacy reserved for the cattle. But with the stuff they've been trying to feed the American people lately, who knows what the future may bring? ■

SUPPORT THE UFW!

Solidarity In Action: Farmworker Convention Shows Strengths, Weaknesses

Emmett Casey

On September 23, amid shouts of "Si se puede," "Viva la causa," and "Huelga," the United Farmworkers of America (UFWA) celebrated the first convention in the union's eight-year history.

The convention adopted an 111-page bilingual constitution, elected national officers, and heard speeches from Senator Ted Kennedy and a long list of labor officials and religious leaders.

It was a real accomplishment that a convention was held at all. The union, faced with savage attacks from the growers, their police, and their Teamster allies, has lost most of its contracts and has radically curtailed its once-massive picketing of the grape and lettuce fields.

No visitor to the convention could fail to be impressed by the tremendous fighting spirit displayed by the delegates and other farm workers in attendance. Time and again the convention rose to its feet in exciting and moving displays of militant chanting, fist-waving, singing, and rhythmic hand-clapping.

In many ways, the gathering was more like a mass demonstration than the usual union convention assemblage of bored and drunken functionaries wearily raising their delegate badges on cue.

UFWA Unique

The UFWA is unique in the modern U.S. labor movement. The loyalty and enthusiasm of its rank-and-file is enormous, and although literature distributors were harassed outside its gates, there was relatively little stifling

could be a tool for witch-hunting.

In at least one unfortunate respect, the constitution is unique: it "swears" all union members to non-violence. A mild opposition motion to "commit" members to non-violence only "in union affairs" was overwhelmingly defeated when Chavez spoke passionately against it.

Exclusion Clause

This policy, which excludes everyone except pacifists from membership, violates a fundamental principle of trade unionism.

Unions are the basic economic organizations of the working class. They must organize all workers, black and white, men and women, Spanish-speaking and English-speaking, pacifists and non-pacifists, socialists and non-socialists.

Opposition to the union leadership expressed itself mainly as a desire for better communication between the ranch committees and union headquarters at La Paz. There was also an undercurrent of hostility to the Anglo liberal domination of the boycott houses.

The administration's response to this kind of criticism was to plead for tolerance and unity, but with a conscious effort to cover up any difference in strategy between strikers and boycotters.

of debate on the convention floor.

A large proportion of the delegates were women, although women did not speak as often as men from the floor. Racial and ethnic discrimination was almost non-existent.

Inside his own union, Cesar Chavez is undoubtedly the most popular and admired, not to say revered, union leader in the AFL-CIO.

The new Constitution remedies a real inequity in the dues structure. Dues based on 2% of income replace the old flat rate of \$3.50 per month. (At the same time, a new \$25 initiation fee, effective January 1, 1974—which can be waived only by organizing committees that have not yet signed contracts—may encourage scabbing by some farmworkers who are too poor to pay this amount.)

Mixed Bag

The Constitution also contains democratic provisions for recall of elected officials, and the filing of grievance charges by members against incompetent officials. It includes a members' bill of rights which safeguards members from arbitrary fees, expulsion, or disciplinary action; guarantees democratic rights of free assembly, speech, and participation in union affairs; and insures that members will receive a copy of their union contract.

However, while no loyalty oath is required, a vaguely-worded section prohibits members from "joining or assisting an organization or association antagonistic to the purposes and objectives of the union, or committing or inspiring acts injurious to the best interests of the Union." Any such wording

an at-large seat on the executive board. The four at-large seats were also elected unopposed after two candidates were disqualified and one withdrew.

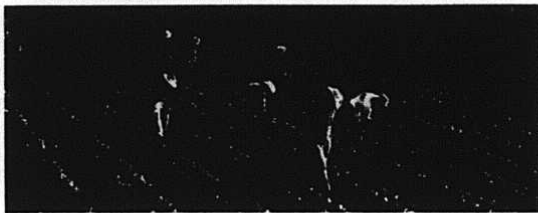
When it came to a vote, only Veracruz was opposed, and he won overwhelmingly.

In another surprise, Marcos Muñoz, an oppositionist from Chicago, nominated Marshall Ganz, a prime symbol of Anglo liberal pro-boycott influence. Ricardo Chavez, Cesar's brother, and Mack Lyons, a black delegate from Florida, completed the unopposed slate.

The discussion of convention resolutions, which did not begin until after midnight Sunday and continued into the early morning, created the most intense political confrontation. The biggest discussion broke out over a proposal that the presidents of the ranch committees meet at least every three or four months with a representative of the union administration.

The distaste of the administration for this measure was dramatized by an attempt, immediately before the resolution was to be read, to refer all other resolutions to the executive board. This motion was immediately attacked by several rank-and-file delegates. The convention then voted to continue despite the lateness of the hour.

The debate about the ranch committee proposal became the



The convention also subordinated political debate to the call for unity in electing its officers. Of the administration candidates, most were unopposed and elected by acclamation.

Cesar Chavez became President, Gilberto Padilla became Secretary-Treasurer, and Dolores Huerta became First Vice-President. The only candidates to be opposed were Philip Veracruz for Second Vice-President and Pete Velasco for Third Vice-President.

Since both Veracruz and Velasco are of Filipino extraction, a visibly angered Veracruz made unmistakable charges that the Chicano majority was practicing discrimination. However, opponents of the leadership may have merely been trying to choose the most vulnerable targets to run against.

Considerable pressure was placed upon oppositionists to withdraw. Eliseo Medina, nominated to run against Velasco, did withdraw, and was rewarded with

occasion for an outpouring of complaints about letters that do not get answered, grievances that never reach their destinations, and officials not at their desks. One ranch president stated he no longer accepted his past attitude that "Cesar is so busy—let's not disturb him with our problems."

Bureaucratic Decisions

He said that the leaders of the union must accept their responsibilities and take charge of union business. Local committees lacked guidance and members became demoralized. To cure these ills, he prescribed better communications.

In responding for the union's top bureaucracy, Dolores Huerta stated that the proposal was unworkable. Due to the decision to devote every resource to the boycott, the leadership would be scattered about the country and unable to meet with the committees.

In effect, Huerta admitted that the rank-and-file's complaints were justified, but stated

that the union could do nothing to satisfy them without changing its entire strategy. Unwilling to meet the leadership's strategy head-on, the opposition collapsed, and the resolution was easily defeated.

Shortly thereafter, the delegates also rejected a resolution opposing the piece-work system. Grounds for the rejection? "It could be used against us by the growers." Such an approach is nothing but capitulation to the ideas of the growers, who love the piece-work system precisely because it pits the faster workers against the slower ones to the detriment of all.

The convention did confirm the union's opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act, which outlaws secondary boycotts. But it did not propose any campaign for defeating Taft-Hartley, which is now supported by Meany and the rest of the AFL-CIO, and no resolutions favoring independent political action or a labor party were even allowed to come to the convention floor.

Strategic Weakness

This was the great weakness of the convention: there was no clear, directed discussion of a strategy to meet the latest shoot-to-kill attacks of the growers and their Teamster allies. Such a discussion could have provided the basis for real unity among both members and supporters of the union.

Instead of confronting the real struggle in the fields, the union administration has chosen to concentrate on building the boycott at the expense of the strike.

Although the union now has a democratic structure on paper, members seek to get the ear of Cesar to get change rather than through debate and organization within the union. While Chavez seems genuinely embarrassed by much of the adulation he receives, he has done nothing to stop this drift.

The consequent neglect of the militant field workers, who form the real base of the union, further retards the development of a conscious and self-assured secondary leadership which could become the center of a real struggle against the growers.

Harmful as the strategic decision to sacrifice the strike to the boycott will be, the boycott must be supported. The crushing of this union would be a defeat for the entire working class.

In San Francisco, the AFL-CIO Labor Council recently voted to support a nationwide boycott of Sears in support of the striking Retail Clerks. But to their shame, Meany and the AFL-CIO do not and have never supported the wine, grape, and lettuce boycotts.

We know the Meany and their kind. Only massive pressure from below can even begin to force them to do their job. What Chavez has started, labor's rank and file must complete.

BUILD THE STRIKE!

The Battle For Justice: New Pact With IBT Won't End Farm Workers' Struggle

James Morrison

The leadership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Farm Workers of America apparently have made an agreement to end their struggle with each other in the agricultural fields.

As *Workers' Power* goes to press, the formal announcement has not been made and the reports differ on some details. But the main features of the agreement seem to be:

- 1) The UFW will have sole jurisdiction in organizing field workers while the IBT will have jurisdiction over canning and processing plant workers.
- 2) The Teamsters will renounce all grape contracts they have signed this year but they will continue to keep their pre-

sent lettuce contracts at least until they expire in 1975. The UFW will not engage in any boycott of Teamster picked lettuce.

3) The UFW will only conduct boycotts through official AFL-CIO channels rather than initiating them on its own.

4) Disputes over implementation of the agreement will be settled by AFL-CIO President Meany and IBT President Fitzsimmons.

Struggle Not Over

The settlement comes as welcome relief to the embattled UFW. The Farmworkers have been engaged in bitter and deadly struggle against the huge corporate agribusiness in alliance with the powerful IBT.

In the past months UFW membership under contract has fallen from over 45,000 to about 6,000, as growers have signed

sweetheart agreements with the Teamsters. Now, as Cesar Chavez said, "The Teamsters are getting out of the fields so we and the growers can fight it out."

And that is the important point: The Teamster renunciation of its contracts does not mean that the growers will automatically sign with the UFW. Already growers have indicated that they will continue to fight the UFW.

Many people may be confused by the news of the agreement and believe that the UFW struggle is now over. It is not. The struggle against the growers still goes on, without let-up.

Virtually all table grapes are still scab grapes. Gallo and Franzia Bros. wines are still scab wines and stores which continue to carry them should still be boycotted. (The only thing that is unclear until the formal agreement is announced is the status of Teamster-picked lettuce.)

Limitations

The agreement is probably the best that the UFW could have gotten at this time, given the lack of solid support from the AFL-CIO. Unfortunately, the terms of the agreement place important limitations on the UFW.

The UFW has long used the boycott as an effective weapon for organizing. In fact, it has tended to rely too much on the boycott, at the expense of the strikes in the fields. But the requirement that boycotts be conducted through official AFL-CIO channels will probably mean a severe restriction on their use.

Meany and the AFL-CIO have long been cool toward the UFW's boycotts. The AFL-CIO has never endorsed the lettuce boycott.

The UFW's effective use of the secondary boycott is an embarrassment to Meany and Co. who have long since given up fighting to challenge the legal restrictions on the secondary



boycott for unions covered under national labor law. (The UFW is not presently covered under these laws and its secondary boycotts are not illegal.)

Also, since secondary boycotts involve boycotting not just scab goods but the entire stores which carry the scab goods, they immediately call into question the role of the workers at these stores. This brings up the whole question of class solidarity.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy would rather keep the class struggle neatly divided into tight compartments to make it easier to manage.

Cannery Set-Back

The Teamster-UFW agreement is also a major setback for cannery and food processing workers, who are placed under the sole jurisdiction of the IBT. These workers, in large part Chicano and black, have long been the victims of Teamster sweetheart agreements allowing low wages, miserable working conditions and racist policies.

The UFW struggle has had a considerable impact on cannery

workers, encouraging a growing militancy which is a threat to the Teamster leadership. This was one of the reasons why the IBT was interested in trying to wipe out the UFW.

In many ways, the agreement made in Washington is similar to one made three years ago which gave the Teamsters jurisdiction over processing and packing and the UFW jurisdiction in the fields.

Then too the Teamsters were
(Continued on page 15)

BOYCOTT SCAB WINES

- 1) Gallo (all wines from Modesto under any label)
- 2) All Franzia Bros. wines
- 3) All White River Farms wines
- 4) Berenger
- 5) Weibel
- 6) Wente
- 7) Sebastiani
- 8) Martini
- 9) Charles Krug
- 10) Mondavi

Socialists and The Farm Worker's Struggle

The International Socialists distributed a 4-page special edition of *Workers' Power* in both English and Spanish at the UFW Convention. Titled *For A Strong Democratic Union*, the paper pointed to the need for democratic procedures to determine policy and build a really strong union whose ranks could continue the struggle against the growers.

The *Workers' Power* special put forward a strategy for building the UFW and defeating the growers. In this context, it discussed and criticized several policies of the union, including the principle of non-violence, the reliance on a boycott strategy and the union's support for deporting "illegals."

On Friday night, Manuel

Chavez (Cesar's cousin) took the floor of the convention. Waving a copy of the paper, he declared it was "anti-union" and moved that people "posing as press" distributing it on the floor of the convention be expelled.

Although most delegates had not had a chance to read the paper at that time, the motion was passed with no discussion. Who could possibly vote against a motion to get rid of "anti-union" papers? (In fact, the paper was never distributed on the floor of the convention but only outside, and one of the people thrown out never distributed anything at the convention.)

The International Socialists have been unwavering supporters of the Farmworkers' struggle

from the very beginning. *Workers' Power* has provided continuous coverage of the fight to build the UFW, and the I.S. has worked to build support for the UFW in the labor movement.

But we do not believe that real support means hiding differences. We have our own point of view and we make our differences clear in a constructive way. By distributing the *Workers' Power* special, we were not deciding for the Farmworkers but putting forward our ideas so the farmworkers themselves could decide policy.

By forbidding distribution of *Workers' Power*, the UFW bureaucracy violated the elementary trade union principle of free speech for all points of view within the working class.

Most established unions have long ago tried to stamp out all dissenting ideas among their memberships. But the sorry record of the bureaucratization and conservatism of American trade unions hardly justifies the UFW's following the same road.

The banning of *Workers' Power* was an attempt to intimidate and silence the members and friends of the UFW who disagree with the strategy of the UFW leaders.

Meanwhile, there were some real anti-union papers present at the convention. The *S. F. Examiner*, for example, which backs the growers and supported the anti-farmworker Proposition 22, remained in the hall throughout the convention. ■

Union Chiefs Bargain - Strike Rights Curbed

Bill Hastings

Long before the series of sell-out contracts negotiated this year, everybody kept hearing about "alternatives to the strike." Several prominent labor leaders, in particular George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, Joseph Beirne, head of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), and I.W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA), have announced that the strike is "outmoded," how its disadvantages outweigh its benefits.

The right to strike was one of the demands as well as one of the major weapons of the massive struggles of workers to gain certain minimal rights. The mass strikes in the 1930's that built the unions in industries like auto, steel, rubber and trucking were for the right to bargain collectively.

To the militants involved in those organizing drives, that meant using all the weapons labor had. Those are primarily

the ability of the workers to collectively withhold their labor—to work slower or not at all in order to apply financial pressure on the companies to win their demands.

In the early organizing drives, strikes, sit-ins, slow-downs and dozens of other tactics were used. Even though Congress had passed laws making collective bargaining a "right" in 1933, it was only those workers who could force the companies to bargain with them that had that "right."

Central to that "right" was the ability to use every possible weapon to back it up. The strike was essential to the ability of the unions to win improvements or even to just establish themselves.

Gradually, however, as the relations between the unions and the corporations have become more "mature" as Abel like to call it, or "cozy" as most workers might, the whole question of strikes has been raised again. But this time, instead of the question being what is best for the ranks, the new factor of maintaining friendly relations between union

and company officials has entered in.

Many union officials, as well as company spokesmen, have talked recently about the common interests of both. They speak of the need to let the company make all decisions in the production process so that its profits, and supposedly jobs, are kept up.

Compulsory Arbitration

One solution they raise to the effects of strikes on profits and union-company relations is compulsory arbitration—a ban on strikes with all disputes settled by an "impartial" third party.

The banning of strikes, of course, would not eliminate them, but merely make it more difficult for the ranks to strike. During World War II, when the no-strike pledge was in effect and strikes were illegal, there were more work stoppages in some industries than in any other similar period of time.

In Australia, where a form of compulsory arbitration has been in effect for some 70 years, the number of strikes is proportion-

ately at least as high as in the US.

Taking away the strike removes the major weapon of the ranks to win anything. It has been through the strike and other mass actions that all gains have been made and kept.

At present, entering into negotiations in any of the major industries carries with it the implied threat of a strike, yet for both the companies and today's labor leaders the strike is at best messy.

For the corporations a strike, particularly a long one is a serious and costly disruption of production, even when it is expected. Part of the so-called common interest between the unions and corporations is the profitability of the company. Strikes, as a rule, interfere with profits.

The talk of compulsory arbitration is really a scheme to further prevent the ranks from fighting for real improvements. The fact that this talk is originating from the labor leaders is a show of just how far they have moved in abandoning their own trade union principles and placing the companies' interests over

those of the rank and file.

The union leadership is most often unwilling to organize the militant sort of fight necessary to win meaningful improvements. They are usually too concerned with balancing between their position in the union and their relationship with the companies.

Instead they play the role of selling the contract to the ranks, as the UAW leadership did with this year's auto contract. At times, as in the 1970 General Motors strike, the union and the companies use a strike to wear away discontent and to let pent-up anger blow away uselessly, while applying economic pressure on the workers to settle for an inferior contract.

For some time contracts have lasted three years or longer instead of one year. Strikes are usually prohibited during the period of the contract so that the only legal strikes come at a time expected long in advance by the corporations.

Some other strike-related activities like the secondary boycott have been outlawed. Instead of mass picket lines and rallies, membership meetings that decide policy, and the direct participation and control by the rank and file, labor leaders today call on their experts. Labor lawyers and union staff specialists have replaced the actions of thousands.

That this has weakened the unions' abilities to win at the bargaining table is shown clearly by the recent contract round. So far, every major contract signed in 1973 has been a defeat for the rank and file.

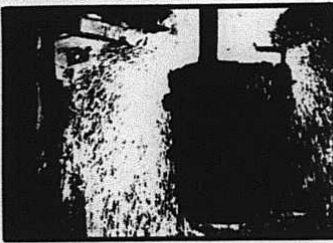
Sellout in Advance

The most extreme example of these alternatives to date, of course, is the USWA's Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed with 10 major steel firms last spring. The agreement gives up in advance the right to strike when the steelworkers' contract expires in the fall of 1974.

I.W. Abel, in explaining the Agreement with the steel companies, mentioned the need to prevent the companies from stockpiling in preparation for a strike and thereby causing massive lay-offs if a strike does not occur. In the past, thousands of steelworkers have been laid off because of the vast amount of goods stored up by the companies in case of a strike.

But Abel solves this problem by admitting that it exists: the only reason the companies can stockpile goods is because the union lets them. If the union were to ban overtime work the problem of stockpiling would be cut down. Instead, the union allows the company to do what-

[Continued on page 15]



Steel Ranks Organize Revolt Against Abel's No-Strike Pledge

I. W. Abel, the President of the United Steel Workers, is keeping busy these days crossing picket lines thrown up by members of his own union.

Abel's pet project is his "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA) with the steel corporations, which abandons the right to strike for 150 pieces of increasingly worthless silver. Abel thought he would have an easy time browbeating the Steelworkers into swallowing this sellout. But recent developments indicate that he may be in for more trouble than he figured.

On September 21, a testimonial dinner was held in Abel's honor in San Bernardino. The dinner was originally scheduled for Los Angeles, 55 miles away, but was moved when the bureaucracy got word that a demonstration was being planned.

A motley collection of Steelworkers Union staffers, other labor bureaucrats, and assorted low-level Democratic Party politicians turned out to honor Abel. But their gala evening was spoiled by the rank and file.

Despite hasty organization and a two-hour drive in rush-hour traffic, over 100 people joined a picket line to protest the ENA. Rank and filers from at least six area steel locals (Locals 6700, 2078, 2058, 1981, 1414, and 2869) were represented. Two important Los Angeles locals passed motions refusing to buy tickets to the dinner.

Since Abel's Agreement was announced, all four of LA's large basic steel locals have passed resolutions condemning the sellout, including the 6,000 member Local 2869 at Kaiser's Fontana Mill.

In June's local union elections, pro-Abel candidates were defeated in five LA locals— including the two largest amalgamated locals, 2018 and 1981, and the traditionally key US Steel-American Bridge Local, 2058.

Three days after the testimonial dinner, Abel went to a safety conference in Chicago. Once again he had to cross a picket line of rank and filers.

The Chicago picket line was

originated by the District 31 (Chicago-Gary) Ad Hoc Right to Strike Committee, which has representatives from Burns Harbor Bethlehem, US Steel's works in Gary and South Chicago, and the Gary Inland plant.

Militant Steelworkers had just carried out a petition campaign in the Chicago, Gary and Youngstown areas. Over 2,000 rank and filers signed a letter to the Union's Executive Board, denouncing the ENA.

A quick look at some history and some recent statistics underlines the importance of the right to strike to Steelworkers. In 1959, the Steelworkers had the highest wages of any workers in major manufacturing industries. They hadn't gotten to that position by sweet-talking the companies.

In 1959, the Steelworkers won a fully-paid pension after a 40-day strike. In 1956, they faced a confrontation with the then-Vice President Nixon, who stepped in to forestall a strike. In 1959, they waged a 116-day strike.

But since 1959, first under

Labor In Brief



Detroit: Striking Teachers Defy Court Injunction

As the fourth week of the new school year begins, teachers in 14 Michigan school districts are still on strike. Leading this new wave of militancy is the Highland Park Federation of Teachers which rejected, by a 3-to-1 margin a tentative contract settlement and replaced their original bargaining team with a new one.

Their negotiators stated the contract was rejected because it contained only a 5 percent increase in salary, which would not keep pace with inflation, and because the settlement was made "under duress."

The tentative settlement was reached by negotiators of the union and the Board of Education only after being locked in a school administration building by more than 100 protesting parents.

The parents group, called the Concerned Citizens of Highland Park, led a march to the school and barricaded the building for almost three days, forcing the negotiators to send out for food and sleep in the building.

This kind of action, however, only plays right into the hands of the Board of Education. Teachers can't teach nor children learn in schools where students are packed 40 to a classroom, supplies are forever running out or nonexistent, and in buildings that aren't adequately maintained.

Teachers are only asking for

what all workers need -- for their salaries to reflect the increase in the cost of living.

Rivalling the militancy of the Highland Park local is the larger Detroit Federation of Teachers. Undaunted by a hostile press and threats from the Board of Education to lay off all other workers it has contracts with if the teachers don't return to work, the DFT voted to defy any court ordered injunction forcing them back to work.

George Meany Ducks Recession Threat

AFL-CIO President George Meany has said that "the recession is already here" for America's low-income families. Meany is part right and part wrong.

The "low-income" families that Meany speaks of are indeed hard hit by the government's attempt to solve this country's economic problems at their expense. Many families have to exist on starvation wages or worse. For them, times are hard indeed.

But Meany is wrong when he speaks of the recession already being here. The main problem to come from the recession -- a sharp increase in unemployment -- has yet to hit full force. There is little doubt, however, that this will occur.

What is Meany's solution to the problem? A return to a "free economy" and an end to controls. Of course, before the imposition of the wage freeze in the fall of 1971 we were in a

"free economy." The economic situation then was so bad that Nixon was forced to take such a drastic step as the full government-imposed freeze. Meany's solution is just to repeat the problem all over again.

If Meany was seriously interested in solving the problems facing poor and working people, he would commit the AFL-CIO to militant organizing drives and call for an end to all wage controls while fighting for real controls on prices and profits. Otherwise, workers will be faced with more and more of the same, only worse.

Los Angeles: Lead Workers Poisoned on the Job

Lead workers in Los Angeles are slowly being poisoned on the job, according to Jeff Cooper, co-chairman of Steelworkers Local 2018 Health and Safety Committee. Of 56 men given medical tests, 21 are anemic and 31 are either anemic or "border-line anemic."

Repeated government inspections and complaints have led to no action. The Department of Labor's Occupational Health and Safety Administration reportedly has data showing that levels of lead in the air are *seventeen times* the allowable limits, but OSHA has refused to make the data public.

It is not only plant workers who suffer -- NL Industries, the plant in question, also emits lead, smoke and dust into the air of smog-ridden Los Angeles, and faces action by the Air Pollution Control District.

Black and White Woodcutters Strike Paper Giants

More than 2,000 black and white woodcutters in Southern Alabama and Mississippi are on strike against giant paper and pulp companies.

The strike was called by the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA) in early September after the companies failed to respond to a list of demands made by the GPA.

The woodcutters are the same ones who struck against the same companies in the fall of 1971. That strike started the country because of the unity forged between black and white workers in the Deep South.

At that time, the strikers resisted all efforts by the companies to divide them, and they eventually won an increase in the price paid for wood.

Since that time, GPA has been building its strength at the grass roots. Its president, Fred Walters, said the present strike came because woodcutters can no longer work under existing conditions.

"We have to furnish our own tools -- trucks, power saws, and accessories," he said. "The last few months of inflation have made life impossible for us."

The key strike demands involve higher pay for wood, a standard method of measuring and paying for wood (to eliminate cheating by the dealers who buy the wood from the cutters), accident insurance to offset the hazardous conditions under which the cutters work, and an agreement by the paper and pulp industries to meet with GPA to "bring about changes we must have."

This latter is, in effect, a demand for recognition of GPA as bargaining agent for the cutters.

On the third day of the strike, Scott Paper Co. and International Paper Co. sought a court injunction to stop the strike. The companies told the court that the strike had cut the flow of wood to their yards by 80 percent, but the injunction was subsequently denied when a US District Judge ruled that the woodcutters are "employees" rather than "independent contractors."

Woodyards in 19 counties in Alabama and Mississippi were affected in the first few days of the strike. GPA leaders expected it to spread quickly to 10 more counties if the companies refuse to yield.

Meanwhile, GPA organizers continued a drive to sign up

hundreds of new members. When the strike began, GPA had 17 active locals. Organizers expected to charter several more in a few days.

[Further information can be obtained from GPA, P.O. Box 53, Eastabuchie, Miss. 29436. Phones: (601) 582-5184 or 477-8133.]

Rank and File Notes

Rank and file longshoremen in New Orleans who wildcatted against the steamship companies and their own union leadership in August have been prevented from voting on a motion to replace their Local officers. Clarence Henry, president of ILA Local 1419, refused to allow a vote on a motion to remove him from office.

ILA officials are also cooking up a plan to break the unity established between black and white workers during the wildcat by giving white workers a disproportionate share of back pay.

Leaders of several rank and file steelworker organizations recently presented a petition signed by over 2,000 Chicago and Youngstown USW members demanding that the Steelworkers' leadership repudiate the no strike agreement it signed last March. USW President I. W. Abel and other top bureaucrats refused to see a delegation bearing the petition.

Racial and sexual discrimination at the Great Lakes Steel plant in Detroit have been exposed by a group of black women fired from the plant in recent weeks. The women have picketed the plant and formed a group to defend themselves.

Great Lakes began hiring women in March under the pressure of a civil rights suit, but has harassed or fired most so that few remain in the plant after their seven-week probationary period.

A note in *Business Week* reflects the impartiality of government wage and price controllers: "Some Cost of Living Council officials wish the steel and auto industries had imitated a labor union play and griped more heatedly about the paring back of their planned price boosts. They feel a few howls of pain from companies -- even phony ones -- would help the image of both business and the CLC."



Forced Overtime



Overtime Kills-- Our Time, Health And Family Life

American industry today is running at 15% higher capacity than it was only a few years ago. We are in the midst of a tremendous economic boom that will probably begin to cool off late this year or early next.

Factories and plants now are running at high production levels. The trucks that transport the goods are travelling the roads with greater and greater frequency.

One industry stimulates another, everybody seems to be working a lot of overtime, paychecks are higher. The demand for consumer goods increases, stimulating more industrial production and increasing demands on service industries.

In the midst of all this, millions of people are locked into welfare and unemployment rolls because they can't find work. In plant after plant, some people are working impossible overtime hours, while others are walking the streets, scratching for a living.

Eight-Hour Day?

The eight hour day was supposedly won over a century ago, although most working people would hardly notice. The extra money isn't bad either - unless you're too tired or working too many hours to enjoy it.

Most people aren't happy to, but are willing to, put in that eight hours. Then suddenly it's nine, and the nine hours begins to include Saturday's too. Sometimes it's ten, sometimes it's more. The schedule gets posted and that's it.

The fight over voluntary overtime is simple to state: Who is going to decide how we spend

our time - ourselves or the companies we work for.

The answer is also simple: Share all the work among all the people, without cutting the paychecks. The president of AT&T doesn't need to make over \$400,000 a year, but a lot of people need more than they get from welfare.

Getting from here to there, however, is hardly as simple as deciding the problem and the goal. The UAW didn't really win voluntary overtime, the loopholes in the agreement are large

enough to drive a Mack truck through.

The companies are going to hold onto their "management's rights" prerogatives until somebody snatches them out of their hands. By controlling their workforce, they can add to it when they expand or as they want, and when the boom turns into a bust, the can cut hours back and lay us off.

What is clearly secondary in the whole process is what do we do with our lives. You don't want to work 54 hours? Look for a job somewhere else.

UAW's "Ask Me, Don't Tell Me!" Goes Down The Drain

Leonard Woodcock's much-publicized voluntary overtime agreement with Chrysler Corporation will likely end up providing voluntary overtime only when the company doesn't need overtime to get out its production.

In return for this big sacrifice, the company has won what might well turn into an absence control plan.

The agreement looks bad enough on the surface. Overtime, it was said, is to be volun-

tary only after nine hours on any one day. Every third Saturday is to be voluntary, and no one is to work Sundays. This amounts to a 54 hour week!

This amount of work had been standard at many auto production plants, largely black, for much of the last year or so. The provision will, however, provide some measure of relief for some skilled workers and a few production workers who have been on 84 hour weeks for months at a time.

You've been planning a week-end trip with the kids for months? Sorry, you're working eight hours this Saturday - and you get told on Thursday.

The physical effects of all the extra hours at work are evil enough. But overtime hours extend into all our social relationships. In effect, we are chained to the company's whims no matter the strain on us.

Families Destroyed

Capitalism begins by breaking up the traditional family roles. By not paying nearly adequate wages women, not by choice but by hard dollar realities, are forced to find what jobs they can to try to make ends meet.

When both parents are working, the kids grow up on their own. All the stability that the family used to provide suddenly isn't there anymore.

Dinner becomes something mom cooked in the morning and dad warmed up at night. Or the only parent the children see is mother, because father is only home while they're at school.

The intimate relationships between two people that make a marriage work begin to dissolve. Instead of talking together, or playing together, or working around the house together, the tensions of the hard work, the split-up shifts, work their way into that relationship too. Bickering breaks out over the laundry, or the mess in the living room or the basement, or the length of the grass.

Even when the wife is not forced to take a job, she in essence becomes a woman raising a family alone. The longer hours spent at work take their toll. Her husband goes to bed

early, falling asleep over the television or nodding off while she's telling him about something important or something minor. It doesn't really matter which.

What matters is that you've become cut off from each other and there is little the two of you alone can do about it.

All of this happens at a time when it's not merely destructive, but down-right reactionary. There is no reason why all the work that needs to be done to keep society running, to feed us all; to provide housing, education, all the social services and creature comforts, couldn't be divided up among all the people who are capable of working.

All of this can be done without cutting anybody's standard of living. Anybody except types like Henry Ford II, who makes over \$400 an hour because his daddy built an empire that he inherited.

Let Us Decide

The key to changing it all around, to making a better life for all a reality instead of a possibility, is changing who decides. Who decides when we work. Who's to decide how we get paid. Who's to decide what gets made - like lots of color televisions instead of enough beef to put adequate protein on everyone's table.

The key is who controls society - from top to bottom. It isn't us. We can't even sign up for the bowling team because it's likely we'll end up working over every Tuesday.

We have no time to develop hobbies, or whatever creative talents each of us might have.

[Continued on page 15]

But there are so many exceptions, exemptions, and restrictions that the Corporation has a way out of almost any difficulty. For instance:

- Chrysler can unilaterally designate any plant except an assembly plant (and perhaps some assembly plant departments) as a "critical plant" and therefore exempt from voluntary overtime for three months. This designation can be renewed continually.

- Voluntary overtime does not apply for at least five weeks during the annual model change-over period.

- The agreement is not in effect for one year after a new plant goes into operation or after an existing plant is remodelled.

- A worker must have a perfect attendance record for the preceding week in order to be excused from Saturday or Sunday overtime.

The last restriction is the most dangerous, since it provides Chrysler with an additional control over the workforce. If a worker is sick one day during the week, he or she can be forced to work both Saturday and Sunday.

"Incentive" Plan

Chrysler can now use this provision as a precedent for providing workers with certain benefits in exchange for a perfect attendance record. This sort of "incentive" is much cheaper than creating decent working conditions.

Finally, the UAW has pledged itself to prevent the voluntary overtime agreement from being used, through "concerted action," to improve the workers' position in the plants, thus taking away one more weapon from the rank and file in the continuing battle against speed-up, harassment, and unsafe working conditions.

Is Slave Labor!

Kay Stacy

Companies' Profits Mount - We Lose More Than Time

Since we seem to make so much more money for the overtime hours we work, it's difficult to believe that the companies get off cheap working us to the bone rather than hiring more people or adding another shift.

The major reason is that it's less expensive for them to pay us time-and-a-half and double-time, since a good part of their cost per worker is fringe benefits. They don't pay any extra in fringes whether we work 40 or 60 hours.

Making Production

When times are good for the companies, like they are now, they want to keep all those machines, buildings and trucks running as much as possible.

A few years ago American industry was running at approximately 72% of its capacity. Today it is running at approximately 87% capacity.

There has been at least a 15% increase in total production, and yet unemployment continues to be a major problem. We work over, are usually forced to work over, and thousands of people are on the streets looking for work.

The companies don't even pay the cost of the bare social benefits that the unemployed get. By and large we pay, in higher taxes, eating away once again at our standard of living.

Many of us now have our family budgets pegged to those overtime hours. We can't make it on straight wages.

But rather than getting a basic living wage, \$12,000 for a family of four (minimum) according to the federal government, we get overtime wages when times are good for the companies and dirt wages when they decide to cut back. Over-

time helps keep our basic wage rate low, and company profits high.

Aside from the costs of fringes and training of new-hires, the major over-riding reason for company control of overtime is so they can regulate working hours according to their own needs. Our desires to have time off to spend with our families, for ourselves or just to recuperate from the bad effects of the job just don't wash.

They may not know on Monday that they'll want to get a load of steel to Pittsburgh on Friday. The fact that you may have planned a family fishing trip for early Saturday morning is clearly less important to them than the fact that they want that steel in Pittsburgh Friday night.

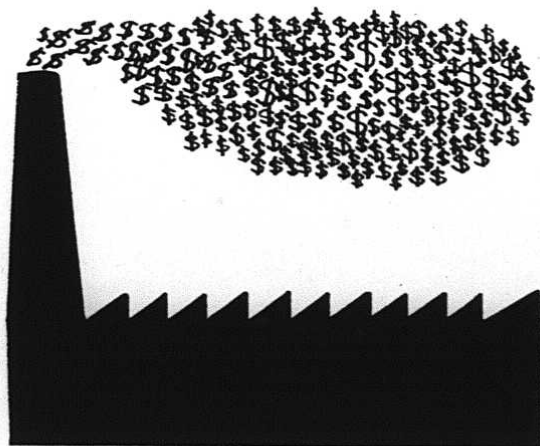
So the steel goes to Pittsburgh and the family either stays home, or goes without you.

The more they get out of that truck, or the higher number of parts a day they get out of a press, the higher their margin of profit. And when they have a buyer for the goods that they sell, then they want a disciplined work force to get that production out.

A plant that runs twenty-four hours a day is clearly more profitable than one that runs sixteen—as long as there is someone to buy what's being built. And when there is a buyer we work 12-hour shifts; the plant runs at full capacity; and the profits are very, very high.

Because of the cost of fringe benefits, including things like SUB pay in auto that they must pay to permanent employees when the buyers slack off, they'd rather work us the extra, and cut back when the market tightens up.

And so they pay us time-and-a-half and double-time without a second thought. They more than make up for it in higher profits and maintaining control of the scheduling of hours, and we more than pay for it—in the time we lose to ourselves, our families and our health.



Women on Overtime: Double The Work - But Half the Pay

Most working women are holding down jobs because they have to, not because they dig the dirt and grease, carrying a tray or washing dishes, making the boss's coffee or the "secretarial spread."

While some women do get jobs after their families have grown and they no longer have much to do at home, the vast majority of working women have both jobs and families that they are responsible for. They're working because that is the only way to make the budget come near balancing with a growing family and the economic demands that creates.

Usually women with growing families work a shift different from their husbands, if they have one, in order to save the cost of day-care, or because they cannot find adequate day-care.

The typical schedule of a nurse aide, for instance, goes like this: She works from 3 p.m.

to 11:30 p.m. When she gets home at mid-night, with no time to relax and let off tensions, she may either go immediately to bed, or do some quiet house-work. She may iron while watching the late-night movie.

She usually rises early enough to get her husband off to his

job and the kids off to school.

She might go back to bed then, but if there are children still at home, they need some watching or will demand some attention - coming into the bedroom and turning on the television or waking mommy to ask for a drink of water.

Before starting to get ready for work again at 2 p.m. she usually makes dinner and puts it in the oven, so that her husband can heat it up to feed the kids at supper-time. Off to work, and by the time she returns the children are usually in bed - she hasn't seen the older ones all day - and the whole routine begins again.

The wages she makes are usually lower than a man's, the job conditions are usually worse, and the union protection (if she has a union at all) is usually minimal. And then she has her "other" job at home.

When the employer schedules overtime a woman's family

responsibilities are never taken into consideration. The babysitter may go home at 3:00, or the husband may leave for work then. All of a sudden we have to work until 5:00.

Cries that we have kids that'll be home alone fall on very deaf ears. "You knew you had a family when you hired in," is the stock phrase.

Instead of two jobs, the woman worker has two-and-a-half under the forced overtime system. The system thereby works to drive her out of the work force. Of course, there's always

another chance - part-time jobs that pay, maybe \$1.75 an hour.

That's why the loss of protective laws limiting the hours of women's work was a big setback. These laws, which upper-class women's groups attacked as "discriminatory," were the only thing which made it possible for many women to work at all. That's why working class women's liberationists demand that these laws be strengthened, and extended to cover all workers.

Even when a woman is holding down a job, the pressures of the traditional woman's role hold firm. It's mom who knows the most and usually does the most food shopping and preparation.

It's mom who does most of the cleaning, clothes shopping and up-keep, and most of the other tasks that keep a household running.

And it's mom who screwed

up when things go wrong - whether it's the toast burning or one of the kids running with the wrong crowd.

When overtime begins to cut into the little time we do have for ourselves and our families the effects on working women are much more extreme. A mother who rarely saw her husband or children, now sees them even less often.

Family relationships, already stretched to their limits, become more tense. Screaming matches break out over who's going to take out the garbage or clean up the yard.

When that overtime includes Saturdays, then that one precious day off has to be spent on catchup work. Doing the things left undone during the week - washing, mending, cleaning.

Maybe there's time for a big family dinner, and it surely is nice to see the whole family around the table once a week. But who spent the morning cooking dinner rather than catching up on her sleep? Or spent a couple of hours in the kitchen cooking after sleeping late?

The two-job routine is an impossible one, it simply can't be done. The pressure is there to try like hell, and the responsibilities for the failures are there too. Overtime just makes the problems, already present, even more impossible.



The Selling Of the Sellout

[Continued from page 1]

with a series of lies and misrepresentations.

For example, Woodcock claimed to get: "strong curbs on mandatory overtime," great advances in health and safety conditions; a "substantial wage increase;" a company-paid dental plan; full "30 and out," a program to instantly arbitrate grievances; the right of the skilled trades to strike over sub-contracting.

It sounds, as it is supposed to, like something for everyone. In case it didn't sound good enough, the *Detroit News* headlined that the package was worth a 10% increase, although UAW officials refused to put a price tag on it.

Woodcock called it "one of the most far-reaching settlements ever negotiated by the union." The *Detroit Free Press*, eager to see an end to the strike echoed him:

"... the terms are almost precedent shattering, and so far reaching that the results nationally over the next decade or so can hardly be judged at this stage, only guessed at."

Madison Avenue

It was a slick, Madison Avenue type sales job. But like most of those, very little of it was true. The contract was a fraud, designed to sound good but filled with more loopholes than oil companies have for their taxes.

All the important questions of health and safety, working conditions, voluntary overtime, discrimination and the rehiring of workers fired for past activities were either dropped or the provisions included were meaningless. But the talk sure sounded great.

Because auto workers don't get to see the wording before the votes are taken, and instead must look at a flashy piece of literature prepared by the union, most were not aware of the true results of the bargaining.

Instead, from the time the settlement was announced there was a heavy barrage of propaganda designed to sell it.

Auto company officials made their traditional disapproving statements about the contract. The *Detroit News* reported: "... representatives of Ford Motor Company and GM corporation were less than enchanted." "They gave them the store," said one GM official.

These statements, too, were calculated to help Woodcock sell the contract. This was admitted on Monday -- after the contract was ratified -- by the *Detroit Free Press*:

"Cries of anguish from competitors who said Chrysler had given the UAW the keys to the corporate safe were more propagandistic than realistic. Exaggeration helps get the contract ratified."

Long Hot Summer

Why was all this necessary to sell the contract? During the life of the '70 contract, auto company officials watched two long, bitter strikes at GMAD (General Motors Assembly Division) plants in Ohio over speedup and working conditions. During this past summer there were a whole series of heat walk-outs throughout the midwest plants.

In August, several major strike actions took place at

had to rely on every trick it could use to demoralize and defeat opposition to the contract.

That was the purpose of the rolling trucks during the middle of the week. That was why some leafleters were beaten up and others threatened by union officials at Dodge Main on Thursday. They didn't want other views on the contract spread around.

All the Old Tricks

For the same reason, exact times of the local meetings were withheld until quite late. In at least one meeting—Local 51—some leafleters were driven away by union goons. In Local 7, workers were not allowed to bring bundles of leaflets into the meeting.

All the old tricks were pulled. The meetings were run to guarantee a "yes" vote. They included long-winded speeches by union officials on the glories of the contract. Those speeches were designed to drive people away. Many of the militants, already cynical, left without bothering to vote no.

At the Local 7 meeting, one thousand of the 1500 who had come voted and left before a single opposition voice could be heard.

The union officials were so desperate to get the national contract passed that they completely separated it from the

and calling for a rejection.

These leaflets were enthusiastically received by most. The UNC leaflet was frequently quoted by workers speaking at the meetings for a no vote.

Many of the workers who have been the most dissatisfied with conditions in the plants, who had taken part in the direct actions that occurred during negotiations, felt that there was little they could do to influence the contract.

Many felt that the issues were decided in advance, that no matter what they did the same contract would be forced down their throats by the joint efforts of the company and the union. This is ensured by the structure of the so-called democratic UAW which denies the membership anything by the most formal say in setting its policy.

No Accident

The actions of Woodcock, Fraser and the rest of the UAW leaders was by no means accidental. Their actions were not due to their own personal love for rotten conditions in the plants. As a group, the UAW bureaucracy has accepted the companies' needs to increase profits at the expense of the rank and file.

Otherwise, the cozy relationship between the union and company officials might be disrupted. And then the "bene-

wanted full voluntary overtime after 40.

Solidarity House has gone on trying to sell the contract once the vote was in. They announced that 34 locals with 197,000 workers had accepted it and 4 locals with 2750 workers rejected it.

Sounds overwhelming. And it is discouraging. But behind these figures are the real vote totals which they refuse to give out.

At Local 51 (including Mound Road engine and Lynch Road Assembly) the contract passed by a 55% to 45% margin, at Dodge Main by 155 votes out of 1200. Even with all their maneuvers, after many of the most hostile workers stayed away, the real vote was between a third and half no. That's a big base of discontent.

In addition to its blatant manipulation, the UAW also maneuvered to come up with somewhat better concessions to different groups of workers to ensure a ratification vote.

Concessions

Older workers were to be sold on a contract whose major emphasis is on fringe benefits, especially "30 and Out." Those with children were appealed to by the dental plan—even though this is to be financed out of cost-of-living money which should have gone to the workers.

Canadian locals, generally more militant, gave larger ratification votes because of equalization of pay with U.S. workers, and limitation of the mandatory work week to 48 hours (six less than in the States).

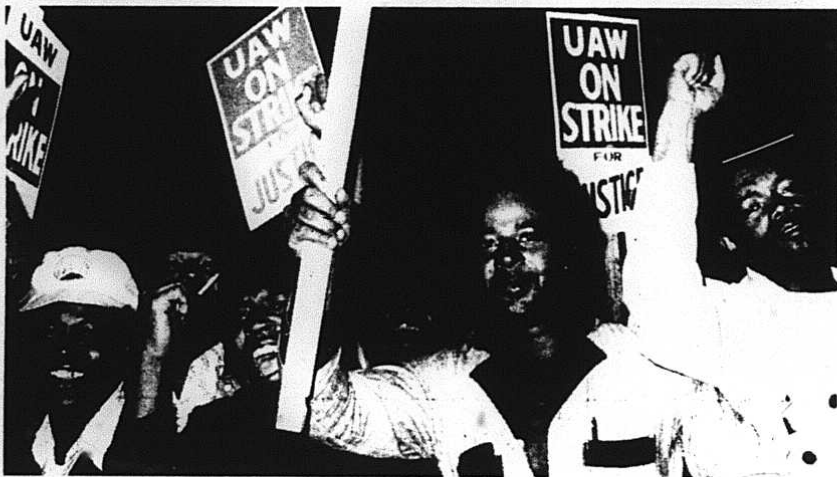
Opposition to the contract was strongest among those most frozen out—production workers, who tend to be more heavily young, black and concentrated in the hardest jobs. In the assembly plants, the large opposition vote was due to the mandatory 54-hour week, the failure to win a better settlement on voluntary overtime—the key working conditions issue of this contract, since the bureaucracy had stated in advance that it "knew of no way" of humanizing working conditions themselves.

Sharper Struggle

Indeed, despite this defeat, the UAW strike and contract may indicate a transition toward a sharper struggle. The strike was a fraud, just to let off steam and get the contract accepted. But it was the mood of rebellion among auto workers which produced the strike in the first place.

Rotten as the settlement was, it was not as bad as those in garment, electric, railroad, or teamsters where the bureaucracy was able to avoid strikes altogether. Even so, there was more opposition to this contract in the UAW ranks than in any of those other unions.

The opposition vote, a sign of the deepening bitterness coming on the heels of the summer wildcats, may prove more significant than the slick press job and tricks that Woodcock used to win "overwhelming acceptance." The job of militants and revolutionaries is to organize that discontent into an effective fighting force.



Chrysler plants in Detroit. The first was a sit-in involving a thousand workers over the issue of a racist foreman at the Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant. Then there was the one of the longest wildcat strikes of recent times in auto at the Detroit Forge. The issue was over conditions in the plant.

Then a wildcat strike with some of the workers sitting in at the Mack Avenue stamping plant was sparked by the issue of in-plant safety.

The mood in the plants has been hot for some time. The actions in the past few months, the state of the economy, the discrediting of the government, the fact that this was a contract year all played their own role in adding to the pressure of the rotten working conditions.

The UAW leadership had to produce, had to show something for its talk. When it didn't, it

local agreement. Normally the two are considered together. But they wanted to make sure that the tremendous dissatisfaction over working conditions, taken up by them only in the local agreements, did not get channeled into a contract rejection movement.

Even though the local contract at the Lynch Road plant was signed before the strike had begun, it was not considered at the union meeting. In fact, to this day no one outside of the top union officials knows what's in it, not even the stewards.

UNC Leaflet

Despite all these efforts to defeat the opposition, all could not be stopped. At many Chrysler local meetings, the United National Caucus, an opposition group within the UAW, distributed leaflets pointing out many of the problems of the contract

fits" that come to being high up in the union offices would be endangered. For their own security, the union tops need good relations with the companies.

Hidden Opposition

But things are not all roses for the bureaucracy. Even with all their tricks there was a large no vote on the contract. The engineering employees did, in fact, turn down the contract because of the poor wage increase.

With the exception of Jefferson Assembly, all the assembly plants either turned down the contract (Warren and St. Louis Truck plants) or voted it up by only a narrow majority (Dodge Main, Lynch Road and Belvedere). Many of the assembly plants have been working 48 to 54 hours per week.

To workers in these plants, the big "prize" of the 9-hour, six-day week means little. They

Pablo Neruda: Chile's Poet Laureate Dead at 69

Dan Lawrence

Days after the coup that overthrew Salvador Allende and launched a bloody campaign against the Chilean workers' movement, Pablo Neruda reportedly died of cancer in Santiago at the age of 69.

Neruda, the greatest Spanish-speaking poet of the century and perhaps of all time, was a long-time Communist Party supporter and had served as Allende's ambassador to France.

Neruda remained unburied for several days, as the military feared a public burial would become a rallying point for the opposition. When the funeral finally occurred, thousands of Communist and revolutionary workers and militants appeared, some from hiding underground, to sing the "Internationale" in a public gesture of defiance.

"In burying Neruda," they chanted, "we bury Allende" -- a reference to the fact that the military rulers, who claimed Allende had killed himself, refused either to produce the body or to allow a funeral for him.

Tragedy

Neruda's death symbolizes the tragedy of the Chilean working class, especially of the revolutionary-minded workers who went down to defeat under the mis-leadership of the Chilean Communist Party.

To the end, Neruda remained a militant who put his art at the service of his ideals. Already dying of cancer when the coup occurred, he devoted his last poem to a protest against the military takeover and the crushing of democracy.

Immediately after the takeover, a wave of concern had broken out for Neruda's safety. In response, the generals -- the same fascist-minded officers who are hunting down and slaughtering Communists and revolutionaries in the streets -- felt obliged to promise that no harm would come to Pablo Neruda, whom they described as a "national treasure." That is an index of the massive popularity that Neruda enjoyed throughout the country.

Neruda was in a sense the literary spokesman of the group of politicians and intellectuals who led the Chilean working class to the great defeat of the coup.

He epitomized the intelligent

sia of much of the Socialist and Communist parties: their sincere hatred of capitalism; their fierce pride in Latin culture and in their own nation; their hatred of US imperialism; their sincere desire in many cases to improve the condition of the workers.

But he also exemplified the intellectuals' lack of confidence in the workers' ability to change society themselves, their admiration for the Stalinist states where workers have no rights, their elitism, and their tragic servility to the Communist Party.

Neruda's poetry expresses the contradictions inherent in the narrow bureaucratic world view, but it also breaks out of that system.

Born Neftali Reyes, he changed his name to Pablo Neruda (taking his last name from the popular Czech author Jan Neruda), when he began publishing poetry at the age of 13. He first published poetry in the style of a group of French poets who valued above all, technical accomplishment.

In his books *Twenty Poems of Love and a Desperate Song* and in his *Dawn Song*, he wrote technically perfect poems in the traditional forms and celebrating the habitual topics of this group of writers, especially the tragic loves of gods and goddesses.

Alienation

Later in the mid-twenties and the thirties, his poetry, like that of many other writers, began to express the alienation, the sickness, the dread which seemed to pervade capitalist society at that time.

In the poems of *Residence on the Earth* he gave expression to his "weariness with being a man" -- a common feeling among intellectuals in that catastrophic period.

Chile honored Neruda by making him honorary consul in 1927 and he spent the next ten years as a diplomat to countries in Asia and Europe. In 1935 he went to Madrid where he worked closely with the Spanish poets Nicolas Guillen and Garcia Lorca.

Until this time Neruda's politics had been vaguely anarchistic. Now, during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War, he began to sympathize with the Communist Party and he began to write poetry of a more obviously political nature.

He used his famous name to help organize sympathy for Republican Spain and against Fascism by publishing the magazine *The Poets of the World Defend the Spanish People* in 1936, and in 1937 writing the poem *Spain in my Heart*.

As a result of these activities, considered improper for an ambassador, Neruda was recalled from his post by the Chilean government.

During the period between 1936 and 1946 Neruda was won to the ideology of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Like many intellectuals, in the 1930's, Neruda could not understand what had happened in the world.

The working class movement had either been ruined or was in the process of being destroyed in almost every country, so they didn't see the tremendous force for human progress which a self-conscious, organized workers' movement could be.

As both a privileged, but also an alienated group in capitalist society, the intellectuals found it easy to make the transition to the Stalinist group with its anti-capitalist but elitist ideas.

Neruda thus became a sympathizer of the Communist Party. During World War II, when the imperialist US and Stalin's Russia joined forces, Neruda wrote poems celebrating their "battle for democracy." In so

doing, he (like Communist intellectuals the world over) did violence to his own principles of opposing US imperialism, which maintained its stranglehold on Chile.

When he returned to Chile following the Second World War, Neruda continued his active political career. He was elected Senator in Chile from the mining provinces of Tarapaca and Antofagasta and subsequently joined the Communist Party of Chile.

Contradictions

But this was at a time when a conflict, somewhat similar to that which has just taken place, was going on.

In 1947 Neruda wrote a poem called "An Intimate Letter to Millions of Men" and in 1948 gave an address in the Chilean Senate called "I Accuse". In both he attacked Chilean President Gonzalez Videla whom he had earlier supported.

As a result he was ordered detained by the Tribunal of Justice in 1948, and in 1949 when the Chilean Communist Party was declared illegal he became an outlaw. He escaped via underground railroad to Mexico and later to Europe.

In 1950 Neruda published the long collection of political poems entitled *Canto General* in which he told the story of the conquest and subjugation of the

New World to European Imperialism.

While Neruda said he supported "socialist realism" in fact his art was diverse, creative and personal.

In the 1940's, while on the one hand writing hack poems celebrating Russian military victories and the glories of Stalin, he also continued to use many of the techniques of the surrealist poets, with their interest in the unconscious and in free association.

These were styles which Stalin and his Minister of Culture Zhdanov would have condemned in Russia, and which had been forbidden in Russia since the '20's.

During the same period that he wrote his great political poem concerned with Latin American history the *Canto General*, he also continued his more personal poems in *Tercera Residencia*.

Neruda was too fine a writer to allow his talent and his imagination to be completely restrained by the twisted artistic theories of the bureaucrats.

Unfortunately he wasn't a great enough politician to prevent his humanitarian ideals from being manipulated and twisted for their purposes.

During the '60's, he lent his support to the suppression of revolutionary intellectuals in Castro's Cuba, even when many pro-Castro left-wing intellectuals finally began to protest.

Because of the American imperialist mentality and national chauvinism, Neruda's works never received the widespread translation and artistic recognition they deserved in this country. Even today, he is still known to far too few readers in the US.

Not until 1971, when the Cold War had cooled off and a new series of diplomatic and military alignments had taken place in the world, was he awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature which he had rightfully earned many times over.

Neruda's death is the loss of a great poet, a contradictory personality and one of the symbolic artistic figures of his age. ■



The Satraps

[The following is the text of the last poem of Pablo Neruda, written while he was dying of cancer on the eve of the military coup. Frei is the Christian Democratic leader who preceded Allende as Chile's president. Pinochet is the leader of the military junta; Bordaberry is the president of Uruguay who has seized dictatorial power and suspended all rights; Garrastazu Medici is the president of the right-wing government of Brazil; Banzer is the president of Bolivia.]

Nixon, Frei, and Pinochet up to this day this bitter month of September 1973, with Bordaberry, Garrastazu and Banzer hyenas ravaging our history, rodents gnawing at flags that were raised with so much blood and fire, hellish predators wallowing in haciendas satraps bribed a thousand times over and sellouts, scared by the wolves of Wall Street, machines starving for pain, stained by the sacrifice of a martyred people, prostitute merchants of bread and American air, deadly seneschals, a herd of whorish bosses with no other law but torture and the lashing hunger of the people.

THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF I.T.T.

Review

Paul Foot

A successful executive, when asked why he had left the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT), replied: "I decided to rejoin the human race."

That executive was lucky. For most of us, whether we work for ITT or not, it is becoming increasingly impossible to escape from ITT.

ITT is not just in telephone. It is everywhere, and in everything from cosmetics to dog food. If it doesn't own the thing you're using or driving, it controls the life you lead.

ITT can decide the rate of exchange of any currency you care to name, decide the politics of a government, or if necessary decide to topple a government.

And with all this, ITT is still only the eighth largest multinational company in the world.

International Octopus

Socialists are often ridiculed when we assert that big business controls the lives of working people all over the world. Anthony Sampson's new book *The Sovereign State* provides plenty of evidence on ITT, however, to back up our claim.

Sampson shows how ITT is, as proudly claimed by one of its senior employees, "above governments, above controls, above morals." Success and profit for the company justify everything.

In the last couple of years, ITT's best-known exploits have been its efforts to use economic muscle and CIA connections to

interfere in the election of Allende in Chile, and its now-famous \$400,000 gift to the Republican Party to buy off an anti-trust suit against ITT's merger with the Hartford Insurance Company. ITT's politics -- both foreign and domestic -- are truly as American as apple pie, gunboat diplomacy, graft and election fraud.

Over the years, however, ITT's operations as an international octopus have led it to deals with virtually every major

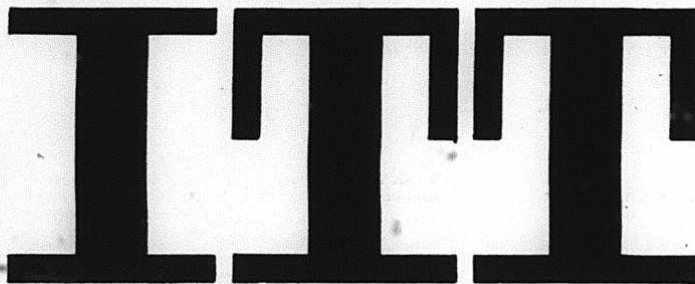
ITT helped build the Nazi war machine. In exchange its companies were not nationalized in any of Hitler's empire.

But when Germany was being defeated in 1944, ITT's chairman Sothnes Behn was one of the first to appear in liberated Paris in the uniform of the resistance -- and one of the first to cash in on the city's rehabilitation.

Since then ITT has proven it can prosper in peace as in war, under "democracy" or dictator-

ized system to deal with while the multinationals see in Russia the longed-for prospect of orderly markets, strike-free factories and predictable five-year plans. Russia could be the ultimate land of no surprises."

Along with the rhetoric of "peaceful coexistence" and détente, Brezhnev is prepared to offer the multinational mogul more tangible benefits: the highest rate of profit at the lowest risk. There is, in Russia, no anti-trust competition which



'Ruling People and Nations Everywhere'

imperialist war machine around. One of the company's biggest "breaks," for example, came from Adolf Hitler.

Hitler and ITT built up a special relationship during the Nazi years in Germany. ITT's subsidiary, Lorenz, had a 28 percent interest in the Focke-Wulf company, whose aircraft were Hitler's main assault weapons in the Second World War.

ship, under capitalist "free enterprise" or Stalinist bureaucratic planning. For all their power over the private enterprise governments of the West, ITT and its chairman Harold Geneen are happiest when doing business with Russia and Eastern Europe.

"The two sides," writes Anthony Sampson, "can reveal a mutual attraction: the Russians need a disciplined and central-

makes all those lawyers and PR men (and minor overhead expenses like the \$400,000 bribe to Nixon) necessary in the West.

More important, there seems to be no threat from the workers. ITT's factories in Russia are promised no strikes, on terms which are no more expensive to the company than those signed in other countries where

a "no strike" clause cannot be assuaged by the government.

Meanwhile, of course, ITT's devotion to racism has survived the company's profitable partnership with Hitler. Chairman Geneen passionately supports the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia, and ITT's British subsidiary has effectively banned black workers from skilled jobs.

Not the least profitable of ITT's enterprises is its worldwide investment in political corruption, on a scale that makes the Watergate cover-up payoffs look like small change.

It employs an army of lawyers to twist the law, press officers and public relations men who are paid \$100 million a year to "win the press," speculators to fix foreign exchange rates, and lobbyists -- 10,000 of them in Washington alone -- to bribe Senators and Congressmen, deputies and MP's, councillors (and even commissars) with everything from a prostitute to a free taxi service.

The crucial lesson of Sampson's book is that ITT is stronger even than the most powerful government in the world, the American government.

What Can Be Done?

What can be done about it? Sampson's conclusion is not only reactionary, it is futile.

"The nation is the only institution strong enough to stand up to the multinationals, and to instill comparable loyalties, for the foreseeable future," he writes. So, we must all bend ourselves to strengthening the power of the nation state, whose boundaries -- as the operation of ITT shows -- have been burst by the development of capitalist economic reality.

How is national power to check the rampages of the multinationals -- ITT, General Motors, Ford, Kodak, du Pont, Unilever, and Shell? Through Congress, already hopelessly corrupted and besieged by the power of the corporate giants? Through the press, already owned and controlled by these same monopolies?

There is a power capable of defeating the multinationals and of "instilling comparable loyalties," a power which author

(Continued on page 15)

Behind The Lies: How ITT Planned Chile Coup In 1970

There is little doubt that ITT will be one of the major beneficiaries of the military coup that overthrew the Allende government in Chile. Before Allende ever took office, ITT was engaged in feverish negotiations aimed at using military force to prevent his election.

With a former CIA director on its payroll, ITT was fully prepared to launch an upheaval in which thousands of Chilean workers would have been slaughtered in the interests of a few million dollars compensation for obsolete telephone equipment.

The following excerpts from ITT documents in 1970 illustrate the conspiracy which ITT was trying to work up to rig the Chilean election. What is especially significant is that, while these plans came to nothing at the time, they laid out the sce-

nario for Allende's eventual collapse.

Like ITT, the US government consciously maneuvered to accelerate the economic disruption of Chile and encourage a pro-US military takeover. Less than three years after Allende's election, ITT's dream came true.

Today I had lunch with our contact at the McLean agency, and I summarize for you the results of our conversation. He is still very, very pessimistic about defeating Allende when the congressional vote takes place on October 24. Approaches continue to be made to select members of the Armed Forces in an attempt to have them lead some sort of uprising -- no success to date.

He indicated that certain steps were being taken but that he was looking for additional help aimed at inducing economic collapse. I discussed the suggestions with Guilfoyle. He contacted a couple of companies who said they had been given advice which is directly contrary to the suggestions I received.

Savings and loan companies there are in trouble. If pressure were applied they would have to shut their doors, thereby creating stronger pressure.

Some business sectors are encouraging economic collapse, hoping this eventually will necessitate a military take-over, or strengthen Allende in the congressional run-off. Undercover efforts are being made to bring about the bankruptcy of one or two of the major savings and loan associations. This is expected to trigger a run on banks and the closure of some factories resulting in more unemployment.

international report



South Africa: Slaughter for \$\$

David Finkel

The murder of 11 black miners by police during a strike at the Anglo-American Corporation's Western Deep Levels mine in Carletonville, South Africa, has brought the vicious racism of the police state of South Africa back into international headlines.

Seven of the miners killed in the "incident" were from the nations of Lesotho and Botswana, which depend on money earned by workers who labor in South African mines.

Business Embarrassed

American capitalist interests, which invest heavily in South Africa, responded with embarrassment to the massacre, and (in the case of the *New York Times*) with an appeal to the South African regime to permit "an impartial inquiry into the tragedy" by the United Nations' powerless and meaningless committee on apartheid.



The murder of black people is not exceptional in South Africa, either in the mines or elsewhere. In the last 30 years, conditions in the gold mines -- not police bullets -- have killed 19,000, an average of three deaths per shift.

Police violence, however, is also a routine fact of life. During 1971 police killed 53 miners and seriously injured 223 "in the execution of their duties." America's stake in South African capitalism is shown by what happened after the Sharpe-

ville massacre in 1960, when police fired into a demonstration and killed 69 black protesters. The Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank advanced a \$10 million loan to help stabilize the government, while other American investors put up \$70 million. Another consortium of American banks put up a "revolving credit fund" of another \$50 million.

By 1965, American investment in South Africa had reached \$467 million, with a profit return of 20 percent per year. The South African armed forces, the key to maintaining the balance of power and terror over the black majority, are equipped -- like the military in Chile -- by the U.S.

Strike Wave

The latest mass murder came a week after the start of a strike by 300 machine operators at the Western Deep Levels mine. On the same day, another 25 miners on strike at the West Rand gold mine were injured in a police attack.

There have been waves of strikes by black workers in South Africa and Namibia during the past year. Miners, however, have generally been less militant since the defeat of their national strike in 1946.

In the past year, a wave of black miners' militancy at Anglo American has brought a 42 percent wage increase -- to an average of \$48 per month. White miners make over 14 times this much. At the same time, the price of gold has doubled and the corporation's profits are up 10.7 percent.

The liberal press in the US and Britain shed crocodile tears over apartheid and brutality in South Africa. Meanwhile, the capitalists of these nations continue to underwrite the regime and grow rich off the profits of African black labor. ■

China CP Cool To 'Armed Struggle'

The following item, reprinted from the pro-Maoist newspaper *Holiday* published in Dacca, Bangladesh, provides an interesting footnote to the recent Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China.

Like supporters of Mao's regime around the world, the editors are forced to account for the shift in China's foreign policy toward an alliance with the U.S.

The "new line" in Chinese policy took a particularly reactionary form during the war of independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan, when China and the U.S. both openly supported the Pakistani regime which murdered hundreds of thousands of Bengali workers and peasants.

The standard Maoist explanation for this development is that the "main danger" facing China is now a war with the Soviet Union, justifying an alliance with U.S. imperialism to "safeguard socialism" in China.

Nonetheless, the *Holiday* report also notes that this alliance also means a sharp retreat from Peking's support for anti-imperialist national liberation struggles generally.

To soften the impact of this, however, another passage from the article quoted below holds out the hope that China's desire for "detente in the subcontinent" may bring support from Peking for Bangladesh's independence and entry into the United Nations.

"It is paradoxical that the Sino-Soviet rift has brought the two communist giants much closer to imperialist America. Moscow, in its anxiety to contain the growing power of China, sought the friendship of the West which accepted the offer as a God-sent opportunity. A panic-stricken Peking was left no other alternative but to patch up with the West too for sake of sheer survival.

"The spectacle of two communist giants vying with each other to offer bouquets to their former number-one enemy is indeed shameful. But then such is the 'bliss' of Revisionism in which Revolution is considered a hazardous proposition and thus sacrificed at the altar of imperialism pure and simple.

"The Tenth Congress does not seem to have made any reference to the armed struggle in the South Asian subcontinent. The political report to the previous Congress had expressed its firm support for the liberation struggles in various parts of the globe, including India.

"This omission of the name of India in the latest report has led many to think that the Chinese have disapproved what has come to be known as Naxalite tactics." ■

Algerian Workers Fight Racism

Barbara Adler

A violent outbreak of racism in Marseille, France, has resulted in the murder of eight Algerian workers.

Realizing their importance to the economy of Marseille and of France, North African workers there have organized themselves to fight back. On September 3, more than 20,000 workers in

the Marseille area, by walking off the job, paralyzed scores of factories and construction sites.

These workers, more than showing their courage and determination, have called on all anti-racist French workers to join them in struggle. In one Marseille plant the French workers joined the strike -- and the re-

sponse would have been much more massive had the unions not sabotaged the struggle.

The Communist Party controlled union, the CGT, by its failure to act, showed up the demagoguery of its general secretary's statement, "Racism shall not pass."

More than that, in Marseille, the CP daily paper attacked the immigrant workers for fighting back:

"Certain grouplets are trying to drag the immigrants into hostility acts that will isolate them. Who is manipulating all these groups? Who is trying to bring about a big confrontation? Who would gain from that? Undoubtedly those who are in favor of uncontrolled immigration..."

The CP has taken the same line as the outright fascist organizations, which are howling about so-called "uncontrolled immigration" in their open efforts to stir up racism!

The French revolutionary organization Lutte Ouvriere, together with more than a dozen other organizations, has entered

on an "Anti-Racist Action Agreement."

Not only did they hold a highly successful meeting, attended by more than 1,500, but they have agreed to organize a campaign against racism and racist acts in the factories and working class neighborhoods.

The "Agreement" explains: "The organizations, movements and journals signing this agreement know perfectly well the dangers that a sizeable increase of racism would bring for the working class and for all working people.

"Because the political use of racism by the government, the bosses and the right-wing organizations has always led to dividing the workers in order the better to exploit and crush them, whatever their place of birth or nationality. The example of Nazi Germany is there to prove it.

"(We) call on all political, union, and cultural organizations and more broadly on all those who want to fight racism to join our struggle." ■

TRAVAILLEURS



French poster saying "Workers, French and immigrants, unite."



NEWS

I.S. To Launch National Drive For \$15,000

On October 1, we launched our third annual fund drive. The I.S. goal this year is to raise \$15,000 over a ten week period.

The fund drive's purpose is to raise money for expansion of our resources and activities beyond what our dues contributions permit. A successful fund drive will enable us to develop further the work we do in the rank and file trade union movement and in movements of oppressed peoples, to devote more resources to *Workers' Power*, and to expand our literature.

The International Socialists bring a unique political viewpoint to the problems of ending decay, injustice and exploitation

in our society and deserve the support of our readers and friends.

One of the most distinguishing features of the International Socialists is that we believe that no degree of social justice, progressive change or socialism itself can be handed down by any force from above, no matter how benevolent.

It must be through the self-activity and self-organization of the people themselves. Therefore, we are active in building movements of the rank and file in the trade unions, of women, and of Blacks, Latins, and other oppressed groups.

Within the last year, our

members have been active in the struggles of the United Farmworkers Union for its right to organize; in the wildcat rebellions among auto workers against speedup, unsafe working conditions and racism; in the struggles of teachers against deteriorating conditions.

We are active in defense campaigns for political prisoners. We work with the rank and file of these movements, and bring revolutionary politics and ideas to their struggles to attempt to build and provide direction for them.

We see our activity as the beginning steps necessary to build a revolutionary party in the Un-

ited States -- a task that is crucial in the fight for socialism. We feel that the militants in the shops and in the liberation movements today will be the leaders of a revolutionary party as it develops tomorrow.

This process, however, will not be an easy one, nor will it be completed without great sacrifice. That is why we are asking for your support in our fund drive. The success of the drive is required in order to publish the literature, send out the organizers, and maintain the national office that an activist, democratic centralist organization needs in order to coordinate its work.

Not only do we use our facilities for our own work, but we make them available to other groups of militants and radicals for the production of their own literature.

In addition, we are engaged in correspondence with many prisoners, forced by capitalism into its most repressive institution. Many of them are interested in socialism and eager to read the socialist books, pamphlets, and newspapers which

we supply free to the extent that our resources permit.

For an organization supported solely by membership contributions, none of this is easy.


Please send a donation to the fund drive today. Checks should be made payable to International Socialists, or you may send a money order.

[Send contributions to: I.S., 14131 Woodward Avenue, Room 225, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.]

INDIANA I.S. FORUM DRAWS 100

The Bloomington IS held its largest meeting ever on September 26. Over 100 people turned out to hear Marilyn Danton, IS national Secretary speak on the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile.

The meeting was the largest socialist gathering in this part of Indiana in many years. The branch set up a study group with interested people from the audience.



INTERESTED?

International Socialists
14131 Woodward Ave.
Highland Park, Mich.
48203

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name.....
Address.....
City.....
Occupation.....



feedback

Comments

I would like to comment on a couple of features of *Workers' Power* No. 81. First, I disagreed somewhat with the emphasis of the supplement on the recent struggles of auto workers. The aspect of the Chrysler struggle that was unique was that the sit-down tactic was revived in the US after a 35-year lull.

I believe that a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of sit-downs as a tactic, especially how they make sellouts harder as the workers are in constant communication with each other, should have been the focus of the article.

A discussion of alternative tactics to the standard strike, such as sit-downs, organized sabotage, work-to-rule, etc., is

desperately needed in the American labor and radical movement.

I also objected to the focus of the article on Guru Maharaji. It took no recognition of why American youth are turning to such cults. It's because the radicals have left the terrain of everyday life to the religious quacks.

Many people today are upset by the boredom of life, and the lack of pleasure and satisfaction involved in this life.

Workers' Power, and that article in particular, heighten this situation by continuing the opposition of reason and instinct that have increasingly plagued the world for a long time, and especially since the advent of capitalism 400 years ago.

It is the task of socialists to break down this distinction, and criticize any religious exploitation of it. Your article was es-

pecially upsetting across from an article on Charlie Parker, whose music was nothing if not a protest against this very repression of everyday life in this society.

Please understand that it is because I think that *Workers' Power* is the most important paper coming from the radical movement today, even though I disagree with much of its perspective, that I bother to write this letter in the spirit of friendly criticism.

Stephen Soldz

Allende and the Miners

Marilyn Danton's article on the (then anticipated) disaster in Chile (*Workers' Power* No. 81) provides yet another casebook example of *Workers'*

Power's dedication to half-truth and propaganda.

Ms. Danton clearly portrays the opposition of large segments of the middle class to the Allende regime, especially the crippling strike of the truck owners (and the agitation of their wives, I would add). She rightly criticizes Allende for jockeying around the military for support of "good" generals.

Working Class Split

But nowhere does Ms. Danton even suggest that Allende lacked solid working class support. On the contrary, Ms. Danton implies clearly that Allende had solid working class support. Not true!

How can one begin to discuss the Chilean disaster without mentioning the strike of the copper miners this last spring?

The Frei government that preceded Allende's had courted and won most of the copper miners over to the Christian-Democrats. For the most part, the copper miners opposed the Allende regime and even attacked their own leaders last June for reaching an accord with it.

Empty Rhetoric

Copper is Chile's main export. Allende's acceptance of power in 1970 without support of copper miners was like what it might be like if an American radical group took power with-

out auto and steel workers' support.

Because of her failure (1) to consider the split within the Chilean working class and (2) to understand that solid working class action is a necessary prerequisite for a radical transformation of society, Ms. Danton falsely concludes that Allende's big error lay in not going far enough in calling upon the working class to perform the revolutionary transformation of Chilean society. Such a call would have been empty rhetoric to the copper miners.

The Chilean economy was not in a collapse in 1970 when Allende took power. Nor was the government. Too many key workers were not in motion.

Such a take-over of power could only result in the kind of jockeying around that Allende did.

Revolution must be won not by empty rhetorical appeals and not by elitist transformation of society from above but by the workers after a long series of struggle.

It must be won by all, and not by a few "bearded ones" in the mountains or jungles. It must be defended by all, and not by a few "good" generals.

For Ms. Danton (and presumably *Workers' Power*) to ignore the role of the copper miners in all this is incredible.

Marvin Mandell

Agnew

DAVID FINKEL

[Continued from page 1]

that "this was standard practice with his predecessors in Maryland and with his successors, but it was not evidence of corruption."

This noble sentiment has won Agnew a certain amount of sympathy among his colleagues and in the press. After all, it seems unfair to throw such a distinguished, successful, patriotic political figure in the penitentiary just for making a few sound, solid business deals.

Especially since these deals did help to hold down the unemployment rate among pro-Republican contractors in Maryland.

Political Prisoner?

Agnew, whose nose of business has not deserted him in the hour of need, has set up a "legal defense fund" for himself to cash in on this support. Chicago multimillionaire and Agnew backer W. Clement Stone kicked off the grass-roots response with a small gift of \$100,000.

Agnew feels, after all, that he is the victim of a massive frame-up engineered by the White House, the Justice Department and local law enforcement officials.

Other political prisoners—like Angela Davis, the Chicago 7, Carlos Feliciano and dozens of Black Panthers had to establish defense funds (if they weren't shot down first) to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars in bail and to publicize their cases, let alone lawyers' fees.

Of course, many of them sat in jail for months or years before even getting the right to bail. No doubt Agnew feels entitled to the same "fair treatment" and "justice" received by these victims.

Interestingly enough, much of the sympathy for Agnew comes not only from his cronies on the right, but (more discreetly) from the liberals whom he used to attack on the "left." The reason isn't hard to find.

Among the liberals, the joke used to be that you couldn't impeach Nixon, because you'd be stuck with Agnew. Now it's the other way around: if you get rid of Agnew, you're stuck with Nixon—and whatever hand-picked successor Nixon chooses to name Vice-President.

Nixon, it seems, already knew about Agnew's Maryland dealings before the 1972 elections. But Nixon has already shown that he knows how to keep a secret—even when he has arranged to have the secret recorded on tape.

Now, however, Nixon would just as soon be rid of Agnew, figuring that this would help him create a "new image" for his Administration.

The Congressional liberals, for their part, are showing more and more clearly that they'd prefer to be through with the whole mess. Their crusade against White House corruption has got-

ten out of hand and seems to be sliding toward disaster.

The last thing they want is a confrontation that would force them to take action—on Nixon's tapes, on Nixon's impeachment, on Agnew, on the economy, or on anything else. The best they could wish for would be to pass a bill for public financing of election campaigns, and quietly forget the rest.

For the foreseeable future, however, it doesn't look as if the three-ring circus of escalating political scandals—Watergate, Watergate West (the Ellsberg break-in), and now Agnew—can be wished away.

Agnew's shady deals represent little more than the normal small change of capitalist politics. But today, with American politics at its lowest point in decades over Watergate and the crumbling of economic stability, these scandals threaten to create a top-to-bottom, full-scale Constitutional crisis which this system and its liberal defenders view with horror.

The outcome of this crisis, if it should mature, is still unclear. But millions of American working people have seen the threat to democracy revealed by the methods of Watergate.

Behind Watergate, behind Nixon and Agnew lies the system which produces all the frameups, the government-sponsored police terror in the name of "law and order" against Black and Latin communities, the spying and sabotage directed against radicals and militants.

So long as power lies in the hands of the corporations and their Watergate political parties, the atrocities and cover-ups will continue. We need to impeach more than Agnew and Nixon—we need to impeach the whole system.

To sweep away corruption and end repression, working people will have to fight to take power for themselves in this society. ■

UFWA

[Continued from page 5]

going to renounce field work contracts. But using the excuse that the growers would not release them from their contracts, the Teamsters kept them and renegotiated them. The IBT openly violated the agreement.

The Teamster bureaucracy has a long record of broken agreements, sweetheart contracts and union raids. There is every reason to believe that they will break this agreement if they feel they can gain more than they will lose.

If the UFW had to accept this agreement as the best they could get now, it is the responsibility of the AFL-CIO which has failed to give full backing to the UFW struggle.

The labor movement has not mobilized its ranks to defend the UFW strike. It did not send thousands of workers to man the picket lines when they were attacked by goons. They did not threaten a general strike

when the UFW lines were harassed by the police.

These are a part of the historic tradition of the labor movement and are among labor's strongest weapons, but they were not used to defend the UFW.

The \$1.6 million donated by the AFL-CIO was small compared to what the UFW needs or to what the AFL-CIO contributes to strikes it thinks are important (e.g., it gave \$13 million to the GE strike). And as mentioned, the AFL-CIO has never even endorsed the lettuce boycott.

The UFWA still needs massive labor support. First, there is the struggle to regain the contracts with the grape growers. Second, there are the thousands of agricultural workers still to be organized.

An AFL-CIO campaign in support of the UFW to organize the unorganized is not only vitally necessary to the UFW; it is also a key to revitalizing and rebuilding the labor movement as a whole. Such support is not likely to come from the labor bureaucracy. It will have to come from the ranks. ■

Strikes

[Continued from page 6]

ever is necessary for its profits.

In the steel industry this is made worse by the technological backwardness of the plants. In the past, the steel corporations have failed to spend the necessary amounts of money to modernize their equipment. As a result the steel industry in the US is one of the most backward.

To make up for this it is the union that proposed a solution that prevents the ranks from making a fight over working conditions and inflation.

For government workers there exist laws in most states prohibiting strikes. The reason usually given is that strikes by teachers, bus drivers or government clerks have come to increasingly affect life in the cities.

With this reasoning and the no-strike laws behind them, government officials meet with the unions in the public sector. Yet without the ability to strike or even threaten to strike, the union negotiators are forced to make requests, not demands.

Whose fault is it when public employees, or railroad workers or others involved in a public service strike? Despite the attempts to make it seem like the actions of a "greedy few", most strikes so far have been defensive -- attempts to keep up with rising costs and deteriorating working conditions.

Many of the recent teachers' strikes have been to prevent further cutbacks in education spending. When these strikes have not been primarily defensive, they have been to secure improvements in the standard of living -- obtainable in no other way.

Workers, whether employed by the government or by private companies, cannot ignore the at-

tempts to legislate against strikes. Already there are laws against public employee strikes and against the secondary boycott. All indications point to the possibility of further anti-labor legislation.

In the last twenty years the leaders of organized labor, tied to the established political parties, have dropped even the pretense of a fight against anti-labor laws. Independent political action to defend labor's right to strike, to defend workers' interests politically as well as economically is urgently needed. Otherwise, the labor movement will face new and even more dangerous attempts to limit its basic rights.

Alternatives to Sellout

While talk of "alternatives to the strike" has always been pushed by companies and anti-union forces, it is now being raised by the labor leadership to solve the companies' problems. Whether it is the backwardness of the technology of the steel industry in the US, or the unwillingness of the government to pay decent wages and provide decent working conditions, the fact of the matter is that it is the workers who are being forced to pay. For the bosses and many union officials, "alternatives to the strike" are needed to solve the problems of American capitalism.

From the point of view of socialists and the ranks of labor, the problem is not "is the strike effective any more," but how to make the strike effective once again. Too many strikes have been sold out and defeated by the manner in which they have been run -- from the top only. Instead the unions and their weapons must be returned to the ranks.

The unions must once again become democratic bodies that organize the fight, not sell it out. Democracy means not just voting on a contract every three years and new officers every two. It means the active participation of the ranks in setting union policy. It means the unlimited right to strike, independent of the dictates of the government. It also means there must be workers' control of their unions. ■

[The author was an active participant and shop steward in the bitter, 7 month CWA strike against the N.Y. Telephone Co. in 1971-72.]

Time

[Continued from page 8]

Most of us probably don't even know what talents we do have that we could develop if we had the time.

Once again, chained to the company's whims, we have no time, opportunity or the kind of society that aims at developing creative, active human beings.

Instead we bury ourselves in all kinds of escapes. Television, the continual pap and repeats, is the most common. Most working people don't do anything except work, eat, sleep, and

hang out -- whether it's at home or on the street.

We drink. We drink at home, we drink on the job. Or we take drugs -- not necessarily the hard stuff, although god knows enough people do -- just enough to get messed up. To make it all a little easier. To relax. To stop thinking for a while.

All of these make the company quite happy. It isn't until a third of the work force is nodding off in the corner, rather than working the line or getting out the goods, that they start talking about the drug problem in the plants.

In general a nice, docile workforce, well trained to follow orders and kept in line by the foremen and the union is exactly what they want. The empire's guide in the auto industry, which is a collection of rulings by the arbitrator interpreting various contract clauses, reads like a military training guide.

In case after case, workers are disciplined for performing dangerous, contractually illegal jobs or acts because they defied the foreman, rather than doing the job and filing a grievance.

This society has the resources that would allow the machines to work for us rather than the other way around.

There is no easy way to begin. The easy part is figuring out what we think is wrong and what we want to replace the injustices.

Divided we cannot win; organized around a movement we control, fighting for common aims and goals, unified in action -- together, we can win. ■

I.T.T.

[Continued from page 12]

Sampson fails to notice. That is the power of the men and women who work for the multinationals, whose labor is robbed, whose skill is humiliated and independence broken by them.

It is true that the workers and their trade union organizations have been slow to react to the multinational power of the new combines. The "leaders" of labor in America, where the multinationals' power is most strongly based, have been the most backward of all.

Again and again, workers are left in the lurch as the combines switch work, money and resources across national boundaries.

This fact only hardens the argument for political rank and file organization in the workers' movement, for linking the struggle in ITT factories in different industries and countries.

If the workers start to move against these giants in a politically organized and economically coordinated counter-offensive, then all the public relations, lawyers, accountants and lobbyists in the world will be unable to keep Geneen and his fellow barbarians in power. ■

Workers' Power

83

CHILE: UNIONS BANNED IN MARCH TO FASCISM

Marilyn Danton

Chile's bloody coup has brought terror in its wake. Eyewitness accounts report whole-sale beatings, arrests, slaughter of anyone sympathetic to the Popular Unity government. Sniping continues at night; the military roams the streets with orders to "shoot to kill" anyone out after curfew without a safe conduct pass.

A door to door search of the 3 million Santiaguans for weapons and propaganda is systematically being carried out. Leftists cannot sleep in the same place two nights in a row.

Unions Outlawed

This is only the beginning. The junta's ruthlessness did not stop with individuals. The next casualties were the organizations of the working class. In the first days of the coup, the junta promised the workers and peasants that their interests would be protected.

But recent events show these promises are no more believable than the denials of executions and arrests. The junta has now ordered the return of most of the 350 private companies nationalized by the government or workers' action to their original bosses.

The Communist and Socialist Parties were outlawed, only to be followed by the banning of all political parties. Most recently the military men banned the 800,000 Communist Party-led Central Workers Federation (CUT), Chile's largest labor organization, because it had "transformed itself into an organ of political character, under the influence of foreign tendencies alien to the national spirit."

The 30,000 Latin American political exiles, who fled to Chile when the black curtain of military rule shrouded their countries, fight for their very lives.

The military has justified the coup on the grounds that foreign leftists were conspiratorily planning civil war. Last week Oscar Bonilla, the Minister of the Interior and a leading member of a fascist terrorist organization, called on Chileans to "hunt

down every foreign extremist in the interior."

Armed guards prohibit anyone from seeking political asylum in the nation's embassy's. To whip up popular hysteria, the junta is appealing to racist, reactionary, nationalism through a terrorist campaign against foreign political exiles. Anti-semitism is only the latest instance of this.

On September 23, the government informed the diplomatic missions that they could no longer transfer political refugees from one embassy to another.

Chilean citizens would no longer be given safe-conduct passes for political asylum abroad. The noose is being tightened daily for foreigners and Chileans alike. Workers, peasants and leftists are trapped in the prison that once was Chile.

The immediate future holds only more of the same. The military government announced it was drafting a new constitution that would include "a permanent role for the military."

It is likely that it will be put into effect not by a vote, but by decree. But the new-found legality will legitimize the armed terror of Chile's new regime only to its international capitalist partners and to no one else. It is a step that even some of Chile's more "moderate" bosses oppose.

Capitalist Glee

The international response to the attempted destruction of the working class movement should make clear the real allegiance of those governments that have mourned the death of democracy in Chile.

While leftists joined together in demonstrations around the world in solidarity with the Chilean workers, little concealed glee mounted in capitalist circles. Anaconda and Kennecott are already laying plans for their return to Chile. And why not?

The military men are already seeking ways to encourage US and other foreign investment with new laws forbidding expropriation. The Chilean workers' defeat was a grand victory for international capitalism.

But it is not just a matter of immediate investment and profits from imperialism. The



Book-burning begins as junta terror grows.

Chilean working class with its growing militancy and revolutionary fervor was an inspiration and example for workers throughout Latin America and the world.

They were becoming a growing threat to the well-being of employers everywhere. They had to be defeated by any means necessary.

Fascist Trends

Today it is becoming clear that the coup is not just one more Latin American military take-over. It is a right-wing counter-revolution with growing fascist tendencies.

Some military men in consultation with the Truck Owners Association and the small shopkeepers organization, the leaders of the October bosses strike, began planning the coup in November, 1972.

With the success of the coup, the military moved to ban all political parties and to smash the trade unions. The generals used the mobilization of the middle classes as a club against the working class. They continue to consult daily with representatives from their organizations.

Crucial Lesson

But when the junta has smashed the workers' organizations, it will move against the middle classes themselves.

This entire move is in the interest of the big capitalists, local and foreign, not the small ones. The junta's use of racism, nationalism, and anti-semitism, to instill fear and create hysteria in Chile is all too familiar.

Chile's military rulers and their capitalist supporters are beginning to turn to the last

defense of capitalism against the working class - fascism. The military rule can only be effective if it totally destroys the working class movement. That is its aim. That is what it is now attempting to do.

A crucial lesson can be learned from this tragedy. The employers of the world will "defend the Constitution" only when the Constitution defends their wealth. If the Constitution threatens, however weakly, to share out that wealth with the people who produce it, the Constitution and democracy will become obstacles to be overcome by force.

What the industrialists, the financiers, the Christian Democrat leaders, the CIA and the army have done in Chile, they will do again, even more savagely, whenever they are threatened by elected governments.

There is no parliamentary, peaceful road to socialism. There is only one road to socialism: through an armed workers' insurrection that smashes the capitalist state and establishes in its place a democratically controlled workers' state. That is the lesson of Chile.

Resistance

But despite the tragic defeat, the Chilean workers will rise again. At the funeral of Chile's Nobel Prize winning poet and sympathizer of Allende, Pablo Neruda, thousands of workers defied the ban on public meetings and demonstrated in the streets of Santiago.

Singing the "Internationale", members of the Socialist and Communist Parties and other leftists emerged from the underground to participate in the first public anti-junta mobilization since the coup on September 11.

The Communists, Socialists and members of the MRR are operating underground. This means enormous handicaps, but there is no alternative in Chile today. A resistance movement is being born.

But in this resistance, in the rebuilding of the Chilean workers' movement, the workers and peasants must assimilate the lessons of Chile. They must learn their own will, or be doomed to repeat them in the future. ■

