

Workers' Power

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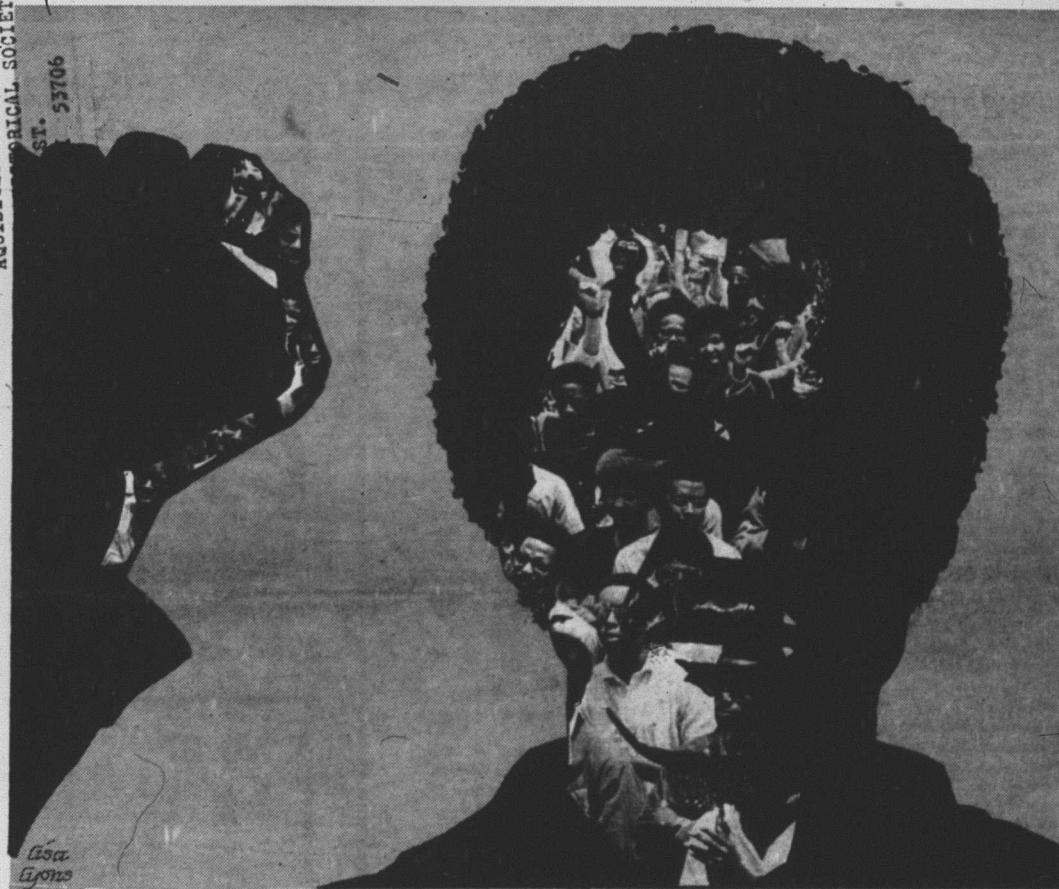
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AQUISITIONS SECTION
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ABOLISH NATO

EDITORIAL

While all eyes were focused on America's military presence in Southeast Asia and the aftermath of the anti-war demonstrations in Washington, Senator Mike Mansfield, majority leader in the Senate, introduced an amendment (to a bill extending the draft) calling for a 50 per cent reduction in U.S. troop strength in Europe. This action caught everyone by surprise, and led to one of the largest legislative counteroffensives seen in many years.

The Nixon administration was quick to denounce the Mansfield proposal as a blunder of "historic proportions," and it was not alone in doing so. High ranking officials in every previous administration, going back 20 years, came out in support of Nixon's stand. These included Presidents Johnson and Truman, and former secretaries of State Dean Rusk and Dean Acheson. Perhaps never before had a president's stand received such broad support from the political elite.

Given the current dollar crisis, caused in part by the cost of maintaining U.S. troops in Europe, one might not have expected such opposition. However, American military power is an essential pillar of U.S. imperialism. One's influence in the world still depends in part on the number of battalions one commands.

Publicly, of course, the administration was claiming that the troops were necessary in order to contain the great "red menace" in Russia. In fact, however, the policy is aimed more at Western Europe than at Russia. Thus, the New York Times notes that presidential advisors have "argued that United States influence in Europe — as well as the confidence of its European allies — would be profoundly shaken if the Senate were to order a reduction of American forces."

Five days before the Senate voted on the amendment, the Russians dropped a bombshell into the discussion. Leonid Brezhnev, in a much publicized speech, called on the Western powers to begin exploratory negotiations on reductions of military forces and armaments in Central Europe. The administration quickly seized on this as a reason for defeating the Mansfield amendment which called for unilateral cut-backs.

After all, it was argued, the troops in Europe were necessary to give us something to bargain with. If we unilaterally cut back, we would have nothing

to exchange with the Russians for their reductions.

Whether or not this argument was decisive in defeating the Mansfield proposal, the Russians must have known that their call for negotiations would be used this way, and would thus hurt the chances for unilateral reductions by the Americans. Hence, the obvious conclusion is that the Russians want U.S. troops in Europe.

Contrary to the Nixon administration's arguments, unilateral reductions would have brought great pressure to bear on the Russians to cut back also. The only public justification they can give for their military presence in eastern Europe is as a deterrent to the threat from the U.S.

But — as in the west, so in the east — Russian troops really serve primarily to help maintain Russia's influence and control over eastern Europe. For this reason (especially today, given the unrest in Eastern Europe in Poland and Czechoslovakia), Russia is not interested in troop reductions.

Furthermore, Russia and America, the two dominant imperialist powers in Europe, while engaged in an imperialist rivalry, want to keep that rivalry within certain bounds. One does not want to completely upset the other's applecart for fear of upsetting his own. Thus, the collapse of NATO, which might result from U.S. troop reductions, might cause a collapse of the Warsaw Pact Alliance. It was this situation which led to a temporary concurrence of interests between the two imperialist blocks in Europe.

The Mansfield amendment does not flow from any new-found opposition to American foreign policy, or flow from any principled difference with Nixon. Mansfield, McGovern and others are still supporters of U.S. imperialism and of its agent in Europe — NATO. Their problem today does not concern the aims of U.S. imperialism, but rather the cost of maintaining it — the dollar crisis in Europe, austerity at home, etc.

We're glad they're having problems, and that this has led them to raise questions about U.S. troops in Europe. But for the anti-war movement and others who oppose imperialism, the demand must be for the total, unilateral withdrawal of all troops from all foreign countries and the disbanding of America's military alliances, particularly NATO and SEATO. ■



U.S. TROOPS IN NATO EXERCISES IN NORWAY

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Erica Huggins

PANTHER 13, BOBBY AND ERICKA:

PANTHERS ACQUITTED

Jim Gregory Michael Stewart

On May 13, 13 members of the Black Panther Party were acquitted in New York City of 12 counts charging them with conspiracy to blow up public buildings and murder police. Most of the defendants had been in jail for over two years, since their arrests on the conspiracy charges on April 2, 1969.

Exhilaration swept through the movement as news of this victory spread. Shortly thereafter came word that all charges had been dropped against Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins after their trial had ended in a hung jury (the final votes were 10-2 in favor of acquittal).

The two victories, coming back to back, (as well as the dropping of charges against David Hilliard of threatening the life of President-Nixon) indicate that they are more than just flukes, and it is important to understand the reasons for the verdicts.

Political Trials

Of prime importance was the nature of the defense. The defendants and their lawyers quite correctly considered these political trials, and presented a political defense. The defense worked to expose the nature of the government's conspiracy against the Panthers, the infiltration of the Panthers by police agents (in New York, one agent infiltrated the Panthers before there was even a branch there), and tried to explain the politics and purpose of the Black Panther organization.

In New York, the jurors openly admitted that during the course of the trial they had been brought fairly close to the Panthers' point of view on some subjects. Some jurors became convinced that Judge Murtaugh was biased against the Panthers; juror Joseph Gary said that "Some were so

angry they wanted to come out of the jury box and say, 'You're biased, we're gonna acquit.'"

Yet even the brilliance of the defense is not sufficient to explain the verdicts. Not too long ago, the same defense probably could not have prevented convictions. Today, the juries themselves have changed.

To begin with, of major importance today is the ability of blacks to get on juries. This is the result of years of fighting against the biased nature of jury selection which in the past resulted in lily-white juries.

A central Panther demand has been that they be tried by juries of their peers—that is, by juries chosen from the black community. While this right has not yet been won, the fact that they have been able to get black people on juries has made it more difficult for the government to railroad blacks to jail. [See the accompanying article on James Johnson]

Combined with this has been the attitudes that have developed in this country due to the growing movements of opposition. Today there is widespread sympathy for the aims of

black liberation (if not for the tactics of various groups).

Moreover, support for and belief in the government has eroded to significant proportions. For example, fully 66% of the people believe that the government is lying to them about Vietnam.

Furthermore, as people have watched the actions of the police towards blacks in the civil rights movements and towards anti-war activists, they have come to realize the brutality, dishonesty, and bias with which the police operate. Thus it is no longer the case that a jury will automatically believe the testimony of the police in trials.

Also, the public movements to defend the Panthers have forced the press to follow the trials and helped bring to public notice the lies and distortions in the accusations against the Panthers. They prevented the Panther trials from becoming "just another trial" and raised to the forefront their political nature.

This is not to imply that the situation has progressed so far that it is impossible for the government to get a jury to convict anyone.

That situation is still a long way off. But they do indicate that it is getting much more difficult for the government repression to maintain its legalistic facade.

The two latest Panther verdicts represent still another setback to the major government strategy against social protest movements. Unable to charge movement activists with any illegal actions, the government aimed at decapitating the movements by charging the leaders with conspiracy, conspiracy to murder, to bomb, to riot, to kidnap. You name it. The idea was to send people to jail for doing nothing.

This has been a big flop, for so far the government has been unable to convict anyone who has been charged with conspiracy. The situation has gotten so bad, (for the government that is) that jurors in the New York Panther trial even denounced the conspiracy laws.

Following the acquittal of the Panther 13, establishment media went to great lengths to explain how the acquittal was proof that the American judicial system is fair to all. The *Times* quoted Jeff Greenup, president of the New York NAACP, who said: "This

[Continued on page 4]



Lee Roper



Curtis Powell



Alex McKiever

British Imperialism Murders Ghanaian Strikers

Wenda
Clenaghan



British imperialism still murders to protect its property from attacks by third world workers. Two weeks ago, three Ghanaian strikers were killed by the bullets of the company police of the United Africa Company, the biggest British firm in West Africa.

The victims were members of a 2300 strong work-force of a subsidiary of the UAC, the African Timber and Plywood Company, based in Samreboi, 300 miles north-west of the capital Accra.

Civilization

Hardwoods are a highly profitable raw material that the UAC has been pillaging from the tropical forest of West Africa for the last four generations. In British schools children are shown "geographical" films, made by the UAC educational service showing how the timber arm of the company is bringing civilization and work to the ignorant natives of the forests.

Needless to say, there are no clips showing the armed company police who patrol the compounds in which the workers are housed in miserable huts.

The workers of Samreboi have similar conditions to those in the timber settlements of the UAC in Nigeria. They are paid a few shillings on a day-to-day basis to chop down the enormously valuable trees with hand axes, to drive the lorries that pull the logs to the saw mills, to work mechanical saws that cut the logs into planks, and in plants that process the remnants of the trees into plywood.

The company tries to justify the pathetically low cash wages by pointing to the huts that are provided free of

charge and to the rudimentary health service provided by the company to keep the workers' body and soul together.

"Such facilities," the argument goes, "provide the native with a civilized standard of living which he would not get in the bush." They also provide the UAC with enormous profits.

Similar to the set up of the larger companies in Britain in the early 19th century, the workers are provided with a company shop. From this shop the workers have to buy provisions, the small luxuries of tobacco and beer and

perhaps an occasional piece of clothing. Foremen may be able to accumulate enough money to buy a bicycle or a transistor radio. Because the store has a monopoly it can charge inflated prices. The store in Samreboi was one of the main centers of attack by the striking workers.

The strike started after the failure of management to implement improved service conditions (day-to-day workers transferred to permanent work, shortening of hours, etc.). These had been negotiated by the union last October. Management, taken by surprise,

denied that any such settlement had been made.

The rage and frustration of the workers was released. Thousands stormed the management compounds overturning cars, smashing windows and cutting telephone wires.

They marched to the company store, taking all the goods that had been forbidden to them. The workers then dispersed, uncertain of what to do next.

The police took this lull as an opportunity to search the huts of the men they suspected of being ring-leaders. As a result, 15 people were arrested and taken to the local jail.

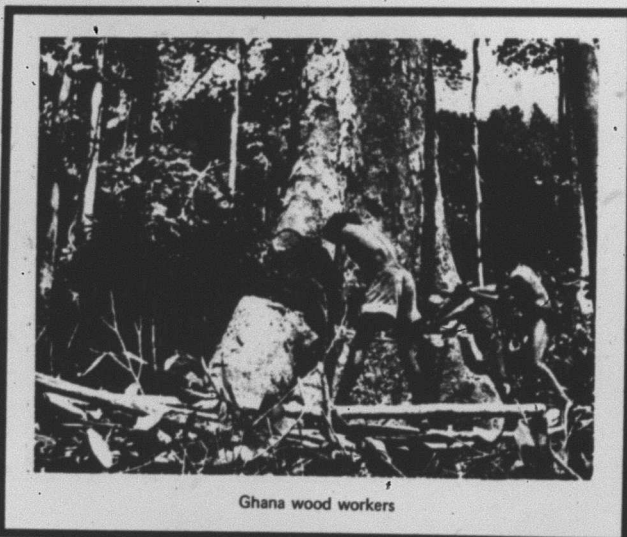
These actions rallied the workers, who began a march on the police station to free their comrades. The police opened fire, killing three and injuring 87. The workers, unarmed, retreated in panic.

150 armed government police were shunted in from the coast to help the UAC out with its policing work.

Comments from the pro-American and pro-"South African dialogue" Ghanaian government are muted. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Madjitey, himself an ex-police commissioner, announced in parliament that "shooting and the loss of life were definitely not the normal solution to industrial disputes."

The pro-government TUC team that is currently investigating the "incident" will no doubt come to the conclusion that the police "acted correctly in the face of due provocation."

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, the British International Socialist weekly, April 17, 1971.]



Ghana wood workers



Panthers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

will show those on all sides that it is possible to get a fair shake within the system."

Mr. Greenup is mistaken, not only about the system as a whole but even about the Panther 13 case. The panthers were acquitted, but they hardly got a "fair shake". They were jailed for more than 25 months (as were Seale and Huggins) though not even the prosecution charged them with committing any illegal action.

The prosecution could only allege conspiracy to commit actions. But these allegations were deemed by the American judicial system to be worthy of \$100,000 bail per defendant. They were considered worthy of more than two years of their lives in jail.

There has been much discussion in the press

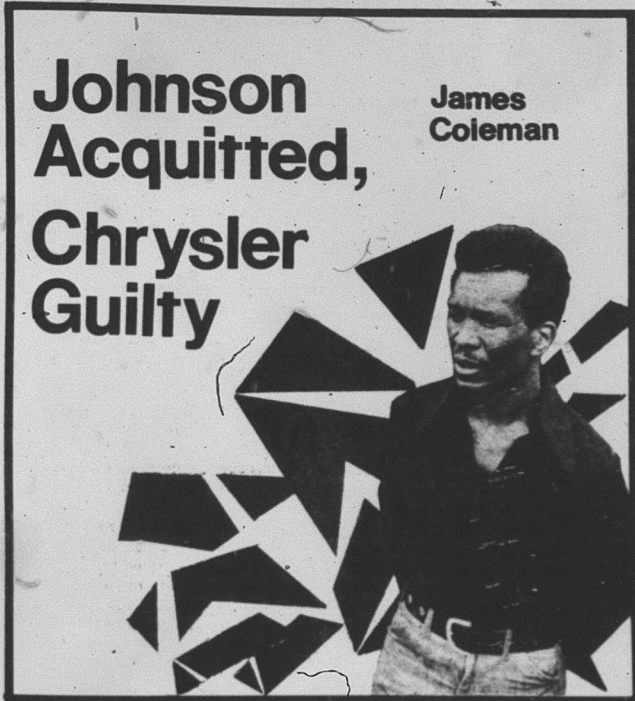
about whether or not there is or was a conspiracy by the government against the Panthers. (See *Workers' Power* No. 34) These verdicts offer further proof that there is such a conspiracy.

Otherwise, one must argue that it was just a coincidence that so many innocent members of the same organization were wrongly accused of so many non-existent conspiracies. The inescapable conclusion must be that their only crime was that they were members of the Black Panthers.

These verdicts, victories that they are, do not mean that the struggle is over. Numerous Panthers are still awaiting trials in various parts of the country, including some of the Panther 13; Bobby Seale faces 4 years for contempt of court, Huey Newton is being tried again, and Angela Davis and Rachel Magee are still charged with kidnapping and murder in California. Moreover, there are threats of still new conspiracy trials resulting from the recent anti-war demonstrations in Washington. But the movement should still take encouragement from these acquittals. Hopefully they are the beginning of an irresistible trend.

Johnson Acquitted, Chrysler Guilty

James Coleman



James Johnson, on trial for killing three men in a Detroit Chrysler plant last summer, was acquitted May 21 after a trial lasting four weeks. The basis of the acquittal was a familiar one — temporary insanity — but this verdict was reached after a defense which put Chrysler Corporation on trial.

As reported in earlier issues of *Workers' Power* (nos. 21, 35), Johnson reacted to a long history of mistreatment in Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant by swearing he would kill his general foreman, then killing two department foremen and another worker when the general foreman could not be found.

His lawyers, Kenneth Cockrel and Justin Ravitz, argued that Johnson was temporarily insane. But they made this argument the vehicle for indicting the rural South and the industrial North.

They argued that the poverty and oppression Johnson suffered all his life made him mentally unstable — that his mental instability began in his childhood as a Mississippi sharecropper and was increased by mistreatment, unsafe working conditions, and lack of union defense in the Detroit auto plants. In addition to the usual psychiatric testimony — which for unexplained reasons the prosecution never answered — the jury heard testimony about conditions in Mississippi, and was taken on a tour of the Eldon Avenue plant.

Killing Pace

This tour was particularly impressive. Although Chrysler treated the plant to a clean-up and a new coat of paint, the jury could experience the heat, the noise, the mind-killing pace of the assembly line. Two of the men on the jury were factory workers, and three of the women were married to factory workers. Eight were black, four white.

During the jury deliberations, reporters outside the jury room could hear, in the jurors' shouts which penetrated the doors, the impressions made on them by the defense:

"Did you see that cement room in the plant? Working there would drive anyone crazy."

"I've worked in a factory all my life, and I didn't kill anyone," another said.

"You weren't born in Mississippi and I was," shouted another. "You don't know what you're talking about."

The jury reached its verdict in a re-

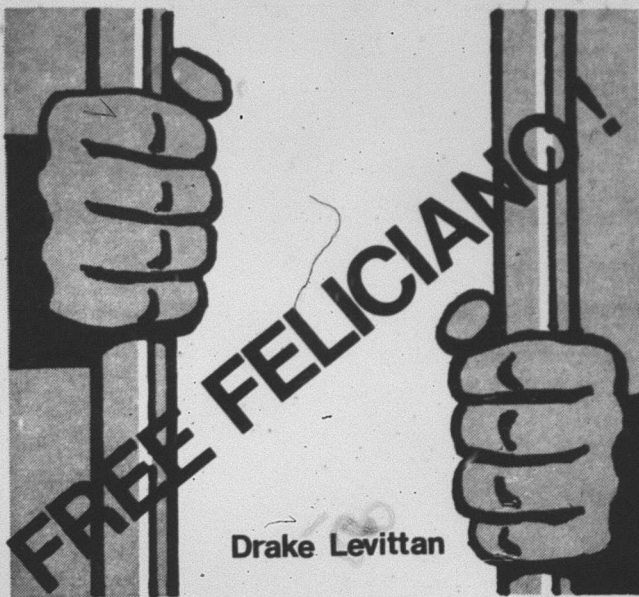
latively short time, about four hours. Johnson will now go to the State Hospital for the Criminally Insane — a questionable improvement over the penitentiary, as anyone who knows the conditions in these "hospitals" will recognize. Nevertheless, the verdict is a clear victory against the hypocritical effort of the Wayne County Prosecutor — supposedly an officer of the people — to make one of capitalism's victims pay double for his one pitiable, inadequate effort to fight back.

Fight Back

At the time of the killings and since, the black opposition group in Eldon and other plants, the League Of Revolutionary Black Workers, attempted to make Johnson a hero for his act of desperation, writing in its newspaper that "James Johnson needed a Thompson." Johnson himself, on the other hand, has turned to religion, and has stated that in a dream recently, he knew that Jesus had forgiven him.

In fact, fighting back against exploitation and race oppression is not a matter of killing a foreman here or there — nor is it a matter of relying on help from God. It must be a matter of building a movement that can draw on the daily resistance of working people to the vicious conditions in the plants, and direct the resistance into an attack on the inaction of the unions and the power of the corporations.

James Johnson's trial has helped contribute to this process by its public exposure of the conditions in the plants, and at the same time it has contributed something new to the technique of political trials by bringing corporate exploitation into the courtroom.



Drake Levittan

On Sunday, May 16, the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano held a march through New York City's Lower East Side, to support the jailed Puerto Rican revolutionary nationalist. A year before, to the day, Carlos Feliciano was arrested and charged with responsibility for the bombing of thirty-five buildings, including the G.E. building and the New York Public Library.

Bail was set at the astronomical figure of \$175,000, a sum which a man who worked both as a cabinet maker

and as an electrician just to support his family could not possibly meet. The bail constituted preventive detention, and after a year in jail Carlos Feliciano has still not been tried nor granted lower bail.

The District Attorney accused Carlos Feliciano of belonging to the MIRA (Armed Revolutionary Leftist Movement), a supposedly terrorist Puerto Rican group, of having explosives in his car, and of having affiliations with an undisclosed "alien power." These

charges, from beginning to end, are part of a vicious frameup, an attempt to victimize and terrorize those who are fighting for Puerto Rican independence and those who are fighting for social justice and a better life in the Puerto Rican ghettos of the northern cities.

The government seeks to portray those engaged in the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement as criminals and mad bombers, and to represent their struggle as the plot of an "alien power." The charges against Feliciano are just another example of the ruling class strategy of repression which attempts to make the victims look like the criminals and the criminals look like the victims.

Free Puerto Rico

What is the real "crime" of Carlos Feliciano? Carlos Feliciano is a revolutionary nationalist who believes that the road forward for the Puerto Rican people lies in throwing off the yoke of U.S. control that has strangled the island since the Spanish-American colonialist war in 1899.

He stands for the right of the Puerto Rican people to determine their own destiny and control their own institutions, free from the domination of U.S. banks and corporations, of its repressive apparatus and puppet government. He is a member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, a legal party that advocates independence, and he participated in the popular 1950 nationalist uprising, for which he was jailed for five years. These are the real reasons why Carlos Feliciano is a prisoner.

Over the past few years the Puerto Rican liberation movement has grown. Young Puerto Ricans have refused to

fight in the U.S. Army in Vietnam, the same army that backs up the colonialization of their own country. Strikes have increased.

Moreover, the Puerto Ricans who fled their homes hoping to find jobs and better conditions in the U.S. have met the same poverty, intolerable conditions and brutality which the U.S. imposes on Puerto Rico. They have begun to fight back.

In the face of this growing resistance, U.S. ruling circles have tried to victimize individuals in the hopes of crushing the movement, just as they have attempted with the Black Liberation and the student movements. The Sunday march was to let them know that their strategy will not work — that the fight will go on.

Despite a wet day, the march of 200 was militant and spirited, and included representatives of the MPI (Movement for Independence), the Young Lords Party, and other Puerto Rican community groups, as well as several socialist groups and independent radicals. People on the street greeted the march with clenched fists of solidarity or "V" signs, and many joined in.

After the march, a rally was held at the Church of St. Marks in the Bowery. The march is only a beginning, a part of the fight to build a mass movement that can Free Carlos Feliciano and all political prisoners, and Free Puerto Rico from U.S. domination. ■

[Those interested in further information, setting up a Defense Committee in other cities, or sending a contribution, can write: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10013.]

Garbage Struggle In Motor City

Jack Trautman

For over a month, garbage workers in Detroit have been waging a struggle which points a way forward for other workers. With 70 of the city's 1400 sanitation workers laid off and more lay-offs threatened, the men - all black - refused to work overtime beginning April 20. They argue that such work would be unnecessary if those who were laid off were rehired, and that by working overtime they are setting themselves up to have more jobs chopped.

Motor City can ill afford cut backs in municipal services. Housing, medical care, pollution control, education, public transportation - on every front the quality of life in the city of Detroit is on a downhill slide.

But the obvious solutions to these problems - like higher taxes on the auto giants that rake their profits off the backs of the city's workers - would never be considered by the Detroit city government. Its very existence seems dedicated to the aid and comfort of the Big Three.

The financial squeeze that has hit

one city after another over the last year or so is in large part a result of the war in Indochina - which each year has eaten up billions upon billions of dollars that should have gone to rebuilding our cities and improving our lives. Yet the docile Detroit municipal government has uttered scarcely a peep of opposition, despite the fact that Detroit residents voted overwhelmingly for immediate withdrawal last fall.

Instead, faced with a worsening budget crisis, the city administration began laying off sanitation workers. The garbage workers, in launching a counter-offensive against the city, are waging a struggle not just for themselves but for all the people of Detroit. They have set an example which must be followed by state, county and municipal employees in every area.

The city administration denied the right of the workers to refuse overtime. Contending that only they could decide who would work and how much they would work, the city went to court asking for an injunction against the union.

In order to bolster its case the city arranged collection routes so that certain areas were kept clean while in others garbage was never picked up. In parts of the city, garbage began literally to cover the alleys.

To make sure that the point would not be lost, the city ordered its photographer, Edgar Taylor, to take pictures only of those places where garbage had not been picked up. Taylor was suspended from his job for 30 days, without pay, when he revealed this to the circuit court judge. The judge refused to grant the injunction, stating that Detroit had failed to prove that a health or fire hazard existed.

A week later the case moved up to Appeals Court, and the city got another chance. A day before the second court hearing, the city suddenly discovered that there were 3 million rats in Detroit - 2 for every person.

According to the Detroit Health Dept Department, the problem only began to get serious when the garbage men's protest began. Detroit residents were

threatened with visions of bubonic plague, typhus, rabies and lice. Somehow the rats just sprang into being after the 20th of April.

The Appeals Court ruled that "a substantial and dangerous health, safety and fire hazard situation" existed in Detroit - and ordered the garbage workers to work overtime. The court in effect ruled that the workers are slaves - once they have a job they are breaking the law if they attempt to withdraw labor at any time.

The court could have ruled that because of the hazard the city should simply be forced to rehire the men it had laid off. But such attacks on the prerogatives of management - be it public or private - are just not made by the courts.

The union leadership and its lawyer tried to persuade the workers to accept the ruling. They were met with catcalls and boos. They were able to get temporary agreement only when they promised to have the court order reviewed by the following Monday.

The workers voted to accept overtime during the weekend by a narrow margin. But on Friday only about one one half the available force worked overtime, and on Saturday the turnout was sporadic.

The garbage workers have shown the way by refusing to knuckle under. Their experience points up what must be done now. Their direct enemy was the Democratic Party administration. As in most major cities in the country, the Democratic Party, masquerading as the "friend of the little man", is in power. But everywhere that city workers are feeling the squeeze and are fighting back, the Democrats are in the front lines beating them down. What is needed is a party of the working class.

Many of the problems of the cities are, of course, national in scope, and it is a national working class party that must be built. But a beginning can be made in the cities where workers have the most concentrated strength. A demand must be placed on the union leaders in Detroit to break their affiliation with the Democratic Party and to put forward a slate of labor candidates for the next elections. ■

Labor Goes to Playboy

Tom Condit

If all goes as scheduled, the next convention of the International Labor Press Association will be held in the Miami Beach Playboy Club Hotel this November. The ILPA leadership evidently feels that this is the kind of posh atmosphere which hardworking labor editors need to relax.

Some rumbles of lower level discontent are already beginning to be heard, however. Patricia Strand, assistant editor of the *American Teacher*, has begun to organize opposition to labor support of the Playboy empire, which is based on the economic and social exploitation of women. She is leading a fight in the ILPA to move the convention to some site a little less symbolic of the rotten nature of this society.

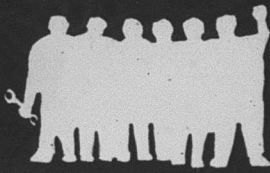
Playboy and the rest of Hugh Hefner's multimillion dollar operation are based upon everything which is sick in human relationships within our society. They present women as plastic objects to be manipulated (suitably touched up with an airbrush to remove any trace of reality) and encourage men to

see themselves as "sophisticated" consumers of expensive cars, clothes, liquor ... and women ... instead of productive and functional members of society. All human beings, male and female, become totally unreal in the Playboy context.

If the ILPA is to be stopped from feeding Hugh Hefner's coffers and supporting his reactionary policies, it'll depend upon opposition at the local level. We ask all rank-and-file unionists to write letters to the editors of their union papers, asking them to protest against holding the ILPA convention at the Miami Beach Playboy Club, and to raise the question in local union meetings. Remember, these people work for you, even if they don't like to think about that fact. ■

[To date, Workers' Power has not been invited to join the International Labor Press Association. Sad to say, no one on our editorial staff gets to go to Miami.]





Crisis In Bargaining

[The following is the second in a series of articles on the crisis in collective bargaining in the United States. The first installment appeared in the March 26-April 15 issue of *Workers' Power* (no. 33).]

Few things will play a more important role in determining the future of the fight of the American laboring class for a better life than the outcome of the present crisis of collective bargaining. It is directly linked to, and in fact a part of, the present crisis of union leadership and lack of rank-and-file democracy.

Union stewards or workplace committeemen and committeewomen more and more find that large amounts (if not most) of their time is spent having to defend union actions and policies in the face of increasing criticism from the rank and file. It is not a question of good people against bad, although that is often the way the talk goes. Actually the problem is systemic, that is, something is wrong with the whole system of collective bargaining, its institutions and the way it is practiced.

Problem Areas

There are four main problem areas that are creating the crisis in collective bargaining: (1) The National Labor Relations Board, for example, sets up bargaining units that encourage labor officials to institute organizational forms, such as large amalgamated locals, which by their very design make it extremely difficult for the rank and file to exert any control over their unions; (2) the substitution of arbitration for the right to strike as the final step in the grievance procedure in over 90 per cent of all American labor contracts; (3) the web of clauses in the majority of contracts that give industrialists the right, in an almost sacred sense, to determine production methods and speeds and to exclude the union from all decisions related to the production process; (4) the increasing interference of government and its agencies at all levels in the collective bargaining process on behalf of the employers.

Beyond these four main problem areas there is yet a fifth and even more serious problem: (5) The crisis of leadership inside the unions. The official leadership of labor has learned to live with the first four problems. Those at the top, in large majority, conduct only momentary and minor scuffles against the employers and the anti-labor activities of the government.

The few offensives they organize seldom involve the ranks. They deliver a few pecks, sometimes hastily softened by a kiss or two, instead of conducting a bold offensive that is part of a master

battle plan designed to cut down on the monotonous, menial and no-future quality that characterizes so many jobs in today's work world.

They see themselves as the co-signers of a business contract in the strict sense of the term. For them the contract has become an end in itself rather than what it is for the very class-conscious employers with whom they deal: a temporary and partial truce treaty whose terms should be molded to aid the never ending workplace struggles — which in turn are the best preparation for the next general and open conflict on or before the contractual expiration-date.

All five of the problem areas will be discussed here, later and in detail. For now, because collective bargaining practices have become so deformed and divorced from what they must be in order to meet the reality of the rank and file's lives, it is necessary to find a fresh way to view the entire process, a view that momentarily shuts the deformity from vision so that the entire question of collective bargaining can be re-examined.

So general is the crisis, that attempts at piecemeal solution will get little consideration or audience. This very necessary re-examination then, must begin with an analysis of what is the primary purpose, from a rank-and-file point of view, of the labor contract.

Workers in a single workplace are seldom able to develop the degree of organization — even with the existence of a well-organized union — that will allow them to constantly improve on the conditions of their employment without the use of the collective bargaining agreement. This grants, however, that they are sometimes able to do so in rare situations. But the degree of unity and organization necessary for "walkouts" or stoppages that can maintain verbal agreements is rare, and the spans of time over

which it can be sustained have been relatively short.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) operated successfully in some particular workplaces without contracts for a short period of history, particularly in semi-frontier situations early in the century. Those successes were localized and were made at a time when large sections of the labor force in the West had a casual character, that is, worked seasonally or irregularly. As the modern type cities replaced frontier settlement towns, however, and larger numbers of the males in the labor force became permanent residents in urban communities, the IWW was unable to maintain itself.

The vicious and criminal repression against it particularly during and right after World War I was not the main reason for its disappearance as a major labor organization. The American workers had rejected it for the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and not just for reasons of political conservatism. The IWW style of operating, of bargaining, had failed for American workers. (The IWW later realized this and began to utilize the contract.)

It was possible for seasonally migrant workers in mining, timber and railroad work gangs to many times win substantial concessions from their bosses without contracts. Put aside the greater difficulties in winning victories in the same industries as the work forces were de-casualized, the real difficulty with IWW methods came as factory methods of production came into increasing use.

In more and more work situations the work gang was not responsible for performing entire units of production. Instead, the more complicated work force patterns in which the production of a commodity or service is split up among hundreds and even thousands of workers became the norm. To get an

entire workplace to walk out, and then in again, without deep injury to at least some of its number became next to impossible.

The workers in modern production systems needed to be able to make a determined push for workplace unity, then to make battle on the basis of that unity, and then to maintain a good portion of what they had won during that battle when it was over without constant disruption of their day-to-day lives. To maintain it by multiple "quickie" strikes or other forms of direct action was deeply difficult, again, because of the cumbersome quality of the work force and the giant obstacles to rapid communication both on the job and off.

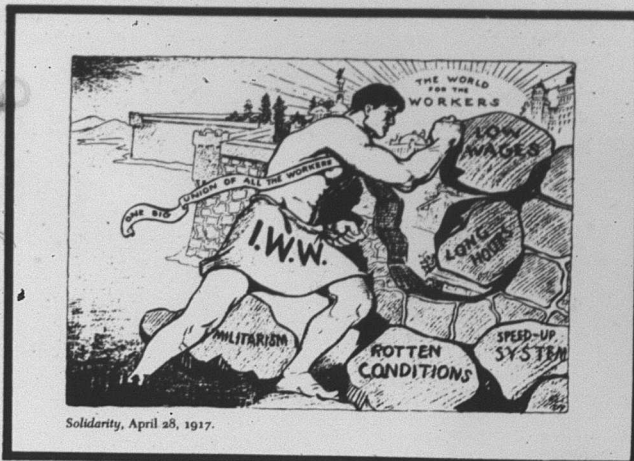
Workers in single workplaces were no longer in constant touch with one another. Relatively easy communication became limited to a department or work group. And, large numbers of workers were no longer living in common bunkhouse complexes or cohesive neighborhoods near the job.

Communication

The successes of the IWW rested upon the simplicity of production techniques and worker organization inside industry. As the growth in technology destroyed this simplicity, so disappeared the ability of the workers to use the direct action forms of struggle as the most effective way of assuring gains made in the conditions of employment. Not only did the technology within each workplace become more complicated and involving of larger numbers of workers, the growth in machine technology made bigger capital investment necessary and this in turn made for fewer and larger corporations and capitalists.

Maybe the workers in a particular plant could bring local management to its knees for a time with only direct action methods, but now the same employer had workers in another plant hundreds or thousands of miles away making the same product. Communication for the industrialist comes easier. The workers in the less militant plant would find themselves working overtime while those in the more militant plant would be starving on short work weeks, or, and just as often, a strike in one plant was defeated because the rest of the plants owned by the company or corporation worked on.

The collective bargaining contract was a way of uniting the workers in two or more plants or workplaces of a particular corporation. Both multi-plant and multi-employer contracts enabled the workplaces with the strongly organized workers to cover and carry the weaker workplaces, to bring to them nearly the same wages and conditions of employment so that they could not



[Continued on page 9]

View From The Pit: WORD JIVE IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

David Shoemaker

Seen through the news media, steel contract negotiations look like a pre-game warmup in some fantastic new spectator sport. Over here in the green and wearing the dollar signs, corporate executives are going through wind sprints with their mouths. Over there sporting diamond rings and stogie stumps, Big Labor officials go "harumph" and flex their paunches. Outside the arena, covered in black dirt, the steelworkers — trying to get into the stadium.

Down in the White House, the Sunday Quarterback-in-Chief keeps his eyes glued to the tube and his finger over the panic button.

And everybody's jiving.

Employer Doubletalk

There's so much jive it can't all be translated in one blow. This week we'll have a lockerroom special on employer doubletalk.

Price hikes: These are due to "inflation," to meet rising costs. That is the line given to newspapers which write for the general public. The same newspapers view the wage-demands of greedy workers as the "cause" of inflation and price hikes as the "effects."

In steel, the "effects" have risen 18.8 per cent in the last two years. In the last year alone, real wages in steel have fallen \$4.38 a week. Physicists and philosophers will puzzle for centuries to come how it happened that once, in 1971, there was an effect without a cause.

In the privacy of executive lockerrooms, the talk is like this: "More Steelmakers Adopt 6% Per Cent Price Rise on Sheet, Strip Lines as Demand Surges" (headline in the *Wall Street Journal*). Or for pithy analysis, you can't beat *Business Week*, which writes: "United States Steel Corp. got the jump on Bethlehem Steel Corp. for a change this week when it raised the price on several sheet and strip products by an average of 6.9 per cent. . . . Said U.S. Steel's Chairman Edwin H. Gott: 'We're asking for what we think the market will stand.'"

Depressed Demand: Speaking for the Big Eight steel giants which will negotiate together against the United Steel Workers (USW), F.A. Nemeck said, "profits have declined because of lower productivity, depressed demand and competition from imports." Now, in general, this is true. But keep a sharp eye out on the number game.

The *New York Times* reported on May 16: "New orders for steel were lagging last week. At one large mill, orders had dropped to 50 per cent of capacity." In fact, large-scale layoffs have begun in some cities.

But the other side of the story is that, only a few weeks before, orders in that same plant were 130 per cent of capacity. According to the *Times*,

steel production was up 15 per cent over last year, with all-time records of 2,960,000 tons for two weeks running in early May.

In part, the increased (not depressed) demand for steel is due to full-scale production in the auto industry. But the big surge in demand earlier this year, and consequently the big drop in demand right now, are due to stockpiling. Steel users have built up stockpiles as a hedge against a steel strike this summer.

Steelmakers have even bigger stockpiles. Some companies are currently trying to bluff their employees by paying them overtime to attend meetings where they are given a movie glimpse of the company's stock reserves.

To the steelworker, stockpiling has meant speed-up, overtime and now layoffs.

Lower Productivity: Any steelworker can tell you what underlies low productivity in American mills. And he could tell you that any formula tying wages to productivity in steel is the grossest injustice.

Making steel is not like making autos or building houses. Most of the work is simply waiting on gigantic machines: furnaces, ovens, conveyer systems, rollers, transport machines, and the like. You can't wait any faster than you do.

Stepping up productivity means sweating extra tons out of the machines, not the men. But the machines, lacking the drive to survive, won't put up with what men are willing to take. They just break down, strike. And that is exactly what they have been doing since the steel industry expended its plant in World War II.

For twenty years, the steel makers have been content to milk more and more profits out of the same dying machinery. Maintenance in steel mills is maintenance of production, not of equipment. Bubble-gum and coat-hang-

er repairs, haywires overhead and underfoot. Anything but a production stoppage.

By neglecting their plant all these years, the great capitalist families which rule the steel empires only lose their profits. The workers lose their lives. The communities which contain steel mills within their ecological system lose their life-support.

The worn-out plants have made safety and health issues as predominant in steel as speed-up is in auto. As the ovens and furnaces, with their connected processes, fall apart, increasing amounts of gas, soot, and particles are released into the air.

The proportion of waste material dumped into rivers goes up as machine efficiency goes down. Company attempts to stave off environmental controls run from phony to vicious. The usual trick is to get rid of wastes when no one is looking.

The huge Bethlehem plant in Lackawana, on Lake Erie, is much more direct in its pollution for profit. It has blackmailed the city of Lackawana, stating that if the city does not ease up on taxes and pollution control it will shut down the plant.

To underline its point, men have been laid off in chunks of several thousand. As the president of a polluting paper company in Middletown, Ohio, said, "We are as concerned about the environment as much as anybody, within economic reason."

In the mills themselves, the only effective safety device is eternal vigilance. Exposed wiring, falling objects, collapsing structures, crashing cranes, trains and trucks rumbling upon you in the dark; these, on top of the foul air, are the "environment" of day-to-day work.

One of the rights which, newspapers will tell you, have been won by the USW is the right to refuse unsafe or un-

healthy work. Never mind that the USW only won what the government already supposedly guarantees. The right does not exist in practice.

Men who refuse unsafe jobs are either sent home or required to continue on the job until their grievance is settled. Other than the remedy of direct collective action (which *Workers' Power* recommends), the only fast way to settle a grievance is to die at the job.

Foreign Competition: The decay of America's steel-making plant will be the decisive factor in the international battle for the steel market. Both European and Japanese steel industries, not to mention Russia's, have been consolidated, modernized and rationalized far beyond the U.S. structure.

The other factor which currently gives foreign competitors an edge on American steel — lower wages — will play less of a role as steelworkers in these countries raise their own demands for a share in the new productivity.

Bamboozle

Again, we have to keep a close watch on the scorekeeper. The threat of foreign steel looms up suddenly today as Nixon's threat against the steel industry, which industry uses to bogey the unions and the unions pass on to the members as an excuse for not fighting.

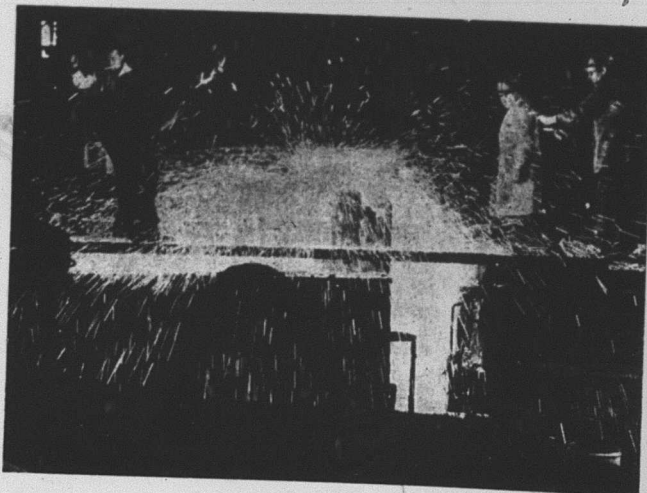
Here are the figures. 1971 imports through March totalled 3,788,000 tons. This was 62 per cent more than a year ago. Enough to set visions of the yellow hordes dancing in your head, right? Wrong. 52 per cent of that increase is due to stockpiling. The import totals for 1971 were only 10 per cent more than for 1968, the last year of stockpiling. (Figures from the American Iron and Steel Institute.)

American steelmakers are losing ground to foreign competitors. But a quarter when the companies have more orders than they can fill is hardly the time to raise the threat of competition — unless you are out to bamboozle somebody.

Falling Profits: The steelmaking giants have told the truth about one thing — their profits are down from previous years. For example, National Steel (5th largest producer) reported a paltry \$60 million dollar profit for 1970, a little less than \$2,000 for every worker. The year before, it made better than \$2,000 for each employee.

National's president Stinson, quoted in the company newspaper, said that "the substantial escalation of our costs which persisted throughout the year" was the fundamental factor. What costs?

Since it's contract year in steel, "increased costs" makes you think "higher wages." But wages rose about 10 cents an hour — 2.5 per cent — while profits went down 24 per cent. What about lower sales? Despite the long



strike at GM, a major steel buyer, sales and operating revenue at National set a new record high.

This leaves four areas of cost increase: 1) raw materials; 2) administrative overhead; 3) plant expansion; and 4) interest paid on borrowed capital.

What about raw materials? Naturally, inflation hit these along with everything else — including the price of steel. This cost increase was mostly passed along in price increases. But in reality, even the higher prices for coal and iron ore were phantoms of the capitalist system.

Multiple Profits

National Steel, together with its parent company Hanna Mining, controls Iron Ore Co. of Canada. Hanna also controls one of the world's largest iron reserves in Brazil, under the St. John D'el Rey Mining Co. And Hanna controls Consolidation Coal, the biggest coal company in the U.S. The increased costs for raw materials, then, are mostly money which the Hanna steel and mining empire pays itself.

Like many major industries in America, the National/Hanna complex is "vertically" integrated. Not content to make a profit by selling its final product, it makes a profit several times over by selling to itself at each stage of production. Which is fine if you are a capitalist.

What if workers did the same? We would be paid for food, shelter, and clothing. Another paycheck for any training we brought to the job. A third check pays us for bearing and raising children who will work later. Then we would get our wages on top of it all. Hardly anything to gripe about, but big business is crying about its profits all the way to the bank.

Employment costs have gone up at National. This doesn't mean wages, it means the red tape necessary to hire people. And one National Steel plant, Great Lakes Steel in Detroit, does not even pay for interviewers. It has foisted its application process off on the State of Michigan, which tests and screens applicants.

National's increased employment costs mainly reflect a surge in hiring (more administrative personnel, paperwork, etc.) and a speed-up of production (more foremen, company guards, company spies, more breakdowns in machinery) in order to stockpile for the strike. The next big employment cost will be the overhead of laying all those workers off.

No doubt the biggest hunk of money spent is for modernizing the plant and financing expansion. American steel is now undergoing the changeover from open-hearth to basic oxygen process furnaces (BOP or BOF). And it can't stop now just because money is tight.

So What?

So it's expensive. But if you went to the same kind of junior high I went to, all we can say is "So what?" Because you and I were taught that the genius of our capitalist system was its ability to grow bigger and better forever and ever.

In the last few years, it has essentially stopped growing in America. So what's all this crap about falling profit? We have to conclude either that capitalism's genius has pooped out, or that the corporations are lying about profits. And I told you at the beginning that profits are the one thing they are telling the truth about. Draw your own conclusions. ■

Pesco Products Strike

Wil Bryson

In the Cleveland suburb of Bedford Heights, Ohio, 400 members of the UAW have been on strike since February against Pesco Products, Inc. The strike was called in response to a company drive to take away benefits that have long been a part of their contract. (For example, the company hopes to cut down SUB pay and cut separation pay in half.)

The strike has repeatedly been the scene of police violence. At least four strikers have been arrested and many others have been badly beaten. The police have recently taken to appearing in full riot gear.

One of the arrested strikers was jumped for taking pictures of the police; he was roughed up and his camera was broken. Another was beaten and arrested when he tried to talk with a cop who had told him to move on.

The union is filing suit, charging "the management of Pesco Products consorted with the police department, who used strikebreaking tactics with the tax money of the taxpayers of Bedford

Heights." Your tax dollars at work?

The vice-mayor of Bedford Heights is a member of the management of Pesco Products.

Because of the small size of the plant and the isolation of the strikers, Pesco and its municipal tools feel free to employ open scabbing and wholesale police repression. The only way the Pesco strike (and others like it) can be won is if the labor movement at large comes to its defense.

The UAW should call on its members in the larger locals to support the Pesco picket line and close down the struck plant. Solidarity between different plants was one key to how the UAW was built in the first place. But that was a time when the UAW relied on its members instead of its lawyers.

If the UAW leadership fails to do so, it is up to the rank and file to organize to support their brothers and sisters in Bedford Heights. The Cleveland labor movement as a whole must mobilize to defeat the strike-breaking efforts of Pesco and its hired cops. ■

Pass It On Continued



[Continued from page 7]

so easily be pitted against those in the stronger ones.

There are some today among radical youth and among older radicals as well who, in their discouragement, have turned to one or another form of anarchism. They glowingly cite the recent hit and run strikes of workers in a Turin, Italy, factory as evidence that the collective bargaining agreement can be jettisoned.

This demonstrates a considerable lack of knowledge of industrial work both in the United States and Italy. Not only are there gigantic differences in the size of industry and in the organization and operational function of unions in the two countries, but Italian workers in the cities of that small and compact area which is the industrial northland of Italy have mass political parties to aid them.

Those parties in an increasingly significant number of instances control the governments of large cities and provinces. They are able to provide strikers with protection from employer as well as police reprisal, and further, are a communication medium aiding in the very organization of hit and run or "yoyo" strikes that were in use by some Italian workers before Mussolini came to power.

American workers do not now have direct organizational communication or unity from one plant to another with-

in the same corporation except through the offices of their international union headquarters. Those offices usually discourage direct communication between locals.

There is little likelihood that American workers will soon reject the collective bargaining contract in principle or practice. There is growing evidence, however, that those who labor in this nation intend to make big changes in the way the bargaining process is conducted and who controls it, in the subject matter and language of the items to be included in a contract, and finally, in the way contracts are administered by union staff representatives. And, this includes who selects or elects the staff reps.

It is impossible to foretell precisely the areas in which the greatest changes will be made. Inevitably, rank-and-file revolt raises the question of working conditions or the quality of life in the work world and that of necessity raises the question of democracy on the job.

American wage workers on this moment have only second class citizenship. From the time that they punch in and until they punch out they live in a world where they have fewer rights than are guaranteed by the Constitution and Bill of Rights out on the street. This column will next examine the relationship between the contractual and constitutional rights of those who labor.

Which Side of Their Mouth Are You On?

Politicians, businessmen, and their spokesmen will say one thing when they are speaking to the public, and something quite different when they are talking among themselves.

Take for example this quotation from an editorial in the *New York Times*: "A principal impetus toward the kind of wage irresponsibility reflected in the strike of rail signalmen has been the skyrocketing trend of pay scales in construction . . . The Administration's unwillingness to face up to the need for a comprehensive incomes policy affecting all aspects of the wage-price spiral started the construction board off with a major handicap."

The sounds hard-hitting but even-handed. Wages are moving up too fast, so it's only fair that they be held back. The only catch is that the facts are just the other way around.

One honest report appeared in *Busi-*

ness Week magazine ("Available only by paid subscription. Publisher reserves the right to refuse any subscription. Subscriptions to *Business Week* solicited only from management in business and industry.")

This exclusive publication says, "President Nixon's program for stabilizing wages and prices in the construction industry is going to be only half-size. The Administration appears to have given up any serious effort to rein in prices, profits, and executive salaries."

Similar reports can be found in other business journals, which can't afford to deceive their narrow circle of readers. But they're not so easy to find in the mass media. If you don't make the eligibility list for *Business Week*, or if you think *Fortune* costs just that (two dollars a copy), you're out of luck. Unless, of course, you read *Workers' Power*. ■



The workers of Billancourt vote for occupation of the factory

David Shoemaker

FRANCE: AUTO WORKERS LEAD STRUGGLE AGAINST INFLATION

Everyone is familiar with the two most popular threats used by capitalists and their government servants against strikes in basic industry: 1) The Long Line — of unemployed, waiting at the gates for your job; 2) The Big Stick — of government intervention.

Recently, threat number 1 has not worked at all; business magazines have commented on this. Threat number 2 is a risky affair; strikebreaking is fine with the corporations, but too much government intervention threatens to slip over into government regulation of corporate financing.

Moreover, half-hearted intervention is only half effective. For example, this week in Detroit, only half the sanitation workers responded to a court order telling them to report for compulsory overtime.

So the owners of industry have suddenly discovered a Third Threat — Foreign Competition. Already in American union halls, some people — especially retired workers on company pensions — are echoing the slogan "Buy American." Nixon has told the steel executives, the executives have told the union bureaucrats, and the bureaucrats have told the workers: "Take it easy with those wage demands; you will price American steel right out of the market and the Japanese, Germans, etc. will take over."

Now it is true that the USA is no longer the undisputed boss of international capitalism. But that is only half the story. As European capital becomes a stronger force in the international market, so do the European workers' movements grow in strength and fighting spirit.

ing spirit.

We are not the only country suffering from severe inflation, speed-up, and lay-offs. These problems are everywhere — and everywhere resistance to them has grown.

In France, for example, the threat of competition from American automakers has not toned down autoworkers demands. Instead, French workers are refusing to bear the whole burden of making French capitalism competitive.

In the last days of April, a small walk-out in the Renault transmission plant in Le Mans, France, brought down a company lock-out. In response to the lock-out, a strike. As stocks dwindled, the lock-out spread to other Renault plants whose production depended on them.

As the lock-out threat approached the large facility at Billancourt, workers debated what to do. Militant revolutionary workers went from section to section in the plant calling meetings to argue in favor of a strike and occupation of the factory.

CP Strikebreakers

On their heels, officials of the Communist trade union urged everyone back to work and argued against striking. The two smaller, non-Communist trade unions took weak pro-strike positions.

As the union leaders travelled the factory floor, they decided that a strike vote would be required to quiet down the workers. To their aggravation, the vote was 60 per cent for strike and occupation. The smaller unions jumped on the bandwagon.

Like our own Woodcocks and I.W. Abels in similar situations, the Communist union officials tried to make the best of the situation. As revolutionaries organized strike committees — a necessity for a unified strike where workers belong to three different unions or no unions at all — the Communist officials forbade red flags, placards saying "Occupied Factory," political newspapers and even the newsletters of the strike committees (which were published in Spanish, Arabic and Portuguese as well as French).

In other Renault plants, the battle between union and the rank and file had mixed results. At Cleon, work was disrupted for a week without a decision to either strike or not strike. Union bureaucrats, hooted down in meetings, struck where they could — for instance, by attacking distributors of revolutionary newspapers. These men defended themselves in fist-fights and stayed on the scene. By mid-weeks, brawls between pro-strike and anti-strike workers rocked the factory.

At Renault in Flins, the unions stalled organizing an occupation until management did it for them with a lock-out.

At Renault in St. Ouen, short work-stoppages were voted as union leaders begged members to wait until a "movement developed" before striking — after announcing the factory occupation at Billancourt!

At Renault Bas-Meudon, workers gathered in small groups to discuss the situation. Someone began making signs. Quietly, the local strike committee or-

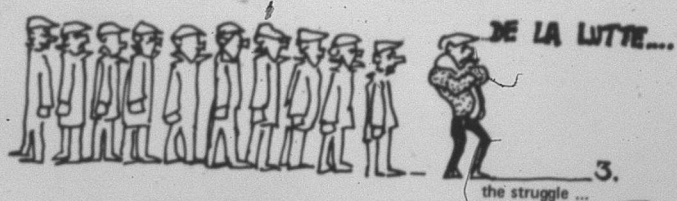
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"Comrades, don't panic!..."



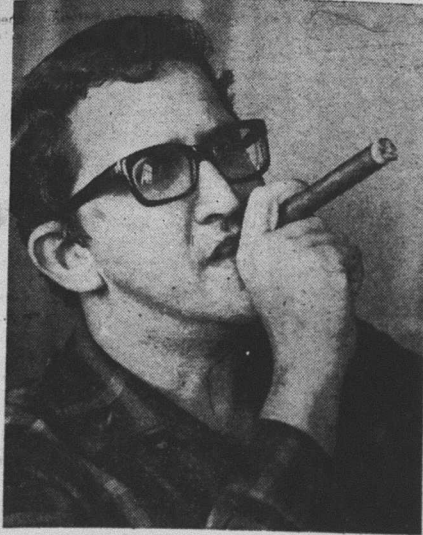
I have arrived to lead ...



the struggle ...



against the leftists!"



The Padilla Affair - Castro Attacks The Arts

Maxine Valdés
Nelson Valdés

One of the current fashions in Cuba is the public confession. On February 14, 1971, a Cuban agronomist who had been under arrest since October 1969 appeared on national television. Raul Enrique Alonso Olive "confessed" that he had been in the employ of the CIA since 1964 and that he had furnished a French agronomist, Rene Dumont, with information which Dumont used in a book critical of the revolution. (Cuba, est-il socialiste? [Paris] Le Seuil, 1970).

The title of the book asks if Cuba is socialist and the text concludes that it is not. Dumont compares Fidel Castro to a Feudal lord, criticizes the militarization of the entire island, and records the disappointment and cynicism of the workers.

In response to the "confession" of Olive, Dumont stated that he had seen Olive several times with the knowledge of the Cuban government, the last occasion being in July of 1969 in the presence of government officials. He contends that he later submitted his notes to Fidel Castro who "thanked me for it." (Le Monde [Paris] March 4, 1971, p.3.)

Olive was given a 30-year sentence. Also in 1970, another book, *Guerrillas in Power* by K.S. Karol (New York, Hill and Wang), came out criticizing the revolution from a left-socialist position. Karol notes that there is no workers democracy in Cuba, no democratic institutions, and that all power rests with one man, hindering the creativity and spontaneity of the people. The very fact that these books are not right-wing propaganda, but written by people who came to Cuba with open minds, must have given the "maximum leader" enough sleepless nights to send him searching for scapegoats.

Counterrevolutionary

The next arrest made in international headlines because of the prominence of the accused. By the time he was released, poet Heberto Padilla confessed to having given Karol and Dumont slanderous and totally erroneous views of the reality of the revolutionary process.

On February 18, 1971, the French photographer Pierre Goleudorf was apprehended at Jose Marti Airport while apparently leaving Cuba with several manuscripts from Cuban intellectuals, including Padilla. On March 20, Padilla was arrested, with no charges being made.

The arrest was not made public in Cuba. The world first heard of it on March 23 in *Le Monde*. Over a month

later, on April 28, Heberto Padilla read his signed "confession" before the Union of Writers and Artists.

The confession was dated April 5, although not read until the 28 and, at this writing, still not made available to the Cuban people. The significance of the dates lies in what happened between the arrest and the reading.

In an unpublicized meeting at the University of Havana on March 25, Fidel Castro affirmed that Padilla had been arrested under his "direct orders." (Padilla had been under governmental fire at least once before for writing "counterrevolutionary poetry.") The Prime Minister added that there was a "series of things that, when they are made public, will make the people indignant."

Real Friends

He emphasized that intellectuals can have no privilege or immunity, and that he didn't care about international reactions. In fact, they would allow the Revolution to distinguish its real friends from "those friends who impose conditions on us."

Apparently oblivious of this, 56 prominent European, American, and Latin American writers published an open letter to Fidel Castro in *Le Monde* on April 9. They reminded him that they had always been sympathetic toward the goals of the revolution and politely asked him to "re-examine the situation which this arrest has created." Their reply was to be a verbal slap in the face.

On April 23 a Congress on National Education in Havana began setting the stage for Fidel's latest outburst. The Minister of Education proclaimed that all teachers and professors wanted an art and literature to correspond to the objectives of socialist morality, and accused "some people" of aspiring to establish cultural colonialism in Cuba.

On the 26 the Congress changed its name to the National Congress on Education and Culture. In a lengthy final declaration read on April 30, the Congress accused an elite of monopolizing the culture (of course not the politics!) of Cuba. It accused their work of being "licentious," "counterrevolutionary," and conspiring "against the revolutionary ideology of our state."

The document also included sections on: (1) The negative influence of foreign students on Cuba's youth. The state outlined a policy toward fashion and considered the music, style of life, et al of the developed countries as "ex-

travagant aberrations;" (2) Religion. Fundamentalist sects seem to be gaining adherents throughout the Cuban countryside. The manifesto declares war against them; (3) Juvenile delinquency, which has increased recently. Ten different causes were stated, among them "the influence of religious beliefs, particularly those originating in the African continent;" (4) Mass communications. Their monolithic control was defended at great length; and (5) Sex in a revolutionary process, and the need for sex education at all levels. Prostitution, it was acknowledged, still remained, but it was defined as a "residual phenomenon" practiced by "delinquents"

Then a ruthless attack on homosexuals was unleashed in which cultural machismo was exalted. It was concluded that "it is not permissible to allow homosexuals to work in the mass media" because they could exert influence on Cuba's youth; nor could they be related in any way with imparting education.

All homosexuals will be transferred to other jobs if they work in any sector related to art or culture. Severe punishments were called for those who are considered "corruptores de menores."

By this time, of course, the government had living proof of its accusations, for two days earlier one of the more prominent sinners had publicly repented. Heberto Padilla went before the Union of Artists and Writers with his confession, conveniently dated four days before the open letter to Fidel, and in 4,000 words accused himself of counterrevolutionary activity, personal ambition, and defaming revolutionary

initiatives.

He denounced his previous work as vain, and said he had been "tremendously ungrateful and unjust with Fidel" and was willing to rectify his errors. He even accused his wife and three fellow poets of being counterrevolutionary in their thinking.

Juan Arcocha, a Cuban poet living in France, speculated that Padilla was subjected to mental torture. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, a French leftist periodical, argued on April 30 that Padilla probably signed the document to gain freedom, as he was released on April 29. That day *Le Monde* said that possibly the only crime Padilla committed was being so naive as to think that anyone in Cuba could play with independent political views. (The complete confession can be found in the April 30 issue of *Marcha* [Montevideo].)

Now that the verdict was in, Fidel was ready to present his case. At the closing session of the National Congress on Education and Culture on April 30 he did so. His vitriolic address essentially paraphrased the Declaration of the National Congress. But, in reference to the open letter signed by such people as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Julio Cortazar, Carlos Fuentes, and Susan Sontag, he ended with stinging series of epithets.

Fidel Agnew

Sounding like a Cuban Spiro Agnew, he called them, among other things, "shameless leftists," "counterrevolutionary," "pajeros" ("queers"), "nuts," "bourgeois liberals," "intellectual gossip," "exploiters, imperialists, colonialists at war against us," "pseudo-leftists," and, with the simplicity of America-love-it-or-leave-it, he concluded that if they were real revolutionaries they would be in the mountains.

Clearly the Padilla affair is only the beginning of a reactionary trend. It is safe to assume from the intensity of the crack-down that popular resentment against the Castro government, particularly among youth and workers, has been growing for some time and is on the verge of getting out of hand.

What has happened to Heberto Padilla is a shame, but it has been happening to many average Cubans for years and no one rushed to their defense. How come no open letters were written when the Vagrancy Law was put into effect on April 1, 1971? Because the ones hurt were the workers, of course!

It is to the discredit of the intellectual community that they did not see fit to condemn the revolutionary government until one of their own came under fire. If repression is now becoming obvious at the top, it has been going on at the bottom for a lot longer.



Jean-Paul Sartre



Susan Sontag



Alberto Moravia



Part One of Two Parts

Allende: On the Road to Where?

Juan Iver

The election of Salvador Allende as President of Chile has been greeted by many people as opening up the possibility of a new, peaceful road to socialism in South America. But what are the real possibilities open before this latest experiment with the "peaceful road"?

The cynical statement "aquí no pasara nada" (nothing will happen here) by an allendista Chilean intellectual, summarizes the incapacity of the newly elected Allende regime to grapple with the concrete issues of Chile's social conditions. Allende came to power promising that the foundations for socialism were going to be laid by his presidency. At the same time he emphatically stated that he wouldn't lead the country "to Communism." He had previously explained that the program of the Unidad Popular (UP — Popular Unity, his coalition) wasn't a socialist or communist program.

To be sure, one shouldn't read too much into the election of a coalition which calls itself "socialist" even in a reformist sense. With its parliamentary traditions, Chile has had Popular Front regimes before (for example, the 1938 Aguirre Cerda government) and they certainly didn't lay the foundations for socialism in any way.

PDC Defeat

If Allende won in the 1970 elections, it was because bourgeois parties, the Christian Democracy (PDC) and the National Party, were unable to present a bloc and both were, anyway, thoroughly unpopular in the eyes of the workers, intelligentsia and poor peasantry. Allende, who got 36.3% of the votes, didn't get an absolute majority, and the percentage of his 1970 votes wasn't that much higher than in 1964, when he lost the elections to Christian Democrat Frei.

Those who voted for Allende and his UP voted because his program of reforms hadn't been tested and therefore hadn't lost credibility in the eyes of the Chilean electorate. In reality, the Allende program is not radically different from that of Tomic (pronounced Tomish), the Christian Democrat candidate who obtained 27.8% of the votes. What differentiates them is that the Christian Democracy was in power for 6 years and had proven utterly incapable of carrying forward even a minimum part of its radical proposals, many of which were inspired by the Alliance for Progress.

Frei's Christian Democracy had come to power in 1964 as the wonder boy of the "revolution in liberty." This won-

der boy, however, lost prestige when he shot miners, peasants and instituted a special mobile police force to crush leftist students. He also showed that his vaunted "liberty" meant in fact surrender to fat latifundists, slim-fitted CIA agents and Chilean bourgeois, who in turn gave funds and ideologically controlled the Christian Democracy's government and participation in congress.

Under Frei's presidency, the 1964 figure of 300,000 unemployed rose steadily; inflation as well, by more than 30 percent a year. The ratio of 6 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants remained, as did the 20 percent rate of illiteracy. Only literate citizens over 21 years old could vote, which meant excluding more than half of the Chilean population.

Frei's agrarian reform was a complete fraud. According to a 1965 commentator, Frei "... promised that 100,000 peasants would receive land in 5 years. The PDC proposed that nobody "individual or institution" should own more than 80 hectares [176 acres] of irrigated land, or land worth more than 25,000 dollars." The results were different. Only 18,600 peasants had received land by 1969.

In 1969 there were still fundos of 5,000 hectares and haciendas of 100,000 hectares. The 600 Chileans who controlled 60 percent of the arable land

were still there; Frei's little flirtings with "reform" only made them roll with laughter. The 600,000 poor landless peasants, many of them bound to the latifundia through slave labor ("payment in kind"), and the agricultural workers, had no time for such humor. They were near starvation levels. Chile's peasantry has one of Latin America's highest infant mortality rates.

When the Christian Democracy tried to "Chileanize" the American-owned copper mines it became a mere "junior partner" obliged to pay millions of dollars in long term compensations, a fact which left it open to vicious attacks from the left nationalists.

Chile, with a population of 10 million, has to expend 150 million dollars annually to overcome its food shortage. A study made in 1964 showed that if Chile's full agrarian and sea resources were used, it could easily feed 80 million people. Needless to say, Frei's program didn't even scratch the surface of Chile's chronic, uneven and loathsome backwardness.

If a conservative national consensus had taken Frei to power in 1964, he soon began to lose his constituency. The Catholic University became a bastion of leftism, while public employees went on strike for higher wages and parity with other public concerns.

The economist Jacques Chonchol,

the main prop of the PDC's Agrarian Reform resigned and went over to the Allende opposition, alleging that Frei's agrarian program was a fiasco. Worker priests in the slums and poblaciones callampa (squatters' tenements) became furious with the Church hierarchy, a staunch supporter of PDC's morality and profits.

Even the judges and other judicial personnel became disgusted and went out on a 48 hour strike, the first of its kind in Chile. If religious and secular druids were becoming restive, one can imagine what was being felt by the great masses of the oppressed! Frei's almost daily babblings on the TV screens were not only boring but became repugnant to workers and clerks coming home from a wretched day of overtime, rotten transportation and undernourishment.

Frei's Delirium

This collective hatred and restlessness grew by leaps and bounds in 1967-68, and Allende was able to capitalize on it. Frei, a phillistine with Kennedy-Bonapartist deliriums, tried to repress these sentiments with brutality.

There were massacres of squatters in Puerto Montt, and in the November 1967 general strike the police had killed six people and wounded dozens. "It is I who decides the pace," he screamed.

The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, or Movement of the Revolutionary Left) began escalating its bank expropriations in 1968-69 and had many shoot-outs with the police. MIR militants recognized that they could hide in the squatters' tenements around Santiago, Chile's capital city of three million people, when escaping after an action.

The squatters and unemployed barricaded themselves and didn't permit the police to get in. Some of these slum neighborhoods adopted names such as "The Lenin tenement" or names of anniversaries of massacres or actions, such as 26 de enero. The MIR became a radical spokesman of the squatters' land takeovers, and totally supported those actions.

Allende disassociated himself from all this, and his coalition began to reconstruct patiently its base committees, the so-called comites de Unidad Popular, (Committees of Popular Unity) which were originally formed for the 1958 and the 1964 elections, on a purely electoral basis.

These facts help explain Allende's victory. The mass of the population



COPPER MINERS at El Teniente mine

was tired of the Christian Democrats "reforms" — it wanted a basic reform of Chile's social and economic conditions. Allende's electoral platform wasn't socialist in any way, and was able to polarize a large part of the Christian Democrat's votes.

The disillusionment that Frei brought also meant a shift of many votes to the National Party of Alessandri, the old conservative "momio" (mummy, as the UP called the conservatives) who had been president in 1958-64. Alessandri got 34.9 per cent of the votes.

Clearly, it was a fatal mistake for the conservatives of the National Party coalition to split the votes for PDC in the 1970 elections. Together, they would have obtained an absolute majority of 62.7 per cent, greater even to that of Frei (55 per cent) who had conservative backing in 1964.

But in 1969, the conservatives, the latifundists and the Chilean industrial bourgeoisie and banks, had lost confidence in the PDC, and had counted on a sharp turn to the right. Allende meant "communism" to them and the PDC had committed the unforgivable treachery of playing around with "revolution" (even if "in liberty"), a performance which had threatened to open the Pandora box of social revolution.

Besides, Frei had been incapable of crushing the leftist students and had permitted the legal existence of the CP. Oh, how sweet were the 1950's under the reactionary Ibañez, thought the National Party, when all this wouldn't have happened!

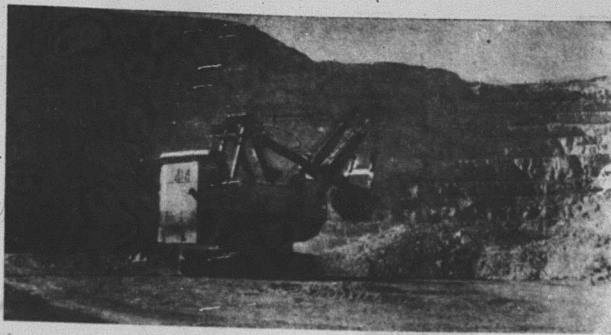
But after Allende's victory, they had to concede defeat. They had put all their hopes in the PDC dealing with the UP in congress, and short of supporting a military coup, they feel hopelessly vulnerable. No wonder 20 million dollars left Chile the first week of Allende's victory. Millions had left before, and many Chilean rich have moved to Buenos Aires as exiles.

No Social Base

It will be difficult for the American government and companies to stage something against Allende at this point. First of all, they have almost no social basis left in Chile. The Chilean bourgeoisie is frightened to the marrow, demoralized and bitter against the U.S. for her unwillingness to intervene. It can only sabotage Allende in congress and hide books, accounts, etc.

Such are defensive actions, which find no echo in the broad layers of the exploited. The Chilean bourgeoisie can return at the present moment, only through a military coup, which would mean civil war.

With this in mind, the American imperialists are very worried, and people like Senator Javits or White House advisor Kissinger, can only cry and groan furiously. If American military intervention were to occur it would create a continental and world crisis, which will deepen the crisis faced already by the



U.S.-operated copper mine

U.S. internally and in Southeast Asia.

The Chilean army (40,000 strong) supports Allende in the manner that the Bolsheviks supported Kerensky — noose-wise. For the Chilean bourgeoisie and the U.S., the Chilean army is their "queen" piece in the chess board. In fact, it is the only internal guarantee they have left against Allende at this point.

But the Chilean army is not a complete puppet of the capitalists and the U.S. It sees good things in Allende, much more than a National Party conservative or a Nixon-Javits can see.

In the first place, Allende has promised not to arm his electoral base. Castro, his personal friend in Cuba, advised him not to move against the army. Given the whole situation, Allende wouldn't do that unless he wants to commit suicide.

Allende considers that the Chilean army is a bastion of democracy. Indeed, a lot of the UP propaganda concerning the armed forces emphasizes the fact that theirs is an army with "democratic traditions," which has intervened in public life once or twice "only" in Chile's history.

The army supports Allende insofar as he doesn't try to curtail its "independence." This means that no rival arm-

ed groups (such as workers' militias) will be created. The 20,000 police force has been left intact, with the exception of the mobile police squad, which was dissolved (but its members are free).

The Chilean generals will not take kindly any reduction of the army's budget (20-25 per cent of the national budget). On the contrary, they will probably ask for an increase in its expenses, to face possible attack by Chile's "traditional enemies" (Peru and Bolivia, which Chile defeated in La guerra del Pacifico during last century).

Allende, who is forced to count on army support, will have to accede, especially if he fears an invasion backed by the U.S. or the Organization of American States. This would mean that the UP indeed sees the Chilean army as a staunch supporter of its regime, if the UP can satisfy the exigencies of the "democratic" generals.

Right at the moment the Chilean army is equipped with U.S. and West-European weapons; its air force even has latest model French jet fighter-bombers. To ensure the continuous flow of equipment, supplies and spare parts, by the same manufacturers, it has to stay within the realm of U.S.-NATO control.



Any move to buy weapons from Eastern Europe or Russia will be seen in a bad light by the Chilean generals. Such a move (like Arbenz's in Guatemala in 1954) would exasperate the military, and Allende is thus trying to be as sweet and friendly as a boy scout.

There has been lots of talk about the army not being "a whole reactionary bloc." Those who think that the Chilean army is rife with radical contradictions and that therefore it can't move with liberty, forget the fact that an army is an army and not a social democratic club.

There is support for Allende in the conscripted ranks, among the NCOs and even in the high command (witness the late General Rene Schneider, a close supporter of Allende, assassinated by reactionaries). But the Chilean army has purged itself of most leftist officers and "troublemakers."

"By 1962 virtually all officers who were ideologically neutral or who harbored socialist sympathies were reckoned to have been forced into retirement or otherwise removed from their commands." Successive army purges and plots occurred in April 1969 (when Schneider himself helped purge officers and sub-officers), October 1969 (the Talcañaze of right-wing General Viaux, a plot dissolved by Frei) and in March 1970. All these events helped Frei to get rid of unreliable officers in view of a possible Allende victory.

UP Defenseless

The Chilean army has not been defeated anytime. It has the tradition of killing striking miners, occupying factories to impede workers' takeovers, brutally crushing peasants who interrupt the latifundists' onces (tea-time), and knouting around the poor. Even if in its ranks there are many allendistas (as there surely are) they can't run against their officers if the social struggles in civilian society don't offer a revolutionary, positive way out.

Right now the UP is completely defenseless against the army, even more so because the UP has consistently told the workers and peasants that nothing reactionary or violent should be expected from the army. Regis Debray, theoretician of the foco and armed struggle, presently a guest of Allende in Santiago, claims that the threat to the electoral victory might come from "within" the UP — not from the army!

It is a bitter truth that during "normal" times opportunists and scoundrels of all varieties make all kinds of "theories" about the revolution's path, but when faced with the real events they simply capitulate to the accomplished fact; in this case, a protobourgeois "socialist" election. Those who pay, usually with their blood, are the unarmed workers, students and peasants. ■

[Reprinted from International Socialism, the British International Socialist bimonthly, April/May 1971.]

France

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

ganized occupation of the factory.

Then the Communist officials arrived with goon squads of loyal party men, lined up face-to-face against left-

ist workers. The workers maintained a stunned silence as the CP official harangued them, but gave him the cold shoulder. Official and goon squads left without incident; the occupation continued under leftist leadership.

Immediately, the Gaullist cabinet ministers announced a plan to fight inflation. But this was aimed more at helping the middle-class and resisting workers' demands, such as retirement at 60 and a 40-hour week (as in the

USA, the 40-hour week was supposedly won in the '30's, but something happened between then and now). The workers weren't taking official television speeches into account.

Throughout France in May, there were occupations and work-stoppages, demonstrations and strikes. And as these developed, workers learned in factory after factory that in order to conduct a winning battle against their employers around trade-union demands,

they had first to win the political battle against their won trade union leaders.

Where the strike and occupation was strongest, at Billancourt, for example, workers won the first round by moving out from under the leadership to strike more or less on their own. To end the strike with a victory, they were forced to combat the creeping demoralization which spreads wherever the union bureaucrats, especially the Communist officials, are on stage. ■

THE PEOPLE'S PARK PARTY...

WHERE WAS WIDENER?



[Berkeley has not forgotten People's Park. Early in May, the Daily Californian, U.C. student newspaper, called in an editorial for a party on the vacant lawn which now covers the Park area. The party was called for May 15, the second anniversary of the bloody People's Park street battle.

"Maybe someone will bring wirecutters," said the editorial, referring to the cyclone fence surrounding the lawn. The fence is looked upon in Berkeley as a hated symbol of University power.

The campus community not surprisingly interpreted this editorial as a call for a mass attempt to take back the Park. A large angry crowd gathered on May 15, and began to pull down the cyclone fence. Police eventually moved in to disperse the crowd with gas and pellet shotguns. 41 persons were arrested.

The following is a statement by the Berkeley International Socialists, which was printed in the Daily Californian and distributed as a leaflet.]

Saturday on the second anniversary of the police takeover of People's Park, several hundred people once again at-

tempted to make the park theirs. They were prevented by UC police, Berkeley Police and Alameda County Sheriffs who gassed and shot at the demonstrators.

This happened even though a few short weeks ago Berkeley elected three "radicals" to the city council and a "radical" mayor. Why? Don't the council and especially the Mayor have any control over what happens in Berkeley?

City Manager Hanley is the one who called out the police; moreover, he announced (reported in the Sunday Examiner) that he and the police chief are in charge of the city, not the council and mayor to whom they are supposedly responsible.

Where was Mayor Widener when all this happened? Conveniently out of town? We would like to know what the Mayor intends to do about all of

this, especially in light of Hanley's denunciation of him.

We call upon Widener to do the following:

- * Order Hanley and Chief Beall to not use the Berkeley police to prevent a People's Park takeover by its rightful owners, the citizens of Berkeley.

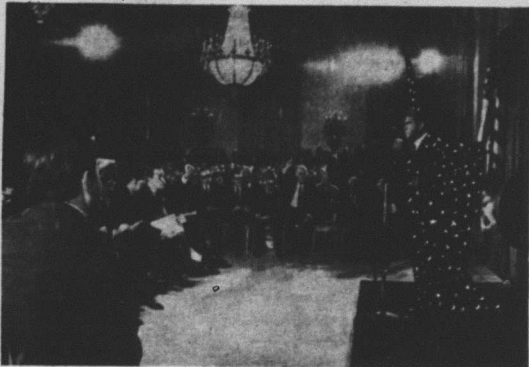
- * Deputize volunteers to prevent the notorious Alameda County Sheriffs from interfering in the Park.

- * Demand that all charges against those arrested be dropped.

Of course Hanley will probably ignore the Mayor's instructions because he does not consider himself responsible to the Mayor. And the City Council will not override Hanley because of the 4-4 split.

We call upon Widener and the Black Caucus-April Coalition councilmen to counter this obstruction by announcing that they intend to **BLOCK PASSAGE OF THE POLICE BUDGET** which must be voted on before July 1 if the city is to have a police department unless the conservatives cease their obstructionism.

We urge everyone to turn out tonight to the City Council's public hearing called to discuss the ninth council seat, to make these demands upon the mayor and the city council!



Magician Richard Lyons

The magician swirled out on the stage,
Talking glibly, doing his sleights of hand
And face and honesty a while,
Talking a river of fluctuating fact
And illusion, and we clapped sometimes,
Until he tried hypnosis
And the stage darkened into country
of a tightened, apprehensive sleep.
Our sleeping elbows rattled
Against the wooden arms of the seats
And our knees knocked us into laughter.
We were with him. He was good.
We heard what he told us to.
He waved what he called a flag,
And everybody saw the white stars of his eyes.
Then he took a young man, protesting,
From the front row, and we clapped,
And placed him in a box, talking,
A box like a coffin on end, talking,
A box with a thin interior
And a lid like a door with the box on end.

To prove his prowess that we

Were ready to believe, flourishing,
He took his talking sword
And ran it with grand flourishes
Through the box, through slits we
Assumed were there already, carefully.
It was a trick. We were fooled.
But he wailed, the young man.
Only his voice was visible through the box.

When the swami pulled the sword out,
It was smeared with blood,
And we clapped in hypnotized delight,
Taken with it all. He thrust again.
"He does not feel a thing," he said.
It was true. He felt nothing.
When our leader opened the lid
We believed we saw a dummy,
A large papier mache doll
That fell forward, bleeding.
How could he make it bleed? we wondered
Because that was the last trick.
He muzzled his talk with a smile.
We all stood and sang "The Star Spangled Banner."

Veterans

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

for tuition or living expenses, let alone both.

Even if the veteran can get into school and live on this pittance, he's still got two strikes against him. The first is that things like the periodic table of elements and the rules of calculus tend to be forgotten during a few years in the barracks or the rice paddies. The second is that many soldiers, after the 39th lecture on the four initial steps in first-aid, develop a conditioned reflex of falling asleep as soon as they sit down in a classroom.

The government's response to veterans' problems has been on the barid-aid level. Since Nixon is trying to achieve deflation through unemployment, it would be counterproductive to put the veterans to work. But this is what can and must be done.

During the year after World War II about nine million troops were demobilized. Unemployment never rose above 4.9 per cent and was usually under 3.9 per cent. Today, Nixon has cut the size of the armed forces by only a half million, yet unemployment has gone from 3.3 per cent to over 6 per cent.

At the same time, there is plenty of work that needs to be done. The cities are falling apart, there is a shortage of low-cost housing, schools and hospitals are totally inadequate, public transportation becomes worse every year along with telephone and postal service. There are plenty of people willing and eager

to do the work, but Nixon would prefer to spend our money on supersonic jetliners so the idle rich can have a few extra hours on the Riviera.

Veterans, workers and the unemployed must organize to demand that jobs

be provided; not NRA-CCC make-work but jobs to fulfill the real needs of the country. These jobs should be paid for by taxing the corporations that have bloated themselves like leeches, profiting on the war in Viet Nam.



INTERESTED?

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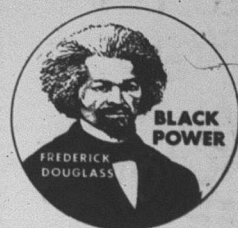
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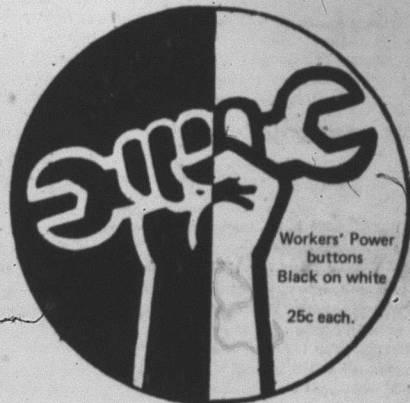
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Workers' Power

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 Native Americans; 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.

JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME



FROM THE FRONT LINE TO THE BREAD LINE

R.F. Kampfer

A soldier feels about civilian life the way a hard-core christian feels about heaven, except that the soldier is more anxious (and more likely) to get there.

"When I get out," the GI says, "I'll get up when I feel like, and put on whatever clothes I choose, and eat breakfast off a plate instead of a tray, and do whatever I want to do all day long. I'll never wear green again and never stand in another line or do another pushup and I'll be free."

Finally the ETS comes and the ex-GI hangs up his greens and sets out to make up for lost time. But civilian life isn't quite like he remembered. For one thing, nobody on the block knows quite how to take him, especially if he's done a tour in Nam.

Some people think he spent his time playing Audie Murphy and want him to tell war stories. Others call him a tool of the military industrial complex and want to know why he didn't desert. Still others won't even talk about the war because they fear he's a trained killer who might run amok any minute.

The country has been changing while he was away, and the Stars and Stripes didn't tell him about it. His family will probably want him to return to wherever he was at before the service, but he isn't the same person any more and it isn't the same scene.

Hard Times

But all these hassles are minor compared to what happens when the veteran tries to get a job.

Even though most civilians work harder than GIs, they don't have to salute the boss and they can tell the foreman to fuck off without being busted. Veterans value these rights, but they don't apply unless the vet has a job.

If he was working full time before being drafted, he's entitled to his old

place. Of course, the boss can always find an excuse to fire him a month or two later. But if his old job no longer exists, or he wasn't working at the time of enlistment, then he's really in for trouble.

These are hard times for anybody to find a job, including Ph.D.'s. For veterans, it's a lot worse, for several reasons.

Soldier On The Job

He's been out of circulation for at least two years. Any skills he had are going to be rusty, and he hasn't been able to keep up with the latest developments in his field. Nobody will want to go to the expense and trouble of retraining him when there are a surplus of fully qualified applicants on hand.

If he was in a combat slot he hasn't learned anything useful for the civilian job market. There is no call nowadays for people who can fire an M-60, call in H & I, or set up a Claymore pocket. Nor is there any need for those skilled in spit-shining boots or policing up cigarette butts, which is what combat men do when they aren't fighting.

The situation is only slightly better for those with a non-combat MOS. The army has its own way of doing everything, usually outdated and inefficient. An Army mess-hall, for example, uses three or four times the number of cooks and KPs as a civilian restaurant of the same size — and produces a much inferior product. People who manage to learn a trade in the army are few and far between.

In fact, the experience of army life tends to make a man a less efficient worker than he was before. Since most military work serves no useful purpose, GIs avoid it as much as possible. That is the origin of the expression: "to soldier on the job."

It's a matter of pride and self-respect

not to do what the army wants. Some troopers will put more time and energy into finding ways to slack off than would be required to do the job.

The military also stamps out initiative wherever it finds it. Sergeants do not approve of privates who think up easier or better ways to do things. As a result, soldiers tend to do nothing at all that they haven't been told to do, even when the need is obvious.

At Fort Lewis we all knew that work call was at 0730, but we wouldn't fall out until the sergeant climbed up the stairs and told us to. If we were digging ditches and ran into a tree, we'd all put down our shovels and wait patiently un-

til a sergeant came over and told us to cut it down.

Most employers are aware of just what kind of work-habits servicemen have. It makes them even more reluctant to hire veterans. They also sometimes fear that veterans may tend to be more violence-prone than non-veterans.

Usually this is not the case. Most people who have experienced violence are less likely to use it without cause. A few veterans have been pushed over the edge by the strains of combat, and the army is at fault in returning these men to civilian life without readjustment. Some are discharged within 48 hours after returning from Nam.

Some soldiers become strung out on liquor or hard drugs under the tension and boredom of army life. This too contributes to their unemployability.

Perhaps the worst off are those who have been court martialed or gotten a less than honorable discharge. Even if the cause is not even a crime under civilian law, such as going AWOL or insubordination, finding a job becomes almost impossible. Nor can one forget the thousands that have been wounded and crippled so as to limit their ability to work.

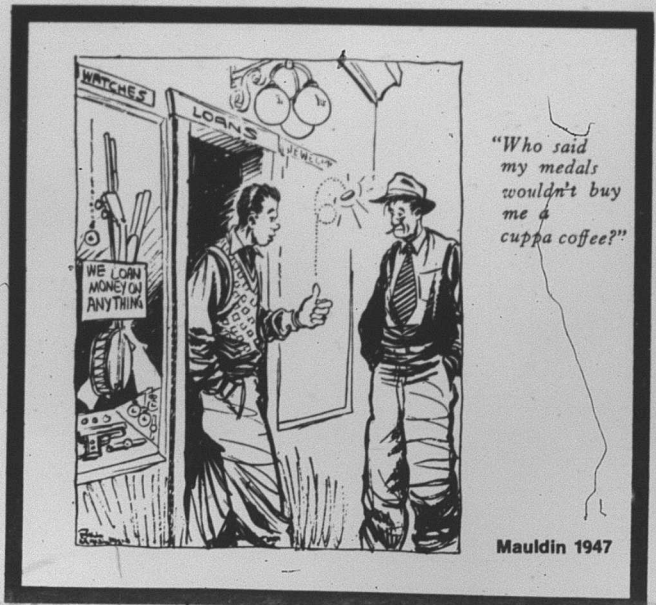
Staggering Unemployment

All these factors contribute to the truly staggering rate of unemployment among veterans. According to government statistics, the figures for Dec. 1970 were 11 per cent for White veterans and 21 per cent for Blacks; higher than the figures for non-veterans in the same age group. By March 1971, the total had reached 320,000 people, more than five divisions and all their supporting units.

It would seem that one solution for the veteran would be to go to school on the GI Bill, at least until the job market improves. But only 15 per cent of all veterans age 20-29 are now in school, compared to 25 per cent for non-veterans. In fact only 17 per cent of the veterans in that age bracket have any education past high school, out of 50 per cent of the general population.

Unfortunately, military life isn't any more conducive to going to school than it is to getting a job. The biggest problem is money. The GI Bill used to pay full tuition plus an inadequate living allowance. It now pays a flat grant of only \$175 per month; barely adequate

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