

WORKERS' Power

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Fighting Inflation With Ford

THE RICH GET RICHER

by Gay Semel

Trumpets blared, drums rolled, summits met, and as the crescendo mounted, out stepped Gerald Ford with his NEW anti-inflation program.

Only, like the Emperor who paraded his new clothes, Gerry didn't have anything to show.

His program is supposed to give tax relief to the poor. It's supposed to slow inflation. Mostly it is supposed to show that his government will act decisively to solve our economic problems. It doesn't even succeed at that.

The 5% surtax turns out to be an added tax burden on working people. His program was so transparent that even the trade union leadership was forced to register displeasure.

After the fine print is taken into account only 28% of the population will have to pay the surtax. And just like regular income taxes, the rich will be able to get around it.

The Wall Street Journal said that Nixon would have escaped the surtax, despite his income of \$260,000.

The net result of Ford's program, no matter what his advance notices say, is more money for the corporations.

CORPORATIONS ENRICHED

If the entire program is approved, corporations will be enriched by more than \$11 billion. This would include \$9.2 billion paid by you and me in increased natural gas prices.

The corporations would also pick up another \$1.1 billion because of liberalized tax laws.

The surtax on business would cost the corporations \$2.1 billion. But liberalized tax credits for new investments will return \$2.9 billion. A net gain of \$800 million. Add it all up and it is a whopping \$11.1 billion.

That is if the corporations were actually to pay the surtax. Far more likely is that, without price controls, they will simply pass it on to the consumer. Which makes their potential profit from Ford's program much higher.

But even if the figures hadn't turned out to favor business, Ford's program would still not fight inflation.

Because his program does not deal with the real sources of inflation—military spending and monopoly.

are inflationary.

When you add it all up Ford's program has very little to do with fighting inflation and a great deal to do with making working people pay even more for the growing crisis of the American economy.

MAKING WORKERS PAY

And things promise to get worse!

Following the announcement of Ford's program, a representative of big business commented on it. Richard H. Headlee is president of Hamilton International Corp. and a delegate to



FIRST ATTICA VICTORY!

The first of the trials stemming from the Attica Prison rebellion ended last week with the dismissal of all charges.

Brother Willie Smith had been charged with two counts of sodomy and two counts of sexual abuse.

In granting the defense's motion for dismissal, Supreme Court Justice Frank R. Bayger cited inability of the prosecution to present evidence.

When the court decision was announced, cheering and applause broke out, both in the courtroom and the hallway. The defendant, a native of Buffalo, was immediately greeted as he walked from the courtroom by family and friends.

Sixty-two men were indicted on charges stemming from the Attica rebellion. Several of the trials are expected to begin later this month.

The prosecution had pushed the indictment against Willie Smith to trial first in order to reinforce the existing prejudice in Erie County against the Attica Brothers. The state has actively fostered this prejudice

since September 1971, when the rebellion occurred, and when rumors that the prisoners had castrated hostages were spread among state troopers.

These rumors were then given to the press as facts in an attempt to justify the massacre. Autopsy reports, released the next day, proved that these "Official" reports were lies and that all the hostages who died were killed by state troopers' guns.

Yet, as the Attica Brothers Legal Defense jury survey shows, nearly 25% of Erie County residents still believe that atrocities were committed by prisoners.

It is against this background that the Attica Trials will proceed. The attempt to treat each defendant as an isolated criminal cannot obscure the fact that these are political trials.

The crimes of the state in building and using Attica Prison, the legitimacy of the Brothers' seizure of the prison to expose conditions inside, and their continuing resistance to the illegitimate control over their lives—these issues must be the focus of each Attica trial. □

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"Tax me a little more, but not my company."

—the chairman of AT&T (Mr. deButts), speaking at Ford's economic summit.

MONOPOLY PRICING

er strides in checking monopoly he picked Rockefeller as his number two man. The name Rockefeller and the word monopoly are almost interchangeable.

Monopoly pricing can come about through domination by one company like AT&T, interlocking directorates like the various Rockefeller-controlled oil companies and banks, or by friendly price fixing—legally, like the airlines or illegally like the large electrical companies.

One way or the other the result is the same. Prices rise even though demand drops. In fact, when demand drops prices are raised to make up for the lost volume. Monopoly pricing is inflationary.

Ford also failed to explain how his cutting controls on natural gas prices is anti-inflationary. Nor has he said anything about the rapidly rising price of coal. Higher gas and coal prices

the National economic summit. He stated that the Ford program "was the first battle plan in the long fight but there will be other recommendations after the elections, certain things that Congress won't deal with now because they are all up for election.

"There will be the typical outpouring of demagogery before the elections...but afterwards all segments will begin pulling together in this thing."

That means that after the November 5th elections the business and government attack on our living standards will swing into high gear. □



FREE PUERTO RICO!
See Centerfold

Brotherhood by Madison Avenue

Capitalism has not yet exhausted all of its possibilities for dealing with racial conflict. After the failure of separate-and-unequal, separate-but-equal, man-

datory busing, judicial discrimination, affirmative action, police brutality, job discrimination and many more, the resourceful capitalist class is moving on to—ADVERTISING.

That's right. Commercials. Brought to us by U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Department, to sell kids and their parents on the benefits of integrated schools, they push teamwork, mutual respect, brotherhood. In an attempt to be realistic, the dialogue includes such street language as "honkie." Within 60 seconds, however, the actors see the light, black and white unite and go to class.

It isn't likely that these commercials will ever touch on the inferior educational programs, the teacher shortages, the overcrowded classrooms, the elimination of special classes, the deteriorating buildings or the job discrimination and unemployment the future graduates will face.

Sandra McCaulley

AMERICAN DREAM

Gay Semel

THE CIA IN CHILE from the horse's mouth

Recent revelations of CIA involvement in the military overthrow of Allende in Chile have focused attention on the workings of the CIA and other secret institutions of American imperialism.

In particular the existence of the Forty Committee, charged with overseeing US clandestine activities abroad, has come to light.

The committee is an elite group, headed by Henry Kissinger and responsible only to the executive. In defense of the Forty Committee, Carl T. Rowan, the only newsman to have served on the committee, had the following to say:

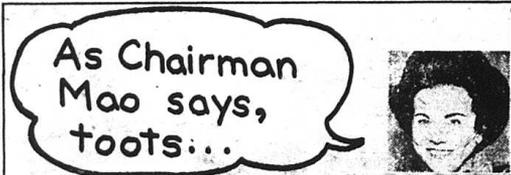
"Let it be understood that most

countries give only lip service to "international law" or to their pledge under the United Nations charter not to intervene in the internal affairs of other sovereign states.

"This is a ruthless, dirty world where despite talk of detente, the ideological struggle never ends. So the powerful meddle constantly in the affairs of the weak—meaning in truth that there is no such thing as a truly independent small, weak or poor nation.

"That's how the game is played. We win some. The Russians win some. The peoples of the countries involved always lose."

Need we say more? □



China is in. After denying its existence for 30 years, everyone including Gerald Ford is singing its praises.

Several years ago China was the "red menace." Now—after detente—the rigid social control of Chinese society by the Chinese Communist Party is looked to with envy by US rulers.

A new flood of praise for China has come recently from Ann Landers. The nationally syndicated newspaper columnist accompanied a team of US medical experts on a trip to China.

Sandwiched in between petty observations and racist asides ("It isn't true that you're hungry in an hour") Landers simply gushes with enthusiasm.

"There is so much to tell, I could become a crashing bore on the subject. But I'd like to share some insights about the human side of these incredible people.

"Do the Chinese like Americans? Indeed they do! One need only say to a stranger 'Nee how!' (How are you?) and he gets a big smile and extended hands."

She managed a few paternalistic remarks as well.

"But don't try to give a child a coin or an adult a cigarette. They will politely refuse."

It is the Chinese education system that most impressed her.

"It became obvious early in our trip that China's major asset is her healthy, bright, highly motivated children. As the twig is bent, so grows the tree, and we saw the skillful manner in which those little twigs were being bent. You can bet the rent their 'tree' will grow up straight and strong."

She went on to describe a nursery school for children 3-6 years.

The children are arranged in rigid rows, and sing and recite on command. Their songs deal with various moral questions and what Chairman Mao has to say on the subject.

Chairman Mao tells us it is wrong to take anything that does not belong to us. He says we must always treat others as we would

want to be treated," sing the children.

And, "We must do everything we can, no matter how small, to serve the state. Every honest act helps our country and makes Chairman Mao proud of us," they conclude.

Landers is most impressed with strictness of Chinese society.

She repeats with enthusiasm the response she received when she asked about the absence of premarital sex in China.

"A child whose thoughts are conditioned from birth grows up to believe as he has been taught. We teach our young children that sex before marriage is a shameful and disgraceful thing. A young couple who strays from these teachings is looked down upon by their peers.

"The Chairman's motto is Serve the People, and young couples who spend their time amusing themselves with sex are not serving the people. They are being selfish, and they are taking time and energy from study and work."

But just in case we misunderstand, Landers informs us that China is all right for the Chinese, but she wouldn't want to live there.

"Would I want my grandchildren to be raised in the Peoples Republic of China? No, I would not," she says. "But I wouldn't mind if they could go to school there for a year or two."

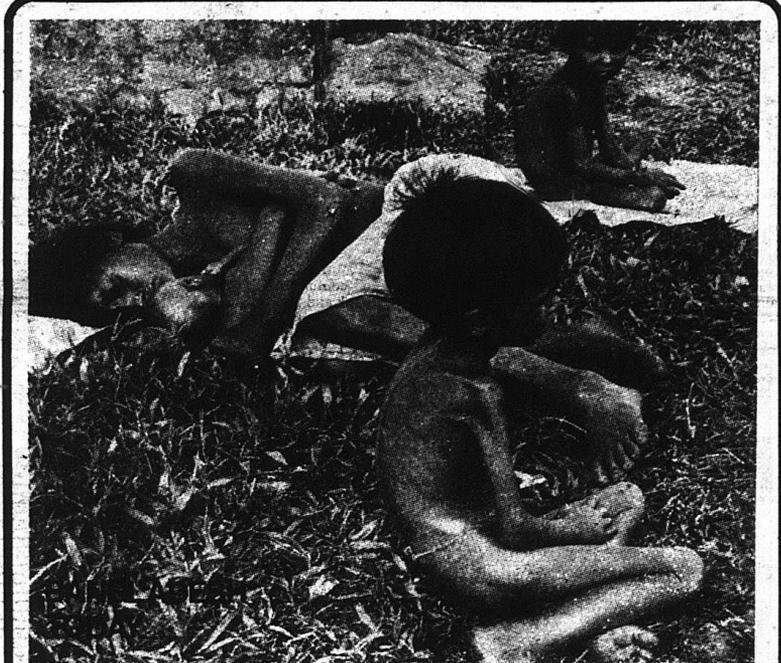
That's right. Get them when they're young and maybe they won't question things when they are older.

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Politics Of Food

At the recent World Energy Conference in Detroit, Gerald Ford announced that the US had never used food as a political weapon and the Arab states should similarly not use oil for political ends.

The tens of thousands starving in Bangladesh know differently.

This summer Washington refused Bangladesh loans to buy urgently needed American food because Bangladesh exported gunny sacks to Cuba.

Gunny sacks are made from jute. They are used throughout the world to carry rice, grain, sugar and fertilizer. Gunny sacks are one of the few items Bangladesh exports.

Because the "Food for Peace" program was able to hold life or death over the Bengali people, the US was able to stop the exportation of gunny sacks to Cuba.

Washington is now re-negotiating loans for food to Bangla-

desh. The incident shows clearly how modern day imperialism works. The US was not only able to block trade with Cuba, but in cutting off Bangladesh's ability to trade with other countries the US further ties the Bengalis to economic dependence on the US.

But the story gets even more revolting.

NATIONAL INTEREST

Since 1967 the US government has refused credits through the food aid program to any country trading with Cuba or North Vietnam. The President however can waive this ban "in the national interest," providing the products sold are medical supplies, food or agricultural goods.

Shortly after cutting off Bangladesh, Washington waived restrictions on food for Egypt even though Egypt continues to trade with Cuba. Ford stated

that food to Egypt was in the "national interest."

In other words, because Bangladesh has nothing valuable to offer the US as oil, it is in the "national interest" to allow its people to slowly starve.

Washington officials admit that their own trade policies with Cuba might have misdirected the Bengali government.

Last April the State Department issued export licenses to American subsidiaries of GM, Ford and Chrysler in Argentina. The purpose of the licenses was to allow the big three to sell equipment to Cuba via Argentina.

Underneath the paternalism of US capitalism is a diseased and rotten system that breaks its own laws to enhance the profits of American corporations while condemning a nation's people to either death by starvation or continued subjection to American imperialism.

Black & White In Steel

by Steve Carter

PITTSBURGH—On Sept. 26, over 500 angry steel workers met at Soldiers and Sailors Auditorium here to protest the "Civil Rights" Consent Decree in the steel industry and to plan legal action against it. The Decree, announced this summer, is producing widespread confusion and opposition among rank and file steel workers.

Behind this meeting and a similar one in Youngstown, Ohio, lies a totally irresponsible, pro-company policy by the United Steel Workers Union International Executive Board. After decades of inaction against racial discrimination, the leaders of the USW have gone along with a company and government plan which is a disaster on all counts.

The Consent Decree was a legally binding plan worked out by the companies and government which supposedly eliminated racial discrimination from the steel industry and compensated victims of past discrimination.

The plan does not in fact deal effectively with either past or present discrimination. It does, however, legally absolve the companies of further responsibility for past discrimination. In the process, it allows them to create chaos in the plants.

In the words of Frank O'Brien (Local 1843, Jones & Laughlin, Pittsburgh), it "makes the steel worker the victim... places the burden for the sins of the industry on the steel worker.... The company's objective is to get one steel worker fighting another."

USW President I.W. Abel's acceptance of the Consent Decree threatens to weaken the union against the companies and, even more dangerous, could divide the union along racial lines. With this

sort of official leadership, the response of the rank and file will be crucial in determining the future of the union.

So far rank and file opposition to the Consent Decree has come from two areas. Black steel workers groups, particularly the national Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers and Baltimore-based Steelworkers for Equality, have objected to the restrictions it places on transfer rights, rate retention, and further suits against discrimination.

The Pittsburgh and Youngstown groups, which are largely white, have been less specific. However, there is a widespread sentiment to go back to the "good old days," to restore departmental seniority rights. O'Brien noted that the Consent Decree had "wiped out seniority as we have known it."

A leaflet from the Youngstown group says, "Because of this betrayal, work rosters have been wiped out as we knew them."

Trying to go back to the "good old days" is a dead end for the rank and file for one simple reason. For black steel workers they were the "bad old days" with the worst, lowest paying jobs and no way out.

For steel workers to ignore that fact is to play the companies' game just as sure as I.W. Abel is. It also means continuing past divisions which weakened the union and benefited the company.

HOW TO FIGHT THE CONSENT DECREE

The odds facing rank and filers on the Consent Decree are great—the International, the Companies, and the Government are united in a conspiracy of secrecy, confusion and maneuver. Only a rank and file movement which unites black and white and which knows where it

stands and where it's going can defeat this conspiracy.

Black steel workers are a critical part of the USW and of the workforce in basic steel. They must play a key role in any movement to change or eliminate the Consent Decree. They will naturally view with suspicion any movement which denies the fact of past discrimination, which says "wait just a little longer," or which fails to put forward a program to deal with discrimination, past, present, and future.

Therefore, it is necessary to defend any gains black steel workers achieve under the Consent Decree. On this ground it will be possible to build a movement which can truly deal with discrimination and divisions in the workforce and put the burden for any changes squarely where it belongs—on the companies who are responsible for and profit from that discrimination

and division.

As the Consent Decree is implemented, some workers who had advanced under the old system are threatened with layoffs or with significant drops in income. While the gains of black workers are defended, a fight must be made for full job and income protection for any worker adversely affected by any changes.

This can be accomplished by recirculating (guaranteeing) pay rates, by overmanning of jobs and by a reduction of the work week with no loss in pay instead of layoffs.

To be sure, this will cost the companies plenty. For years they've profited from discrimination and the time has come to pay the piper.

In the Consent Decree plantwide seniority, transfer rights, and rate retention—as well as back pay—are merely token and hidden under a mass of restrictions and legal-

isms. A fight should be made for permanent rate retention, full plant-wide seniority, unrestricted transfer rights, and full back pay awards.

Coupled with protection for adversely affected workers, this is the core of a program which can begin to deal with discrimination on a united and just basis.

The Consent Decree and the discrimination which lies behind it could not have happened without the cooperation of an International Union leadership which is more concerned about the profits of the companies than the interests of all segments of the membership.

A fight against discrimination and the Consent Decree must take on this leadership. To succeed it must offer an alternative to all of Abel & Co.'s business unionism policies—the no-strike deal, the productivity committees, and secret top-down unionism. □

Can PUSH "Expo"

Save The Worker?



At PUSH Expo '74: Rev. Jesse Jackson (left), Rev. Leon Sullivan, member of the General Motors Board of Directors, and Thomas Ayers.

More than 400,000 people attended PUSH Expo '74 held in Chicago's International Amphitheater September 23-29. Operation PUSH, People United to Save Humanity, is a Chicago-based group led by Rev. Jesse Jackson.

In keeping with the critical economic situation, rising inflation, increased unemployment and deteriorating working conditions, the theme this year was "Save the Worker."

Part of PUSH's program is to "secure jobs of those already working, to get the unemployed employed and to get those working but not making a livable wage organized."

But, as in previous Expos to Save the Children, Save the Black Colleges, or Feed the Poor, Jessie Jackson put saving the worker in the context of bolstering black business, electing black candidates, and reviving black churches.

These two aspects gave the Expo a very mixed character which both reinforces and threatens the established capitalist system.

Although one black woman postal worker, Dorothy Jean Mays, did

win the worker of the year award, the highest PUSH award, the Martin Luther King award, went to Rev. Leon Sullivan, the first black member of the General Motors Board of Directors. Other awards went to such prominent "successes" as insurance company owners and publishers.

Although Jackson claims that the person who cleans the operating room is as important as the surgeon, the special display of life size "workers" included famous sportsmen, publishers, politicians, and businessmen, not one janitor or truck driver.

Jackson's opening speech criticized Ford and challenged him to fight unemployment and cut government military spending. But Jackson's only concrete political act was a special breakfast for the three black Democratic Party candidates for Chicago mayor: attorney E. Duke McNeil, State Senator Richard Newhouse, and Edward Allen.

In addition to reliance on politicians and businessmen, Jackson held a Ministers Summit to ask the ministers to save the worker, to

register their unemployed parishioners, to demand more jobs, to demand amnesty for dishonorably discharged vets, to distribute food stamps and get involved in housing.

Of course, the thousands of working and poor people who did go to Expo did not attend these exclusive breakfasts and summits, and there were no conferences or workshops for them to discuss problems and solutions.

They went because of a genuine interest in the plight of the worker, in "black cultural and economic achievement" and in the excellent black entertainment.

And although many had an enjoyable time, none left with a strategy for saving the worker and for improving their economic situation.

Those who left with much more than they came were the businessmen who had the opportunity to get the best advertising they have ever had in the more than 600 exhibits, they all agreed that PUSH Expo '74 was a "good investment." □

Sandra McCauley

Reports: Consent Decree

The Consent Decree was negotiated in secret and its specific meaning has been shrouded in secrecy and confusion. Workers' Power will continue to cover the situation, which varies widely from plant to plant. Reports from steel workers about implementation in their plants will be very much appreciated. Below we include some of the reports we've received thus far.

Just when you think I.W. Abel has done his worst, he outdoes himself. The money to cover the costs of rate retention is coming not out of the companies' treasuries, but out of the fund which provides Supplemental Unemployment Benefits—that is out of money already paid to the workers. This drain on the SUB fund will mean that as the recession deepens fewer and fewer workers will be able to receive SUB benefits.

At U.S. Steel's Cuyahoga Works in Cleveland, the committee-man who put his signature on the company's Consent Decree implementation proposal has had to resign because of the uproar from his workmates.

The Consent Decree claims to open up transfer and promotion. It should be broadening the application of plant-wide seniority. However, in some departments which had fairly broad promotion schemes, the companies are instituting NEW lines of progression and adding phony job titles to others to discourage people from moving up.

Reports from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point Works describe the situation as a "mess." Implementation of the Decree reportedly varies from department to department. At the Cuyahoga Works some jobs are going up for bid plant-wide, but some only in one department.

The companies and the union obviously benefit by keeping the members in the dark. In Pittsburgh union meetings to discuss the Decree have reportedly been banned to "prevent confusion." Plant implementation committees are dodging all questions, particularly when "the government man" is absent.

I.W. Abel and the government were invited to attend the protest meeting there to explain the Decree. Although over 500 workers showed up, neither Abel nor the Government even acknowledged the invitation. The International was able to rush a pamphlet "explaining" the new EN contract into print. Rank and filers will have as much luck finding something on the Consent Decree as they will looking for a copy of the rules by which Abel ran the recent Union Convention.

Steel workers interested in continuing coverage of the Consent Decree and developments in the union might take this opportunity to subscribe to Workers' Power. One dollar will get you a five-issue introductory sub. Use the sub blank on page 14.

PORTUGAL: Revolutionaries Speak

[Workers' Power reporter Emmett Casey recently spoke with members of a small group of Portuguese revolutionary socialists who are currently living in the California Bay Area.

Although space allows us to publish only a small portion of the discussion at this time, we feel that some of the questions and answers will be helpful to our readers in understanding the background to the struggles in Portugal today.

The interview took place shortly before the new crisis and massive mobilization that forced the resignation of President Antonio de Spínola, who became President after the first military coup in April.]

Q. What were the circumstances which forced Caetano, Portugal's fascist dictator, out of power in April?

A. The Portuguese ruling class faced two major problems. On the one hand there was the colonial war, an immense ten-year-long struggle of the masses of African workers in the colonies. Secondly, there were increasingly sharper working class struggles in the factories and left-wing activity at home.

Portugal and its imperialist allies had lost the war militarily. They could only recover from defeat on all three war fronts by political negotiation with the leaderships of the liberation movements.

These negotiations, however, had to be started as soon as possible if anything was to be salvaged. They also had to be in a stronger position to negotiate a share with the big imperialist powers in the planned neo-colonial exploitation of the former colonies.

In the army (composed almost entirely of draftees) soldiers completely refused to fight at the front, while at home desertion was widespread. The war effort forced the ruling class to maintain an army of around 170,000 men in the colonies.

The Portuguese government was spending over 40% of its national budget solely for defense purposes,

in a country with nearly no production of war material.

The Portuguese capitalists realized that even though fascism had served their interests for nearly 50 years, repression solely through the political police (PIDE) was unable to keep workers and revolutionaries behind the iron bars of terror.

Inside the army, also, differences of opinion developed sharply, especially after 1970.

Caetano's attempts at "reform" of fascism (moderating some of its policies through negotiation and co-optation, while keeping the government apparatus intact) did not succeed. Fascism had to be replaced by another form of capitalist class rule.

The old regime fell on April 25 in just 14 hours, with very little resistance. As far as Caetano is concerned, the new rulers kindly transported him to Brazil, where he is alive and well among his friends—the Brazilian generals.

Q. General Antonio de Spínola emerged as a national hero during this crisis. Can you tell us his role?

A. In all his political career, Spínola has always been a close associate of the dominant sector of the Portuguese ruling class, and has always served their policies the best he could.

Spínola enlisted and fought with Franco in the Spanish Civil War—hunting down and killing along the border the Spanish revolutionaries who attempted to take refuge in Portugal. He fought with the Nazi army in Russia in World War II.

At the outset of armed struggle in Angola in 1961, Spínola volunteered himself in Guinea-Bissau as the commander-in-chief of the colonial army, and was the main person responsible for Portuguese policies in that colony for the last five years.

Spínola confined the masses of people in Guinea-Bissau into concentration camps, with little chance of escape without the risk of their lives, and he bombed the countryside with napalm and other chemical and bacteriological weapons provided by the NATO countries.

WORLD IN CRISIS



Yet at the same time, while trying unsuccessfully to crush the African workers' rebellion, Spínola also tried to develop the basis for neo-colonial exploitation.

He initiated a new policy of "dialogue" with an emergent African petit bourgeoisie (represented by so-called "moderate" or "responsible" black leaders), in order to "Africanize" Portugal's exploitation of the colonies. He advocated substituting black administrative officials for white ones.

The PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau's national liberation army) controlled nearly 3/4 of the territory since the late sixties. But Spínola did not rely on the PAIGC leadership for his "dialogue," considering them too radical. He attempted to crush the PAIGC leadership by invading the

economic reasons behind the strikes, however, continue to be the same.

The demands put forward most consistently since the coup are the national minimum wage of \$240 per month (which the government has put at \$130/month); the "sanamento," which means firing of fascist managers, foremen, and supervisors; the end of speedup, piece work, and general discriminatory practices based on sex, race, skill; better working conditions; a shorter work week; the right to strike (against the will of the government controlled trade unions); the right to develop independent workers' organization at the point of production.

The workers' movement has taken several forms. After a period of negotiations, where the workers'

the striking workers and to justify the type of repressive measures they take.

Consider two recent examples: 1) the postal workers strike at the end of June, which was supported by all 35,000 postal workers throughout the country, and 2) the recent TAP (Portuguese National Airline) workers strike.

In both, the official propaganda monopolized the TV, radio, and newspaper stories; distorted the facts and claimed that fascists were behind the strikes; claimed that these strikes were provocative to the new order and so on.

The government broke both strikes, using the strongest measures of intimidation, up to the point of putting the workers under martial law—subject to military



Lisbon celebration following April coup. From Portuguese postcard.

Republic of Guinea (Conakry) with mercenary units and kidnapping and killing them.

When this failed, he exploited internal rivalries within PAIGC and by a coordinated action successfully undertook a second invasion of Conakry, and the main leader of PAIGC—Amílcar Cabral—was shot to death.

In the last two years of Spínola's rule in Guinea-Bissau his policies were openly advocated in Portugal by a tolerated political opposition to the colonial policies of the fascist government.

This "opposition" was closely identified with the big bourgeoisie—big bankers and industrialists—and is now one of the organized political forces in power—the PPD (Popular Democratic Party).

Spínola was not directly involved in the making of the military coup of April 25. He was not an active participant in the Movement of the Armed Forces.

But in the aftermath of the coup it was natural that the man who for so many years had proven his ability to defend the interests of the big capitalists and to fight ferociously against the working class, would also be the leader of the new coalition government.

Q. What forms does the workers' movement take? What is the significance of factory occupations as a form of struggle?

A. After the coup, the workers' struggle escalated on a national level and has persisted with much greater continuity. Many of the most important political and eco-

demands are put forward, they will go on strike and usually occupy the workplace. The workers' representatives in the most politically advanced struggles are recallable by general assembly meetings of the workers.

In some instances, management has closed the plants and tried to evacuate the machinery. The workers occupied the plants and reopened them, and maintained 24-hour picket lines, physically obstructing the removal of any machine.

In at least two cases, the bosses tried to close the plants for good. There, the workers started up production themselves, under their own management, and have survived: with better wages, better working conditions, shorter work week, and no foremen. They distributed their own products when the capitalists tried to boycott them through regular market channels.

Q. The Portuguese Communist Party, and many of its supporters, claim that workers' strikes are instigated by fascists. For example, Wilfred Burchett wrote in the Guardian: "The first attempt to overthrow the new regime was by economic pressures at the end of May, when a series of strikes was provoked in the public transport system, the bakeries and the postal service... in a remarkable imitation of the economic chaos provoked in Chile by the CIA which led to the overthrow of the Allende government." Do the fascists actually want strikes?

A. Obviously not. This is government propaganda used to discredit

discipline, and, in case of disobedience, to court martial.

In the TAP strike, this was also accompanied by occupation of the airline installations by armored units. The workers were held on the premises and ordered to start work immediately, or else they would be imprisoned on the spot.

No one was allowed to leave or use the telephone, so that the strikers could not take any collective decision to continue the struggle or end the strike for the time being. After the strike, 200 workers were fired.

The C.P. itself played an active role in both strikes. In the postal workers' strike, they formed gangs which provoked the strikers and broke their picket lines. At the same time, they tried to convince the general public to scab on the strikers and demand postal services.

In the TAP strike, the Intersindical (the CP's newly formed trade union confederation) called for a demonstration of about 400 non-striking TAP workers in support of the government's proposal, while about 4000 striking workers were assembled, discussing the continuation of the struggle.

With this, they aimed at division and possible physical confrontation among the workers themselves.

In order to cover these extremely repressive, anti-working class measures, the Communist Party had to try to discredit the workers' struggles by charging, in their official propaganda, that the strikers were the work of the fascists. □

Spínola Gets Boot

The struggle in Portugal escalated another step forward revolutionary crisis when President Antonio de Spínola resigned on September 26.

Spínola was forced out of power by a massive left-wing mobilization on streets and highways outside the capital city of Lisbon, including a planned right-wing demonstration. It is most likely that the demonstration, if allowed to take place, would have become a cover for a right-wing takeover of the government.

In resigning, Spínola lashed out at the left wing of the Armed Forces Movement, the organization of military officers who put him in power in April. Spínola declared that Portugal was moving toward "political and economic chaos" and "new forms of slavery from the left."

Spínola's warnings were not, however, simply directed against some of his former allies in the military. More importantly, they were a message to Portugal's capitalist ruling class to beware the growing strength of the Communist Party.

It was the Communist Party which organized, directed and led the mass mobilization. Thousands of workers and soldiers filled the streets, set up barricades on the highways, blocked and searched traffic, and seized arms being smuggled in for the right-wing demonstration.

This mobilization was actively

supported by the unions, the Socialist Party and the revolutionary left in Portugal. It was a dramatic illustration of the power of united working class action to break up a well-financed fascist offensive. No single organization, by itself, could have succeeded in breaking up the right-wing attack.

The Communist Party showed its strength and frightened many of Portugal's capitalists by mobilizing the workers against its enemies on the right. But the CP has also organized strikebreakers to smash workers' struggles which raised militant economic and political demands.

Right now, the Communist Party aims at winning a strong place for itself with liberals, social democrats and military officers in a coalition government. To do this it will organize against fascism—but it will also use any methods to prove it can control Portugal's workers.

The latest crisis was only the first, not the last in the sharpening class struggle in Portugal. In the future, the right wing organizations who hope to overthrow the government will be better armed and prepared. The government itself will be cracking down much harder on workers' struggles.

The need for a powerful revolutionary organization, to organize Portuguese workers in their own interests, is increasingly urgent and the time is short.

HELM STRIKERS

"We'll Stay Out!"

by Darcy Brel

"The union rep said we couldn't get more from the man so we might as well go back but, shit this is the same offer we've been walking 7 weeks for..." —Helm striker

DETROIT—By a vote of 75 to 15 the workers at Helm Inc. here roundly rejected the last company offer.

Workers at the bindery have been on strike for eight weeks. The company is trying to bust the union.

The package included a 5% wage increase, increasing the work week to 37½ hours, moving the contract expiration date up to September 30 (giving the company the advantage since summer is its heavy season), and refusing to rehire four out of the 16 fired workers (12 others would be arbitrated.)

Graphic Arts International Union representative Curtis Bumbalough told the strikers this was the best offer he could get. The membership

felt otherwise, as did the union committee which recommended a No vote on the tentative agreement. It was the same one that had existed for weeks.

HIGH SPIRITS

After the union meeting spirits were high and tempers were short. Mr. Bumbalough received more "instructions" on how he should conduct negotiations than he wished to hear.

Back at the picket line, and the three-walled, open roofed shelter the strikers call home there was a lot of talk going on. How a strike should be run, and the need for unity among the ranks were discussed.

Feelings of solidarity filled the crisp fall air as taunts to the ever-present cop car grew bolder.

Bam! Bam! A few bricks flew as the scab-filled cars raced out of the parking lot, trying to escape the shouts of "scabs."

The third brick to make its target brought the cops out of their car. They busted Shipwreck, an innocent striker who had been standing alongside the curb.

Shipwreck has been busted before during this strike. He was hauled over and shoved in the car. All the strikers but one immediately signed their names as witnesses to the incident in case Shipwreck had to go to trial.

The exception was Curtis Bumbalough, G.A.I.U. union rep, who didn't want to get involved. He'd remained in a car watching the whole thing and hadn't even gotten out once to intervene. Not to find out the charges, not to call a lawyer, or even talk to the officers or Shipwreck!

Those strikers who hadn't been particularly upset at Mr. Bumbalough's qualifications and performance as rep. before certainly were now. Many wondered out loud how the company and the union could both be the enemy.



Helm strikers on the picket line.

The union committee and the rest of the strikers began talking of the need for a meeting and to forge even stronger solidarity among the ranks.

TRIUMPH AND CONCERN

The flames from the fire burning in an old drum cast shadows on the faces of the women and men gathered around it for warmth. Resolution, a little triumph left from that morning's union meeting, and new lines of concern were the looks appearing in the deepening twilight.

Helm is by no means broken even though he's lost a \$130,000

contract and stands to lose another major account. A temporary help agency, "Somebody Sometime," is continuing to supply scabs. With the 44 employees inside, they can turn out enough production to keep Helm functioning.

C.L.U.W. (Coalition of Labor Union Women), which has been actively supporting the strike, has organized a demonstration against "Somebody Sometime."

The strikers aren't broken either. They believe they can win a decent contract if enough pressure is brought to bear on the company. But time is running short, for the peak season is almost at an end. □

Pension Law A Swindle



He gets a pension; why shouldn't you?

by Jim Woodward

Another con game is being played on American workers. Labor bureaucrats and politicians are gurgling with their praise of the new pension reform bill, signed into law by President Ford on Labor Day.

Senator Jacob Javits, for instance, says the law will enable most workers to enjoy retirement with financial security. It's a lie.

One thing is not in dispute: that the present pension system is in need of drastic change. Congress could no longer ignore the many recent disclosures about the plight of retired workers.

For most workers, trying to get a pension is like buying a lottery ticket. The odds are heavily against winning anything, and most of the winners end up with peanuts.

NO STEAK

To start with, only about one of every three workers in the U.S. is covered by a pension plan. Two-thirds are assured from the beginning that they will get nothing

when they retire except meager Social Security benefits.

Of those included in pension plans, one-third at most will ever receive any benefits. Those that do end up with a pension—the lucky ones, the winners—won't exactly retire to a life of luxury. Benefits paid to pensioners average in the neighborhood of \$100 a month. No steak on that budget.

The first tip-off that the new law won't change much for retirees is that it passed Congress unanimously: 93-0 in the Senate and 402-0 in the House.

That sort of treatment is usually reserved for resolutions honoring Congressman Boondoggle's nephew on his graduation from first grade. So you know from the beginning that not too many businessmen and their hired politicians are upset about this one.

What does the pension reform act actually do?

First, for those not included in any pension plan (that's two-thirds of us)—nothing at all. It doesn't even pretend that working people who've labored all their lives, who've put their sweat and blood

into producing all the wealth in this country, have a right to retire with a pension.

VESTING

The law does set some requirements for existing pension plans. It says that pension plans must provide some form of vesting.

Vesting means that a worker is entitled to some benefits from the plan when he or she reaches retirement age, even if he/she is no longer working for the same company at retirement.

Say a pension plan calls for payment of \$100 a month pension if a worker is on the job for twenty years. Full vesting would provide the worker with a guarantee of \$5 a month pension for every year he or she works under the plan.

Most workers are presently cheated out of their pension benefits because they do not remain at a job long enough to qualify for vesting.

In fact, pension plans are set up with this in mind. They are not intended to provide pensions for everyone who contributes to them, but only for a small minority.

Almost everyone leaves or switches jobs during their lifetime for one reason or another: lay-offs, plant closings, illness, pregnancy, dissatisfaction. When this occurs, all pension benefits are lost, unless they are vested.

The new law does not require full vesting, or anything approaching full vesting. Instead it allows a choice of one of three vesting formulas.

The formulas are too complex to explain in detail here, but their common element is that a worker must remain on the same job for about 10-15 years in order to receive a substantial percentage of the normal pension benefits.

This is not much better than current practice.

PORTABILITY

In addition to vesting, a critical aspect of a fair pension law would be portability, or the ability to transfer pension credits from one plan to another. Presently there are about 33,000 separate pension plans with virtually no provision for transferring credits from one to another. The new law allows credit transfer, but does not require it.

Another problem is the lack of cost-of-living protection. When a worker leaves a plan with a vested pension, the benefits are fixed as of the date he or she leaves.

Imagine, for example, a 35-year-old worker who has established a claim to \$50 monthly, payable when he reaches age 65. How much will that \$50 be worth after thirty years of inflation? (At 10% inflation, just about \$2.12.)

The pension reform law ensures that those who were shortchanged under the previous system will be in the same position in the future. Those most hurt are, first of all, women. Because of family responsibilities, discrimination, and social pressure, women normally work on a job only half as long as men.

The same problem affects blacks and other minorities who have been denied better jobs with pension plans in the past. Even in cases where those jobs are now open to blacks and women, these new hires will be the first victims of the recession, losing not only their jobs, but their pension credits.

Examples like this one will continue under the new pension law: of all the women who worked at AT&T in the last twenty years, only 3% got any pension benefits at all when they left.

REINSURANCE

One feature of the new law is welcome. It requires "reinsurance" for pension plans. This means that if a fund is unable to pay the claims against it, pensioners could collect from a government insurance agency.

While this provision may elimi-

nate some of the worst tragedies, the law as a whole does little except give politicians a chance to say they've done something for working people. That's why they all voted for it.

Employers know this too. Two days after the law was signed, the Wall Street Journal editorialized with this note of caution: "Only after living with the law for a while will it be possible for anyone to gauge its impact on the economy."

But it took the Journal only a month to make up its mind. On October 1, under a front-page headline "A Closer Look," the leading organ of big business said, "The new pension law may cut profits less than first thought."

The story quoted a securities firm as saying, "Even after allowing generously for managements' probable optimism and relative unfamiliarity with the new pension law, it seems as if [the law's] impact on major corporations is, broadly speaking, small."

This was the conclusion reached, said the Journal, after "close scrutiny" by "securities analysts, financial consultants and corporate executives."

These securities analysts, financial consultants and corporate executives are the leeches of the system, the few who do no productive work themselves but who live off the labor of others. They are the true welfare Cadillac crowd. If they're not worried about the new pension law, you should be. □

Tax Shelters for The Wealthy

In a society controlled by big business, its not at all surprising that laws supposedly designed to protect working people often end up benefitting their bosses instead.

So it is with the new pension law. In the midst of complicated formulas which do very little to protect workers' pensions, Congress slipped in some new tax benefits for the wealthy.

These tax shelters are in the form of Retirement Income Accounts. They allow anyone who is not covered by a pension plan to set up a retirement account. Up to \$1500 may be deposited in the account tax free each year (\$3000 for a couple). Taxes are not paid on this sum until after retirement, when one's income and tax rate is likely to be much lower.

Not too many rank and file workers without pensions can afford to save \$1500 a year. But executives and management employees can.

Before the new reform law was passed, executive and managerial employees could not obtain the tax benefits of Retirement Income Accounts unless they provided equal treatment for rank and file employees.

Now it is the best paid, who can get the best benefits from the new law. Such is Congress' concern for the worker. □

labor notes

by Jim Woodward



UAW members at the American Motors Corp. have successfully resisted attempts by AMC to cut steward representation and institute binding arbitration of grievances. In the settlement ending a 2½ week strike, workers there retain two provisions missing from UAW contracts with the Big Three auto makers: the right to strike over grievances and a low (1:25) steward ratio.

The 5.8% unemployment rate for September has been reported in most newspapers. But there's worse to come. The number of workers employed only part-time because they can't get full-time work increased 12% in September to 2.8 million people. Increases in this category are normally followed by increases in the unemployed category. Overtime has also dropped sharply, which means that further cuts in production will mean even more lay-offs.

U.S. workers should prepare for the possibility of frequent government intervention in strikes, if the experience of Canadian workers in the last few months is any guide. In August and September, the Canadian government has legislated an end to seven major strikes, making six of the attempts stick. Only Vancouver grain haulers have successfully resisted.

For two months, 4,000 striking Los Angeles bus drivers and mechanics have been fighting off attempts by Mayor Thomas Bradley to get them back to work without a settlement of their contract dispute. First Bradley made a personal appearance before the strikers asking them to accept binding arbitration. That got an almost unanimous rejection. Then he tried to get the legislature to require binding arbitration or a 75-day cooling off period.

There have also been hints that the National Guard might be called in to drive the busses. But publicly Bradley says "that would be the last thing we ought to do. . . . Blood would run in the streets. There would be a general strike. The National Guard is not the answer."

The administration of Painters District Council 9 (New York) has succeeded by a fairly narrow vote in getting ratification of a really lousy contract. It calls for a 9% first year wage increase, but cuts overtime pay from double time to time and a half. It also legalizes use of a longer, 12-foot stick in painting ceilings, endangering health and safety conditions.

At the recent AFSCME convention, the feud between AFSCME President Jerry Wurf and AFT President Albert Shanker was very evident. A resolution was passed condemning AFT raids on AFSCME. The convention voted to enter the new AFL-CIO Public Employees Division, but to pull out if "it is not in the interests of public employees" (in other words, if it is Shanker-dominated). The President of the rival teachers' organization, the NEA, was also a featured speaker to the AFSCME delegates.

They're at it again. After all those angry words about how wage controls are unfair to workers, this country's top labor bureaucrats have, for the third time, accepted positions on a government labor-management economic policy committee. While the new committee does not (yet) have wage control authority, it does lend moral support to Ford's anti-labor austerity measures. The labor members on this panel are: Kirkland of the AFL-CIO; Abel of the Steel Workers; Finley of the Clothing Workers; Hall of the Seafarers; Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters; Woodcock of the Auto Workers; and Miller of the Miners.

The addition of Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers is, in the words of Business Week, "obviously an effort to defuse coal bargaining by drawing Miller into [Washington's] inner circles."

Women have recently begun to get jobs in coal mines. Although traditionally excluded from these jobs, there were some women coal miners in the '30s and '40s. Five women worked sixty hour weeks at the Loral Creek Mines in Southwestern Virginia from 1940 to 1952. Like all miners, they paid a price for working in the mines. Two of them, Sue Fields and Alice Clifton, have recently filed for Black Lung compensation.

Two UAW members were killed and six hospitalized by carbon monoxide fumes at the International Harvester plant in Louisville recently. Equipment failure sucked the deadly gas into an area where the men were doing routine repair work.

Yes He Really Said It Department: At last month's United Steel Workers' convention, President I.W. Abel, under fire from rank and file delegates, informed the convention, "The officers are not the enemies of our members."

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

Bosses Raise "L"

Union-Busting In San Francisco



San Francisco city workers struck last April. Here they demonstrate against anti-union legislation sponsored by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. Photo: Union WAGE.

SAN FRANCISCO—The Board of Supervisors and Chamber of Commerce of this city are pushing a proposed City Charter amendment, known as Proposition L, that aims to destroy the bargaining power of city workers' unions here.

The charter amendment would limit the wages and benefits city workers could receive. Since these limitations would be written into city law, normal collective bargaining would be impossible.

Last March, six unions of San Francisco city employees conducted a memorable week-long strike. The Muni Railway—busses, streetcars and cable cars—was completely shut down in a magnificent show of support, even though the strike had no direct bearing on the wages of Muni drivers.

Teachers began their own three-week strike along with other city workers.

While the \$55-a-month settlement was modest, the unity shown in the strike seriously frightened the city government and the businesses it represents. So much so, that an unprecedented counter-attack has been launched by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

The CC's lawyers are handling a so-called "citizen's" lawsuit that to date has prevented any city workers (including the teachers) from getting one penny of the raises we won last March.

Proposition L is the center-piece of this same counter-attack.

A LOCAL WAGE FREEZE

Proposition L would mandate the Board of Supervisors to take a comparative wage survey each year before setting city workers' wages. No city workers could earn more than 3% above what their private-industry counterparts had earned the previous year.

For those already earning "above scale," wages would be frozen—possibly for years. For those below scale, wage increases would be limited to 7½% yearly—perhaps half the expected cost-of-living rise in the next few years.

Of the three "uniformed services," the police and fire departments are not affected. But the drivers for the Municipal Railway, whose respect for pickets was a crucial element in the last two city

workers' strikes, are evidently being punished by being included in "L."

Drivers feel that the racial composition of Muni employees—over 60% are black—is also a factor in the Chamber of Commerce attack on them.

WHO WANTS PROP. L?

Board of Supervisors President Dianne Feinstein is well-known to city workers for scabbing on the strike last spring by doing very visible televised "volunteer work" at the SF General Hospital.

She is continuing her union-busting crusade by attaching her name and political aspirations to the passage of Proposition L.

The Board of Supervisors hopes this anti-worker measure will be popular with tax-weary citizens. Dianne Feinstein hopes to become the next mayor.

Randolph Hearst's San Francisco Examiner backs this proposition all the way. So does the other daily paper, the Chronicle, which is owned by the same corporation.

The most powerful force, however, is San Francisco's Chamber of Commerce—which isn't just the group of local shopkeepers some might expect. Some of the largest corporations in the United States have their headquarters or their West Coast offices here.

The Bank of America (world headquarters here), Bechtel, Standard Oil, Shell Oil, and numerous large insurance companies are involved.

These giants have thousands of underpaid employees, mainly women. The city clerks who gross \$550 monthly are "over scale" compared to the many clerks downtown who earn as little as the \$2/hour minimum wage.

Many are paid so little that they require welfare or food stamps to support their families—forcing taxpayers to subsidize the corporations who pay poverty wages.

These workers are overdue for unionization; discussions are going on within SEIU (Service Employees' International Union), the largest city workers union) about plans for an organizing drive in the financial district.

If city workers' militancy continues, they will lead the way for the private employees. If city workers

are defeated by Proposition L, the corporations can hope to continue paying part-time wages to full-time workers.

UNITE TO WIN

Twenty-eight unions, recognizing this has formed a joint committee to get a "No" vote on L. Other left and labor organizations are mobilizing against L, as well. San Francisco's CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) voted to make the fight against L a priority. "Inadequate wages compared to inadequate wages are still inadequate wages," said SEIU Local 400 organizer Maxine Jenkins, speaking to a CLUW chapter meeting.

Muni drivers and even the union leaders are talking strike if L passes. But a better strategy would be a one-day city workers' strike before the election, to show the other voters that city workers mean to defend their living standards.

Socialists in San Francisco have also organized a campaign to defeat L. The International Socialists and a local group called the Socialist Coalition, which publishes the newspaper Common Sense, plan to participate in the unions' canvassing but to carry out their own activity as well.

Leaflets will be distributed to clerical workers in the huge downtown offices, urging their support in fighting the union-busting campaign. Although the clerical workers are unorganized, Proposition L is part of an attack on their wages and futures as well.

Furthermore, the downtown workers are employed by the same banks, corporations and city government which are pushing the Proposition to cripple city workers' unions.

We will also press the point that decent wages, for both unionized city workers and presently unorganized employees, could easily be supported by taxing the massive profits of the corporations and banks in this city.

The issues are clear. When workers aren't fighting effectively to increase our share of the wealth we produce, the employers launch attacks like this one to push us backwards.

Loretta Martin



Boycott Grapes and Head Lettuce
UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA/AFL-CIO

Teamsters for Democracy

Teamsters for Democracy, an opposition group in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, recently held a delegate convention. The group, based in Madison, Wisconsin, was formed by members of Local 695 after the International placed the local under trusteeship.

The TFD convention adopted a platform and nominated a slate of officers. The platform calls for an end to the trusteeship and for a leadership responsive to the members. Resolutions were also passed condemning the IBT for raiding the United Farm Workers union (UFW) and opposing wage-price controls.

It was the Local's active support of policies such as these that irked the International into imposing trusteeship in the first place.

Trusteeships are supposedly used to protect union members from gangster or corrupt control of a local. In the Teamsters they're more often used to protect corrupt officers from the members.

In this case, the alleged reason for the trusteeship was "mismanagement of like benefits." The charge was brought against a local which had been engaged in effective campaigns to organize unorganized workers into the IBT. It fought for solid contracts, too, not the "sweetheart" deals IBT often negotiates to widen its dues base.

BOYCOTT SUPPORT

Local 695 leaders and members had also cooperated with the UFW in their secondary boycott, and had opposed Fitzsimmons' support of Nixon's economic policies.

The local's business agent, Jim Marketti, had solicited the aid of sympathetic students in the local's organizing efforts.

All this constituted a threat to neighboring locals in Milwaukee and Appleton who had cozy relations with the employers. It presented an alternative that might

possibly rally other dissident forces against the International in Wisconsin.

The trustees for Local 695 were imported from Milwaukee and Appleton. These men, secretary-treasurers of their own locals, were originally trustees for those locals. They had used the trusteeship to take them over.

With few exceptions, the old Local staff of 695 was thrown out or demoted. Union funds were transferred to banks in Milwaukee. The organizing drives were dropped.

FIGHTING BACK

When the trusteeship came down, the local leaders were at first unprepared to wage an effective fight against it. While critical of the International, the old 695 leadership was itself a bureaucracy. The stewards had not been adequately involved in the organizing campaigns.

Marketti, the business agent, had not been elected out of the ranks of the unions, but had been instead hired.

Teamsters for Democracy started as informal meetings between a small group of ex-staffers and young militants. Marketti published a newsletter.

But the group expanded to more than a score of activists and a committee of 100 stewards, and has a large following in the local. They hope to overthrow the trusteeship in a union election.

Members of Local 695 have the right to control their local. Neither they nor their officers were guilty of any financial abuses. The TFD slate deserves the support of the members as the alternative to the trusteeship and the International.

However, to succeed TFD will have to become something more than a militant group of leaders. It must become a democratic organization that will be a fighting instrument of the rank and file. □

TRUCKERS FIGHT LAYOFF

CHICAGO—More than fifty dock workers, warehousemen, and truck drivers being thrown out of work by the High-Low grocery chain here stopped trucks and held up operations Friday, September 27 for several hours demanding better terms from the company.

That Friday was the last day of work for 100 High-Low workers, members of the Chicago Independent Truck Drivers Union (CTDU).

These layoffs are an example of the productivity or speed-up campaigns going on in grocery warehouses around the country. The High-Low company had decided that its warehouse facilities were not profitable enough, and turned work over to Globe warehouses, a firm organized by Teamsters Local 738 and paying about \$2.00 an hour less than High-Low.

On the last day of work the High-Low workers and about 15 members of the Concerned Truckers for a Democratic Union, an opposition group in the local, stopped trucks and demanded a meeting with the bosses.

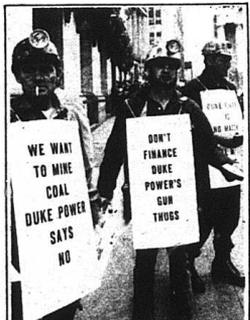
The workers were partly successful in getting a better deal. Management signed a statement of "intent" to pay severance and vacation pay in a lump sum rather than over a period of several weeks if the workers "were good."

The Concerned Truckers group then picketed the union hall protesting the union leadership's failure to represent the members. The CTDU has not had a union meeting in almost two years, and the union hiring hall was closed in January.

The High-Low workers join hundreds of their union brothers and sisters on the Chicago streets looking for work. A couple of weeks ago Jewel closed their salad kitchen department throwing about 100 workers, mainly women, out of jobs.

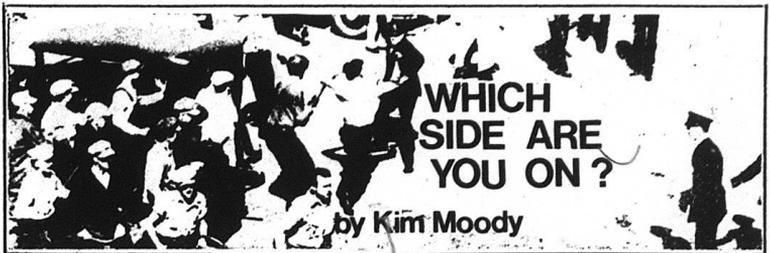
About a dozen freight companies have also gone out of business or been involved in mergers that cost jobs. □

Dan Lawrence



Struggle in the Coalfields

by Kim Moody
Sun Press 30c postpaid
14131 Woodward Ave., Rm. 225
Highland Park, MI 48203



WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

by Kim Moody

Rank and File Power

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

The significance of the miners' fight for workers in other industries is greater than its likely impact on other wage settlements. The 1974 contract will be the first one negotiated by the reform leadership that took over the UMWA in December 1972, on the crest of a rank and file movement.

For rank and file workers in other industries, the miners' fight this year can be one more proof that the ranks can assert their power, throw out a rotten bureaucracy, and maintain control over a new leadership.

While the new leaders of the UMWA may share many conservative ideas in common with the leaders of other unions, they have not yet been able to build a bureaucratic machine capable of controlling the ranks. The rank and file miners have continued to assert their independence and to push the Miller leadership into action.

This was what happened during the Brookside strike. When rank and file miners originally attempted to spread that strike to other mines, Miller ordered it stopped. For nearly a year, twelve months the strike was isolated, slowing down the UMWA's organizing drive in eastern Kentucky.

But pressure from the ranks eventually led the UMWA leaders to set up picket lines at two other mines and to organize the five day nationwide memorial strike and the mass rally in Harlan County.

Whatever the intentions of the Miller leadership, the ranks have prevented their new leaders from bureaucratizing the UMWA and from enforcing a conservative policy. The ability of the ranks to maintain considerable control over the union stems from the way in which the old leadership of the UMWA was defeated.

MASS ACTION BEAT BOYLE

The usual liberal accounts of how the Miners for Democracy formed and defeated the old Boyle machine begin with Jack Yablonski's campaign in 1969, the vote fraud, Yablonski's murder, and all the court cases and legal action.

But the movement that shattered Boyle's machine began before Yablonski challenged Boyle.

Tony Boyle was John L. Lewis' hand picked successor. Lewis left Boyle not only the UMWA bureaucracy and a well-oiled political machine, but a policy of betrayal that cost thousands of miners their jobs and hundreds their lives.

It was Lewis, in the 1940's, who let the mine owners automate the mines. This policy reduced the number of UMWA members from 500,000 to 200,000.

The same policy encouraged the bigger coal companies, as well as the oil, power, steel, and other metal giants, to buy up weaker companies and concentrate coal production in fewer hands. In the 1950's and 60's the UMWA stood by while smaller mines in eastern Kentucky (such as Brookside) kicked out the union.

Lewis and then Boyle let health and safety conditions decline. The new machines stirred up more dust and made Black Lung even more widespread than before.

When a mine explosion in Farmington, West Virginia killed 78 miners in November 1968, Boyle just said, "As long as we mine coal there is always this inherent danger of explosion."

In the face of deadly working conditions, growing unemployment, and a corrupt union leadership, the miners began taking matters into their own hands.

One of the first strikes conducted without and against the Boyle leadership occurred back in 1965. A small mine in Moundsville, West Virginia was struck because of unsafe conditions. The strike leaders, some of whom were local officers, were fired.

The entire mine struck. Flying pickets were sent out and within a week the strike had spread to three states. Boyle tried to stop this movement but couldn't.

In 1967 60,000 coal miners in five states wildcatted. Again Boyle just couldn't get the miners back to work. In 1968, 10,000 miners struck in Pennsylvania in support of a group of miners who were trying to organize two mines owned by the Solar Fuel Co.

Along side of these strike movements grew the Black Lung movement. Beginning in West Virginia, where Arnold Miller was active, Black Lung Associations grew up in the coal fields throughout Appalachia.

While the Black Lung Associations fought for legislation to protect them from this killer disease and compensate them when they got it, Boyle expressed satisfaction over existing health and safety laws.

In 1969, 40,000 West Virginia miners walked out to demand Black Lung legislation in that state. Boyle could not prevent the walkout. Coal miners no longer listened to him.

If anyone needed proof, it came again in 1971. When the contract expired and no agreement had been reached, Boyle had no choice but to follow the UMWA's traditional policy of "no contract, no work." But when Boyle reached an agreement and told the miners to go back to work, tens of thousands of miners kept on striking. Their leaders, one of whom was Harry Patrick, said they would not return to work until they knew what was in the agreement, and until it was approved by the Cost of Living Council.

COULD NOT DELIVER

Even before this it was obvious to the miners, the government and bosses alike that Tony Boyle had no authority in the coal fields and no control in his union. For all the high-priced machinery he and Lewis had built, for all the goons at his disposal, and in spite of an army of flashy business agents, Boyle could not deliver labor peace to the bosses any more than he could deliver health and safety to the ranks.

Mass strikes and growing resistance on the job to rotten health and safety conditions led to a decline in worker productivity in the coal industry. Productivity began falling in the late 1960's

and is still falling.

Productivity fell by 28% between 1969 and 1974. Boyle's inability to control the ranks was costing the coal bosses a lot of money.

The union bureaucracy is able to exist because the ranks tolerate it and the bosses need it. The bosses depend on labor bureaucrats, some corrupt, some "responsible," to enforce those aspects of the contract that mean continued production.

When a labor official can't do that anymore, he is as useless to the bosses as to the ranks. That's what happened to Boyle.

The murder of Jack Yablonski was not the opening of an offensive against a rank and file opposition. It was a last act of desperation by a bureaucracy that had already lost its effectiveness.

The court cases and Labor Department intervention that eventually led to an honest election in 1972 came about because no one had any use for Boyle.

Usually, the Labor Department and the National Labor Relations Board defend top union officials as a matter of policy. Court cases around these sorts of issues, election frauds, have been known to drag on for years.

But these legal actions were backed up by a movement that appeared to be "out of control." The government and the bosses were not going to risk further mass strike movements to defend a broken and useless bureaucrat.

The seldom published secret behind the victory of the Miners for Democracy was mass action by the miners. But even mass action cannot win an election and come to rule a union unless it is organized.

A MOVEMENT IS ORGANIZED

The various strike and protest movements among the miners that broke Boyle's power came together in the Miners for Democracy (MFD). While the actual membership of MFD may never have been massive, its members were mostly activists from these movements.

Miller was a Black Lung activist; Patrick led wildcats in West Virginia during the 1971 contract fight; Trbovich had been an early supporter of Yablonski.

Other MFD leaders, like Lou Antal and Karl Kafton were known militants and oppositionists.

The MFD's election campaign in 1972-73 was not some election slate slapped together to replace one set of bureaucrats with another. Whatever the limitations of its leaders, the MFD represented a mass, fighting movement.

It is that fact, above all else, that has prevented the formation of a new bureaucracy, the setting up of a machine, or a move toward sell-out. The leadership that took power in the UMWA in 1972 has had to honor most of its election promises because the ranks can render them as useless as it did Boyle—only much faster.

In 1974, the corporate coal giants are not facing Miller, Patrick, and Trbovich. They are facing 120,000 coal miners who are not about to let any leadership get in their way. □

Puerto Rican People Fight For Freedom

The U.S. invaded Puerto Rico in 1898, during the Spanish-American War. As part of the settlement, the U.S. took possession of the island from Spain which had ruled there for 400 years.

Within two weeks the first businessmen arrived. As early as April, 1900, syndicates were being organized to buy up practically all the sugar, tobacco and coffee land. Representatives of U.S. railroad, telegraph and other corporations got concessions in Puerto Rico.

Because of the profitability to U.S. investors, sugar became the

major crop.

By law, however, only 10% of the sugar crop can be refined locally for domestic consumption. The remaining raw sugar—90% of the crop—must be shipped to the United States where U.S. owned refineries make the profits. The finished product is then shipped back to Puerto Rico and sold at inflated prices.

Before 1898 much of the land was used for basic foods such as rice and corn. After, the land was converted into sugar fields. The enlargement of the cane fields

deprived the small farmers of the plots on which they had raised part of their food supply.

The result is that Puerto Rico is now dependent for food upon high-priced imports from the U.S. For the majority of Puerto Ricans, who cannot afford the high prices, a starvation diet or meager handouts from the government are the only alternatives.

INCOME GAP

The gap between the rich and poor is huge, and growing every year. The top 20% of the population receives 50% of the earnings, while the poorest 20% receives only 4% of the country's total income.

Many North Americans think of Puerto Rico mainly as a vacation resort. The hotels on the San Juan waterfront overlook on one side the beautiful beaches, which Puerto Ricans are denied access to. On the other side are the slums of San Juan.

The U.S. government portrays its relationship with Puerto Rico as that of a "helpful big brother." The facts say something else—imperialism.

THE STRUGGLE

Puerto Ricans have struggled for independence from foreign domination since the Spanish rulers arrived.

The most important revolt against Spain occurred in 1868. Over 1000 independence supporters seized the town of Lares and declared the Republic of Puerto Rico. The revolt was brutally put down by the Spanish.

The worldwide economic depression of the 1930's hit Puerto Rico particularly hard, dependent as it was on the wobbly fortunes of sugar.

Fueled by economic hardship, agitation for national independence increased, alongside and often attached to the struggle of working people for a decent standard of living.

Leading the struggle for independence in the 1930's was the Nationalist Party, led by Don Pedro Albizu Campos.

The development of the Nationalist Party was short-circuited, however, by brutal repression. Don Pedro and seven other Nationalist Party leaders were sent to the Atlanta Penitentiary in the United States. On Palm Sunday, March 21, 1937, a peaceful march to a church protesting the imprisonments was fired upon by colonial police. The toll in blood was twenty dead and over 150 wounded.

On December 15, 1947, Don Pedro Albizu Campos returned to Puerto Rico. The Nationalist Party was then reorganized.

HEROIC STRUGGLE

Late in October 1950, as Nationalists returned from a public meeting they were surrounded and arrested by the police.

These arrests signaled the start of a new campaign against the leadership of the Nationalist Party. Homes were broken into. Nationalists, their supporters and even acquaintances were rounded up.

Desperate and facing extermination, the Nationalist Party staged an abortive uprising on October 30. Faced with the armed violence of the state, they "determined to die

on their feet rather than to live dreaming and humiliated on their knees within a colorless and outmoded colonial regime."

Hopelessly outnumbered by the troops of the U.S. and outgunned by mortars, bazookas and planes, they fought heroically. In Jayuya they seized the city government and proclaimed the Republic. Five were killed when they attacked the governor's mansion in San Juan.

Defeated, hundreds of Nationalists, their sympathizers and suspected sympathizers were rounded up in a bloody orgy of repression. Many remain in prison to this day. Don Pedro was arrested and received brutal treatment at the hands of the colonial regime. He was condemned to a slow death for his dedication to the cause of Puerto Rican independence. He died in jail in 1965.

Today the struggle continues. Workers' Power talked with Ernesto Garcia, a Puerto Rican revolutionary socialist, involved in today's independence movement.

What's the state of the independence movement in Puerto Rico today?

Ernesto: Since 1898, since the military invasion of the island, we have struggled against imperialism. Many times the struggle against imperialism has been led by bourgeois leadership and petty bourgeois leadership.

I think that since the late 60's we have a change in our organization, and workers are joining the struggle in greater numbers. First the movement was oriented to national liberation, national independence, but many of us began to realize that independence alone wasn't enough, that Puerto Rican capitalists weren't willing to fight U.S. imperialism or strong enough to establish a republic of their own.

It is clear to me that the question of independence has to be linked to the need for a socialist revolution to end capitalist exploitation.

This conclusion, which is shared by many workers and intellectuals in Puerto Rico today, was influenced by the struggles that are going on in other countries that are fighting against imperialism. We realize that we need international solidarity, we need the help and assistance of the working class not only in Latin America but in the U.S. as well.

We in Puerto Rico know that we would not be able to start a socialist republic by ourselves, and we also know the importance of the struggles of workers in the U.S., because the U.S. is for us the main imperialist nation.

MILITARY BASE

The United States has continued Spain's policy of using Puerto Rico as a military base against revolts in its Latin empire. Puerto Rico is strategically placed, only one hour by plane from Cuba and the South

American coast, including the important Panama Canal.

Today 13% of the island is controlled by the Pentagon. There are five atomic bases and 100 medium sized and smaller military installations.

What has been done to protest U.S. use of Puerto Rico as a military base?

Ernesto: In September 1970, I participated in an anti-U.S. demonstration called by the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence which numbered over 10,000 people.

The U.S. Governors' Conference was being held in Puerto Rico. Anti-U.S. feelings were running very strong—there was a great deal of movement for independence. People were also angry about the use of Culebra Island as a bombing practice target. There are 2000 people living on the island.

Also, the US Navy was lending Culebra to the navies of Latin American governments, such as Argentina, to use for artillery practice.

The Governors Conference was held at the Hotel Americana, which was surrounded by a 15-foot high fence, the police,

On October 27 the city Day Committee New York's Madison support of Puerto Rican independence. An attempt of Madison Square Garden facilities has been Committee, which rejected and Puerto Rican expects a large turnout.

All readers of Workers East Coast are urged the Oct. 27 rally at \$3 for the Puerto Rican Solidarity P.O. Box 319, Cooper N.Y. 10003. For information 673-0540.

National Guard, Coast Guard and Air Force were mobilized. They had machine guns on the tall buildings and helicopters passed constantly over the demonstration.

This demonstration was a good indication of the strength of the independence forces and the repressive character of the government.

BOOTSTRAP

In 1953, the U.S. launched a program called "Operation Bootstrap" which was supposed to help the impoverished nation "pull itself up by its bootstraps" by introducing more industry into the country, which would create more jobs, prosperity, etc.



ble m!



In the past 20 years, Operation Bootstrap has been a bonanza only for U.S. business. A structure of "tax holidays" exempts businesses in Puerto Rico from U.S. taxes for ten to seventeen years. Special rent deals and free training programs, combined with low wages, have paid off in huge profits.

It was touted as a program that supposedly made Puerto Rico the "miracle of the Caribbean" in the words of U.S. liberal Hubert Humphrey.

U.S. businesses have been attracted to Puerto Rico primarily from the enormous profits to be made from the substandard wages paid to Puerto Rican workers. In 1950, when yankee businessmen first came en masse, the hourly manufacturing wage was 40c, compared with \$1.50 in the U.S. In the past 20 years this gap has narrowed only slightly.

The results of Operation Bootstrap are very well known to the Puerto Rican people: an official unemployment rate of 11% that is in reality nearly 33%, one ninth of the population on welfare, one fourth living in slums.

According to the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, the poor have gotten poorer under Operation Bootstrap. In 1953 the poorest 4% of families received slightly over 18% of the country's income. By 1968 they got only 16%.

Many of the original Operation Bootstrap companies are leaving Puerto Rico as their tax holidays run out, in search of more

oil industry, a great deal of land and Chase Manhattan is one of the largest banks in Puerto Rico. I think Rockefeller being Vice President is going to have repercussions for the people of Puerto Rico.

The government is really linked to foreign investors. The corporations are exempt from paying taxes, there is a program to train people to give them an industrial education, to make them better workers.

Wages are about one-third the wages paid in the continental U.S. There are many laws that make the process of unionization difficult and there is a lot of propaganda by the government against unions, especially in towns outside the metropolitan area.

How has the labor movement responded to the attack by the government and the corporations?

Ernesto: Only 18% of the workers on the island belong to unions. Most of the unions are what we call international unions because they are unions here in the US, and this type of union is the only kind that is backed by the government. They are recommended to the workers on the island.

For that reason, the workers have no confidence in the leadership of those unions. Some people are trying to develop new unions, local, national unions.

They are really small compared to the internationals, but I think they are stronger, more militant. They are more willing to take collective action. The government is really afraid of national and local workers movements.

In 1973 there was a big strike wave.

The firemen were the first to go out, over working conditions as well as wage increases. The equipment which the firemen worked with was very dangerous—for example, only ten-story ladders when there are many thirty-story buildings in Puerto Rico.

The firemen's strike was followed by strikes of sanitation workers, water and electricity workers.

The firemen's strike started July 4; by July 8 the National Guard had been called in as scabs. At one point, all three strikes coincided for a time. However, they did not win nearly as much as they were demanding.

All this was followed by a national student strike in October. At the end of '73, there was a national strike of public school teachers.

All this took place during Nixon's wage control program. In Puerto Rico inflation is much higher than in the U.S.—this year, it has reached 27%.

MACHINES, NOT WORKERS

In the mid-sixties the second phase of Operation Bootstrap was announced. The new priority is to be the encouragement of heavy industry, rather than the high-labor requirement industries, such as textiles, that had formed the first phase. This new type of industry depends on machines, not workers. It will drain Puerto Rico even further but provide very few jobs.

What will be the effect of the large economic projects started by the government in recent years?

Ernesto: In 1972 the government announced some projects. These projects are based on the economic program that was started in the 30's, in 1937. Those projects are the construction of a superport for the biggest oil tankers known, around 500,000 to a million tons.

They are also trying to exploit the copper mines that were discovered, according to the government, in 1964. But I know they were discovered 100 years ago.

The other project is the construction of pharmaceutical and chemical industries. These are the main industries that the government is planning to develop, and they are really capital intensive industries requiring few workers.

The government has given little thought to what these projects will do to the environment of the island. Construction of the superport will destroy much of the island's marine life. If one of the super tankers ran aground it would be a disaster.

No attempt is being made to control the pollution created by the petrochemical plants. About two years ago 200 workers had to be hospitalized because of exposure to fumes from a petrochemical plant.

Will the projects provide many jobs?

Ernesto: That's one of the things that the government used for propaganda. The government knows that the projects are not going to provide enough employment to counteract the high percentage of workers that are unemployed and underemployed.

Many local industries, many national industries are closing, especially this year in Puerto Rico. They are going bankrupt, so I think that unemployment is going to continue rising this year.

As you can see the industries that the government is planning to start to increase in numbers in Puerto Rico are all capital intensive industries and they can employ people only in the construction of facilities. After the facilities are started, built, they are going to continue

unemployed.

The superports in some European countries like Holland employ only 40 people, only 40 workers in the whole port. The same goes with the mines and chemical industries.

The government attempted to deal with unemployment not by creating new jobs, but by encouraging immigration and by population control which began in the 30's. During the 60's the population control program was accelerated so that 35% of the men in Puerto Rico today have been sterilized.

A COMMONWEALTH

Today Puerto Rico is called a Commonwealth, thanks to a 1952 act of Congress. But political power is in Washington, not San Juan. Puerto Rico has no vote in Congress.

It cannot make trade agreements or treaties with other countries. Shipping customs, air traffic, immigration control, banking, postal communications, radio and TV are under the total control of the U.S. government.

Commonwealth status also protected the position of the profit hungry yankee businessmen. Statehood status, bringing with it the application of the U.S. minimum wage law and the end of "tax-free" holidays, would have destroyed the profits of these capitalists—whose investments were in labor-intensive industries like garment and textiles—and would have driven away North American business.

Neither the Jones Act of 1917 (passed in time to draft Puerto Ricans for World War I), which gave U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans, nor the 1953 Commonwealth Act have changed the basic political relationship of Puerto Rico as a colony of the U.S.

The mass media presents Puerto Rico as a showcase of democracy for the rest of Latin America. Would you comment on that.

Ernesto: I think that Puerto Rico has been under a military-like government since 1898. Members of the independence movement have always been subject to police attacks.

Many activists have been killed by government forces. There are now in the U.S. five prisoners sentenced to life for their political activities.

They are Lolita Lebron, Rafael Miranda, Irvin Flores, Oscar Collazo, and Andres Cordero.

At present there are more than 10 repressive agencies like the CIA, FBI, CIT, military intelligence. There is also an organization that deals with the security of the system, internal security. Puerto Rico is not a democratic country.

Would you like to say anything to North American workers?

Ernesto: My experience since coming here has shown that many North American workers feel threatened by Puerto Rican workers who might compete for scarce jobs or work for lower wages. This has helped reinforce discrimination and has led to confusion.

Who is ultimately the real enemy? One has to remember that it is ultimately the capitalist system and the ruling class.

They have caused both the distortion of the Puerto Rican economy which has forced Puerto Rican workers to come to the U.S., as well as the unemployment and insecurity in the United States.

Therefore the victory of all our struggles depends on the solidarity of all workers, here and in Puerto Rico. I especially urge everyone to support and participate in the October 27 rally.

Puerto Rican Solidarity will hold a rally in the Square Garden in San Juan. The struggle for independence by the management to deny the use of the land and the present is a coalition of many organizations, now

workers' Power on the to attend. Tickets for each are available from the Saturday Day Committee, P.O. Station, New York, information call (212)

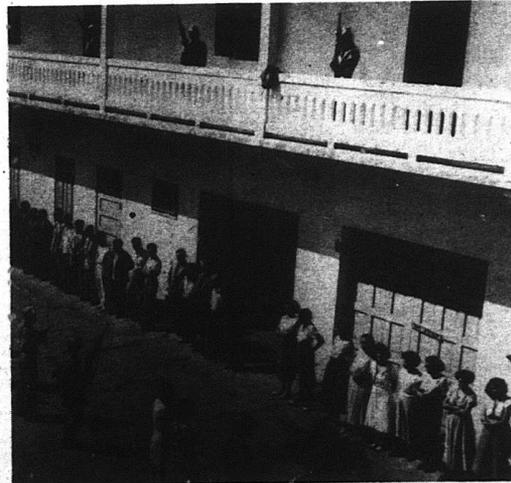
profitable places to invest. The new industries the government is encouraging will not create the jobs to replace those that are being lost.

Will you comment on the claim that Puerto Rico is a laboratory for economic miracles.

Ernesto: As you know the Puerto Rican economy is dominated by U.S. corporations. We have in Puerto Rico about 100 of the 500 biggest international corporations.

Companies like General Electric, Phelps-Dodge, Union Carbide, American Tobacco, ITT, and Coca Cola all have large operations on the island.

Rockefeller owns much of the



Independence fighters rounded up after 1950 Nationalist uprising.

Stop Lynch Mobs!

The issue in Boston's school crisis is racism.

It began as a fight by Boston's black community for decent education. Black children are trapped in run-down decaying schools, consistently far below the quality available to whites. Black parents have made efforts in the past to bring white parents into a joint struggle to improve the quality of all the schools. They have gotten nowhere.

With other doors closed, black people turned to the courts to order desegregation, reasoning that racist discrimination would be far more difficult in integrated schools. Busing became the strategy for integration.

Revolutionary socialists support busing. It is a means to attain some measure of equality for black people, even though busing alone is not a solution. Integrated schools could also be a first step in bringing white and black parents together in a struggle for quality education.

White people, however, have seen the black struggle as an attack on themselves. Thousands in Boston have responded in the same way as the white lynch mobs of the 50's and 60's in Little Rock, Selma, Bogalusa; and many other Southern cities.

The spokespeople for the white mobs claim it is anything else: the right of a child to attend a school in his or her own neighborhood, the right not to be forced into a "high crime" (read: black

neighborhood, even the right to quality education.

This claim is a fraud. In fact, whites in South Boston are using mass action to force black people out of the schools, out of the neighborhoods, out of the area entirely.

And so, the question has become far greater than quality education. At issue is the right of black people not to be excluded from any area of society.

If whites in South Boston are successful it will be a staggering defeat for black liberation. Reactionary mob action that works encourages more reactionary mob action. We have seen the potential of such a movement in Pontiac, Michigan two years ago. The anti-busing crusade there provided a tremendous push for George Wallace's campaign.

Boston's political establishment is responsible for the violent state of affairs in Boston today. Schools and social services have been allowed, sometimes encouraged, to deteriorate. There are fewer and fewer jobs, being fought over by more and more people.

As "getting by" gets more difficult for all working people whites have seen gains by blacks as a threat. The real tragedy is that rather than fight for jobs and quality education for all, they have attacked blacks. As long as whites oppose the struggles of blacks for decent lives, the standard of living of all working people will be

kept down.

Black and white working people need to join together to force the wealthy few who control the political establishment to produce quality education and a decent living standard for all. But black people cannot wait for whites to join the fight today. Their children are being driven in terror from the schools.

The leaders of the black community have demanded that the state provide protection by sending in more police or federal troops. While this demand is understandable, it is also a dangerous one. In part it reflects the weakness of the black community in this situation. The history of the civil rights movement in this country showed that police force in this society is used to preserve the system, to keep black people in "their place," not to protect them from racist abuse.

Federal troops, or police, must not be allowed into the black community. Troops must not be allowed to prevent the black community from organizing to defend itself.

Black people are being attacked and beaten by gangs of whites on the streets. There has been little organization in the black community, and organized self-defense is a desperate need. The black community will win real gains only by relying on its own strength. □

READERS' COLUMN



*Workers Power
Room 225
14131 Woodward Avenue
Highland Park
Michigan 48203*



Honduras children. They're the lucky ones. They only lost their homes. Ten thousand lost their lives.

authorized to do so.

However, just a few days before, Gerald Ford had said the U.S. would do all it could to aid hurricane victims.

It's no secret that inflation, cost of living and unemployment are rising and making times hard. Many American workers and their families have a rough time getting food and clothing for themselves.

But when others cried for help these working people, the "greedy, selfish" ones, sent millions of pounds of food and clothing to the Hondurans. While "nice guy" Gerry Ford and the "enlightened" U.S. government are protecting us by sitting back letting people in Honduras starve. □

Richard Estes
Detroit

This does not mean that we do not fight to eradicate these ideas (as well as the social practices that go with them). We certainly do—and not only by scientific arguments.

Public talks and classes given by people like Jensen should be met with rallies, militant picket lines, demands for equal time, leafletting and other forms of publicity, organized critical questioning, etc., etc.

These tactics combine vigorous organized collective opposition to the ideas with a principled defense of freedom of speech. Disruption of the talks, on the other hand, is not consistent with a principled defense of freedom of speech.

N.H.
Chicago

MORE ON SHOCKLEY

I would like to comment on Emmett Casey's letter (Workers' Power #103) concerning how to deal with people like Jensen and Shockley. While the letter raises important and interesting questions it seems to me that Casey's position on these questions is quite confused.

Casey claims that we have a "principled defense of the right of freedom of speech" but in the same sentence he says "whether or not to disrupt such a speech is a purely tactical question."

This is inconsistent. To say that freedom of speech is a right (and I hold that it is) is to say that it is definitely not a purely tactical question whether or not it should be allowed.

As socialists we do not believe in absolutes. However, some things are of the highest strategic importance for the victory and survival of socialism. We can speak of these as principles and/or rights.

Because we are democratic socialists we are committed to defending those conditions which facilitate collective mass action. Freedom of speech, assembly, etc. (many of the usual bourgeois democratic rights) are among these.

Although limited and often betrayed they are nevertheless of the highest strategic importance in the struggle for socialism and the maintenance of workers democracy after a working class revolution. Therefore we hold them to be rights.

Workers' Power Wants To Hear From You

What you like about the paper - and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people. But please be brief.

JAILS AND PRISONS

This is an appeal to all Americans and third world citizens who are concerned about justice for our imprisoned citizens behind bars, on the county, state, and federal level.

The Alabama Coalition on Jails and Prisons is appealing to the citizens of the United States to raise \$90,000 which will be used for lobbying, lawyer fees, organizing and propaganda materials demand-

ing amnesty or pardon for every inmate in the State of Alabama as well as every prisoner in the United States.

President Ford has pardoned former President Nixon and is contemplating pardoning the other



41 participants in the Watergate scandal. Several inmates of Attmore Prison are being tried for murder and Alabama has revived the death penalty.

There should not be a double standard of justice in this country—one for the rich and one for the poor and dispossessed. If Nixon can be pardoned, so should the draft dodgers, or other Americans whose fate lies in the hands of the judges and juries in this country.

Let us join together, rich and poor, black and white, and strive for true freedom and justice for our imprisoned citizens.

Alabama Coalition on
Jails and Prisons
P.O. Box 10233
48 N. Craft Highway
Prichard, Ala. 36610

SAFETY

We had an accident last week, so they called all the outside yard workers together today for a safety lecture. The safety man read on and on from some notebook about management's concern for safety, about safety rules and how we should be careful.

Everyone was sitting silently. A few sort of tried to stare the speaker down (he wouldn't look at them), but most kept their eyes on

(continued on page 11)

HUMAN NATURE

You hear a lot about human nature. It is said that the reason that the world is in a mess is because most people are greedy, selfish, and don't care about anyone else. That's why we need "enlightened" governments, armies and police forces to rule over us and control us in our greed.

We've all heard about the hurricane that hit Honduras a few weeks ago. Thousands of people were killed and thousands more are sick, starving and homeless. The Honduras people and government asked for help.

The American people, common

ordinary working people, responded to this plea for help. They began sending food, clothing, and money to relief centers. In Miami, according to UPI, there is over a million pounds of food and clothing.

Houston has tons more stacked in warehouses. But all of these goods are sitting in warehouses and are not being sent to the people who need it.

The reason the food and clothing is not being moved is that there are no planes to fly it down. The U.S. Air Force has plenty of planes and they were supposed to carry it down.

But the Air Force sent only one flight down. Then they refused to fly down—saying they were not

Italy Goes Broke

There's nothing really new about a government collapsing in Italy. Since the end of World War II, thirty-eight Cabinets have resigned.

Now, however, the Italian government is falling apart almost like clockwork the first of every month—when the bills are due.

The country is so bankrupt that only multi-billion dollar loans from West Germany, the Common Market and the International Monetary Fund can keep it afloat. Massive layoffs are threatening to bring unemployment over one million, and inflation is making it impossible for workers to buy pasta for spaghetti.

The main ruling class party, the Christian Democrats, is losing control and legitimacy even in the

eyes of many of Italy's capitalists.

In the face of this crisis, some capitalists are turning in the direction of the fascist terrorists, who have organized armed terror squads and murderous bombing attacks on left-wing demonstrations and even passenger trains.

Many more of the large capitalists, however, are coming to the conclusion that another type of drastic action must be taken to head off the crisis—namely, bringing the Italian Communist Party into the government.

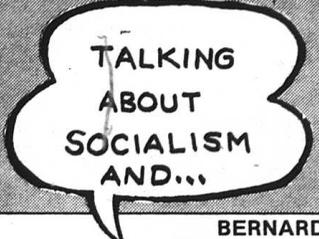
Because it is the largest organized political force in Italy, especially since it controls the loyalty of huge masses of unionized workers, the CP may be the only party which can hold down wages, strikes and factory occupations to

give the employers breathing room to restore stability.

The leaders of the CP itself are ready, eager and willing to play this role. To prove its reliability, the CP refused to participate in demonstrations protesting the police murder of 19-year-old Fabrizio Ceruso.

Ceruso was shot point-blank by police who violently expelled 145 families who had taken over unoccupied tenements to live in.

The Communist Party is proposing that it become part of the Italian government as part of a "historic compromise." In return for rubbing elbows with the capitalist ministers, it will do its part of make the workers pay the full price for Italy's disastrous economy. □



BERNARD O'HIGGINS

Human Nature

When I was in high school, I don't know how many times I was forced to crank out some profound reflections on the subject of "what is human nature?"

We are usually told that human nature is pretty much identical with the way people behave and relate to each other in this society. This state of affairs is then projected backward into the past and it is assumed that people have always thought and acted the way they do today. Human nature is viewed as something eternal and unchanging.

We are accepting a complete myth if we let ourselves be taken in by the idea that human nature is something that never changes. Human beings constantly remake their own nature as they change society.

Maybe "cat nature" or "dog nature" can be fully defined for all time, but human nature can't be.

"Human nature" as we know it under capitalism is a product of human history. Another kind of "human nature" came before it and another kind will come after it.

"Human nature" is usually described in terms of the way an isolated individual is expected to act in a capitalist society.

Everyone is expected to be greedy, individualistic and competitive, out for "number one," his or her own good and little else.

ENVY AND FEAR

This way of looking at human nature is a powerful intellectual weapon of the capitalists who rule this society. It teaches a worker to view his or her fellow workers as competitors, to envy them or fear them rather than to work together with them for the good of all workers.

For if everyone is just out for "number one," they obviously can't be trusted to stick together against the boss. Someone will probably try to get ahead by flinching.

This stereotype of "human nature" is supposed to be the way people have always been, not just the way they are in this particular form of society. In reality, it bears little resemblance to the "human nature" we find in societies other than capitalist ones.

Take European feudalism in the Middle Ages.

For the vast majority of the population, "individualism" as we know it would have been inconceivable. You were born into your station in life—whether as a noble, a guild craftsman, or as a peasant—and there you stayed.

The idea of everyone being out for themselves would have seemed ridiculous. People felt themselves to be part of a permanent social order established by God. To think otherwise was obviously contrary to human nature.

RISE OF CAPITALISM

But the feudal system didn't last forever. It was broken down by the capitalist economic forces that arose within it.

Aggressive capitalists preached the unheard-of doctrine that individuals should be free to

expand their wealth in any way they could.

These ideas were in complete opposition to "human nature" as it had been defined up to that time.

No doubt the priests and philosophers wisely shook their heads at such ideas and assured themselves that the success of capitalism was impossible because "you just can't change human nature." But somehow that didn't quite stop capitalism from winning out.

Capitalist "human nature" began in a society that condemned money-lending and believed that kings ruled by Divine Right.

In the same way, the elements of a new human nature, or a socialist human nature, can be seen even within the framework of a capitalist society, because even though a cutthroat human nature works well for capitalists, it serves workers poorly.

SOLIDARITY

A key element in every successful strike is solidarity.

All that solidarity means is that individual workers come to realize that as long as they remain separate and opposed to other individual workers they are weak. It is only when they unite together and support each other that they are strong, both as individuals and as a group.

The opposition between the individual and the society that keeps workers divided breaks down. A new social force comes into being.

Without solidarity among workers, socialism, a society based on workers' democratic control of industry, will never come about.

Whenever workers are forced to unite in struggle to win their demands, whenever they realize that purely individual solutions will not solve their problems, we see the beginnings of a new, cooperative "human nature," one based on solidarity rather than on individualism.

We can see them in Russia in 1917, in the United States in the 1930's, in France in 1968, and in fact in every major struggle of workers against the capitalists. They give us a hint of what "human nature" will be like under socialism.

THE FUTURE

Since the only way for the working class to get ahead is together, people will not need to feel so suspicious of each other. One person getting ahead will not mean another person falling behind.

The capitalists try to tell us that under socialism everyone will have to be exactly the same because socialists "don't believe in individualism." But really it is capitalism that makes people feel like they're just a number.

In a socialist society, every person will be important, because workers will run society for human good, not for profits.

After workers' power has been a reality for a generation or so, socialist schoolchildren will probably wonder with disbelief why a society so obviously opposed to human nature as capitalism was allowed to exist for so long. □

COURTS CRUSH TRUCKERS

Listen you guys—You'll fine him—he'll say they have to pay—and I'll rake in the profits!!

WONDERFUL CHIEF!
(Bow, scrape)



In St. Louis there's an extortion racket operating on a scale Al Capone could only dream about. But this conspiracy is perfectly legal.

The U.S. District Court is one of the conspirators. The others are the Motor Carriers Council of St. Louis and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters leadership.

The intended victims are 8,000 members of IBT Local 600.

On October 3 Judge Roy Harper awarded 64 trucking firms \$5,796,223 in damages from a 37-day strike in the spring of 1970.

The companies knew they could not collect in cold cash. Local 600 simply doesn't have the money. The companies have a better way to collect.

As the St. Louis Post-Dispatch reported it, "In the midst of damage hearings the carriers offered to drop major claims in return for work rules and manning modifications."

In other words, they'll take their money in the form of higher profits

from working everyone harder.

The specific demands of the Motor Carriers council include changes in seniority system, hours, job categories and local contracts. These changes would give the companies much more arbitrary power over working conditions. One whole job category would be wiped out.

1970 STRIKE

The 1970 strike was part of a national struggle led by Chicago drivers to reverse IBT President Fitzsimmons' \$1.10/hour contract sellout.

The strikes forced Fitzsimmons and the carriers to renegotiate the Master Freight Agreement for \$1.65/hour increase.

Local 600 had struck at the expiration of the old contract that year. The International claimed that the old pact automatically remained in effect while the new one was being negotiated. They

ordered Local 600 to go back to work.

The matter ended up in court. The court held that the Local had violated the no-strike clause of the old contract.

The companies, union leadership and newspapers have all dropped hints about making individual members liable for the nearly \$6 million in an attempt to soften them up for this attack.

Confusion reigns in the ranks with rumors that the money could come out of peoples paychecks and so on.

A Local 600 member told Workers' Power, "I think we will lose all these work rules. There will be a compromise that will be polite, a deal. It will all be done under the guise of saving the union for you guys."

If the St. Louis Teamsters can be bamboozled into accepting this blackmail they may be losing a lot more than they won in the 1970 victory. □

more letters

thing about that as soon as it can."

Then Hank, an older black worker who's always giving out advice, came in. "I've been here 27 years, and they've said that since the day I came. It's not your fault; you may sincerely care. But up at the front office all they care about is money."

Hank rattled off the names of people he said had been safety men until they complained about too many hazards. Now they had four jobs.

The safety man started to look upset. "I'll prove to you I'm concerned about safety!" He proudly produced a letter to the front office requesting a convex mirror at a blind intersection.

JJ, a fork lift driver, got mad. "We've had mirrors there. When you're driving a full load of steel, you can't see the mirror. The road has to be widened. And what's

going to be done about all the potholes?"

The safety man threw up his hands. "All I can tell you is to trust management. This letter proves my concern."

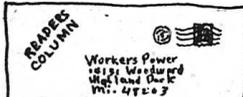
Another guy asked "What should we do when a foreman gives us an order to do something unsafe?"

The "safety" man answered "If you feel it's unsafe you should tell your foreman, but of course you have to do what you're told."

The meeting was called just before lunch so it couldn't run on too long. It ended just as people were starting to speak up about unsafe conditions. But I think everyone knew anyway how useless talking was.

If we want any action on safety it'll have to come from us.

Fred P. St. Louis



the ground with a kind of disgust (with him or with us for sitting through this shit?)

I smelled a joint and looked to my left to see a young brother calmly smoking. If the older white supervisors knew, they were afraid to care.

Now the safety man (SM) was going on about how the boards that workers had put down to walk around on were unsafe because they became slippery as they absorbed oil.

Then Brown, a real quiet tolerant soul, broke in "We need those boards because whenever it rains the water rises halfway up your leg!" SM replied "I know that; I'm just saying be careful."

Brown asked "When are they going to put drainage in the yard to correct this hazard?" SM, "The new management is very safety conscious and is going to do some-



RECESSION AND OIL

by David Miller

The growing worldwide recession—the first universal slump since the 1930's—presents an immense threat to working people.

There is, however, a second crisis on top of the recession itself—the oil crisis. This could easily become the straw that breaks the camel's back.

The American ruling class sees the threat so clearly that last month both Henry Kissinger and the Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, openly raised the possibility that armed force might be used against their friends, the conservative rulers of the Arab states.

What is the source of this crisis, and what makes it so dangerous?

For generations the oil corporations, mainly American, backed up by the government, effectively controlled the oil-producing states. They drew fantastic profits, extracting oil at almost no cost and paying practically no taxes either in the Arab countries or the U.S. The Arab countries remained impoverished; they were practically kept as colonies.

That situation is now in the process of changing.

In recent years, the relative independence of the native ruling classes in some formerly colonial countries has been strengthened, at least temporarily. This occurred because of several developments: the colonial revolutions after World War II; the defeat of England and France in the 1956 Suez crisis; the military and political failure of the U.S. in Vietnam; and the possibilities of playing off the U.S. against Russia.

As a result, some inroads against the U.S. and Western European monopolies and their governments are possible.

Following the last Arab-Israeli war, the Arab rulers quadrupled taxes on oil, and thus quadrupled its price. The oil companies themselves are not immediately hurt, since their taxes to the Arab states are deducted from their U.S. income taxes and since they could use the Arab action to raise prices at home.

Higher prices abroad also increased the value of the corporations' oil wells inside the U.S.

As a result of the actions of the oil-producing states, however, their income rose from \$29 billion to \$100 billion during 1974. This has precipitated a major crisis for Europe and America, both in the short-run and the long-run.

THE PAYMENT CRISIS

In the short-run, oil-consuming states will have to pay out \$70 billion extra this year. How can this be done?

Normally, this would be done by

the industrial countries exporting \$70 billion worth of goods to pay for the oil. That is, \$70 billion less would be available to U.S. and other consumers.

In today's circumstances, such a drop in goods available for purchase at home could stimulate an even more massive inflation than we have at present.

But this "normal" way, out cannot be taken, because the underdeveloped oil producing states cannot absorb such an amount of goods.

Of course these goods could bring prosperity to the impoverished masses of the Mid-east, but that would yield no profit to Arab capitalists. And the Arab leaders are committed to developing capitalism, not to the needs of their people.

So most of the \$70 billion will be held in reserve by the Arab rulers for capital investment at home or abroad.

This creates problems. For if the Arab rulers are not paid with goods then the U.S., Europe and Japan just owe them the money. If payment is not to be by goods, then it has to be by using up the gold or dollar reserves accumulated during the years of past prosperity.

But using up these reserves has dangerous consequences. Putting the reserves of money into the world money markets at this time can only intensify inflation. Furthermore, the reserves of some countries are disappearing so fast that they are on the verge of bankruptcy.

Italy has just had to put her gold supply (which backs up her domestic currency) into hock to Germany. Denmark and England are not much better off.

If these countries go broke, it means that they cannot purchase goods from other countries. Since the rest of Europe and Japan are highly dependent upon trade with these countries, the collapse of one or two countries (because they could no longer buy goods from other countries) could trigger off the collapse of the rest. The result would be another crisis such as that of 1929.

Since one-half of U.S. corporate profits come from abroad, the U.S. would be caught up in this crisis too.

That is what is scaring the ruling class.

But the situation is worse than ever before for still other reasons. The "solutions" which worked in previous crises are no longer so readily available.

Twice in the past 20 years, England has gotten into situations similar to Italy's today. In the past, two methods were used to help Britain.

First, Britain devalued her currency. At the same time she was granted enormous loans (some \$10

billions). Neither of these methods is nearly so readily available today.

Take devaluation. By devaluing her currency, English exports became cheaper, so more of her goods can be sold abroad. At the same time, if English money is worth less (devalued), then imports

meet their oil debts—then there is no one to borrow from. So this solution is also closed off.

In fact, the international monetary agencies, the IMF and World Bank, have set aside \$3.5 billion to take care of such loans throughout the world. They are trying to increase the amount available to \$7 billion. but when one considers the size of the debt (\$70 billion), then this road to salvation does not appear too promising either.

Another short run solution would be for the oil countries to agree to convert the debt due them into a loan—a mortgage. So Italy, England, and other oil importers, instead of paying out \$12 billion for

the problem, just the tip of the iceberg.

The impact of the oil crisis is made even more severe by two other factors. We have already mentioned the first—the fact that this crisis comes on top of the first worldwide recession in 30 years.

Secondly, the crisis in oil hits (not by accident) at a time when Wall Street is less able to impose its will on so-called "backward" countries than ever before. Twenty years ago when Iran tried to nationalize oil, the CIA (with the U.S. Army in reserve) simply overthrew the government.

Today, despite the example of Chile, that is not so easy anymore—and far riskier. When tiny Jamaica raised its tax on bauxite by 700% for U.S. corporations, the aluminum monopolists were publicly furious at the silence of the U.S. government.

Just a year ago, when the Arabs raised their prices, there was widespread belief that it was done with the approval of the U.S. government. And it is true enough that the evidence was that the U.S. would, and did, suffer less than other countries.

Today, however, it must be clear that these plots—while they certainly may have existed, especially in the form of "understandings" between the Arab rulers and the oil corporations—were at best secondary features of the scene.

The main factor was that the oil producing states, at least for the short run, have established themselves as a new monopoly. They are trying, and succeeding, in reducing the ownership status even of the oil giants—and threatening the stability and the very survival of several capitalist states.

It is in response to this new development that the U.S. government today is trying to organize a counter-monopoly to that of the oil producers.

After all, the oil corporations are not the only corporations in the country. Other U.S. monopolies are being hurt by the oil crisis.

Thus the U.S. is taking the lead attempting to forge NATO and Japan into a "consumer monopoly" (with France a possible hold-out). This new multi-national monopoly of capitalist governments, fronting for all the corporations, would have the following U.S.-directed policies:

1) Oil resources would be pooled to minimize the power of oil producers, and to organize cuts in demand (by raising prices charged to their own workers).

2) World banking institutions, controlled by the most powerful industrial nations, would guarantee that no bank of importance in any major country will be allowed to fail because of inflation or the oil crisis.

3) Temporary emergency loans would be advanced for the worst situations, and the oil producers would be pressured to grant such loans out of their own funds.

4) Anti-labor policies will be coordinated to make workers pay for inflation and oil costs.

5) As a long-term threat and a last resort, military intervention will be mapped out to seize the Arabs' oil resources.

Yet even these policies have no guarantee of success. Should they fail, we may be sure that attacks by government on labor movements everywhere will be still more severe.

And even if the recession were to end, it would not eliminate either inflation or the oil crisis. Under these circumstances, a growing wave of worker militancy worldwide may be expected. □



become more expensive, and so less is imported.

In this way, the "balance of payments," i.e., the trade deficit, is restored. In this way, one country can "solve" its problem.

Of course, this "solution" in reality meant that the English working class paid for the devaluation, since imported goods, food, clothing, etc., were now more expensive. But at least for British capital, it was a temporary way out.

Today this way out, currency depreciation, is far harder to use for two reasons. For one thing, such a plan only works if just one or two countries are involved.

If many countries are suffering trade deficits (all but Germany today), then the way out by national currency depreciation would have little effect, since all the depreciations would balance each other out.

A second reason why depreciation is less a way out today, is that the working classes of Europe are extremely combative today. They would not be willing to accept the higher prices without fighting for higher wages.

The other "solution" used in the past in a crisis was to borrow money from those countries which had surpluses, as England did repeatedly. But in order to borrow, there must be a lender.

If all countries are in the same boat—i.e., all need to borrow to

oil, would only pay out a fraction of that, in interest.

This is actually happening to some extent. Kuwait bought \$1.2 billion worth of British treasury bonds. Saudi Arabia bought \$800 million of U.S. bonds.

In addition, some of the oil money is being "recycled" by Arab rulers buying out or investing in corporations in the industrial countries (Krupp Steel in Germany; giant real estate firms in England; loans to Grumman Aircraft in the U.S.).

But this is a long, long way from meeting the deficits of these countries. And it does nothing at all for the majority of countries which do not get these investments, such as Italy, India or Africa.

But even if the entire debt were converted for all countries into loans to be paid back later, it would still solve nothing. Because the real consequences of these oil debts, the most serious long-term consequences, are yet to come.

In the long-run, the oil has to be paid for. As usual, the ruling classes are already making plans to see to it that not they, but the workers of Europe and the U.S. pay the bill.

POWER STRUGGLE

The transitional, temporary difficulties of the balance of payments deficits are just the beginning of

reviews

magazines

womenSports!

[womenSports magazine, published by Bille Jean and Larry King.]

Anyone who thought that women athletes and sports fans are now taken seriously should try to buy womenSports. If you can find a copy.

Bille Jean King's "slick little tax write off" (as all the sports writers referred to it) turned out to be a terrific little magazine.

But, after four or five issues, most libraries still do not carry it. Magazine racks don't stock it. So unless you are ready to cough up the price of a year's subscription, you are likely to miss an issue here and there.

The magazine is certainly slick—lots of ads, glossy pages, color pictures, nice artwork. Unfortunately it may well end up as a huge tax writeoff for King and Co.

The audience for this venture is not very big, and distribution is apparently not going well. (Otherwise it wouldn't be so hard to find.)

Lots of magazines go under, and this one seems a likely candidate.

UNSUNG ATHLETES

But in the meantime, it is well worth having around. There are personality sketches of great but unsung athletes—Babe Didrikson, a golfing great from the twenties;

Lynne Cox, current best, and youngest swimmer of the English Channel.

Sports equipment is examined from the viewpoint of women's needs. There are nifty little articles on technique.

One issue had a nice set of articles contrasting young and older women athletes. The first was on Jean Balukas, the fifteen-year-old straight pool sensation, out to win her third national title.

Following was an article on Dorothy Wise, the grand old lady of pocket billiards, who'd like to beat the jeans off Balukas and retire the champ.

Throughout the forties and fifties Wise had no one to compete with. Men wouldn't often play her, most women couldn't. As a result Wise never got as good as she could have.

Together these articles traced the human cost of sexist oppression and the destruction often caused to women's spirit.

JOY AND PAIN

As in all magazines, some of the opinion columns are stuffy and uninspired; others are thought-provoking—"Is Competition a Four-Letter Word?"

And there was this fascinating article on "How to Put a Rapist in the Hospital."

It would be possible to do a review of just the photographs. There is joy and pain in testing your body to its limits. womenSports photographers have captured some of the intense feelings beautifully. The pictures are in many ways, the most moving elements of the magazine.

There is however one glaring omission that has so far marred this otherwise excellent publication.

In the quest to make womenSports an advertising suc-



womenSports finally ran a profile on a black athlete in third issue: Wyomia Tyus, world's top sprinter.

cess black women got left out. It was three issues before womenSports had its first feature article on a black athlete, Wyomia Tyus, the world's best female sprinter.

If it were not for her, and an ad with Evonne Goolagong, the issue would have been entirely white.

When it comes to an American sports magazine, excluding blacks cannot be done by accident. There are simply too many fine black women athletes.

This failing is all the more deplorable in a feminist publication. A major theme of feminism in

sports is the importance of positive models for aspiring women athletes.

This understanding is one reason why womenSports has placed a high value on photographs of women in action.

That none of these pictures are of black women, and few articles feature black athletes, gives a distorted picture of women in sports today. womenSports will have to correct this if it wants to fulfill its potential.

Kay Stacy



Sheila Young (left), bicycling champ.

movies

[Pardon My Bloopers. K-TEL. Directed by Kermit Schafer.]

Even since the first clown encountered a banana peel and landed on his fanny, other people's slip-ups have been a good source of laughs. In this movie it is slips of the tongue that make us merry.

The film is a collection of real moments from the media when the usual slick facade was penetrated by good old human error. You hear the melodious, deep-toned voice of a broadcaster suddenly stumble, swear or break into helpless laughter.

These vanished moments have been brought back by Kermit Schafer, who has collected such boners for years from radio and television.

He's published his findings in

books and records before. This time he spliced together original videotapes and recordings. When that wasn't possible the incidents were re-enacted.

The re-enactments didn't come off quite as well as the others, which were themselves probably better if you caught them the first time. One inherent problem was that in anticipating a mistake, you don't get the full impact of being startled by the inappropriate.

"Bloopers" strike us funny precisely because they are inappropriate. Some were simple errors and are amusing because we

expect the voices of radio and TV to sound perfect.

But after seeing about twenty people who made it into the film because they said something about "meat," "balls," "cans," or "nuts" that came out different than they meant, it was obvious that it wasn't just breaking the taboo against making a mistake on TV we were laughing at.

That is why the film was given an "R" (restricted) rating.

OFF LIMITS

Television's official myth, that sex doesn't really exist, was the main basis for the hilarity. Of course they encourage its presence if it is carefully packaged and "soft core." But if it appears with spontaneity, it is off limits.

One episode showed a curvaceous young woman in a low-cut dress displaying a loaf of bread. Said the Voice In The Back: "This is the best bread... dammit... this would happen some..."

Of course, the sponsor fully intended for the breads... bread, but to admit the shoddy

truth was a blooper!

Cursing is also taboo on TV. Normally it isn't funny to hear someone watching a football game say, "Look at that sonofabitch run," but slipping from the commentator it makes a minor scandal.

Another "curse word" episode revealed that official TV myths may cover up a great deal more truth than anyone realizes.

An announcer at Nixon's inauguration intoned, "And now we will see Richard Nixon swearing on the steps of the Capitol—I mean Nixon's swearing in!"

With what we now know from the Watergate tapes about Nixon's "expletives," it seems that the first was probably just as true.

REPRESSION

The fact that this is a funny film is testimony to the rigidly repressive nature of official American culture. It's rather like the gleeful giggle children get when the teacher unwittingly says something "vulgar" that they say all the time.

Schafer reports that it's becoming harder to glean bloopers now

PARDON MY BLOOPER®



Karen Kaye

that most television shows are pre-recorded. They edit out all the mistakes.

Getting a glimpse of the real people behind the media's straight-laced morality provides a certain amount of amusement. We like to catch the authorities with their pants down, but why do they hold them up so tightly?



International Socialists
14131 Woodward Ave.,
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I would like more information about International Socialists.

Name
Address
City
Occupation

Drive Tops \$2000

With 9% of the goal collected, the International Socialists fourth annual fund drive has entered its second week. This year we're slightly behind schedule (13%, but doing very well considering our high quota.

The Los Angeles branch deserves special praise for already reaching 29% of its quota.

A successful fund drive will enable us to continue and expand our work in building a socialist movement. This money will aid in our participation in the struggles of rank and file workers, of blacks, women and other oppressed groups.

To move forward, we need your support, both political and financial. Inflation affects socialist organizations too!

We want to continue our improvements in Workers' Power and advance our publications program. (There are pamphlets on China, the Miners, and other topics, soon to be published.)

Also, we're sending travellers across the country and moving

I.S. FUND DRIVE SCOREBOARD			
Branch	Quota	Collected	%
Bloomington	500	—	0
Boston	450	—	0
Chicago	1300	290	22
Cleveland	1850	—	0
East Bay	2400	316	13
Detroit	3500	200	6
Portland	300	—	0
Louisville	800	85	11
Los Angeles	2500	735	29
Madison	150	—	0
New York	2700	—	0
St. Louis	900	150	17
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National Office	1500	—	0
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towards the publication of a theoretical journal. Your contributions are essential to this work.

If you have not yet sent a donation to the drive, please do so

today.

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

BUILDING THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



Joel Geier and Li'l Joe, members of I.S. Executive Committee.

LOS ANGELES—An enthusiastic crowd of over one hundred supporters and members of the International Socialists gathered here October 5 for a public forum announcing that the Socialist Col-

lective as a group is joining the I.S., and discussing strategy for building a revolutionary party in this country.

Referring to the SC's joining the International Socialists as an "his-

toric occasion," I.S. National Chairman Joel Geier told the audience the rest of the American left would be watching to see if unity between black and white revolutionaries is possible today.

Geier pointed out that this unification is unique on the left today; while other groups are splitting, the I.S. has taken an important step towards unity on the left.

Li'l Joe, formerly a member of the SC Central Committee and now a member of the IS National Executive Committee, said the joining of the SC and the IS will transform both, creating a stronger revolutionary organization to carry on the struggle. In his brief speech, Li'l Joe cited the necessity for building a revolutionary workers' party based on workers' democracy and revolutionary Marxism as one of the reasons the Socialist Collective comrades made the decision to join the International Socialists.

Following the featured speakers, greetings and statements of support were made by The Red Tide, a Los Angeles based group of revolutionary high school students and young workers; and The International Socialists of Great Britain.

Patrick Denny, speaking for the British I.S., said the role of the I.S. in Britain is the same as our role in the U.S.—putting together the fragments of the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party.

He cited the fact that in 1965, when he joined the ISGB it was smaller than the IS in the US is today. Now, they have over 3500 members and have become the only left group in Britain which can pose an alternative to the Communist Party.

The Los Angeles meeting was the first in a series of meetings Geier and Li'l Joe are presently holding on the West Coast. Others have been held in Oakland, Portland, Seattle and Vancouver, Canada.

The audiences throughout the tour have been enthusiastic about the discussion and the growth of the I.S. A number of people have joined in various cities following the talks. □



What We Stand For

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

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

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

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

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

THE CAPITALIST STATE

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

MASS ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

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

INTERNATIONALISM

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

BUREAUCRATIC COLLECTIVISM

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

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To create socialism, the most militant sections of the working class must be organized into a revolutionary party. The party does not represent an elite to rule over the workers "in their interests." It is a political force helping to organize workers and leading them to take state power and control society as a class. The activity of the I.S. is directed toward building such a party. Building a rank and file movement based on the principles described here strengthens the consciousness, self-confidence and organization of the working class, and is the road by which a revolutionary party will be built.

WHERE WE STAND

*For rank and file control of the unions. No secret negotiations. All contracts to be voted on by mass membership meetings. For rank and file committees to lead the struggle when union officials refuse to fight and national rank and file opposition caucuses in the International union.

*For class struggle unionism. Abolish all anti-labor legislation. No restriction on the right to strike. No "open" boys.

*Defend working conditions. No control on wages. Against unemployment, layoffs, and speed-up. 50 hours week for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. We demand the right to a job at union wages for everyone. Organize the unorganized. Nationalization of industry without concessions and under workers' control.

*Equality for all oppressed peoples. Full support for their liberation struggles. For the rights of the black community and other oppressed peoples to defend themselves. Against all forms of racism, police harassment and discrimination. For independent organization by black and other specially oppressed workers to fight

for their own demands. Independence for Puerto Rico.

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

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

*No support to Republicans, Democrats and Wallaceite parties and candidates. For an independent political party of the working class, based on the masses and controlled by the rank and file, to struggle against the capitalist parties.

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National Office: 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.

Bay Area: P.O. Box 910, Berkeley, CA 94701.

Bloomington: 4237 Penn Ct., Bloomington, IN 47401.

Boston: P.O. Box 8488, JFK Station, Boston, MA 02114.

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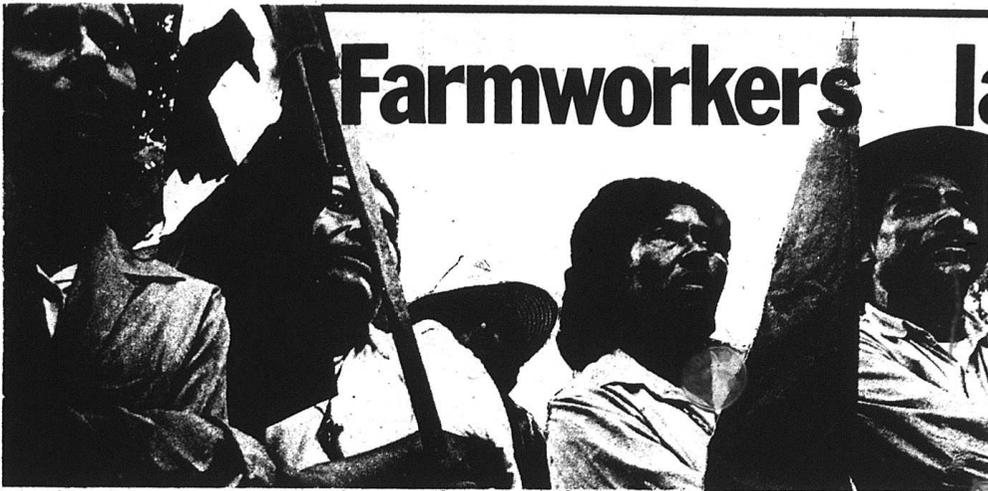
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Farmworkers launch lemon strike



him. But the scab is the dregs of the working class and there is no forgiveness for a scab."

The UFW has met considerable resistance within the boycott and union to its campaign to strengthen the border patrol. The campaign has also been opposed by urban Chicanos who directly experience the border patrol and Immigration Service (La Migra) as instruments of terror and oppression in their communities.

If the UFW does in fact change its position on strengthening the border patrol and deporting undocumented workers, it will mean recognizing the necessity for the workers themselves to organize to stop scabbing.

It will also mean new possibilities for gaining militant support from the huge urban Mexican and Chicano populations in the Southwest.

by James Morrison

What the growers expected to be a \$10-\$20 million bumper crop of lemons still hangs on the trees in Yuma County, Arizona. More than 1400 lemon pickers have been on strike since August 26 demanding better wages and recognition of the United Farm Workers union.

While the strike movement began spontaneously, the workers sought help and organization from the UFW. UFW leaders report that over 90% of the pickers have signed UFW bargaining agent authorization cards.

The strike has become a major focus for the UFW. It has called in several of its best organizers and staff from other areas including Manuel Chavez and Al Rojas, to make the strike successful.

The real power of the union is evident here in the solidarity and militancy of the strikers. Each day of the strike has been costing the growers an estimated \$200,000.

If the union can continue to prevent the lemons from being picked, leaving them to rot on the trees, then the growers will have to bear heavy losses. They will lose almost an entire crop. In addition the trees will be damaged by branches breaking under the heavy load of unpicked fruit.

If the lemons are not picked, the union will not have depend on trying to organize a much less effective product boycott of the lemons after they have been dispersed in small quantities to retail outlets and processing plants.

The growers also know this and are desperately trying to recruit scabs to do the harvesting. They have tried hiring labor contractors to bring in scab workers, but have not yet been too successful.

In one case the UFW organized a crew which surrounded the busses

and convinced the workers, mostly Mexicanos, to leave.

The major threat to the strike is the growers' attempt to recruit strike breakers from Mexico by hiring workers without documents (the so-called "illegals").

The growers want a docile labor force which will be afraid to join the strike. Yuma County is on the Mexican border. Thousands of Mexicans have tried to find work in the US even at extremely low wages because of a drought in Mexico and the depression in the Mexican economy.

BORDER PATROL

The lemon strike comes after a several-month campaign by the UFW against the "illegal" workers. The UFW has tried to stop scabbing by calling on the border patrol to deport undocumented workers.

So far this policy has produced little results in the fields. In the Gallo strike at Livingston, the UFW estimated that about half of the scabs were "illegals" and complained to the Immigration Service.

On the day that the Immigration Service came, to "inspect" the fields, half the scab work force was absent. The growers kept the undocumented scabs away during the inspection and the Immigration Service gave the growers a clean bill. On the next day of course the scabs were back to full force.

Similarly, the border patrol has done nothing for the UFW strike in the Yuma lemon fields. The UFW has been forced to take action itself in Yuma to stop the flow of scabs.

Strikers have set up their own squads along the border near the lemon fields to try to convince Mexican workers not to break the strike.

But the UFW's policy is still

mixed. The political confusion within the UFW on how to deal with undocumented workers and the Immigration Service has limited the effectiveness of this activity along the border.

In part the UFW effort in Yuma County was conceived of as a short term publicity demonstration to back up the UFW's call for a strengthened border patrol to remove the "illegals."

But it also represents the possibility for a shift in the disastrous UFW policy on deportations. Many workers and UFW staff on the

borders found that the most effective way to win support from undocumented workers was by explaining the strike, coupled with some cases of militant action to discourage those who would scab away.

Even Chavez has indicated some shift in his position. In a speech to the striking lemon workers, Chavez stated:

"We are not necessarily against the 'illegal.' What we are against is the scab. If an 'illegal' supports our struggle then let him come in and we will more than welcome

GOVERNMENT TERROR CONTINUES

Indians Attacked

Following the dismissal of charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means, the most recent Wounded Knee Offense/Defense newsletter summed up the present condition of the American Indian Movement, its victories and its losses:

"At Wounded Knee 1973 we reminded America that the Indian People were still here, and that genocide, though taking different forms, was also still here. Now, sixteen months after the liberation, America seems to have forgotten.

"There was a hope that the trials we have not invested close to half a million dollars in could educate this country about the issues Wounded Knee raised. We hoped that we could let America know what its government was doing to us, and that when the truth became known perhaps the citizens of this country would demand justice for its native people. This was a naive hope.

"The trials have been largely ignored, with what little attention the media has paid limited to the St. Paul leadership trial. The New York times puts us on page one when our famous lawyers are jailed, but has little room for Sarah Bad Heart Bull."

The statement goes on to say that the victory in St. Paul could even have been in the best interests of the government, rather than the Native American cause.

"It gave us a 'victory,' proving the courts are fair and gives credibility to the same system that has been waging war against us for a hundred years.

But in the trials of the "non-leaders" of Wounded Knee and the ranks of the American Indian Movement in Custer and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, far away from the glare of publicity, the judicial mill will take its vicious toll. Three Native Americans have been convicted. More probably will be.

"After our people have been the subject of armed attack for refusing to honor racist judges, and after it has been proven time and time again our people are held in



1890-1973

WOUNDED KNEE



contempt every time they enter a courtroom, it should be clear that our independence will not be won through this country's judicial system. AIM's National Chairman,

John Trudell, said it best: 'They use the law today like they used the cavalry years ago. They are using the law to destroy us.' 'It's time to move.'

FARMWORKERS TALK UNION

[The following is from an account by one of the participants in the UFW Yuma "scab patrols":]

SAN LUIS, Arizona—it is easy enough to cross the border. In the city there is a chain link fence with several holes in it and under it. In the country there is only a three-wire barbed fence that represents no obstacle. In some places there is a shallow river to wade across.

We had tents along the border and most of the night we patrolled the area. Whenever we thought we detected a flitting shadow or a sound we would shout into the darkness, in Spanish, "Go back! There is a strike here!" and "Abajo con los Esquireles!" (Down with scabs!). One Mexican worker was caught. We talked to him and he returned.

There were no threats to call la Migra. The striking farm

workers had a real sense of comradeship with the Mexican workers on the other side of the border, partly through the family and personal friendship ties that cross the border.

On Sunday morning the UFW held a religious service at the border fence with several hundred strikers on one side and about 150 Mexicanos on the other with the theme that "we are all brothers."

When we woke on Monday morning there were 15 Mexicanos on the other side of the border waiting to talk. They had traveled all the way from Southern Mexico where word had been spread, they said, that jobs could be had by crossing the border into Yuma. But they had not been told about the strike.

We talked to them about the strike, shared our breakfast with them and they returned.



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UAW Locals Blast Three Year Term

by Richard Estes

DETROIT—Auto workers in several UAW locals have voted down an increase in the term of office of their stewards and committeemen. In most cases these victories have come despite the efforts of local union officials to extend the terms.

Last June the International leadership railroad through the UAW Convention a measure increasing its own term of office from two to three years. In addition, it raised the terms of local officers, commit-

teemen, and stewards.

The Convention action provided that officers elected before the Convention this year could extend their term retroactively to three years if approved by a local union meeting. It also permitted locals to retain the two year term for committeemen and chief stewards.

One of the most successful fights to retain the two year term for these offices occurred at UAW Local 235, the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit. There the Gear and Axle Justice Committee,

a rank and file caucus, gathered 1000 petition signatures demanding a membership vote on the issue.

The Justice Committee argued that the three year term meant a decrease in the workers' ability to control their officers, and therefore less ability to control their union.

Local 235 President George Robertson scheduled a vote at the September 15 membership meeting. When he was defeated there, he refused to accept the vote and scheduled a membership referen-

dum instead. But he lost that too. Even more workers showed up, voting to retain the two year term by a margin of 3-2.

At Local 51, Detroit's Lynch Road Assembly and Mound Road Engine plants, two rank and file groups successfully defeated the three year term. The United Coalition (Mound Road) and the Concerned Rank and File (Lynch Road) leafletted the plants to build support. At the September 15 vote, the workers rejected the three year term 75-48.

When the local leadership realized it was going to lose, President Tony Janette tried to confuse the issue by claiming the vote was only on making the three year term retroactive for officers elected earlier this year. But the ballot asked only whether members were for or against extending terms to three years. The membership was clear; they were against it.

Rank and filers won another victory at Local 25, the General Motors Assembly Division plant in St. Louis. Local President Ed Lavin called a special meeting to vote on extending the terms of all previously elected officials to three years.

Oppositors were successful, however, in mobilizing and rejecting Lavin's proposal by 100-1.

Other attempts to force the issue of the three year term to a vote have not all been so successful.

The Voice of Chrysler Workers (VCW) caucus at Detroit's Dodge Main plant got 2000 members of Local 3 to sign petitions against the three year term. Local president Joe Davis scheduled a vote, but also planned a general mobilization of his followers.

Davis sent out registered letters to all members of local committees to be at the local hall just before the September 29 union meeting. The VCW was not as successful. Only 80 of the 2000 workers who had signed the petition showed up. As a result the three year term was approved.

The Tool and Die Unit of Local 600 at the massive Ford Rouge plant in Detroit voted to reject the three year term. The UAW International Executive Board refused to accept this vote, however, because the entire local had not rejected the extension. But the UAW Constitution specifically gives local unions and bargaining units the right to decide.

Local 212 President Hank Ghant told members of the United National Caucus at Detroit's Mack Avenue Stamping plant that he would hold a membership vote on the three year term before the November elections for chief stewards and committeemen.

But at the October local meeting, Ghant reversed himself. He said no vote would take place because not enough members from all five plants in the local had asked for one. The fight at Local 212 continues.

The victories on the three year term issue at some plants, and the continuing fight at others, are important steps in building a rank and file movement in the UAW. Militants have been able to show that victories can be won. The Woodcock machine and its local flunkies can be beaten.

Victories in this fight over the three year term are laying the basis for bigger victories later on. □

Boston Race Tensions Mount

BOSTON—A short calm was shattered this week, and Boston is poised on the brink of a race war.

A crowd of white adults and teenagers in South Boston attacked a black motorist going to pick up his wife from work, dragging him from the car and clubbing him in full view of the police.

This act was the last straw for many blacks. The following Tuesday, black teenagers attacked white motorists and damaged cars in Roxbury.

In South Boston ("Southie"), Tactical Police Force officers clashed violently with residents, in one case returning to a bar to settle the score after an earlier confrontation.

Schools and bars in both Roxbury and Southie were closed for two days. In response to the crisis, Democratic Mayor Kevin White called for the presence of federal marshalls. His request was denied by Federal Judge W.A. Garrity, the author of the controversial busing order.

Tom Atkins, NAACP chief in Boston, demanded federal troops

in the way of equality for blacks—unequal allocations of money, allowing black schools to physically fall apart, frustration of any efforts at community control, refusal to hire black teachers—finally led to the busing suit.

Black people represent 17% of Boston's population, but 40% of the children in public schools. The main reason for this is that large numbers of white children are sent to private parochial schools.

The public school system itself is a disaster—not just for blacks but for all working people.

While the Boston school system is composed almost entirely of students from working class families, the region's educational system is class-biased and backward even by national standards.

THE CRISIS

It is clear that the crisis of public education in Boston is a dual one. Besides the poison of racism and segregation, the school system is deliberately structured to destroy the potential of all working class young people. A multi-racial working class coalition fighting the school system, demanding better schools, would be in the interests of everyone.

This coalition is exactly what Boston's black community wants. At every point in the struggle, however, they have been rebuffed by whites who should be their allies.

As a result, the black community accepts busing—not solely as a tactic aimed at better education for their children, but as a first step toward forcing a common struggle for better schools. In the absence of a strong community control movement, busing appears to blacks as the only remaining possibility for forming such a coalition.

Garrity's busing order applies to 18,000 of the school system's over 90,000 students. Specifically the order called for busing 8510 whites and 9762 blacks to intermediate and high schools. Elementary schools were exempted from the busing order.

Many spokesmen for the white anti-busing movement argue that they are not racist, but are concerned with maintaining the cultural homogeneity of their communities against intrusions by "big government" and "outsiders."

Black people recognize that these claims are bogus. In the past attacks on black students were common, if only random. What has now appeared is a racist lynch-mob syndrome, in which even the Ku Klux Klan, with its long history of anti-Catholic violence (and Southie's whites are mainly Catholic) receives a welcome response.

Screaming "boneheads" and "kill the niggers," the white



White woman escorted out of mob into Boston police van.

Workers' Power



Black student being held and attacked by Boston police.

crowds have made it impossible for black children to walk the streets.

In this context of violent physical repression of black people by roaming mobs, it is easy to understand NAACP leader Atkin's call for protection by federal troops.

IN FLUX

The background to racial crisis in Boston goes deeper than the schools. With an official unemployment rate of over 10% in Boston,

those school graduates fortunate enough to get jobs go into service and laboring jobs, or if lucky, civil service.

In the past the right connections could land whites a job. With federal guidelines now requiring at least some preferential hiring for minorities, these connections are now becoming worthless—or at least, so many whites think.

At this writing, the situation is in rapid flux. Relative calm one day may turn into mass rioting the

next. Neither the city nor the courts have come up with any solution so far. And it is not at all clear that they can. □

(An excellent packet of resource materials is available from the Massachusetts Research Center, 3 Joy St., Boston, MA 02108. Called "Project: Boston Desegregation," it offers a complete history of the desegregation dispute. It is a first-rate compilation. \$1.00 should cover the cost of mailing.)