

Workers' Power

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NIXON'S REGIME TOTTERING

Prime time TV on October 20 was interrupted by an extraordinary special bulletin: breathless reporters, posed against the White House as a backdrop, announced the arrival of the greatest crisis in American politics in almost 100 years.

Nixon's weekend "massacre" -- his sudden ouster of Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Deputy Attor-

ney General William Ruckelshaus -- provoked a massive outpouring of public anger and the first serious moves toward the impeachment of a President since 1868.

When Nixon reversed himself the following week and agreed to turn over the tapes Cox had subpoenaed to Judge John Sirica, he succeeded at least in slowing the rush toward impeachment. But the general political crisis he created is still growing.

Whatever the final outcome

of this latest chain of events -- whether Nixon is impeached, resigns or is allowed to "tough it out," whether Gerald Ford becomes President, or House Speaker Carl Albert gets the nod, or some kind of Democratic and Republican coalition government is set up -- one thing is already obvious: no solution to the basic problems of American politics will be adopted, or even sought.

In the immediate aftermath of Nixon's purges, a whole ros-



ter of liberal leaders and presidential aspirants hurried forward to demand impeachment. California Senator John Tunney denounced the President's "monstrous action." Ed Muskie charged, "It smacks of dictatorship."

Ted Kennedy called the firings "a reckless act of desperation," and asserted: "It is obvious that Mr. Nixon is bent on maintaining the Watergate cover-up at any cost. The burden is now on Congress to nullify this

historic insult to the rule of law and to the nation's system of justice."

And yet, for all their proclamations of high moral outrage, the liberal politicians are just as upset as Nixon stalwarts about the present crisis. Their whole political lives are based on preserving public trust and confidence in the system that created Watergate in the first place.

Fallen Facade

The Watergate scandal is a threat to both liberals and conservatives, both Democrats and Republicans, because it has stripped away some of the facades that hide the reality of American politics.

To begin with, Nixon may have been the first to use electronic bugs, agent provocateurs, spys, sabotage and similar repressive measures against the Democratic Party. But the same basic techniques -- and much worse -- have been used against radicals, blacks, and labor militants for decades. Moreover, Nixon's agents learned their trade while rigging elections, overthrowing governments and propping up reaction all over the world in the service of American imperialism.

Imperialism Comes Home

Nixon's break-in at the Democratic Party National Committee's headquarters wasn't some strange perversion unique to his Administration -- it was merely the chickens of repression and imperialism come home to roost.

In the second place, when Hunt and Liddy's team got busted, Nixon organized a systematic,

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Cease Fire In The Mid-East ... Until The Next Round Begins



The so-called Middle East cease-fire arranged by the U.S. and the Soviet Union brings no peace to the Middle East. At best, it amounts to an unstable armed truce between the occupying Israeli armies and the forces of Egypt and Syria.

Another round of diplomatic haggling, maneuvering and backstabbing is next on the agenda, while the super-powers supply both sides with tanks, planes and rockets for the next war.

The major concern of the super-powers is to assure their control of the oil pipelines. Either side will be more than willing to shed the blood of Arabs and Jews if it strengthens their hand.

Even while Kissinger threatened to mobilize American troops in the name of "peace," the maps were being drawn up to plan the next war.

In the first two days following the cease-fire, Israel simply continued its invasion of the West Bank of the Suez, cutting off Egyptian forces. Israeli generals innocently declared that this was nothing but incidental "tidying up on the cease-fire lines." Men and supplies poured in to reinforce and enlarge the West Bank operation.

In 1967 Israel hoped to exchange seized Arab lands for peace. Today, Israel is depending on the seizure of even more Egyptian and Syrian territory to

trade off in exchange for keeping the conquests of 1967. This strategy only intensifies the conflict.

Peace in the Middle East can never be won by military conquest or by imperialist deals imposed from above. Only revolutionary action from below of Arabs and Jews can solve the crisis of the Middle East, granting self-determination to the Jewish masses and rectifying the wrongs done to the Palestinian people.

The statement by Israeli and Palestinian socialists opposing this war, which we reprint on page 9, points the way toward the only real solution. ■

Prisoners Union Calls Slowdown p.6



Editorial

KISSENGER ALERTS THE WORLD

As if the possible impeachment of a President were not enough news for one week, the nation awoke on October 25 to find what was billed as a spectre of nuclear confrontation hanging in the air over Washington.

Alleging that the Russians had threatened to send troops into the Middle East, United States military forces were put on a world-wide "precautionary alert" -- the first of its kind since the Cuban missile crisis.

Then, as suddenly as it had begun, the new crisis abated. Russia joined with the US in supporting a United Nations resolution barring the major powers from participating in a UN force to police the Mideast cease fire.

News analysts were quick to pick up on a certain air of phoniness that surrounded the whole incident. It quickly became obvious that nothing like the Cuban missile showdown had in fact taken place, that no real threat of nuclear war had existed.

At their subsequent news conferences, both Secretary of State Kissinger and President Nixon found themselves in the position of having to deny repeatedly that the whole alert had been called simply to divert attention from the Watergate/impeachment crisis.

"It is a symptom of what is happening to our country," said Kissinger, "that it could even be suggested that the United States would alert its forces for domestic reasons."

The truth is that the US-Russian confrontation was in fact a manufactured crisis and that there was a close relationship between this global publicity stunt of Kissinger's and Nixon's Watergate mess -- but not the relationship that the media first suspected.

The US alert was called, not to divert domestic attention from Watergate, but to prove to the world that -- despite Nixon's problems -- American imperialism was still strong, self-confident and prepared to act to defend its interests.

Kissinger feared that the crumbling of the Nixon administration, the domestic paralysis of the government, would create the impression internationally that US imperialism was losing its grip. His alert was calculated, not only to dispell that impression, but also to encourage the press and liberal politicians to join him in shoring up America's imperialist credibility.

"It is up to you, ladies and gentlemen," he said at his press conference, "to determine whether this is the moment to try to create a crisis of confidence in the field of foreign policy . . ."

Kissinger's appeal went over very big in Congress. If anyone doubted that the Democratic Party liberals were fundamentally committed to defending the interests of American capitalism, the response of the Democrats to Kissinger should dispell their doubts.

Senator Muskie led the rally around the imperialist banner. "No one," he threatened, "should misinterpret the domestic strains of our democratic system as offering an opportunity for foreign adventure at our expense . . ."

As if to underline the fact that American power would not be undermined by the crisis of confidence in the US, Kissinger pointed out at his press conference that Nixon did not even participate in the decision to call the alert. Nixon the next day tried to claim that just the opposite was the case, that he was firmly at the helm of the State -- but few people believed his version.

Overall, the intended message came through loud and clear: Presidents may come and go, but the system stands.

Free Busses For Seattle Businessmen

"We now have free bus transportation in the US." This has been a recent statement in the press and on nationwide TV. It refers to an experimental free-ride set-up in Seattle, Washington, that went into effect September 9. For the first time anywhere in the US people can ride busses free.

But there's a hitch -- in fact several. The free rides are limited to a seven block by fifteen block area in downtown Seattle -- the shopping and financial center of the city. Outside of this area rides still cost 20¢ or more.

Also, this new "service" is not exactly free, since the city government is subsidizing it from the general fund -- to the tune of \$64,000. This money comes from taxes like sales tax which hit working people and the unemployed hardest.

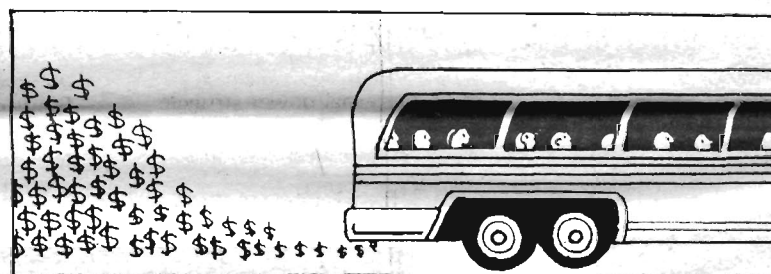
Who wanted the free rides? The Downtown Business Association and the incumbent mayor who is up for re-election in November and is running scared. Business will gain a lot if it can draw shoppers back downtown

and keep them moving from store to store. The free bus rides are nothing more than a gimmick designed to do this.

Official publicity for the free rides scheme has focused on the beneficial effects of having fewer cars and therefore less pollution in the downtown area. But with very little parking available -- and none free -- on the periphery of the free bus area, people still drive as much as ever to downtown Seattle.

And since the free bus plan is designed to aid downtown businesses rather than workers and other commuters, the free bus plan does not even include the high density residential area surrounding downtown where bus transportation is vital and heavily used already.

The price of mass transit in all major cities has sky-rocketed in the last few years, placing an ever increasing financial squeeze on working people. And the only free bus system in the whole country is designed to help line the pockets of Seattle businessmen. ■



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Farmworker-Teamster Pact In Trouble

Kevin Bradley

Internal fighting in the Teamsters Union seems to have prevented the pact ending the warfare between the United Farm Workers and the Teamsters from going into effect. The pact was negotiated between George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO for the United Farm Workers, and Frank Fitzsimmons, head of the Teamsters Union.

It seems that Jimmy Hoffa, in his attempt to replace Fitzsimmons as head of the Teamsters, is backing William Grami of the Western Conference of Teamsters in his attempt to stop the pact.

Hoffa Hasn't Changed

Hoffa, former head of the Teamsters, was railroaded to prison by Robert Kennedy in an attempt to break the strength of the Teamsters. Although a tyrant, Hoffa had a reputation for delivering the goods, and for some Teamsters the reputation had some truth to it. It definitely wasn't true for the tens of thousands of Teamsters organized under sweetheart contracts, however.

By backing Grami, Hoffa proves that he hasn't changed. In his struggle to get back to the top, he'll make whatever deals are necessary, selling out the future of the farmworkers on the way.

Bill Grami engineered the first raid against the United Farm Workers in 1966. The giant DiGiorgio Corporation allowed his Teamster organizers to enter the fields when United Farm Workers organizers were

banned. At that time Grami came out for the reactionary Ronald Reagan for Governor of California.

Einar Mohn is the head of the Western Conference of Teamsters. He supported Governor Brown and was appointed by him a regent of the University of California. Mohn is a liberal in the Teamsters hierarchy, and at one time spoke of attending the Labor for Peace Meeting in St. Louis, but chickened out when Fitzsimmons put the heat on.

It was Mohn who told a college student that farm workers weren't ready for a union because they were Mexican-American and other racist garbage.

Grami is challenging Einar Mohn for the head of the Western Conference. Grami is attacking Mohn from the right, accusing him of trying to sell out Teamster contracts because Mohn is willing to drop the raid on the United Farm Workers. Mohn has always collapsed under Grami's attack.

Hoffa is allied with Grami, and Fitzsimmons seems to be supporting Mohn. Because of this internal power struggle the Teamster-Farm Worker pact seems to have been tied up.

Conservative Bureaucrats

Meanwhile at the AFL-CIO Convention in Florida, George Meany appointed a committee to investigate the question of strike sanction of the United Farm Workers struggle. It is to look at a request from the United Farm Workers for an endorsement of the boycott "in terms of possible effects on other unions and their membership."



California cannery workers support UFW strikers

Meany's committee includes James Housewright, president of the Retail Clerks, Lee Minton, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers, Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meat Cutters, and Mort Brandenburg, president of the Distillery Workers. All of these union heads have clashed with the United Farm Workers before over the strike and boycott, so their appointment to the committee is not accidental. Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers, is also on the committee.

Both the Retail Clerks and the Meat Cutters have members in supermarkets that are picketed

by the Farm Workers and have protested that farm worker picketing throws these members out of work. The Meat Cutters have a bigger role in agriculture.

Its Local 78 has organized packing shed workers in cantaloupes, tomatoes, pears and most importantly lettuce. During the Salinas lettuce strike a few years ago the local stopped work for one week in the lettuce cooling plants. Since then it has complained about the farm worker boycott.

The Glass Bottle Blowers make bottles, many of which are used by wineries and thus are affected by the Gallo, Franzia, and Guild wine boycotts. They

too have protested previous farm worker boycotts.

The leaders of all these unions are so busy wheeling and dealing in smoke filled back rooms, protecting their turf or what they narrowly conceive to be the interests of their members, that they have forgotten an elementary truth: the successful struggle of one group of workers advances the interests of all.

United Struggle

Instead of fighting each other, these unions could fight together to better conditions for all workers in the food and related industries.

The United Farm Workers could help the Meat Cutters organize the packing shed workers in California. Most of the fruits and vegetables picked in California and Arizona go through the packing sheds before being sent to markets. Packing house workers may be hard to organize since many wives of small growers work there, but so do an increasing number of Chicanos.

United Farm Worker organizers could make a lot of difference to a Meat Cutter organizing drive.

A strike by those workers would be a severe blow to the growers. Unfortunately the leadership of the United Farm Workers has never seen the strategic necessity of organizing packing shed workers as part of organizing field workers.

In the past the United Farm Workers have clashed with the Distillery Workers over the wineries. In 1966 the United

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Black Income Linked To Black Mvmt.

All sweet talk by politicians aside, recently published census statistics show that the economic position of blacks in the United States in relation to the rest of the population is deteriorating.

The Census Bureau's study, entitled *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1972*, discloses that:

* Black family income is declining in comparison to white family income. Across the nation, black families make only 62% of what white families earn—down from 64% two years ago.

During the late 1960s, the trend was the opposite, with black income sharply increasing during the years of the ghetto uprisings.

* Poverty, officially defined, among blacks is rising rapidly while declining significantly for whites. The official government poverty line of \$4,275 for an urban family of four, although not an adequate poverty defi-

nition, is useful for comparison.

Under this definition, more than one-third of all blacks are now poor, compared to only nine percent of the whites. In the past year, 300,000 blacks have been added to the "poverty" category, while 1.6 million whites got out of it.

* Unemployment among blacks is rising again, after declining in 1970 and 1971, and has climbed above the 2-1 ratio. Nonwhite unemployment now stands at 9.3 percent, compared with 4.1 percent for whites.

Two factors are most immediately responsible for the fact that the relative increase in black income of the late 1960s has now been reversed.

There is the problem created by the combination of racism and the capitalist economic system. When the economy goes into its periodic crises and a recession hits, blacks get hit first and worst with layoffs and unemployment.

Also important is the decline

in the black movement. When blacks were organized fighting for jobs, housing, schools, and the necessities of life during the 1960s, the relative position of blacks in this society began to improve. The decline of that movement has allowed the trend to reverse again.

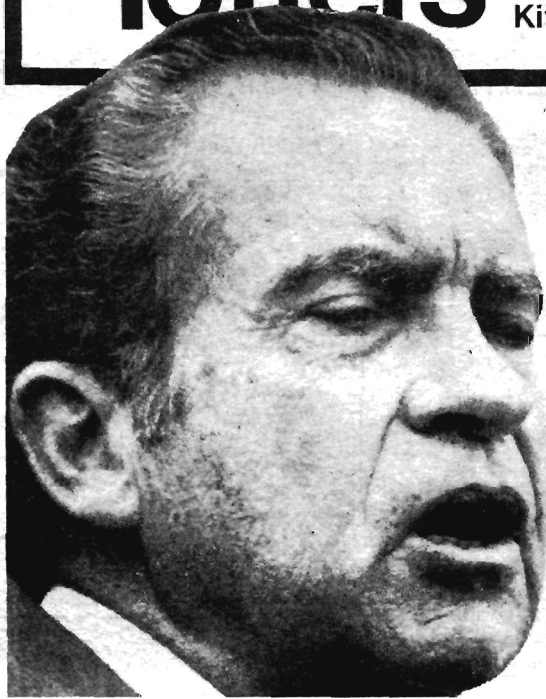
There is, finally, a third factor which is significant only in a symbolic sense, and that is the attitude of the government. The government now openly does not care about the position of blacks in the United States.

Under previous administrations, politicians were forced to play around with problems of discrimination and unemployment. Small gains were in fact made through government action, but only as a result of the ongoing struggle of black people. Once this movement lost steam, the attitude of the government quickly reverted to public indifference. ■



Nixon Regime Totters

Kit Lyons



[Continued from page 1]

well-financed, top level conspiracy to obstruct justice -- the Watergate cover-up that quickly overshadowed the original break-in as a focus of the scandal.

It may seem ironic that a Law and Order administration would not only break the law but also try to hide the fact, but it's not. The legal system works to defend the status quo. Laws are tools to keep ordinary people in line.

Those at the top have always

felt free to flaunt the laws at will, but most of the time they don't have to bother: what they want to do -- exploitation and oppression -- is perfectly legal, while fighting back against exploitation and oppression is not.

The Tapes Crisis

Finally, Nixon's handling of the current crisis illustrates a third lesson about American politics.

For months, Nixon battled the attempts of the Watergate

Committee and Prosecutor Cox to gain access to his secret tapes. His pretext was a defense of "Presidential confidentiality" but obviously what he was defending was the President himself -- few doubt the tapes will support the testimony of John Dean and others that Nixon was the architect of the cover-up.

The "compromise" he proposed to the Watergate Committee, Cox and Judge Sirica was a heavily-edited synopsis of the tapes, "verified" by his good friend Senator Stennis. Nixon seems to have actually had hopes that the Committee and Courts might accept this proposal and end the controversy altogether. But the larger purpose of the compromise was to manufacture a pretext for dumping Cox.

When Richardson and Ruckelshaus refused to go along with axing Cox, the maneuver blew up in Nixon's face and created the impeachment furor, forcing Nixon to agree to turn over the tapes. But Cox was dumped, nevertheless.

Why was Nixon willing to give up the tapes, after fighting for so long to keep them secret? Why was he so frantic to stop Cox, even at the cost of releasing the tapes?

New Cover-up

In the first place, the evidence of the tapes will probably not be conclusive -- only nine tapes have been subpoenaed in the first place, and even if they aren't simply doctored, the terms of the Appeals Court's decision permit Nixon to delete anything important to national security. Since Nixon identifies his security with that of the nation, Sirica may well discover that most of the hard stuff has been bleeped out of the tapes he finally receives.

But more importantly, it seems clear that Nixon's sudden decision to end his cover-



FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL ELLIOT RICHARDSON

up of the tapes was itself an attempt to cover up still more damning revelations that Cox was on the trail of when he was fired.

Wholesale Corruption

The evidence already in hand indicates that Nixon is guilty of the same sort of corruption as Vice-President Agnew, but on a grand, national scale -- of income tax evasion, misappropriation of public funds for personal use, extortion of illegal contributions, soliciting and taking kickbacks, manipulating government agencies to help his friends and hurt his enemies.

For example, in exchange for certain favors involving his gambling empire in Las Vegas, billionaire Howard Hughes donated \$100,000 in cash to Nixon in 1969 and 1970. Cox's investigators believe that the contribution facilitated Nixon's purchase of his vast estates in Key Biscayne, Florida and San Clemente, California. Nixon then used tax payers' money to refurbish

and decorate the estates, using "security modifications" as his pretext.

The Hughes contribution was funneled through Nixon's long-time best friend, Bebe Rebozo, a Florida real estate speculator and banker. Nixon meanwhile had ordered the Treasury Department to preserve Rebozo's banking monopoly in Key Biscayne, a small, wealthy community on Florida's Gold Coast. Rebozo's Key Biscayne Bank and Trust not only made a fortune while providing shabby service, he also acted as a fence for stock stolen by the Mafia.

More recently, Cox discovered that Rebozo is the administrator of a million-dollar "private investment portfolio" built up for Nixon out of large unreported, illegal contributions from corporations. Nixon not only has paid no income tax on all this secret wealth, he has also avoided paying taxes on his bloated known income by using a gift of his vice-presidential papers to the National Archives as a gigantic tax write-off.

Milk, the Mafia, ITT

Cox was also investigating a 1971 deal between Nixon and the dairy industry. Leaders of the milk trust made contributions totalling \$2 million -- in exchange for an increase in government milk price supports that netted the industry between \$500 million and \$700 million.

A similar deal was struck between the White House and the carpet industry. In exchange for campaign contributions, moves to establish federal carpet flammability standards were quashed. No information is available, of course, on how many people may have lost their lives in fires to fill the coffers of Nixon's re-election machine.

And, of course, no accounting of Nixon's schemes would be complete without mention of the deal made with ITT in 1971 or his other links to the Mafia through the Teamsters Union, both of which have been discussed in previous issues of *Workers' Power*. But even so, what we have referred to is only the tip of the iceberg.

Nixon's gang not only ruled with a heavy hand, they plundered as well -- while concentrating power in the White House, Nixon was also using

The Roots Of Watergate

Attempting to shield himself from what he has called the Watergate "firestorm," Nixon has time and again made the charge that the entire scandal is no more than a political maneuver.

The members of the Senate Watergate Committee, he asserts, not to mention former Special Prosecutor Cox and Judge Sirica, are out to get him -- not because he is a crook, but because they disagree with the policies of his administration. The Watergate scandal, Nixon implies, is being used by self-seeking liberals to frustrate the democratically-expressed will of the American people (that is, to overturn the outcome of the 1972 election).

Well, it was indeed representatives of the famous "Eastern Liberal Establishment" -- the *Washington Post*, which kept running stories on Watergate when everyone else was trying to forget it, and Judge Sirica,

who pushed the Watergate burglars to start talking -- that first brought the scandal out into the open. But what they have ended up with is not what they bargained for.

Until the Watergate uproar began to make a shambles of his Administration, Nixon had been busy with an unprecedented concentration of power in the White House. Every capitalist country has seen a gradual shift of power away from representative bodies like Congress toward the executive branches like the President, but Nixon raised this trend to a brand new level.

He vetoed many Congressional appropriations, thus undermining the basic source of Congress' power, the pork barrel. He launched a campaign of intimidation against the press and the TV networks. He set up his own secret police, and at the same time moved to take personal control of the CIA and the FBI.

He was in the process of vir-

tually abolishing the Cabinet. His Committee to Reelect the President so manipulated the election in 1972 that both the Democratic and Republican Parties became almost irrelevant at the Presidential (that is, national) level. And of course, he continued the War in Vietnam after not only a majority of the American people but also most of the ruling class was opposed to it.

What the liberals had in mind when they began stirring up the scandal was simply to place certain limits on Nixon's concentration of power -- to clip his wings a little. What they failed to anticipate was the popular response to the investigation.

Nixon's supposedly record-breaking mandate of 1972 turned out to be as shallow as it was broad. His victory was based on McGovern's lack of credibility, on a near-record number of people not bother-

ing to vote at all, and on racism and fear.

The Senate investigation had barely begun when a tremendous well of public unease and discontent began to rush up through the Watergate cracks. Watergate quickly became a symbol of the general decline of American life. Popular disgust with Watergate became an outlet for all the bottled up anger everyone feels about inflation, urban decay, speedup, about the multiplying ills of American society.

It is this aspect of the situation that has made it so difficult for the Democratic Party and other liberal politicians to come to grips with the crisis -- the whole thing has gotten completely out of control.

The ruling class and its liberal representatives may find themselves forced to get rid of Nixon to contain the crisis. But as he heads for the door they can truthfully pledge, "This has hurt us as much as it did you."

that power to amass a personal fortune.

The point is, this too is nothing new with Nixon. Like repression and the use of the law for injustice, corruption is, in Agnew's words, a "standard practice" of capitalist politics.

That's one reason why up until recently Congress has been leary about even talking about impeachment -- they have the goods on Nixon, but he no doubt has the goods on many of them. They are guilty of many of the same sorts of things as Nixon. They just haven't been caught yet.

For example, the same Howard Hughes who gave \$100,000 to Nixon also gave \$50,000 to Hubert Humphrey. Nixon's industrious agents long ago compiled dossiers on all the important figures in US politics. No doubt there is enough dirt on file in the White House to build a life-size model of Mount Everest on Capitol Hill.

What Next?

From the moment the scandal began to get out of hand, the common concern of capitalist politicians of both parties has been how best to bring it to an end, how best to restore confidence in the government, to rebuild the illusions and despair that sustain American politics. They are afraid the real truth might come out -- the fact that Nixon's not really the one, that the whole system of capitalist politics is to blame.

What will happen now? It seems unlikely that impeachment will be chosen as the best way to end the crisis. A protracted, bloody struggle is exactly what they don't want -- more and more of the real truth would come out, public confidence in the government, already near re-

cord lows, would be further demolished, the credibility of US imperialism could be undermined all over the world.

Even worse, an impeachment struggle might trigger what has so far been lacking throughout the Watergate affair: the independent intervention of the American people. From the point of view of the capitalist politicians, this would be the greatest disaster of all.

They have made every effort to steer each new phase of the scandal into safe, official channels; a mass movement in the streets, demanding the ouster of the Administration, must be the secret nightmare of every member of the government.

They have done all in their power to focus the debate on all the small questions -- which witness is less of a liar, who should hear how many tapes, who

seemed to indicate that he wants to be allowed to "tough it out," and he might be allowed to do just that.

After all, US business until very recently has been enormously pleased with Nixon's performance; he got the best possible settlement in Indochina, he put across wage controls and trade realignment, boosting prices and profits to record levels, he encouraged speedup and productivity drives on the part of many corporations, he helped beat down the black community and harassed the radical movement.

The Congress seemed prepared to phase out the scandal some time ago, until Alexander Butterfield, a former White House staff member, blurted out the secret of the tapes and put new life in the investigation.

Furthermore, no plausible, charismatic Mr. Clean has yet



should appoint a new independent prosecutor -- instead of the big ones, like what sort of system makes a glorified gangster the President of the United States?

Nixon's latest press confer-

stepped forward as a replacement for the President. Gerald Ford was acceptable as a replacement for Agnew because no one could imagine such a conservative zero ever running for President.

Kennedy is the leading liberal, and as an heir to his father's fortune, has never needed to go on the take himself. But the lingering public suspicion about Chapquidick has held him back from a forthright move to capitalize on Nixon's woes.

Crimes Continue

Nevertheless, unless Sirica and the new special prosecutor come to Nixon's defense and take charge of the cover-up, the evidence against Nixon seems likely to mount so high that he will have to be gotten rid of before any attempt can be mounted to rebuild the image of the government.

Thus, Nixon may soon find himself following the footsteps of his former Vice President into obscurity. If Nixon is to be forced out, they will want it done quickly and quietly. For that matter, plea bargaining could be going on right now, Nixon offering, like Agnew, to fade away quietly in exchange for not going to jail.

But whatever the outcome the ruling class and their representatives in the Congress and the courts decide upon, whatever happens to Nixon and whatever well-advertized superficial reforms are instituted, the cover-up will continue. Whatever compromise is arrived at, it will be designed, not to punish the criminals, but to secure the continuation of their crimes. ■

Labor and the Nixon Crisis: More Hot Air

One major labor leader after another has added his voice to the chorus demanding impeachment. The delegates to the 10th biennial convention of the AFL-CIO voted unanimously that Nixon should either resign or be impeached. The UAW's President, Leonard Woodcock, issued exactly the same kind of call.

Only Nixon's hand-picked labor toad, Labor Secretary Brennan, and his faithful Teamster friends, Frank Fitzsimmons and Jimmy Hoffa, have failed to come out for impeachment.

But all these indignant labor bureaucrats have done no more to build an alternative than the liberal politicians. They are tied hand and foot to the Democratic Party. Their primary concern, like the politicians, is just to get the crisis over with by whatever means necessary and restore peace and quiet to the American political system.

The problem is that it is the capitalist political system that is responsible for Watergate. Nixon

must go, to be sure -- but both the political parties that defend the system should also be thrown out.

If future Watergates, future cover-ups are to be prevented, what must be built is an independent political party of the working class, a party that represents working people and blacks, not American capitalism. If the labor leadership were serious about solving the problems of American society, instead of just papering over the crisis, that is what they would be fighting for.

As a first step, a Congress of Labor should be called to plan a response of working people to the crisis. Members of the Senate have begun investigating the possibility of throwing out the results of the 1972 campaign and calling special new elections. A Congress of Labor could make sure this possibility becomes a reality, and organize a slate of candidates responsible to the labor movement. ■

GERRY FORD: NIXON'S NEW SPIRO AGNEW

Karen Kaye

Gerald R. Ford, Republican Congressman from Michigan and an ex-college football hero, is President Nixon's nominee to replace Spiro Agnew as Vice-President. He was carefully chosen to please everyone and to place a clean spot on Nixon's tarnished record.

Because he denies aspirations to the Presidential race in 1976, he poses no threat to other hopeful Democrats or Republicans. He is regarded as clean and free from corruption, and has always been a loyal Republican doing all he could to support his party.

In the atmosphere of scandal created by Watergate, however, his record was combed through as soon as Nixon named him as Agnew's successor. It was found that he did not report \$11,500 in contributions to his 1970 re-election campaign. He admits that he "forgot" to, but claims that it was legal nonetheless.

Whether or not this will become a big issue is not yet clear, and probably depends on the political situation as the time for his confirmation draws near. So far, the press has not emphasized the incident.

But whether or not Ford is "clean," one thing is certain: as a loyal Nixon supporter and capitalist politician, he has already committed many crimes against working and poor people and can be expected to attempt more.

His voting record shows that he is anti-labor, anti-black, and

anti-Left. For example:

He opposed:

* The 1965 voting rights act which resulted in massive black voter registration in the South.

* Repeal of section 14 B of the Taft-Hartley Law which allows "right to work" laws (open shops).

* Medicare.

* Rent subsidies.

* Increased funding for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Model Cities and public works.

* Cutting off funding for bombing Cambodia in June of this year.

* Busing to achieve racial balance in public schools.

He supported:

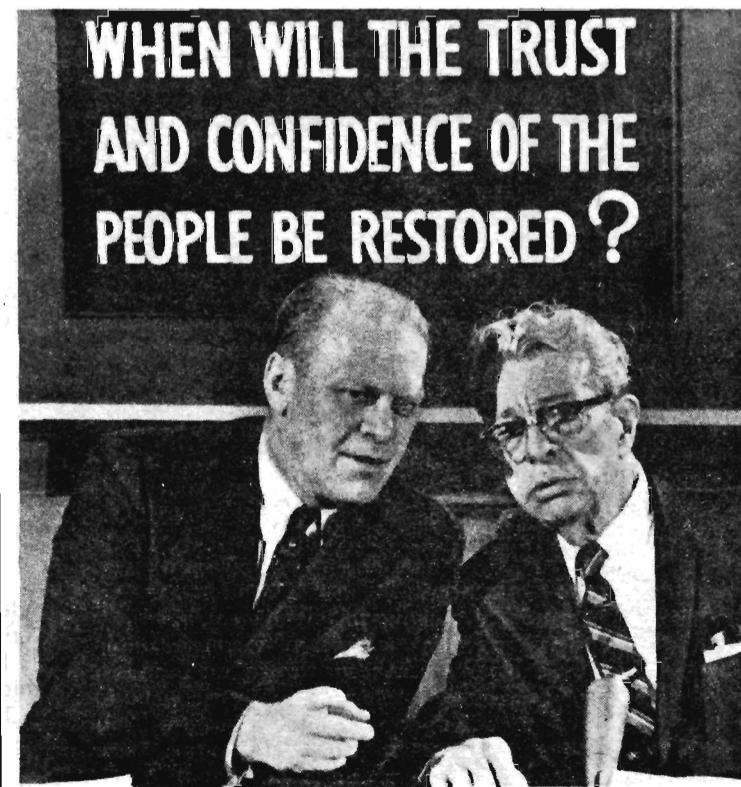
* Continued funding of the House Internal Security Committee.

* A bill to expand the powers of the Subversive Activities Control board.

* All the wage control measures, Phases 1-4.

It doesn't matter if characters like this are corrupt or not. They rob working people and minority people in bigger ways all the time by supporting the capitalist system.

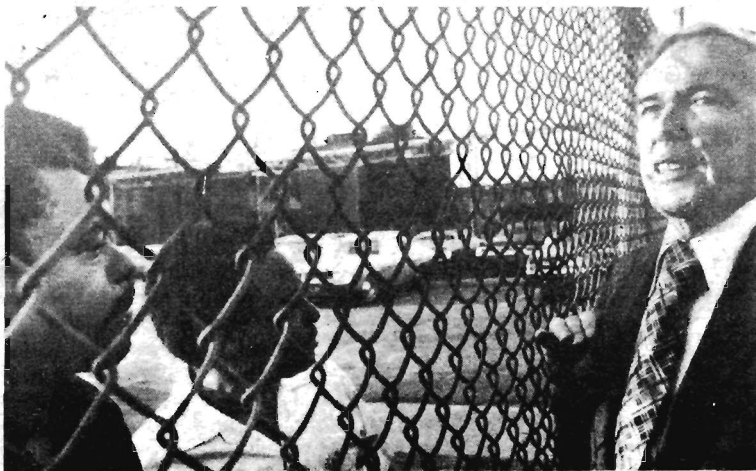
If Gerald Ford becomes Vice-President, and possibly even President it won't be precisely Four More Years (precisely three and a quarter) but it will be more of the same. Gerald Ford is one of the few politicians who have publicly stood behind the President, scandal after scandal after scandal. ■



GERALD R. FORD

Chrysler UAW Local Fights On: "This Contract Stinks"!

Beth Cady



The UAW's Douglas Fraser talks with workers at Chrysler's Lynch Road

UAW Local 51 at Detroit's Lynch Road Assembly plant is one of the few Chrysler locals that has not yet signed a local (supplementary) contract with Chrysler management. Lynch Road workers have in fact rejected proposed local contracts twice.

Ironically, the leadership of Local 51 was in a great hurry to negotiate its supplementary agreement. It was the first of the Chrysler locals in the U.S. and Canada to settle, reaching agreement several days before the national strike began.

The 1970 supplement had been a very weak one. One that didn't even have minimal protection against the deteriorating conditions of the plant.

The new agreement was no change from the previous one. A few changes here and there in wording but nothing more. When the agreement was first presented at the ratification meeting after the national strike was over, the shop committee was shouted down by union members screaming, "This agreement stinks. Go back to the

table." The final vote was 380-142, a clear mandate to return to the table.

For several weeks the membership heard nothing but rumors about the status of the agreement. Even the stewards were left in the dark by the local officers.

In mid-October the veil of secrecy was lifted and workers learned that management had refused to return to the table and ordered the local to get the agreement ratified no matter what.

The local leadership conducted a hard sell campaign on the same agreement and set up another vote. Much to their dismay, the contract was now rejected by an overwhelming margin of 4 to 1.

Up to this point the local leaders didn't take the matter of renegotiating seriously. The members at Lynch Road told them once and have now told them again that they better take the matter seriously.

As of yet the local has not received a strike deadline al-

though the ranks have demanded a strike. The International claimed that there is nothing strikeable in the package and so no deadline. Yet the plant is crawling with health and safety violations.

In the past, no strike authorization from the International was needed after a nation-wide strike, since local unions did not return to work until local issues were settled.

This year, the UAW leadership was so concerned about keeping Chrysler's production going, that it sent all the locals back to work before local supplements were signed. At that time they promised that if local settlements were not reached, no new strike authorization was needed. Promises, promises!

The Local 51 leadership is now feeling the squeeze from all sides—management, the International and the workers in the plant. The ranks have clearly said that they want an agreement that deals with the problems in the shop—not one that ignores them. ■

The nation's coal miners are angry. Wildcats in the mines now number over 100 a month. The Eastern Associated Coal Co., alone, had 72 strikes at its eighteen mines from January to June.

On August 16, five thousand miners struck eleven mines in Ohio and West Virginia demanding that a foreman be fired. The strike began at North American Coal corp.'s Quarto No. 4 mine near Clarrington, Ohio after a young miner was killed in a roof fall. The Local union, 1785, blamed the death on the foreman who allowed unsafe conditions to continue.

According to a union official the strike spread because, "State and federal officials won't have

this man removed. The laws pertaining to this aren't being enforced.

Four other North American mines in Ohio were struck, two Consolidation Coal mines, and those of four other companies. It was a solidarity strike directed against the government as well as against the company.

The strike was victorious as the foreman was suspended after 5000 miners were out ten days.

Many strikes are over the job posting procedure, like the strikes at five Consolidation Coal mines in northern West Virginia involving 2000 miners. Job openings had been posted at the North Branch Mine, but the company said no one was qualified.

The companies' ability to de-

cide on who is qualified may be a big issue when the contract comes up next year.

Many other wildcats are over safety and the companies' handling of absenteeism, but almost every article in the contract has been the cause of a wildcat. Classification, pay rates, vacation pay, birthday pay, and jurisdictions have all been the object of strikes.

Twelve wildcats occurred in one district in 1972 over access road conditions, and many were over the state of the bath houses. It is obvious that miners are hopping mad about every aspect of their lives and are using direct action to do something about it. ■

Coal Miners Angry; Wildcat Wave Growing

Kevin Bradley



Gay Liberation Wins Victory In Seattle

Shelley Cooke



On October 17, Seattle, Washington became the first major city in the US to make job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation illegal.

The City Council didn't think up the provision on sexual orientation in a void; in fact, they didn't think it up at all. When the hearing was held on a new Fair Employment Practices ordinance, the City Council chambers were filled with gay liberationist activists who introduced the provision and had to convince the Council that it should be included.

While the City Council was considering the ordinance, a person was fired from Legal

Services (a federal agency) because he was openly gay and active in gay liberation. City employees who were trying to organize a caucus to fight against discrimination of gays had to work underground for fear of losing their jobs.

The city police also were stepping up their harassment of the gay community. Arrests of gays increased sharply. A lesbian was stopped for speeding and instead of giving her a ticket the police decided to beat her up and break her arm. Increased raids on gay bars were carried out with more verbal and physical abuse than usual.

The gay community responded

by sending out their own squads to patrol the parks and keep an eye on the police. A picket line was set up in front of the police department demanding an end to harassment. With this kind of pressure overt abuse subsided.

While it may be a small step forward for a major city to make job discrimination against gays illegal, it was only through organizing and fighting that this was accomplished. It was only through the demonstration that police harassment was reduced. And it will only be through continuing the struggle and building the movement that the law will be enforced and new victories won. ■

UFW

[Continued from page 3]

Farm Workers struck the Pirelli-Minetti Co. of Delano.

At an AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting the head of the Distillery Workers complained to Meany that the farm worker strike and wine boycott was throwing his union members out of work. Chavez, who was at the meeting, pointed out that the winery workers at Pirelli-Minetti were not even organized.

Meany checked and finding Chavez correct, sanctioned the strike.

The United Farm Workers successfully helped organize the winery workers at Pirelli-Minetti into the Distillery Workers.

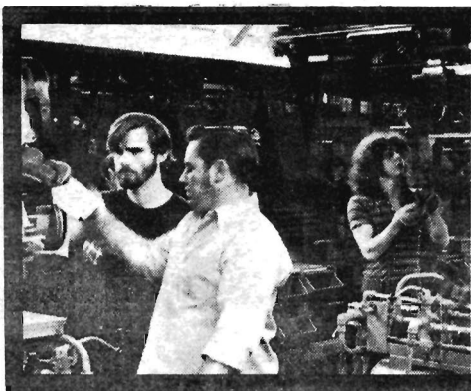
It is not known yet whether Meany will give in to the objections of these unions to AFL-CIO endorsement of the boycotts or will use the committee to force them into line. It is clear

that all efforts must be made by rank and file union militants to demand endorsement of the farm worker strikes and that the Teamsters immediately sign the pact they have negotiated. The provision allowing the Teamsters to keep the lettuce contracts until they expire should be dropped.

To make the endorsement mean something, the unions

must put some muscle behind the boycott, including large financial contributions and refusal to handle struck products. ■





Labor In Brief

Detroit: Teachers' Union Accepts Binding Arbitration

The leadership of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) has brought its bitter seven-week strike to an end by agreeing to binding arbitration on the crucial strike issues of class size and teacher pay.

Two other questions that had been blocking final agreement on the arbitration scheme were won by the DFT. The Board of Education agreed to "study" (that is, drop) its demand for teacher accountability—a fancy phrase which meant one thing: arbitrary Board control over teacher discipline.

The Board also gave in on the question of damages, agreeing not to hold the DFT responsible for operating expenses during the strike. Under a court ruling, the Board had the option to do

this, subjecting the teachers to expenses of up to \$2.5 million.

The arbitration settlement prompted bitter opposition from a large minority of the union's membership and leadership. Teachers see both of the issues submitted to arbitration as vital: they have not received a pay increase in two years, and class size in hundreds of classrooms is over the already-high "target" in last year's contract of 36 students.

The DFT's executive board approved the arbitration agreement by the narrow vote of 9-8. Over 40% of the rank and file teachers voted "no." Immediately after the vote, meetings were scheduled to organize the opposition.

Although school is not likely to be interrupted again this year in Detroit, there will surely be a fight within the union, and everything will be up for grabs again next year. It is not only the DFT's contract with the Board

which will expire then, but also Mary Ellen Riordan's term as President of the DFT.

The fight is still going on in dozens of smaller school districts around Michigan. Teachers in over 70 districts are working without contracts, with strikes breaking out periodically.

The great weakness in the wave of teachers strikes in Michigan this year has been their isolated character. Teachers in Highland Park and Hamtramck obeyed court injunctions because they didn't feel strong enough to fight the courts alone.

Detroit teachers accepted a less than satisfactory settlement in part because they were isolated.

In coming years, one of the most important goals the opposition in the DFT should set for itself is united action of all Michigan teacher locals in their contract bargaining.

Woodcutters strike fights injunction, hardship

In spite of mounting economic hardship, 3000 black and white woodcutters have maintained their solidarity and continued their strike against paper mills in Mississippi and Alabama.

Fred Walters, president of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA), told *Workers Power* that his members were continuing to abide by the terms of an anti-picketing injunction issued in Alabama state court several weeks ago. He stated however that the court action was "really hurting."

Walters said that the union would like to defy the injunction, but since the GPA has no money at all, it would be unable to get its members out of jail or to defend them against the consequences of breaking the injunction.

As of yet, there have been no negotiations between the paper mills and the GPA. Several of the wood dealers (who buy wood from the cutters and sell it to the mills) have indicated their willingness to meet some of the GPA's demands.

Walters told *Workers Power* that the union has so far avoided talking to the wood dealers because it would like to eliminate them and deal directly with the paper companies.

Borden says nerve disease is "no undue hazard"

A nerve disease that affects the use of arm and leg muscles has hit 138 of the 950 production workers at the Columbus Coated Fabric Division of Borden, Inc. in Columbus, Ohio. Company officials have responded to this epidemic by asserting that no "undue hazard" exists at the plant, and that they would not voluntarily close the plant.

Local 487 of the Textile Workers has recommended that its members stay off the job, and with very rare exceptions they have done so.

No cause has yet been found for the disease, although various chemicals at use in the plant are suspected. The disease can cause the loss of control over arms and legs. It is not yet known whether this will be temporary or permanent.

Workers at the plant criticized the state health department for its timid action. A professional toxicologist found the ventilation and sewage systems there to be "completely inadequate," and recommended that the plant be closed.

Dr. John Cashman, head of the Ohio Department of Health, admitted the problem. "The whole occupational health area is almost like you're on top of a volcano," he said. "You don't know whether it will erupt or not."

Rank And File Notes

I.W. Abel, President of the Steelworkers, is featured in a two-page ad in recent issues of major national news magazines. The ad is headlined, "I.W. Abel tells how America can become more productive."

Abel lauds his union's cooperation with the steel industry and says that although labor wants "more" wages and fringe benefits, "labor also knows that to obtain more, we must produce more." He deploras speedup, but calls for a program of "cutting down on excessive absenteeism, tardiness, turnover and overtime."

The ad was paid for by the United States Steel Company.

Times change dept.: New York's lame duck Mayor John Lindsay was recently honored by the leadership of that city's Transport Workers Union. Matthew Guinan, president of the local, commented, "I think John Lindsay has done a good job." Lindsay replied by describing Guinan as "one of the best union leaders in our town."

Guinan was sent to jail by Lindsay in 1966 during a transit strike which kicked off Lindsay's first term in office.

The National Maritime Union has been forced to sell its headquarters building in New York City due to the union's desperate financial situation.

The NMU treasury has been hit not only by a drastic decline in union membership, but also by raids on it by the union's officers. Recently retired president Joseph Curran, for example, is trying to collect a pension of one million dollars. The NMU headquarters, which is shaped like a passenger ship, will become a hospital.

The Supreme Court has taken jurisdiction of a case involving welfare benefits for strikers and will make a ruling on this issue during its current term. A suit by two New Jersey companies that were struck by the Teamsters in 1971 argues that the meager welfare benefits allowed to families of some of the strikers amounted to state subsidization of strikes.

Workers at General Motors' Lordstown Assembly plant found it necessary to make their feelings known to management again when they didn't come back from lunch October 19th. Hot issues at the plant now are compulsory overtime, suspensions handed out to several committeemen, and the arrest of four pickets at a plant gate by county sheriffs.

Real Wages Plunge As Profits Set Records

If you're earning more money but enjoying it less, you're not alone. The buying power of US workers' paychecks has been steadily declining over the past year, even as the total amount of their income has been increasing.

Between October of last year and this August, the average weekly pay of private, non-supervisory workers rose from \$139.13 to \$145.43. At the same time, buying power -- take home pay after the effects of taxes and inflation are removed -- fell from \$97.49 to \$94.34, based upon 1967 dollars.

What this indicates is a drop in the standard of living of the US worker of 3.2 percent. It contrasts sharply to the 31.6 percent second quarter increase in profits for the six hundred major corporations.

It also differs dramatically from the situation in other countries. Wages and fringe benefits for Japanese workers have risen 241 percent in six years; in West Germany 155 percent; while in the US only 47 percent.

The decline in "buying power" for US workers is especially striking when compared with the time of the last major downturn in the buying power index. That was during the recession of 1969-70, and buying power fell by \$1.19 then during a twelve month period.

The decline this year is 2-3

times as great, and comes during a period of unprecedented economic boom. No greater proof is needed to show that it's the workers who are financing this year's record profits of business and industry.

Leaders of the AFL-CIO and the major unions know this quite well. As of late, they've even begun to talk about it a little, saying how terrible it is that the government's economic policy is encouraging this trend.

Meany, for example, charged the administration with "utter incompetence" and said that, "Its economic policies are destroying the living standards of millions of American families."

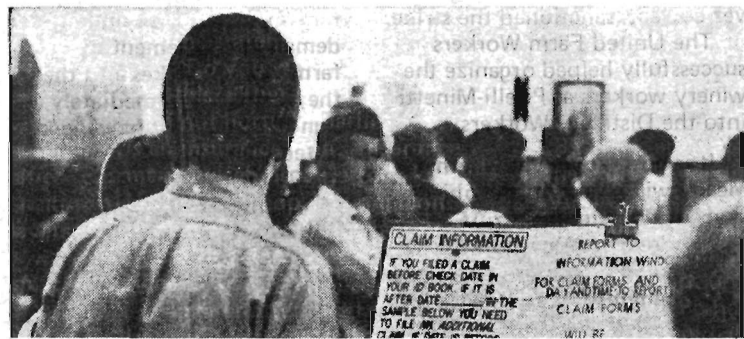
Yet George Meany, I.W. Abel, Leonard Woodcock, Frank Fitzsimmons, and Paul Hall continue their cooperation with this administration that is "destroying the living standards of millions of American families." These labor leaders have not even had

the guts to resign from their wage-controlling positions on the Cost of Living Council's Labor-Management Advisory Committee.

The point is, while Meany and company talk loud at times, they will not do anything at all about the attack on workers' living standards unless they come under extreme pressure from the rank and file.

That pressure may, however, be on the way. Few workers will continue to listen seriously to all the talk about the necessity to work hard, produce more, and help maintain America's economic position, while one by one their national leaders are hauled off to court and found to be the biggest crooks of them all.

Fewer workers still will listen to such talk when they are increasingly hard pressed to stretch their budget to make ends meet.





U.S., RUSSIA IMPOSE TRUCE IN MIDEAST

David Finkel

On October 21, Washington and Moscow agreed on a cease-fire for Israel and the Arab countries. Henry Kissinger and Andrei Gromyko announced that the fourth Middle East war was over. All that remained was for the two sides to stop shooting at each other.

Seventy-two hours later, American troops throughout the

world had been placed on alert for a possible military intervention in the Middle East. The pretense was a claim by Kissinger that intelligence reports showed a possible buildup of Russian forces.

For the first time since Brezhnev quietly allowed Richard Nixon to mine the harbors of North Vietnam (an act which led to Kissinger's being awarded the Nobel "Peace" Prize), the United

States and the Soviet Union seemed to be moving toward the brink of a direct showdown.

Meanwhile, the cease-fire had gone into effect in name only. Israeli forces, after announcing their acceptance of the cease-fire, went on as if nothing had happened. Arms, supplies and men raced across the Suez Canal as Israel cut off the Egyptian Third Army on the East Bank and seized as much new Egyptian territory as it could occupy.

Within a few days, Israel had gained a military victory and thrown the original cease-fire terms into chaos.

Phony Crisis

With the American government nearing a state of paralysis as the Watergate crisis ripped Nixon's administration apart, its ability to impose a settlement on its own terms was thrown into question. The Israeli invasion roared out of control, fully equipped with U.S.-supplied planes and tanks delivered directly to the front lines. Fears mounted that the United States was becoming directly mired in a new Vietnam in the Middle East.

Then almost as suddenly as it began—the panic ended. Nixon proclaimed, behind his best toothpaste smile, that his administration had brought a peaceful resolution to the Middle East closer than at any point in twenty years.

If, as seems likely, the U.S. government whipped up a phony "crisis" as an excuse to threaten the use of naked military power, it would hardly be the first such episode in Nixon's career. But in this case Nixon, now a lame-duck president waiting for the final Watergate ax to fall, seemed to be a silent rubber stamp for Kissinger and the interests directing U.S. foreign policy.

Kissinger's aims were primarily political rather than military. First and foremost, he was putting the Soviet Union and other world powers on notice that, with or without Nixon, the American government still exists and remains prepared to enforce its imperialist interests.

In this case those interests are to maintain control of the Middle East, through maintaining Israeli military superiority and friendly relations with Saudi Arabia.

Russia wants to end American dominance of the Middle East, not for the benefit of the Arab

masses but to gain control over the oil pipelines herself. The USSR recognizes that control of oil from the Middle East means control of a knife pointed toward the jugular vein of Europe and Japan—and in a few years, towards the U.S. itself.

That knife is slipping from the grip of the imperialist ruling classes of the United States and Western Europe. Russian imperialism has stepped

in to make a grab for it through its military support for the Arab states against Israel.

As a result, the U.S. and its NATO allies have begun to fall out among themselves over the re-carving of Arab lands and realignment of political influence among the super-powers in the Middle East.

The Arab rulers are not fighting for the liberation of the Palestinian people. In fact, much

Mideast Socialists Condemn War

[The following statement was issued at the beginning of the Middle East war by the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad (ISRACA) and the Israel-Palestine Socialist Action Group. These groups have been organized by Jews and Arabs from Israel and Palestine to fight for a revolutionary socialist opposition to Zionism and to the regimes of both Israel and the Arab countries.]

The present hostilities in the Middle East are not accidental. They flow from the long-standing conflict between two sides—on the one hand political Zionism, aiming to establish a mono-national Jewish state in Palestine (an objective realized in alliance with imperialism), and on the other hand the indigeneous Palestinian Arab people.

The present war, like the previous wars between Israel and the Arab states, is only an extension of that fundamental conflict.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding the opening of hostilities, the basic responsibility for the war lies with the leaders of the Zionist state, who have pursued throughout the conflict—particularly since June 1967—a policy of territorial conquest and annexation, involving large-scale eviction and dispossession of the Palestinian Arabs.

It should be recalled that the present fighting is taking place over territories seized by Israel in 1967.

On the opposing side this war is being fought by the Egyptian and Syrian regimes in order to regain lost territories and prestige, and to salvage their tottering authority at home. In no way can they be said to represent the Palestinian Arab masses, the chief victims of Zionism.

Sadat, the torturer of striking Egyptian workers and students, and Assad [the ruler of Syria], who only a few weeks ago closed down the Palestinian radio station, are in no way entitled to speak for the Palestinians.

All the evidence suggests that these regimes, which already demonstrated their bankruptcy once in 1967, are aiming only at creating the conditions for a diplomatic settlement under the auspices of imperialism—a settlement which can be achieved only at the expense of the Palestinians' interests.

While by no means placing the Arab regimes and Zionist Israel on the same level, we hold that only a thorough-going social revolution, which will overthrow both Zionism and the Arab regimes, can solve the problems of the Arab East including the Palestinian problem.

We, Jews and Arabs from Israel and Europe, declare our solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation, and with those Israeli socialists who refuse to take up arms for Zionism (now being persecuted for this courageous stand). In opposition to chauvinism, expansionism and racism we uphold the principles of internationalism and revolutionary socialism. (October 7, 1973).

How Revolutionary View The Mi

There are at least three major aspects of the war in the Middle East. Although they are often closely interrelated, they must each be examined carefully in order to determine the politics of each specific war.

The first aspect of the conflict as a whole is the national struggle in Palestine—the conflict between the expansionist Zionist state of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs which it has robbed.

In this conflict, socialists clearly must take sides. We are on the side of the oppressed Palestinian Arab nation in its struggle to regain its homeland.

Palestinians and Jews

Israel came into existence after masses of Jews fled from Europe to Palestine. The Western countries had denied entry to these victims of Nazi concentration camps. When the new state adopted the Zionist program for an exclusively Jewish state, however, these oppressed Jews themselves became an oppressor.

The Arabs living in Palestine were driven out of Israel by means of terror, fraud, and robbery. Those who remained were placed under military rule. Again and again, the struggle of these Arabs to regain what is rightfully theirs, and even for basic political rights inside Israel, has been fiercely crushed.

The Jews living in Israel are a genuine nation who have the same rights as any other nation to self-determination. But so long as Israel remains an op-

pressor of the Palestinian Arab nation, no genuine socialist would consider supporting Israel.

The second aspect of the Middle East conflict is the struggle between the ruling class of Israel and the existing Arab regimes. In this conflict socialists must oppose both sides, both of which aim for national conquest and expansion.

Imperialist War

Israel is fighting to retain the lands it stole from the Arab countries in 1967. In fact, what Israel hopes to gain from this war is international approval from the U.S. and Russia for its aims of annexing a part of these territories and turning them into new Jewish settlement areas.

The Arab regimes of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia are in no way fighting for the liberation of the Palestinians. Not a single one of these regime



Saudi Arabia's King Faisal

of the Palestinian liberation movement has already been crushed by these regimes.

Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia did not have the illusion that they could defeat the armed might of Israel (in effect, the United States) by themselves, or even with Russian arms. Their aim was to force *both* of the superpowers to bring about a deal that would remove Israel from some of the occupied territories.

By using oil to pressure the U.S. and Western Europe, and also by threatening to open up the region to greater Russian military influence, Sadat and Faisal hoped to break the diplomatic logjam and weaken Israel's bargaining position.

Shaken Alliance

For Israel this war has brought deepening crisis. Although winning militarily, Israel and her ally the United States have lost politically. All of Western Europe and Japan have broken with Israel leaving her even further isolated.

The Western alliance has been shaken as American allies broke with her U.S. policy. Even Greece and Turkey, Amer-



ican dictatorship satellites, would not allow U.S. planes air space to fly arms to Israel, although Turkey allowed Russia to fly arms to Egypt. And, the U.S. has not been able to check the growing military influence of the USSR in the Middle East.

As the ruling classes of the world jockey and maneuver to advance their own wealth and power, the plight of the Palestinian peoples remains the same. Although fought in their name, this war will in no way advance their cause.

For the Jewish masses this war and the continuation of Zionism, militarism and dependence on U.S. imperialism only further endangers them in a fortified ghetto.

Primary Socialists Middle-East War

has called for an uprising of the Palestinians in Israel's occupied territories. In fact, some Jordanian leaders very close to King Hussein are known not to want their lost territory back, since it is full of Palestinians who are hostile to the Hashemite kingdom—and who remember the slaughter of Palestinians in Jordan by Hussein's army in 1970.

Other Arab regimes have placed the Palestinian guerilla fighters under severe restrictions or even in jail. These regimes only use the Palestinian cause for their own benefit.

The current war began as a conflict between Israel and these Arab states. The Palestinian Arabs, as well as the masses of all the Arab countries, have nothing to gain from the victory of either side in such a war.

Superpower Cockpit

As the war developed, however, the third element in the Middle East conflict came increasingly to the forefront. This element is the tendency for the Middle East to become the arena for the imperialist superpowers.

The military struggle developed as a battle between American arms and equipment on the Israeli side, and Russian missiles and tanks on the other. In effect, the U.S. and Russia have used their clients as a testing ground for the latest models of military hardware.

Without massive re-supplies from both sides, the war itself would have ground to a halt at least a week before the

cease-fire announcement. The massive losses on both sides tended to bring the two sides even more firmly into the orbit of the imperialist powers supplying the weapons.

The presence of the superpowers, however, is even more important politically than militarily. In fact, that is what much of the war is really all about.

The aim of the Arab regimes was to force Russia and the United States to impose a peace settlement. By expanding Russia's military influence in the Middle East, the Arabs hoped to blackmail the United States into breaking with Israel.

This course of action would gain some benefits for the ruling classes and military regimes in the Arab states. It would at least restore some of their tarnished national prestige and strengthen them internally.

No Victory

But the cost of such a "solution" for the Arab masses would be enormous. The Palestinian victims of Zionism would continue to be "non-persons." Instead of achieving greater independence from world imperialism, the Arab countries would be *more* dependent on imperialism—especially as the superpowers maneuver for more influence to balance each other off.

Socialists therefore support neither the Arab states nor Israel in this war. The victory of either side would not advance one step the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

The new Middle East war has touched off a wild scramble for access to Arab oil all over Europe, Japan, and North America. The oil-producing countries have raised prices (six major Middle East nations have raised the world market price of crude oil by 17 percent) and begun limited cutbacks in production.

Fears of serious shortages for heating and industrial use this winter are causing policy strains among US political and military allies.

The country most heavily dependent on Middle East oil is Japan, Washington's most crucial ally in Asia. A cut-off of oil from the Middle East would deprive Japan of 84 percent of its needs and force Japanese capitalism into a ruinous trade war with Western European nations over the remaining world supply.

The crisis has sent Japanese banks scurrying into the Persian Gulf area. They hope to secure a guaranteed oil supply by turning one of the oil-producing states into a Japanese colony.

A consortium of Japanese banks is attempting to float a \$50 million loan to Abu Dhabi, which has large undeveloped oil reserves. The government of Abu Dhabi plans to use this money to help finance the war with Israel.

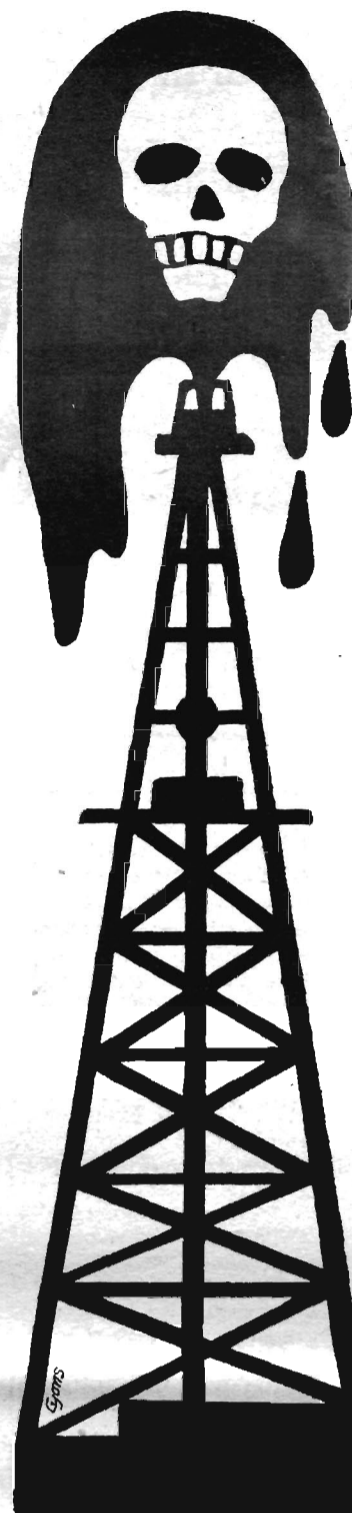
This little item is only a small sample of the maneuvering taking place. European countries like Britain, France, Germany and Italy are afraid that major cutbacks will hurt them far worse than the United States, which receives only 15 percent of its oil and oil products from the Middle East. These US allies are turning against the American pro-Israel policy and adopting an "independent" or pro-Arab stand.

Changing Sides

When the Suez canal was nationalized, fifteen years ago, France along with Britain and Israel participated in an imperialist invasion of Egypt. Today the French Foreign Minister states that "It's difficult to talk of 'Arab aggression' when it's a matter of a state that's been robbed trying to get back its belongings."

By suddenly deciding to be "fair" to the Arab cause, France is keeping in mind the need to protect its oil sources. Last year, when Iraq nationalized the Iraqi Petroleum Company, it didn't touch the French Petroleum Company's share.

Small wonder that Nixon and Kissinger are so anxious to use their new friendship with Moscow to promote a "peaceful settlement"! If the war in the Middle East were to lead to a genuine embargo of Arab oil, Washington's allies would hold the



US responsible for the threat of oil shortages which could cripple every industrial country in Europe.

Even Washington's NATO allies are refusing to allow US planes carrying arms to Israel to fly over their countries. This war lays the possibility of ripping apart America's NATO alliance.

Business Is Business

Friends may be friends, but business is business. And Russia knows that whoever controls the oil of the Middle East will have tremendous influence over the policies of Western Europe, Japan and eventually the US. So, although rich in oil herself, Russia has been arming the Arab states.

The largest of the oil-producing Arab states is Saudi Arabia.

This slave-owning society is ruled by the reactionary King Faisal, who maintains his rule through the aid of the American military.

Saudi Arabia's recent reduction of oil production is designed to increase Faisal's political leverage over the policies of the US and Western Europe toward Israel. At the same time, it is the wealth from Saudi Arabian oil that has been used to arm Egypt with Russian military supplies.

By footing the bill, Faisal gained considerable political control over the Arab states, thus shifting the policies of Arab unity to the right.

Faisal is not fighting for the rights of the Palestinian people, nor is he fighting against American imperialism. He runs Saudi Arabia as virtually a junior partner of Aramco, an American corporation, and is decidedly pro-West.

So although support to Israel has weakened American influence over the Arab states generally, her hand is also strengthened by Faisal's rise to power.

Squandered Riches

The real tragedy of the politics of oil is that the Arab masses receive no benefit from the vast oil riches of the Middle East. These resources could provide the basis for the development of industry, modern agriculture and technology that would provide a decent standard of living for the Arab people.

Although Faisal is building a few roads across Saudi Arabia and building a new government bureaucracy educated in the United States, most of the oil money goes into tens of billions in foreign currency holdings which can be used for speculation in world monetary markets.

The near-panic touched off by even a limited oil embargo shows that the oil resources of the Middle East could also be a tremendously powerful force against imperialism.

Under the existing Arab regimes, however, the oil wealth of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean has exactly the opposite effect. Oil does not serve as a means to secure the liberation of the Arab masses from imperialist domination, but instead helps to make the whole Middle East a gigantic arena for imperialist manipulation.

A socialist revolution in the Middle East is desperately needed to overthrow the existing regimes and place the natural resources of the Arab countries in the hands of the Arab masses. A unified Arab socialist Middle East is not a utopia -- it is the only way to defeat the stranglehold of imperialism over the lands, peoples, armies and wealth of the entire region.

The Politics Of Oil

Why We Need To Build A Revolutionary Party

Chris Harmon

People who moan continually about the apathy of workers forget how quickly this apathy can disappear once workers learn that their activity can bring a real improvement in their conditions. When that happens, they begin to see some point in concentrating their energies on the problem of why society is like it is and how it can be changed.

One day of participation in a successful struggle can make them learn more about society than 20 years of reading socialist tracts.

And when a mass movement of people devotes itself to trying to change society, untold inventiveness and ingenuity reveals itself.

This is what happens in every real workers' movement, from small strikes to revolutions. All the mental effort usually wasted on trying to predict what next week's lottery will be, on a desperate attempt to beat the horses, or simply on trying to make ends meet -- is

suddenly directed to a single goal. The results often take even the most militant and experienced socialists by surprise.

From this, some socialists and anarchists draw the conclusion that there is no need for a workers' party. The working class, they say, will be able to take control of society itself, "without outside interference."

But however quickly workers learn the truths about society and the class struggle, they never all learn everything at once.

Inside a strike movement, there are always passionate discussions as to what policy to follow. Workers throw off the effects of their indoctrination by capitalism at different speeds.

Some see quickly that the only way forward is by relying on themselves and fighting hard against all representatives of big business.

Others learn the lessons much more slowly. They continue to put their trust in what the em-

ployer or the full-time trade union official says.

A few workers are even prepared to support the boss fully by scabbing.

What is true of a strike is also true of a mass revolutionary movement. Many of the same workers who are in practice destroying the power of the ruling class continue to believe that



Chilean Miners

only members of that class are able to run society.

In Germany at the end of 1918 the only real power in society lay with the workers' councils. But the delegates to a conference of these councils did not feel that they were capable of running society.

Instead they voted to hand power back to Labor leaders who were working hand-in-glove with the old army chiefs-men like Ludendorff and Hindenberg, who later gave the power in turn to Hitler.

Again in Hungary in 1956, the workers' councils rapidly became the real force controlling society and organizing the fight against the Russian forces.

But many of their members felt that the government should continue to be run by the more liberal members of the old ruling group.

They put their trust in Imre Nagy, whose chief claim to fame was that he had been made prime minister briefly three years before by the very Russian rulers that the workers were fighting.

And in 1968 in France, a considerable number of the workers who had made the general strike so successful still put their trust in General de Gaulle when it came to an election soon afterward.

Chile

The most recent, and one of the bloodiest, examples has just occurred in Chile. There, the workers who trusted the reform government of Allende to protect their interests, and create socialism without a workers' revolution, are being slaughtered by the military forces which Allende tried to pacify by leaving the workers unarmed.

In such situations it is not good enough for militants to sit back and wait for workers to see through those middle-class politicians who claim to be on their side.

The ruling class does not sit back. It uses all its resources to regain control of its factories and "its" workforce.

It uses its press, radio and TV to put across ideas that divide the workers one against another. It organizes things so that while some workers are lured back to work with marginal concessions, others are left out to be starved into submission.

It bribes some leaders of working class organizations and imprisons others.

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

It is itself highly centralized, with a massive state apparatus at its disposal, many newspapers, massive research organizations and even special "internal bulletins" -- newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and *Business Week* -- where it can discuss its politics in the confidence that few workers will read what is written.

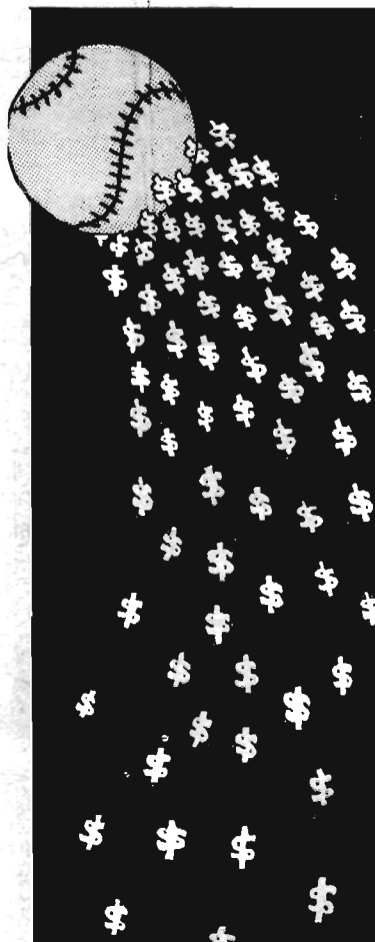
If militant workers are going to win the arguments with their workmates and counter the plans of big business, then they have to be organized as well.

They have to be able to counter every piece of employers' propaganda with propaganda of their own, and to suggest tactics that will lead to unity and victory every time the employers try to divide the workers.

None of this is possible unless there already exists an organization, a revolutionary party, linking together the most militant workers in every factory, mine and office.

Through such an organization, militants can develop the experience of working together and of relating every struggle to the overall aim of overthrowing capitalism.

Only with such a revolutionary party is it possible to ensure that there is a single centralized response from the most militant workers to the employers. ■



Mass spectator sports are supposed to provide a touch of relaxation after a hard day's work. It's comforting to take a beer out of the icebox, flip on the TV, watch a bunch of other guys play a game, and try to forget for a while what its like to work for a living.

Mike Andrews, an infielder for the Oakland A's made a couple of important errors in the second game of the World Series against the New York Mets. He let in three runs in the 12th inning and the Mets won 10-7.

Charles O. Finley, the owner of the A's, was not pleased. He had hired a worker and the worker had not done his job right. Charles O. Finley is a boss. He decided to do to Mike Andrews what a boss does to a worker who does not do his job right. He fired Mike Andrews.

Master and Slave

Finley's attitude just typifies the way in which even high-paid wageearners like baseball players are subject to the same old master-slave relationship that typifies the U.S. capitalist system of industry.

The circumstances were

sufficiently bizarre. Finley summoned Andrews to his office after the game, and gave him a report written by the team physician, Dr. Harry Walker, which stated that Andrews' shoulder was hurt and he would be unable to play any more in the World Series.

Finley hoped by this maneuver to convince the Commissioner of Baseball, Bowie Kuhn, and the Mets' management, to let him activate another second baseman, Manny Trillo, in Andrews' place. Trillo, being new to the A's, had not yet made any errors in Mr. Finley's presence, and was therefore still deemed suitable to cash Mr. Finley's paychecks.

Andrews at first refused to sign the statement and told Finley, "Do you want me to lie and sign this? There is no truth to it. I am not hurt." Charlie Finley is an insurance man. Insurance men get rich because they know how to get people to sign contracts that it is not in their best interest to sign. Andrews signed.

He later attempted to justify his capitulation by stating, "In my opinion, there was no doubt

that if I didn't sign, I would never be in an A's uniform again."

Mike Andrews is not a hero. He is a product of the tight little world of front-runners that advertise on television that "Baseball is a great career." In this world, everyone is the friend of the man who got today's game-winning hit, and his enemy the next day, if he makes an error that loses the game. He reacted predictably--he went along.

For the A's players, it was the last straw. They reacted unpredictably--and fought back. They appeared for practice the next day with Andrews' number (17) taped to their shirtsleeves, and let it be known they were considering a strike, unless Andrews were rehired promptly.

NBC Television had paid a lot of money to televise a game in prime time that night. Bowie Kuhn, the Commissioner of Baseball, and true servant of the network, immediately reinstated Andrews.

If only automobile workers, teamsters, or farmworkers could do their work on nationwide television! Perhaps then their demands could also be won without a strike. ■

Strike Three! A's Boss, Charles Finley, Fouls Out

Emmett Casey

TEAMSTER POWER

Mary Franklin Dugan Wheeler



Left to right: the Dunne Brothers: V. R., Grant, and Miles.

Teamster Power, by Farrell Dobbs, Monad Press, \$2.95. Available from I.S. Book Service.

Teamster Power is the second book in a series on the organization of Minneapolis and Midwest Teamsters in the 1930s. It tells the engrossing story of how the author, Farrell Dobbs, a socialist, and other members of Minneapolis Local 574 successfully organized Midwest truckers into an industrial union and formed the Central Conference of Teamsters.

To do this they had to overcome the opposition of both the IBT bureaucracy and the violence of the trucking bosses.

In a highly detailed, but readable, style, Dobbs examines the transformation of the IBT from a narrow, craft-based union, to a union organized on an industrial basis.

More importantly, Dobbs provides today's Teamsters and militants with a rare description of the struggles of a dynamic and powerful rank and file movement and the role played in that movement by revolutionary socialists.

Master Architect

Even James R. Hoffa, not known as a friend of the left, credits Dobbs with the tactics that made the IBT one of the most powerful unions of its day. "In the labor halls throughout America," Hoffa said, "the name of Farrell Dobbs was more than well-known. It was keenly respected, ... Without any doubt, he was the master architect of the Teamsters over-the-road operations."

It was Hoffa, though, who would later gain power over the union, reaping benefits of the struggles that rank and file Teamsters fought and even died in during the thirties.

From his vantage point as both militant trade unionist and revolutionary socialist Dobbs is able to go beyond the day-to-day events, examining the organi-

zation and practice of the Minneapolis Teamsters; the key questions that enabled them to withstand attacks by IBT President Dan Tobin, and finally beat the determined opposition of the bosses.

Class Struggle Approach

The difference between Local 574 and other unions then, or today, is seen in the preamble to the 574 by-laws (passed by the ranks after the successful strikes of 1934):

"... Striving always for a greater share of the wealth created by his labor, the worker must depend upon his organized strength. A militant policy backed by united action must be opposed to the program of the bosses.

"The trade unions of the past have failed to fulfill their historic obligation. The masses of workers are unorganized. . .

"It is the natural right of all labor to enjoy the wealth created by it. Organized by industry and prepared for the gruelling daily struggles is the way in which lasting gains can be won by the workers as a class."

Democratic Structure

A militant, class struggle attitude on paper is not sufficient however. This belief in the power of an organized working class had to be put into practice. To back up the preamble, the leaders of 574 created the most democratic structure of any union existing at the time.

The rank and file was the ultimate decision making body of the local. Officers, business agents, organizers and shop stewards were elected and subject to immediate recall if they failed to perform their duties.

All officers made the same wage as the membership. Often, Dobbs points out, officers would voluntarily cut their salaries to keep the local financially secure.

To help educate the ranks, train stewards and develop members as leaders, a wide range of classes were conducted for the membership. There was a steward on every job and each con-

tract guaranteed the right of the steward to settle grievances on the shop floor.

To lessen the threat of scabbing that the great number of unemployed workers posed to the union, 574 organized the unemployed into an auxiliary of the union. This put the power of the union behind the struggles of the unemployed for jobs and a decent deal from welfare, and gave the union a fighting ally in the battle for higher wages and better working conditions.

Socialist Unionists

All of these things welded the Minneapolis Teamsters into a movement capable of winning. Local 574 became the inspiration of the entire Minneapolis labor movement.

When the confectionary workers in a Minneapolis candy factory walked off the job over a pay-cut, they marched to the 574 hall seeking help.

The appropriate AFL union was called to send over an organizer and sign-up the candy makers. Picket lines were set up. When the boss at the candy factory heard that 574 was involved, he quickly gave in, granted a raise and recognized the union.

Similar calls for aid came from Teamster locals throughout the Midwest. Organizers from 574 were sent to Fargo, Omaha and many other cities to help lead mass organizing drives in local cartage and teach the embattled locals the tactics which won in Minneapolis. Local 574 was committed to aiding others organize.

They realized their strength was dependent upon the strength and organization of the entire working class.

By the end of the thirties, the entire Midwest trucking industry was organized. Most of the credit for this success goes to the leadership provided by Dobbs and his comrades in the

early Trotskyist organization, the Communist League of America.

Their socialist ideas allowed them to see the fundamental conflict between the needs of workers and the needs of bosses. They fought for the needs of workers, pushing beyond the limits of "business necessity," a cry often raised by the employers.

Equipped with knowledge of the experience of the working class in its fight against capitalism, they were able to cohere and guide all the forces within the union into a combative and unified force.

Dobbs, the Dunne brothers and Carl Skoglund were all socialists before they were Teamsters. They helped begin coal yard organizing which led to the strikes of 1934.

Other leaders and members of 574 became socialists during the struggle because they saw it was the revolutionaries, not the union officials or liberal politicians, who were able to develop strategies that won, without giving up the principles of union democracy.

Important Lessons

Aside from being exciting reading, *Teamster Power* provides today's Teamster militants, small in number and isolated from each other, with some important lessons for building the rank and file movement. Dobbs fails to spell these out and, in fact, makes little attempt to use the history he has reconstructed to provide any guidance to today's rank and file. But the lessons are there, nonetheless.

The strength of the organizing drive lay in the regional and national organization of the militants, and the solidarity they displayed in struggle. Making links between other cities, other unions and the

rest of the left-wing of the Midwestern labor movement was vital to success.

The same is true today. Purely local struggles will not succeed. The movement must be national in scope and membership.

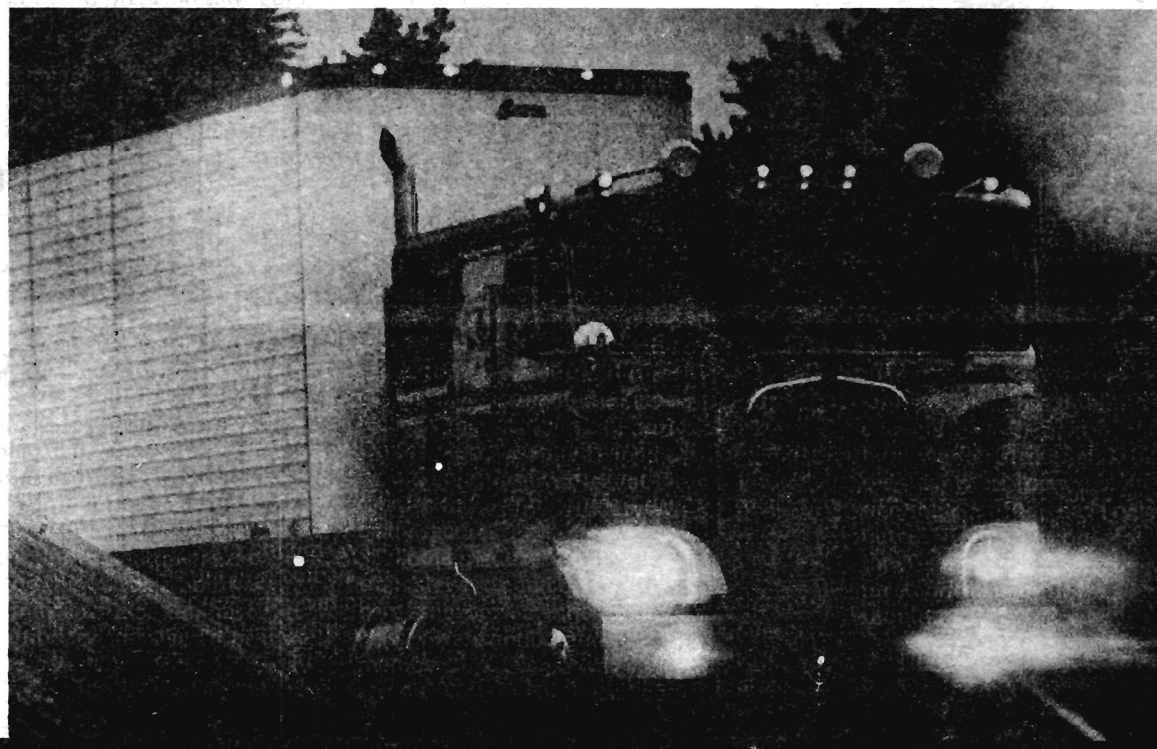
The Teamster bureaucracy had to be won over or neutralized. The leaders of 574 developed a strategy of exposing these bureaucrats, placing them in a position where their "no struggle" policies became clear to the membership and they were forced to either go along with the dynamic new movement or be swept out of power.

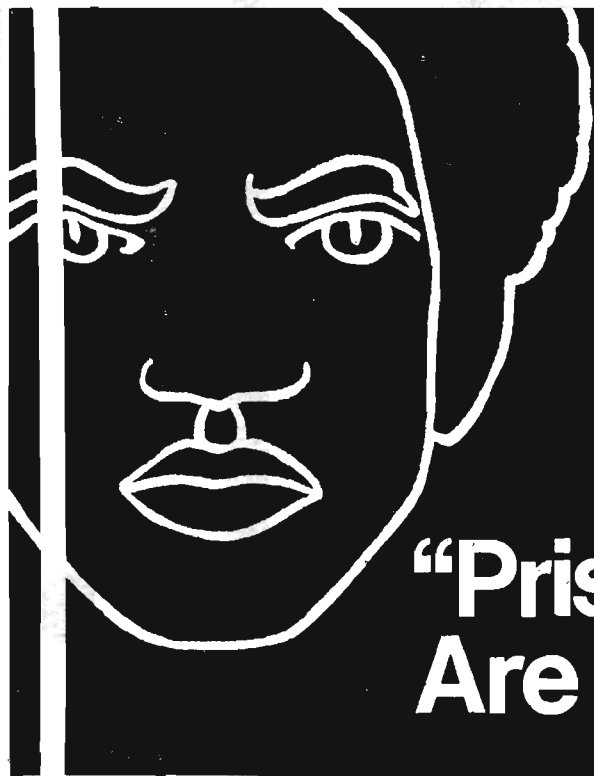
New Impetus

Rather than basing themselves on the old craft lines, the 574 leadership looked to the new and previously unorganized, but militant workers. Because they were not tied to traditional forms of labor organization, they were willing to accept new ideas, new tactics and new politics in order to win. Their inclusion in the labor movement gave it new impetus.

These same sorts of forces exist today among women workers, black workers and farm workers. These workers will be a dynamic part of any rank and file movement that will be built today.

Finally, any movement within the Teamsters Union, if it is to succeed in transforming the character of the union and rebuilding a movement to fight for the needs of the workers, must become part of a larger movement. It is not a fight that can be won inside one union. The fight for union democracy, for defense of workers' living conditions, for an end to racism and sexism and an end to all exploitation and oppression is a fight which must be waged by the entire working class. ■





Monroe Prisoners Union Calls Slowdown

"Prisoners Are Workers"

Prisoners at the Monroe Facility of the Washington State Correction System have found a new way to fight for their human rights. On October 23, the newly formed Washington State Prisoners Labor Union (WSPLU) at Monroe announced a work slow-down. The slow-down is aimed at securing union recognition from the prison authorities.

As we go to press, the slow-down is in its initial stage of organization. Union spokespersons outside the prison report that in the industrial section of the prison, the print shop and the upholstery shop, the slow-down is in effect.

Warden Roger Maxwell, three days after the announcement of the slow-down, admitted to the press that the slow-down was causing problems in the prison.

In response to the slow-down prison authorities are cracking down. Union materials inside the prison are being confiscated, a prisoner was fired because of a pro-union statement issued by

his shop, and other prisoners have been reprimanded and threatened with isolation. The library and shower use of the general population was cut after the slow-down began.

A former Monroe inmate, who is helping to organize the union, was threatened by his parole board after picketing the prison.

Prisoners Are Workers

The slow-down comes after months of organizing by prisoners. More than 85 percent of the 650 prisoners in Monroe are union members. The WSPLU is seeking recognition as "the sole bargaining agent in all matters pertaining to employment, living conditions, and human rights."

Ed Mead, graduate of the federal penitentiary at McNeil Island, and an organizer for the WSPLU said, "It may strike some people as strange that prisoners are trying to organize a union, but prisoners are really workers."

The prisoners at Monroe are

workers. Three-fourths of them have jobs, work from seven to ten hours a day, some earning from 10¢ to 25¢ an hour, most receiving nothing at all. Monroe prisoners repair cars and make furniture; they wash clothes, milk cows, print stationery, and cook.

In the last fiscal year Monroe prison had gross sales of nearly \$400,000 and paid out \$4,000 in wages. The wage situation at the prison was summed up by inmate Ken VanderMeer who said, "A prisoner has to work for four hours to earn enough money to buy a pack of cigarettes."

Long Term Struggle

The exploitation of prisoner labor extends outside the walls as well. Prisoners on work release programs are forced to work more cheaply than other workers and can be forced to scab on strikes. Employers of prisoner labor know that they can return a prisoner if their demands aren't met.

"Prisoners, who are unorgani-

zed," said Ed Mead, "are a threat to workers on the outside. Prisoners compete with other workers at low wages and they can be used to break strikes."

The WSPLU is committed to a long-term struggle at Monroe. The union does not expect that recognition will be easily granted by the prison authorities.

"Recognition," said a spokesperson for the union, "will only come because we fought for and won it. Prisoners have the power, based on the fact that they operate the prison, to obtain their rights as workers and as human beings. The days when prisoners asked for their rights are over, now is the time for prisoners to use their power as workers and fight for their rights."

Failure of Reform

The prisoners union at Monroe is not an isolated example. Prisoners in other parts of the country are organizing unions. The slow-down at Monroe follows the recognition of a prisoners' union at Walpole, Massachusetts. Organizing drives are beginning in nine other states.

Prisoners unions are a response to the failure of liberal reform following the prison re-

bellions of the late 60s and early 70s.

In Washington state, noted for its liberal penal system, the turmoil inside the joint resulted in resident government councils. The councils derived what little authority they have from the prison administration and not from an organized base among the prisoners. Prisoners at Monroe have realized that self-government through the resident government councils is a farce.

In response to union organizing, prison authorities have consciously played off the resident government council against the union. By organizing the union, prisoners are using their own power of organized collective action and not the promise of reform to change the oppressive conditions under which they are forced to live and work.

The situation of prisoners is in many ways different than that of other workers; prisoners are the captives of the state. Only with the help of the rest of the labor movement can prisoners union win. ■

Please send contributions, questions, and messages of support to the Washington State Prisoners Labor Union, P. O. Box 22199, Seattle, WA 98112.



Reagan Revives Racist Death Penalty: Murder Legalized In California

Derek Briscoe

California's right-wing governor Ronald Reagan recently signed a mandatory death penalty into law. This law would require mandatory execution for eleven categories of murder, but would exclude other types.

Killing a single, ordinary citizen out of spite, for example, would not be a capital crime; killing a policeman, possibly even an undercover agent, would be.

The enactment of the death penalty was a victory for the prosecutors, police and right-wing forces. They had been behind the campaign which culminated in a popular vote last fall to authorize California to restore the death penalty. These groups made use of the public's growing fear of criminal vio-

lence to increase the power of the state to inflict terror through the death penalty.

The law, however, faces a long series of court tests. Its mandatory execution provision is an attempt to get around a Supreme Court ruling that there was too much arbitrariness in allowing judges or juries to decide whether a particular defendant deserved to be killed or not.

The Supreme Court has never ruled the mandatory death penalty legal—it has only declared the discretionary one clearly illegal.

In signing the bill, Reagan ordered a study to see if a more "humane" way of killing defendants could be found than California's traditional method, the gas chamber.



But Earl Brian, Reagan's Secretary of Health and Welfare, worried out loud that making death too gentle would eliminate the "deterrent characteristics" of the law. He suggested that the drama of the gas chamber or the electric chair was a needed part of the process.

Lying behind the death penalty campaign is the fear of right-wingers that the state and the repressive machine are losing their authority. The death penalty law is a rear-guard effort to restore, by terror, obedience to a system that less and less commands willing support from the people, especially minority groups and the poor.

It is these groups who are most often victims of capital punishment. The architects of

mass murder throughout the world, such as Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, are never endangered by such laws. Nor are members of the elite tactical police squads in our major cities who make a profession of victimizing and murdering ghetto residents.

These victims of racism and oppression are, however, endangered by the new law, as are those who defend themselves from violence perpetrated by the state.

The increase in violent crime against ordinary citizens is a real problem, part of the crisis of our society. Bringing back the death penalty, however, is no solution: it will not deter crime. It will only punish the victims of this exploitive and racist society. ■

international report



Student Uprising Topples Thai Generals' Regime



On a mid-October day, thousands of weaponless students overthrew the military government of Thailand. After a day of massive student demonstrations, Marshall Thanom Kittikachorn, Thai Prime Minister and military dictator since

1963, resigned and reportedly fled the country.

Almost immediately, Dr. Sanya Thammasak, head of Bangkok's largest university, was appointed Prime Minister by the King. The following day, Dr. Sanya announced the forma-

tion of a new government and promised a permanent constitution within six months. Even before the new Prime Minister announced his plans, the more than 200,000 students heeded his request to disperse and end their "rioting," which included seizures of public buildings and police stations.

When the smoke of battle cleared, several hundred students and civilians were dead. All the shots had been fired by the U.S. trained and equipped Thai army or police. And yet, the generals running the government were gone and the army had withdrawn into the background. For the moment, the army seems to be tacitly supporting the wishes of the King and the provisional government.

In a world where military governments suppress popular movements with all too much ease, it requires some explanation of why the well financed Thai military leaders stepped down

with so little resistance.

One reason for the early withdrawal of the military was the fear of civil war. It was clear that the students were supported by the population of Bangkok. Bus and taxi drivers were transporting students from demonstration to demonstration.

The number of "rioters" shows that more than students were involved. Indeed, one student leader said that he felt the army withdrew because the country was on the verge of civil war—a war the army was not sure it could win. The other side of this is that the military rulers of Thailand have had their own confidence shaken by the political situation around them in Southeast Asia.

Growing Crisis

The military has held power in Thailand for 15 years. American aid has beefed up the Thai army for 30 years. With US support, Thai military leaders have gained control of important parts of the economy, including TV and radio stations, businesses, and banks.

When Kittikachorn's predecessor, Marshall Sarit Thanarat, died in 1963, he was found to be worth 137 million dollars.

Until the late 1960's this military government ran Thailand peacefully as a profitable US military base. But the militarization of the economy and the enormous US presence necessary to make Thailand the base for bombing Vietnam produced problems. Above all, they brought inflation.

A relatively stable landowning peasantry in central and southern Thailand was beset by debt and newly created poverty. Rural disorders grew into guerilla war-

[Continued on page 14]

French Workers Run Factory

Workers at the LIP watch factory in Besancon, France, are continuing their six month strike demanding no layoffs, no pay reduction, and no changes in working conditions. Their militant and tactically brilliant struggle has gained active support from the entire French working class and other European workers.

The LIP workers began a sit-in last June after management announced that the plant would close because continued operations would not be profitable. Even the French commercial press admits that the problem was bad management and the workers were being made to pay.

While inside, the LIP workers kept the plant running for two months, producing high quality watches and selling them through the unions at far lower than normal prices. They managed to keep the plant running efficiently without layoffs, speedup or a reduction in pay.

Finally the government sent hordes of security police to forcibly expel the LIP workers. The eviction was carried out in August -- when most French workers are vacationing -- in an attempt to minimize support for the LIP workers.

But the government's plan backfired. The expulsion did not demoralize the LIP workers, but inspired them to begin a strike, continuing their struggle with even greater determination.

The French government maintains that it cannot find another company to take over the LIP plant unless it guarantees increased profits by laying off a quarter of the workforce and speeding up those "lucky" enough to keep their jobs.

The French Prime Minister has threatened to close the plant altogether unless the workers comply. His threats have had little effect so far.

The various unions involved have argued that the workers should return to work, as it is "irresponsible" to continue the strike. The CGT, led by the French Communist Party, has been the loudest advocate of this defeatist position.

On October 12, the LIP workers voted down the union position of ending the strike by 626 to 174.

The union bureaucrats together with the government and the companies are worried that the LIP workers, by continuing their struggle against any layoffs, will spark other workers to fight for no layoffs in contract negotiations scheduled to begin soon.

The LIP workers have held strong inspiring thousands of workers throughout the world. ■

NAMBIA: AFRICAN WORKERS FIGHT FOR LIBERATION

The past six months have seen a new explosion of African resistance to South Africa's continued illegal rule of Namibia (South West Africa).

Some minor concessions followed a contract laborers' strike in December, 1971 which paralyzed the economy. But since then new restrictions have been imposed on workers' movements, and employers have cooperated to hold down wages.

But the main cause of the present unrest is the South African attempt to divide the country into separate "native nations" -- bantustans.

Ovamboland, the northern area from which most of the contract workers come, was declared a "self-governing" bantustan in May. Protest rallies were suppressed under emergency regulations and ten leaders, including strike leader Johannes Nanguala, were arrested.

Opposition to government policy intensified. A crowd of 1,500 picketed the court where their leaders were held, but they were dispersed by armed police.

Despite many arrests, the

South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) held meetings throughout Ovamboland urging total boycott of the bantustan elections. When these elections were held in August, only 2.5 percent of the 42,000 registered voters cast ballots.

When SWAPO leaders appeared in court the police again baton-charged a crowd estimated at over 3,000. Many were taken to the hospital, and resistance spread to the capital, Windhoek. In the segregated African

township of Katutura, where 24,000 people live, SWAPO youth leaders told a crowd of 3,000 to "fight for your freedom. Do not wait until tomorrow. Start today."

It was the "biggest political gathering that this black township has experienced," said the local paper. Immediately afterwards, police began raiding and arrested several of the speakers at the meeting.

When attempting one arrest the police were met by a crowd of contract workers who at-

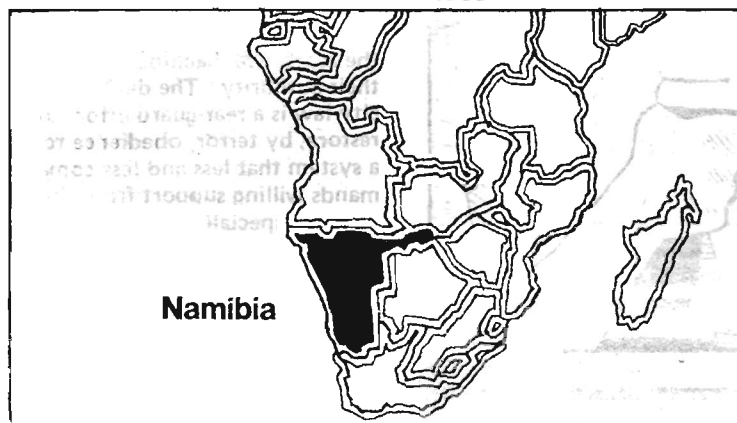
tacked and stoned them and tried to set police buildings on fire. Riot trucks were called in to seal off the compound and 265 arrests were made.

On the eve of South African Prime Minister Vorster's visit to an August rally of the Nationalist Party in Windhoek, a strike was prevented only by the massive intervention of armed police and the army. Leaflets were circulated in Katutura calling for a mass protest against racism, the pass laws and the contract labor system.

According to official estimates, more than six hundred Africans are now in jail in Windhoek alone and another 75 political activists in jail in Ovamboland.

But the courageous resistance is continuing. At the end of August the SWAPO Youth movement issued a statement warning that the "arresting and killing of blacks will only encourage them to intensify their struggle."

SWAPO has threatened to organize a new strike by black workers unless police terror comes to an immediate halt. ■





NEWS

Fund Drive at 29%

Mid-way through its fourth week, the International Socialists' fund drive stood with 29% of the goal collected. The purpose of the drive is to raise \$15,000 for production of pamphlets, equipment for *Workers' Power*, travelling I.S. speakers—the things that are needed to organize a socialist movement.

Recently we have seen both tragedy and farce in the news. The workers' movement in Chile suffered a great defeat with the recent military coup. The U.S.

and Russia have sent billions of dollars of arms to the Middle East—all to the disadvantage of the Palestinian people.

The U.S. government is in chaos with President Nixon on the brink of impeachment. To top it all off, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, engineer of Nixon's Indochina war policies, has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The need for a socialist solution to today's crises is increasingly evident. The world's rulers will continue to commit one

folly after another until they are checked and overthrown by the working class.

The International Socialists are helping to build a movement that can do this. Give us your help, and send in a donation to the fund drive today.

Checks should be made payable to International Socialists, or send a money order to:

International Socialists
14131 Woodward Ave.
Highland Park, MI 48203

Scoreboard

BRANCH	QUOTA	COLLECTED	%
Bloomington	\$ 250	0	0
Champaign	100	0	0
Chicago	1,100	0	0
Cleveland	900	220	24
East Bay	1,500	455	30
Detroit	3,000	1,200	40
Ellensburg	150	0	0
Louisville	200	200	100
Los Angeles	900	90	10
New York	2,400	716	29
St. Louis	250	200	80
San Francisco	500	250	50
Seattle	1,200	152	13
MAL's	650	160	25
National Office	2,000	800	40
TOTAL	\$15,100	\$4,443	29%

Thailand Uprising

[Continued from page 13]

fare in the traditionally poor Northeast. Unemployed peasants flooded the cities looking for work. But the Thai economy, 80% farming and the rest tied to the military, had few jobs to offer.

Furthermore, the massive presence of the U.S. military turned one area after another into a brothel for American soldiers. Things got worse as guerilla warfare in neighboring Cambodia and Malaysia spilled over into parts of Thailand.

Perhaps the military government could have withstood all of this real and potential instability, if it had not been for the gradual withdrawal of U.S. ground troops and, finally, the end of bombing in Vietnam and Laos. To the military rulers of Thailand this meant uncertainty. To students and other privileged civilians of Thailand it meant an opening.

Capitalist Aspirations

In particular, it meant the possibility of a more modern and "normal" civilian regime that could pursue a "normal" economic policy. The students who overthrew Kittikachorn and the professors who took the place of the generals are not radicals, much less revolutionaries. They represent the aspirations of the weak capitalist and middle classes.

Even before the student rebellion, these elements had gotten the promise, though not the reality, of a democratic constitution.

Feeling that they are being abandoned by the U.S., these businessmen, intellectuals, and small time traders hope to establish Thailand as a more independent capitalist power. Many Thai businessmen have already

started dealing with Japanese capital. Others have even indicated a willingness to deal with China.

There is some anti-American feeling among the students because of the humiliation of their country at the hands of American military personnel. But the new government is not anti-American. It is a government representing Thailand's businessmen and small middle classes. The small Thai working class and the masses of peasants remain outside of Thai politics for the moment.

Army in the Wings

The instability of Thailand's economy, of the military situation in the Northeast and at its borders, and of its diplomatic situation mean that the current government is not likely to last—unless the military wants it to last.

The last time a civilian government tried to introduce political freedoms and a constitution, in 1957, workers started organizing trade unions and striking, while left wing parties formed. The army grew impatient and soon imposed a dictatorship. Caught between the pressure of the masses and the still powerful army, Thai capitalists chose the army.

The army is just as powerful today as it was before the student uprising. It stands in the shadows to remind all that too much democracy will not be tolerated.

The tragedy is that a distorted economy and decades of dictatorship have left the working class too weak and disorganized to impose its own democracy on Thailand, and rid that country of its military and imperialist parasites. In the immediate future, the Thai people face continued social conflict and instability.



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Workers' Power

WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM: the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy and the state by the working class. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist," and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis: war, racial strife, pollution, urban decay, and the deterioration of our standard of living and working conditions. This crisis is built into capitalism, an outlived system of private profit, exploitation, and oppression. The capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority that controls the economy and politics alike, perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other — white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal

nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank and file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

The struggle must become political. Because of its economic power, the ruling class also has a monopoly on political power. It controls the government and the political parties that administer the state. More and more, the problems we face, such as inflation and unemployment, are the result of political decisions made by that class. The struggle of the working people will be deadlocked until the ranks of labor build a workers' party and carry the struggle into the political arena.

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party, at the head of a unified

working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers.

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole; the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the US in Vietnam, the USSR in Czechoslovakia), they perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. Socialism — the direct rule of the working class itself — exists nowhere in the world today.

We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic ruling class. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is **WORKERS' POWER**.

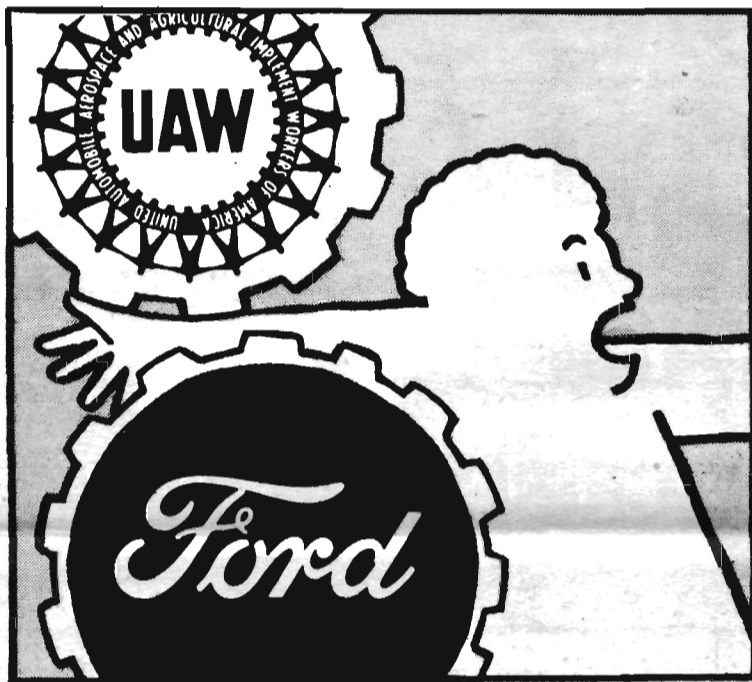
AUTO: FORD SETTLES-- WORKERS WILDCAT

Brian Makenzie

United Auto Workers' negotiators and Ford Motor Co. representatives reached agreement on a national contract at 7:00 a.m., Friday, October 26, three hours before the strike deadline. While the union refuses to reveal the details of the settlement, everyone knows it follows the pattern set by Chrysler a month ago. This would mean a three year contract with a 4 percent wage increase for the first year and 3 percent for the next two years.

Additionally, the Chrysler settlement established "30 and Out" for retirement, i.e., retirement after 30 years of work regardless of age. Most controversial was the settlement on overtime. While UAW leaders claim it limits company rights to force overtime, it allows a forced 54-hour work week and includes numerous loopholes for the company.

There has been considerable dissatisfaction with these terms among Ford, General Motors and International Harvester workers, all represented by the UAW. An ad taken out in the *Detroit Free Press* of October 24 by members of UAW Local 735 warned GM and Ford work-



ers not to "be fooled by the Chrysler Agreement."

The strike committee chairman at UAW Local 6; representing striking International Harvester workers in Melrose, Ill., said his local would not go back to work for "any cheap contract such as they got in Chrysler." Ford workers at seven locations

walked out after the signing of the contract Friday morning.

Ford workers wildcatted at plants all across the country: Detroit; Sterling Heights, Mich.; Chicago; Canton, Ohio; San Jose, Calif., among others. A worker at the Dearborn Assembly plant in Detroit's giant River Rouge complex said they had walked

out "because we didn't know what the settlement is . . ."

There is no doubt that these Ford walkouts are also over local working conditions. The Ford settlement, like the Chrysler contract, does not even cover many working conditions.

In particular, UAW national contracts have done nothing to fight the problem of speedup of production standards. In so far as the union does anything about production standards and speed of work, it is in the local contracts. The UAW leaders, however, ordered the Ford locals not to walk out over local issues until they have exhausted negotiations -- meaning the later the better, and never is best.

By walking out on their own, the Ford workers have shown their disgust with this policy as well as their dissatisfaction with the settlement.

Forty-seven Ford and five Chrysler UAW locals have not signed local contracts yet, in spite of efforts by the UAW leadership to tie things up. UAW President, Leonard Woodcock, who has been running from Chrysler to Ford, to John Deere and International Harvester to settle things, commented that although Ford had settled,

there was "no lack of places to go."

Woodcock's next headache may well come from General Motors, where resistance by the company to the Chrysler terms is still persistent. It is, however, the GM workers, particularly the Assembly Division (GMAD) production workers, who may be the biggest problem for Woodcock.

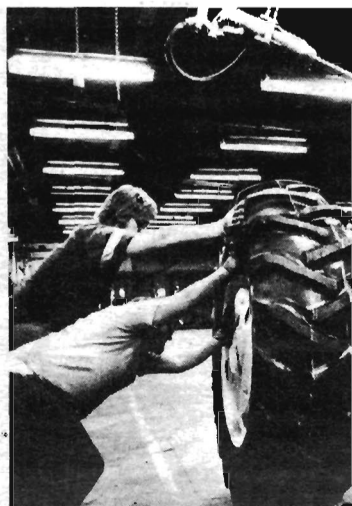
GMAD workers have suffered one of the most intense speedups in American history. The ineffective "Apache" strike strategy pushed last year by the UAW leadership failed to alleviate break-neck production standards. No sooner would a GMAD local settle with the company over production standards, than the company would turn around and, asserting the contract's management rights clause, introduce a new speed-up.

The Chrysler agreement offers no means to fight this. Woodcock, like Reuther before him, has refused to fight for the elimination of the management's rights clause, for a national clause to deal with production standards, or for a decent standards system.

None of this bothers Mr. Woodcock, or UAW director for Ford, Kenneth Bannon. When Woodcock was asked if he thought Ford workers would accept the settlement, he replied, "Obviously, we would not have accepted it if we did not think it would be acceptable to the Ford workers."

Unfortunately, everyone in the industry knows that Mr. Woodcock has his own ways of getting the unacceptable accepted. We hope that Ford workers will be organized enough to defeat this agreement.

Harvester Workers Battle Against Forced Overtime



Nearly 41,000 agricultural implement workers continue their strike against the International Harvester Corporation. The Harvester workers, represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW), are fighting the company's attempt to impose compulsory overtime.

There is also heavy opposition to any settlement that would be based on the pattern set by the UAW at Chrysler. This pattern has already been imposed by the UAW at John Deere, another large agricultural implement company. In particular, forced overtime remains an issue at Harvester.

Before 1970, Harvester workers had the right to refuse any overtime. Local unions were even able to organize bans on overtime as a weapon against the company.

In 1970, however, the UAW allowed the company to force workers to work seven Saturdays a year. Overtime bans were also made illegal, with the union promising to discipline anyone who organized such a ban.

While Harvester negotiators have withdrawn the Chrysler overtime scheme, they are still demanding fourteen forced Saturdays a year, plus the right to force overtime on anyone who

attempts to organize an overtime ban -- four Saturdays for an individual, two for a group or department. Additionally, the company remains firm in its desire to limit the right to transfer jobs and to cut down the number of stewards at certain plants.

Opposition to concessions on these issues, particularly overtime, is strong. A poll of locals in Melrose, Libertyville, and West Pullman, Illinois and San Leandro, California, indicated sentiment for rejection of any settlement along the lines of Chrysler or John Deere. ■

**Detroit
Chrysler
Local
Votes No
See p.6**