

Workers' Power

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Imperialist War- Imperialist Peace

EDITORIAL

After 26 years of incomparable heroism and sacrifice, the Vietnamese have been forced to accept a truce which does not bring victory against U.S. imperialism.

The settlement signed January 27, as Workers' Power predicted last fall when tentative terms were first announced, is a compromise with imperialism.

All American troops are to be withdrawn; the bombing and mining of North Vietnam are to end; there is to be a cease-fire; the U.S. will withdraw its bases and most of its advisers. That is what the Vietnamese have gained.

In return, they have given up the demand for the ouster of "President" Thieu, the Vietnamese representative of American imperialism. Thieu remains in office. He commands armed forces comprising 1.1 million Army troops, 600,000 militia, and 119,000 police.

The 145,000 North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam,

(Continued on page 4)



Phase
Three:

Full Speed-up Ahead

Nixon's Phase III, like the wage freeze and Phase II, is designed to raise business profits by turning up the pressure against working people's standard of living and conditions of work. The likely results will be a spurt of price increases, a higher rate of inflation in the coming months, and a continuing campaign for productivity concessions by the trade unions.

Two factors prompted Nixon to modify the wage-price control system. One was business' de-

mand for more leeway on profit margins and prices, now that profit rates have been rising for two years and have reached the limits set up under Phase II. The other is the upcoming round of major labor contract negotiations; the Administration wants the collaboration of the trade union leadership in holding off an organized fight against the wage ceilings and productivity trade-offs.

The chief planks in the Phase III program are:

**Replacing mandatory controls by "voluntary" ones, except in the food, health, and construction industries. This means that advance approval of price increases by the Price Commission is no longer required, and that many companies are now exempt from record-keeping rules.

Nixon stressed that the controls will remain "voluntary" only if they are not exceeded; the Administration still retains

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Bloomington I.S. Holds Conference On Labor Revolt

"Working Class Militancy on the Rise" was the topic at a recent International Socialists' Conference held in Bloomington, Indiana. The day-long forum attracted over 50 people, including a number of auto workers, teachers, clerical workers, and students. After the conference, a number of people joined the I.S. and a branch has now been set up.

It's been more than 50 years since Gene Debs, the fiery, Indiana-bred socialist, was in the spotlight of the American labor movement. The Bloomington I.S. will begin to once again build a working class movement for socialism and democracy.

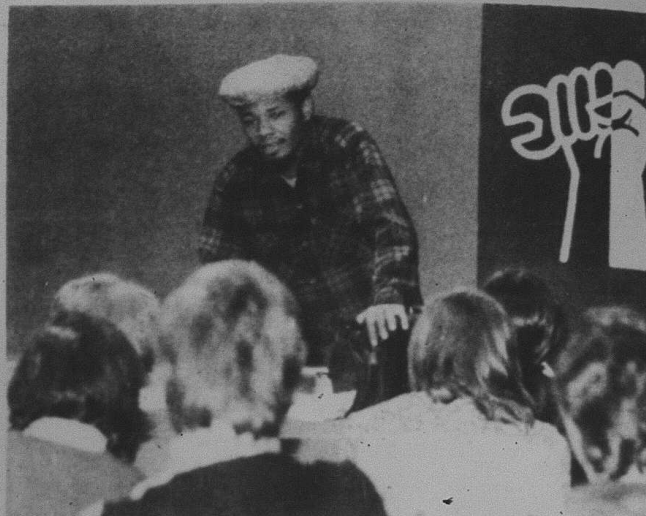
The forum featured speakers from St. Louis, Detroit, and New York. At the morning session Ron Tabor, National Industrial Secretary of the I.S., spoke on the roots and the impact of the current capitalist crisis. The afternoon sessions dealt with the problems this crisis has posed for auto workers and teachers.

Nate Mosley, a United Auto Workers Committeeman and a leader in Local 25 in St. Louis, described the attack on auto workers that's being led by the GMAD division of General Motors. Steve Zeluck, a member

of the New Rochelle Federation of Teachers, spoke on the crisis as it's posed for the schools and the teachers' unions. Both Mosley and Zeluck stressed the importance of building a labor party that can fight for the interests of the working class as a whole.

The final talks of the day were given by Sy Landy, the National Secretary of the I.S. Landy discussed black liberation and emphasized the importance of black workers taking the lead in working class struggles. Landy gave examples of this occurring a number of times on the shop floor in auto and steel. He said blacks must continue to play a leadership role and broaden it to include the building of a labor party.

At the evening session, Landy spoke on tasks and perspectives for socialists. He discussed in detail the reasons why the working class itself is the only group in society that can build socialism. He pointed out the work of the I.S. aimed toward the working class and he encouraged people to join in building the I.S. into a revolutionary workers organization. ■



Nate Mosley, leader of UAW Local 25 rank and file caucus.



Steve Zeluck speaking to Bloomington I. S. conference.

ON THE LINE



"You don't have to time everything I do!"

Workers' Power 71

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WOMEN WIN RIGHT TO LEGAL ABORTION

Key Stacy



Abortion reform march in 1970

American women have won a major victory towards making abortion a free, safe, legal surgical procedure. Although it still is not free, and may not always be safe, abortion is now legal. That development alone will have a tremendous impact, allowing women a greater ability to control their lives as they see fit.

The Supreme Court declared Texas and Georgia State abortion laws unconstitutional on January 22. The ruling has the effect of wiping out most State abortion laws across the nation. The pressures that produced that ruling came from many different directions.

On the one hand, the abortion reform movement has convinced a majority of the American people that every woman has a right to control her body and has stimulated court suits in almost every State in the union.

On the other hand, the American Medical Association, the most powerful lobby in Washington, has been pushing abortion reform for three years. Individual State reforms created abortion havens in some areas, giving those doctors tremendous profits, while others got nothing.

These pressures combined to push the Supreme Court into a decision changes the whole conception of what an abortion actually is. The fetus has no competing human rights until it reaches a stage in its development where it could survive outside the womb of the mother.

States may no longer make laws regulating abortion in the first trimester (three months) of pregnancy.

The decision is left up solely to a woman and her physician.

In the second trimester, States may regulate, but not ban, the abortion procedure. The regulations must be "reasonably related" to the mother's health.

The court did decide, however, that after the sixth month of pregnancy the State has a "compelling interest" in the life of the child, and may prohibit abortions. Of course, abortion will still be allowed to protect the life or health of the mother.

Three Limitations

While this ruling by the Supreme Court is a huge step forward for women, we must not be blind to its limitations. Free, safe abortion on demand has still to be translated into a reality.

First of all, the ability of the States to tie up controversial national legislation in the courts has been well demonstrated by State reaction to the banning of the death penalty. Many States, notably Indiana, are going to great lengths to get around that Supreme Court ruling.

Especially in more conservative States, a militant women's movement will be an absolute necessity to force State compliance with the decision.

In addition, while the Court's ruling is clear on the right to abortion in the first trimester, the States retain the right to make limiting regulations for the second trimester. The third to fourth month period is critical since many women don't discover their pregnancy until they are well into their second month.

Unless speedy abortions are

available, individual States may so confuse the situation with red-tape that the availability of abortion will be severely restricted.

The second major limitation of the Supreme Court's decision involves the physical conditions under which abortions will be performed. In the early months, abortion is a relatively safe, minor surgical procedure. It can also be relatively inexpensive under a clinic program where women spend a few hours after the abortion under observation before being sent home.

But strict controls are necessary to be sure that sanitary conditions are maintained, and that technically competent people are administering the treatment. At the same time, these controls must not be handled in such a way that the establishment of these clinics is so curtailed that women are forced into already over-crowded, under-staffed hospitals unnecessarily.

Clinics should be staffed with trained para-professionals and counselors. Midwives perform abortions in all European countries rather than doctors. The reason why midwifery has not spread on in America is the strangle-hold the medical profession has on all techniques, no matter how simple.

Each and every step in the procedure should be adequately explained to every patient. Much of the fear and apprehension that women feel during gynecological procedures is a result of either callous treatment by the doctor or being left in ignorance about what is going to happen to her body.

Follow-up treatment and information is a necessary part of these clinics' programs to lower the rate of post-abortion infections and to prevent serious complications from developing.

The most important problem is that as long as abortions cost money they will be out of reach of a great percentage of women. We still need to work for and demand free abortion for all women.

Blue Cross, the major national health insurance company, has been covering the costs of abortions on family contracts in States where abortions are legal. But they have not been covering abortions on single person contracts, just as they do not cover maternity costs for single women.

The result is that even single women with health insurance in most circumstances are expected to absorb the cost of an abortion themselves. But most single working women are employed in marginal job categories at barely minimum wages, and a disproportionately high number of these women are black, Chicana or other minorities.

Women who cannot finance an abortion privately are forced either to have unwanted children, or to become welfare patients. In States where abortions have been legal, welfare patients are experiencing much higher rates of serious medical complications up to and including death. Moreover, many women have been forced to undergo unwanted sterilizations -- leading some black spokesmen to denounce the legalization of abortion as a move against the black community.

The Supreme Court has decided that abortions on demand are legal during the first six months of pregnancy. Now we must work first to see to it that the Court's decision is enforced and secondly to guarantee the right of free, safe abortions to every woman. ■

Business Faces Women's Liberation

The women's liberation movement has the business world a bit up-tight. In recent weeks both *Business Week* and the *Wall Street Journal* have carried articles advising businessmen how to deal with problems raised by women's liberation.

The *Journal* article was entitled "A Handy Guide to Everyday Dealings With Women" and offered suggestions on relating to women executives and professionals.

To avoid embarrassing incidents, the *Journal* advised against taking businesswomen to lunch at private clubs unless you're absolutely sure the club will serve women.

New York's Union League Club, it was noted, will serve women, but it makes them use a separate entrance by the kitchen.

Business Week dealt with the problem of how to keep your secretary "happy and hardworking." "You can bet that the Women's Lib movement has raised your secretary's consciousness about possible inequities in the office," it said.

Business Week suggested combining promotions and flattery to keep the office humming, and offered male executives a do-it-yourself chauvinist test. ■



Editorial

Forced Peace Is No Victory

(Continued from page 1)

which have borne the brunt of the fighting, may remain. But they may not be replaced. Kissinger says this means that they "should over time be subject to considerable reduction. North Vietnam, which would depend on these troops if the truce broke down, has accepted tight inspection of all entry routes into South Vietnam.

In sum, the military balance, at present uncertain, will shift toward Saigon as time goes on. The political balance of forces is weighted toward the U.S. side right now.

The truce will be supervised by a commission divided between U.S. allies and the Soviet and Chinese "allies" of North Vietnam. The catch is that these "allies" have already betrayed the struggle in Vietnam by constant pressure on North Vietnam by constant pressure on North Vietnam to compromise.

They have refused to give Hanoi sufficient aid and arms. By making no real protest over the mining of Haiphong last spring, they let Nixon know he could blast Vietnam to ruins without losing their friendship. This is a major reason why the Vietnamese have now been forced to accept bitter peace terms. China and Russia will be no better allies in the future.

The preparation for "free elections" -- for which no date is set in the

truce -- is to be supervised by a commission including the Communists, the South Vietnamese "neutralists" (who in ten years have never played an independent role) and the Saigon government of Thieu.

Alien Imposition

This government remains an alien imposition on Vietnam. The landlord and capitalist class it represents is completely dominated by U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is the base of the government's power. Its participation in the planning of elections is a continued intervention by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, and a warning that the elections may never take place.

While Thieu remains "President," no official recognition has been given to the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Even this compromise with imperialism may not last. The truce is booby-trapped all along the line. All its complicated provisions require "unanimity" -- the agreement of all sides. Any side can scrap it.

Thieu, who stands to lose some or all of his power through elections, has every interest in scrapping the truce. If the Communists look like gaining advantages, he will do so, with few objections from the U.S. and its allies.

North Vietnam, on the other hand, has tied its hands militarily and must

hope the truce holds up. China and Russia will sip California champagne while pressuring North Vietnam to maintain the agreement and even to submit to violations.

And if the elections are ever held, the outcome will be decided -- on both sides -- by military control of votes. And Thieu's troops control more of the population than the PRG's.

Self-Determination?

In sum, North Vietnam has compromised on every point in order to gain withdrawal of U.S. troops and the end of U.S. bombing. Vietnam has not achieved self-determination, that is, the expulsion of U.S. imperialism.

The "self-determination of South Vietnam" referred to in the agreements is only a veil for its opposite -- a concession of the U.S.'s right to retain influence in Vietnam's internal affairs.

The forces which have contributed to this outcome must be carefully analyzed so that they can be understood and defeated.

First is the determination of all U.S. Presidents -- Nixon, Johnson, Kennedy -- to rain fire on Vietnam to force submission. They act not from madness or mistaken policy, as liberals believe -- but from the logical needs of U.S. imperialism, a world system of domination.

This force cannot be reformed; it must be smashed.

Sino-Soviet Treachery

Second is the treachery of Russia and China -- a factor well understood by Nixon, who in his speech on the settlement called for "mutual restraint" by "the other major powers that have been involved, even indirectly." On the world scale, the interests of the bureaucratic-collectivist states now call for compromise with U.S. imperialism.

Twice before, the Vietnamese independence struggle has been sacrificed to these interests. From 1935-1945, when Russia's line was anti-fascist collaboration with the Western democracies, Ho Chi Minh shelved the independence struggle for a decade. In 1954, when Russia and China aimed at "thaw" with the United States, Ho Chi Minh settled for control of half of Vietnam and a promise of elections.

The interests of bureaucratic collectivism on the world scale are also imperialist, whether aimed at deals with capitalism or at grabbing territory. *This force too cannot be re-*

formed, but must be smashed.

A third factor behind the imperialist peace, less important than the first two but crucial in the United States, is the treachery of American anti-war leaders. In different ways, the leaders of both national anti-war organizations have brought the movement under the sway of the Democratic Party. And the Democrats and McGovern have backed the imperialist peace to the hilt, and have left Vietnam without support.

An even more crucial role was played by the "anti-war" trade union leaders. The "Labor for Peace" organization built up support for those same Democrats, instead of campaigning in the unions for a refusal to load U.S. war goods and a political strike against the war -- measures which could have forced the U.S. to withdraw unconditionally.

This happened because those leaders are fully tied to the liberal wing of the capitalist class and refuse to call into play the enormous power of their own class. *This force, the conservative union bureaucracy, can be overturned by the workers themselves fighting for a revolutionary leadership.*

Stalinist Sell-Out

The final factor behind the imperialist peace has been the compromises of North Vietnam. As a national ruling class within the larger system of bureaucratic-collectivist regimes, the North Vietnamese rulers are pulled toward ways.

By the logic of the necessity of freeing Vietnam from imperialism, as the basis for their own class rule, they are pulled toward anti-imperialist struggle. But by the logic of their dependence on the other bureaucratic-collectivist states, they are pulled toward sacrificing their national ruling class interests to the larger interests of their class system. In signing Nixon's truce, they bowed both to force and to this larger logic.

This force, the Stalinist leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle, must be displaced by a revolutionary leadership.

The danger now is that the North Vietnamese Stalinists and their South Vietnamese agents will become the best and most consistent policemen for the imperialist truce. This truce now remains their only hope of gaining power, yet it is weighted toward the U.S./Saigon side. There are reports that NLF forces are dissatisfied with the terms, yet North Vietnam is calling the shots.

There are other possibilities, such as a renewal of the fighting. But the various possibilities only point up the fact that the North Vietnamese/PRG leaders cannot be trusted. The NLF, led by Stalinists and tied to North Vietnam, has never attempted to organize the Vietnamese working class. It does not represent a potential revolutionary leadership, even if it wished to move in this direction.

Socialist Alternative

Whether or not some section of the NLF base splits from the Stalinist leadership, the task which lies before the Vietnamese workers now is to begin building a revolutionary socialist alternative to the PRG -- one which will be able to mobilize the people to demand the end of all U.S. involvement in Vietnam; to bring down Thieu; to arm the workers and peasants to defend themselves both against the U.S. imperialists and against a later consolidation of power by the Stalinists; and to fight for a workers' and peasants' government in Vietnam.

Only this way can the waste and tragedy of the Vietnam peace be turned to victory. ■



1973: Key Year For Contract Bargaining

Jim Woodward

1973 is shaping up as an important year for many Americans -- workers, capitalists, and the government alike. Contract negotiations between major employers and unions, coupled with the government's desire to hold down wages and intensify the productivity drive, guarantee that labor confrontations will be inevitable and probably frequent in the new year.

The government and big business have been plotting their strategy. Workers will have to be prepared a response if they are not to be the losers.

The most important confrontations will come in negotiations over new contracts in a number of major industries, including auto, trucking, railroads, the electrical industry, and the post office. About 4.7 million workers will be affected, up from 2.8 million last year.

These negotiations will be a major test for the government -- big business plan to increase profits at the expense of the working class and an indication of the readiness of workers to fight to maintain their modest living and working conditions.

Union leaders' preparations for the 1973 negotiations have, in general, not been marked by an excess of aggressiveness. Indeed, the bureaucrats have completely capitulated before the united front of government and the employers. Their only request is that they be consulted in the decision making. If there ever was a union partnership, this is it.

Nevertheless, the role of the labor bureaucracy is an important one. The government cannot maintain economic controls by itself -- the labor leaders' task is to sell the controls and the rationale behind them to the rank and file to isolate and beat back any militant response.

Almost the entire labor bureaucracy went along with the 5.5% wage guidelines of Phase 2, and, as usual, has shown little interest in fighting for major improvements in working conditions. These are some of the problems that workers will have to contend with in fighting for decent contracts this year.

Major contracts up for negotiation include the following.

***Rubber.** Contracts between 70,000 members of the United Rubber Workers and the major tire manufacturers expire April 20. The tire companies have threatened and in some cases actually moved production out of Akron, Ohio, the major tire center. Last year, some URWA locals gave in to this company blackmail to the extent of accepting certain work rule changes (raising the work week from 36 to 40 hours, for example). This year the employers are in a good position financially primarily because of increased auto production and the growing demand for radial tires.

***Electrical.** A coalition of 13 unions will bargain for 107,000 General Electric workers when their contract expires at the end of May. GE likes to think of itself as a leader in inventing new repressive tactics for dealing with workers. Sixty thousand Westinghouse workers' contracts expire shortly afterwards on June 10.

***Trucking.** The Master Freight Agreement expires June 30. MFA is

the contract between most trucking companies and Teamster drivers and warehousemen.

Master Freight is particularly important because its expiration comes near the beginning of this round of major contract negotiations which extends through most of 1974. Last time, the Teamsters got a very substantial wage settlement. If this were to happen this year, it could be used as a model by other unions and thus wreck the administration's economic plans.

The situation is complicated by Nixon's relationship to Teamster boss Frank Fitzsimmons. The two have been rather chummy lately and would rather avoid a fight if they could.

Both Nixon and Fitzsimmons hope that the large wage settlement of 1970 will mean less pressure from the ranks this year, and this may well be the case. But it is also true that Fitzsimmons will have to defend this year's settlement in light of the last one.

One key aspect is the situation in Chicago where Teamster locals and an owner-operator group are not covered by the Master Freight Agreement.

again challenged the wage controls by renegotiating their contract since Nixon announced the end of Phase 2. The government has not yet responded officially to the wage increases in their new contract.

*** Post office.** The contracts of 600,000 postal workers come up for renewal on July 20. Most are represented by the National Association of Letter Carriers and the American Postal Workers Union.

Last time around postal workers surprised both the government and their own "leaders" by staging an impressive nation-wide wildcat -- the first strike in their history. A repetition this year is unlikely, although far from ruled out. Postal strikes are illegal and the union bureaucrats are not anxious to defy the government on this point.

Leaders of a key local, New York's Branch 36 of the Letter Carriers, earlier showed some interest in organizing a nationwide opposition to NALC President Rademacher. However, they have since moved toward much closer cooperation with him.

The International's shameful handling of the GMAD strikes also indicates that it is not willing to wage a serious struggle over working conditions.

Instead, the UAW bureaucracy is engaged in a frantic search for some new gimmick that can be won without too great a fight.

UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser has made it clear that the union's talk about changing the nature of assembly line jobs is not serious: "If you asked me how to humanize a plant," he said, "I couldn't tell you how to do it." Perhaps if he were put on an assembly line for a while he'd get some ideas.

Key Issues

The recent upturn in the economy, the pressure of inflation, and the large number of important contracts expiring in 1973 open up the possibility that pent-up frustrations of the past several years could lead to a big rank and file upsurge in the next few months. There are a number of issues of key importance which rank and filers should consider in shaping their bargaining demands this year.

Wages. The necessity of fighting for large wage gains is two-fold. First, it is of utmost importance to smash and discredit Nixon's wage controls -- even in their "relaxed" Phase 3 form. If the recent longshore increases are vetoed, the "difference" between Phase 2 and Phase 3 will be clear to all. The controls are part of the efforts of the ruling class to maintain and increase their profits at the expense of workers. This policy can only be turned around by a direct action on the controls program.

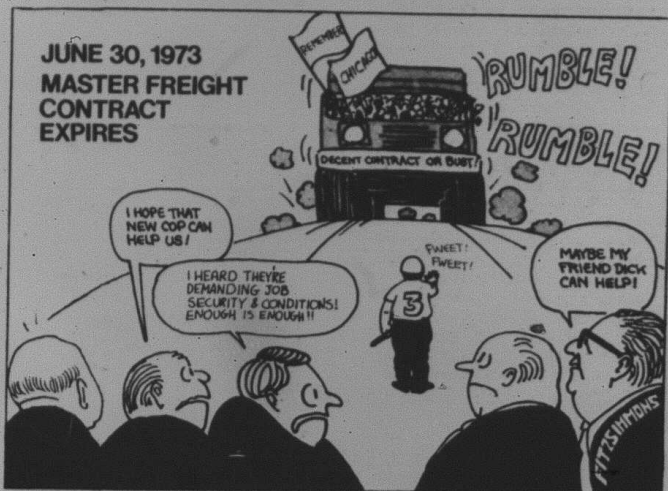
Secondly, the likelihood of renewed inflation means that workers will have to fight for significant wage gains and/or full cost-of-living increases just to maintain their current standard of living.

Working conditions. Speedup is the common experience of workers throughout industry and is another aspect of the employers' offensive. What's the point of getting good wages if you're too tired at the end of the day to enjoy them or if working conditions are so unsafe or unhealthy that they take years off your life?

Workers should be on guard against the possibility of trade-offs of working conditions for wage increase. In such cases workers usually end up sacrificing more to the company in the long run than the immediate wage gain is worth.

Unemployment. Some workers are forced to put in long hours while others can't get jobs at all. Unemployment is important for employed and unemployed workers alike. To get more jobs, we need to begin fighting for a 30 hour work week with no loss in pay.

The success of this year's fight against unemployment, for human working conditions and decent wages depends, above all else, on the response of the rank and file to the employers' offensive and their response to wage controls and other government intervention. This makes much more important the building of an independent political party to fight for labor's needs.



Bargaining independently, they won a substantially higher increase than Fitzsimmons' 1970's national agreement. This led to wildcat strikes around the country which forced the re-opening of the national agreement, raising national wage levels up to those Chicago had won. This year the Chicago contracts expire first -- on March 31.

*** Railroads.** The day after the MFA expires, contracts between the major railroads and 562,000 railroad workers run out. A combined transportation strike is not likely, however, since the rail unions traditionally respect a myriad of legal delaying tactics instituted by the government under the Railway Labor Act.

*** Longshore.** Dock workers' contracts on the west coast run out July 1. Their union, the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union, was one of the first casualties of the Pay Board -- losing a big chunk of its last settlement.

The longshoremen, who would like to make up for what they lost, have

The potential for an effective communications strike is there, however, especially since Western Union contracts just a week after the postal deadline.

*** Airlines.** Although various airline contracts expire throughout the year, the most important are those with the Machinists which run out on August 31. A strike by the Machinists in the summer of 1966 grounded most major airlines for five weeks.

*** Auto.** The biggest contracts of the year are the UAW's agreements with the major auto makers. These agreements expire September 14. Over 670,000 workers are involved.

Under Phase 2, the UAW leadership made it quite clear that it did not intend to break the wage guidelines. A UAW statement on Phase 3 indicated the same thing: "Even before controls were imposed, in our 1970-71 negotiations we carefully avoided the danger that we might contribute to inflation. . . We intend also to follow a responsible anti-inflationary course in future negotiations."

Workers Bear Cost

Peace in Vietnam Won't End War Spending

One of the paradoxes of the ending of the Vietnam war is that removing the economic burden of the war will bring no "peace dividend" for the American people. Yet American businessmen have long been enthusiastic over the prospect of an end to the war, so much so that the stock market fell every time the war news turned bloodier.

The "peace dividend" is the vast amount of money spent by the U.S. on the war -- over \$7 billion in 1972, and more than \$25 billion per year when half a million U.S. troops were in Indochina -- that is desperately needed for economic well-being at home and throughout the world. Opponents of the war have demanded for years that the war budget and war industries be turned to production of homes, schools, hospitals, mass transportation, and other social needs that have always taken second place to "defense" priorities.

But the peace dividend is already being spent -- on war. Despite the reduction in spending on Vietnam, the total military budget is rising: this year it's up to \$83.4 billion.

Most of the savings from Vietnam are going to the giant defense contractors for the production of missiles, submarines, bombers, and space satellites. The Nixon Administration has made it perfectly clear that public service spending will be cut back in 1973, not increased.

Massive military spending in peacetime has been U.S. policy throughout the quarter-century since World War II. It has two purposes; one is the defense of imperialism around the world, our so-called "vital national interests."

Economic and political domination of other countries is what the Defense Department really defends -- against both rival imperialists and the right of people to control their own countries. The U.S. onslaught on Vietnam alone cost over \$100 billion in the past ten years.

The other purpose of the military budget is the economic stabilization of capitalism, both in the U.S. and other countries. The Permanent Arms Economy of the last 25 years has been the capitalist system's main defense against another great depression.

Arms spending has continually supported the production goods industries, the companies whose ups

LIGHT WAGES



HEAVY TANKS

and downs reverberate throughout the entire economy. Government spending on civilian goods and services cannot match the military for bolstering the profits of these key sections of industry.

Economic stability is the main reason why powerful American businessmen were eager to see the war in Vietnam brought to an end. The dominant corporations did little business that benefit directly from the war, but they have a great deal to gain from the continuation of the Permanent Arms Economy. Companies like General Electric, AT&T, and the aerospace firms are looking for stable, high levels of spending on high-technology weapons.

Another benefit for business in the peace settlement is the proposed "baby Marshall Plan" for Southeast Asia. This supposedly will provide a sum of \$7 billion or more for aid to that devastated region.

The bulk of the aid money, including a substantial profit margin for business, will be spent in the U.S. before anything is sent to Indochina. The Southeast Asian governments have every right to demand outright reparations from the U.S. rather than

a continuing role for imperialism.

The re-escalation of terror bombing over North Vietnam in December endangered all of these plans. The renewed bombing probably doubled the recent costs of the war. The heavy bombing spurt of last spring was estimated to cost over \$600 million a month, and the December offensive was said to have been more expensive.

If the bombing had continued, the Pentagon might have had to reduce spending for research and the procurement of new weapons. The Administration would have preferred to cut back civilian spending, but that is already slashed to the bone. So a prolonged continuation of the war would have meant an expanded federal budget, even greater budget deficits, and therefore the likelihood of another speed-up in the rate of inflation that would have further damaged American business's competitive position.

Faced with this sort of problems, the capitalists and politicians who run the country decided to end the war. But they cannot decide to divert the war budget to peaceful uses. To do that would weaken the economic fabric of the capitalist society they rule.

Consumers Will Foot Bill For Rise in Wholesale Food Prices



Food prices not only went up rapidly last year, they went up much faster as the year progressed. For 1972 as a whole, prices for farm products went up 18.7%, which is bad enough. But during the last half of the year, they went up at an annual rate of 30%.

If all that weren't bad enough, we have last December's figures, in which wholesale food prices went up 5.8% in a single month. If December's increase were to go on for a full year, the annual rate would be an incredible 63% price rise in just twelve months. And of course these increases in wholesale food prices will inevitably be passed on to the consumer through retail price increases.

President Nixon's Phase III maintained mandatory controls on food prices. This fact was used by Team-

sters' president Frank Fitzsimmons to justify his support of Nixon's economic program. Nixon's determination to stop inflation, Fitzsimmons said, "is clearly demonstrated in his most recent efforts to curb the rapid increase in food prices."

What are those efforts? Controls on processed food prices are still mandatory, but record-keeping has been dropped for most companies, making price control unenforceable. Unprocessed farm products are still not controlled, and increases here can be passed on to consumers, along with proportionate profits, by the processors.

The Administration has taken several steps to increase the supply of farm products. But these, according to Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz,

will have only long-term effects (if any). Expanding grain markets in Russia and Eastern Europe, animal feed sales to Europe and Japan, and food shipments to famine-stricken areas of India will reduce food supplies and tend to counter the government's moves.

The exploitation of food "shortages" in the United States as an excuse to raise prices take unbelievable gall. Farm output has almost doubled in the U.S. since 1940, despite regular additions to idle farm acreage. Planted acreage has been kept down by government policy since the '30's, precisely in order to reduce food supplies and consequently raise profits -- even when there is hunger at home and famine abroad. Make sense? For capitalism, it does.

Of Economic Crisis

Phase 3

Walter Daum

[Continued from page 1]

the power to clamp down on unions or companies that overstep the official limits. But the wage limits are clear and labor contracts are visible, while the limits on prices and profits are now even vaguer and harder to enforce than before. Thus, wages remain the real target of government control.

****Changing the profit margin rules that govern price raises.** The change itself is intricate, but the upshot is that inflation will speed up again. As the *Wall Street Journal* wrote, "Don't be surprised if there are some noticeable price increases under the new voluntary standards."

****Creating the labor-management advisory committee to the Cost of Living Council.** The labor members are AFL-CIO head George Meany, Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, and Paul Hall of the Seafarers.

The committee will advise on wage standards only, since price standards already have been loosened. Nixon has made clear that he hopes to lower the 5.5% ceiling on wage increases, although Meany's agreement to serve on the committee probably means that there will be no reduction until after the round of negotiations that begins this year.

****Renewal of the Economic Stabilization Act for one year after it expires April 30.** Under this act, passed in 1970 and renewed since, Congress gave the President full powers to control incomes and prices as he sees fit.

Nixon's "Victories"

The changes in Nixon's economic policy can best be understood by looking at the results of Phase II. During the past year, American business has used the government in an attempt to resolve its economic crisis, and has succeeded in strengthening its position both against American workers and internationally.

In the U.S., wage gains have been held down. On the average, increases approved by the Pay Board have been 5.2%, less than the 5.5% ceiling, and far less than the 3% or more (3.3% for inflation and about 5% for productivity gains) that would be "fair" under the Administration's own formula.

Since the wage freeze of August 1971, strike activity has been reduced, unions have passively accepted cuts in deferred increases and even in Cost of Living additions written into contracts. Under the government-coordinated productivity campaign, unions in several industries have agreed to tightened work rules and substantial reductions in employment. Unemployment has barely decreased in a period of economic growth.

Another example of Nixon's one-sided economic "victories" is the federal budget. As an anti-inflationary measure, public service programs have been cut back in all fields: education, housing subsidies, the environment,

welfare assistance, and now health programs.

Indeed, despite skyrocketing food prices (see box), the U.S. inflation rate dropped to a level well below that in other capitalist countries. Combined with the productivity advances already mentioned, this means that U.S. capitalism's unit labor costs have been growing much more slowly than its rivals' in Europe, in Japan, and its competitive position has improved.

American business profits have reached record totals, and although profit rates based on the size of the economy are still below the levels of the mid-60's, they are also moving up. In order to boost profits still higher, the Administration decided to relax most price and profit regulations in Phase III.

This all works out very well for big business interests. But there is a problem: The coming price boosts and the federal budget deficits add up to threat of worsening inflation. Even though inflation hurts workers more than employers, business and the Administration are concerned about its international effects: reducing U.S. trade advantages, upsetting the delicate monetary system, and tipping the international economy back into crisis.

With the new round of labor contracts coming up -- including negotiations for 70,000 rubber workers in April, 110,000 electrical workers in May, 450,000 truckers in June, 560,000 railroad workers and 600,000 postal workers in July, and 670,000 auto workers in September [see page 5] -- Nixon would like to avoid rocking the boat. A long strike by hundreds of thousands of workers, like the UAW's against General Motors in 1970, means a sharp drop in profits in many industries; and a significant breakthrough against the wage ceilings



Faithful friends: Presidents Richard Nixon and George Meany

means either a profit loss or a new round of price increase.

So Meany and the four union heads were invited back into the wage control machinery. The labor bureaucrats had already returned to the Productivity Commission in December: on this Commission are Meany, Hall, Woodcock, Abel, C.L. Dennis of the Railway Clerks, John Lyons of the Ironworkers, and AFL-CIO secretary Lane Kirkland. The joint appointment undoubtedly indicates a productivity campaign in the major industries whose contracts are approaching, especially if the 5.5% wage ceiling is maintained or even slightly raised.

The presence of the labor bureaucrats in the Administration serves both their interest and Nixon's. They legitimize Nixon's policy, and disguise the fact that capitalism's economic gains are won at the expense of the working class. When they speak in fa-

vor of Nixon's policy they undercut those in the labor movement who stand for breaking through the controls to raise wage standards.

In their turn the labor officials find controls useful. Speaking of Peter Brennan, Nixon's nominee for Secretary of Labor, *Business Week* magazine wrote: "As the long-time head of New York's building trades unions, Brennan knows what would happen to rank-and-file wage demands if the leadership could no longer use controls as a justification for moderation."

In the present situation of ambiguous controls -- "voluntary" but enforceable -- the union heads will need to convince their rank that wage gains can be won, but only at the price of the worsened working conditions that "productivity" means. If they succeed, they will have served Nixon's purpose. ■

LONGSHOREMEN vs. PHASE 3



Harry Bridges

Under intense pressure from rank and file dock workers, the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union has mounted the first attack against Phase 3 wage guidelines. Harry Bridges, president of the west coast dockers union, won an agreement from the Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' group, to restore a 30¢ hourly pay cut ordered by the Pay Board under Phase 2.

The PMA agreed to restore these wages after Bridges threatened to invoke a clause allowing cancellation of the contract if wage controls were ended. However, the PMA has refused to implement this new agreement until it receives approval from the Cost of Living Council. Council officials have hinted that they would disallow the agreement.

The dock workers have ensnared the government in a neat trap, however it responds. Nixon had not expected a serious test of Phase 3 for several months. If the government now allows the increases, it will be a heavy blow against Nixon's hopes for continuing to hold down wages.

On the other hand, if the longshore agreement is rejected, the truth about the Phase 3 wage policy is exposed, as well as anyone who maintained that it was basically different from Phase 2. Among those in this category are Meany, Woodcock, and the other labor bureaucrats who have agreed to serve on Phase 3's Labor-Management Advisory Committee. Nixon's anti-labor policies could not be effectively maintained without the active collaboration of these "leaders."

Bridges no doubt expects the Cost of Living Council to reject the agreement with the PMA and hopes to use that rejection as an excuse to give up the fight then and there. But the issue is too important to let a rejection by the Cost of Living Council stand. The rank and file started this confrontation and must carry it through to a successful conclusion.

Phase 3 should be tested further -- with strike action, if necessary. The fight between the longshoremen and Nixon's Cost of Living Council could set a precedent involving all unions. It thus demands the active support of the entire labor movement. ■

Striking Teachers Face Court Battle

Jim Gregory

Twenty-four members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers have been hauled into court for refusing to call off their second strike of the school year. With the current strike near the end of its third week, Judge Donald Jamieson began trials for PFT President Frank Sullivan and chief negotiator John Ryan. The rest of the PFT's executive board faces trials as soon as Jamieson has dealt with Sullivan and Ryan.

Philadelphia teachers had struck for four weeks at the beginning of the school year, when their contract originally expired. At that time, the school board fought wage increases, proposed massive layoffs, and threatened to close down schools for the year on April 13 because of lack of funds (a threat that still exists).

The earlier strike ended when both sides agreed to an extension of the old contract while negotiations continued. The current situation came to a head when the school board rejected the PFT's demands for 6.2% wage hikes with no lengthening of the working day or increase in class size.

The school board proposed a three-year contract with no initial pay raise, a 3% increase next year, and a cost-of-living allowance the third year. The board also offered 385 lay-offs for high school teachers during the life of the contract.

The PFT membership rejected this offer and voted by an 8-1 margin to strike. Picket lines were set up January 8.

Bankrupt Coalition

The school board has attempted to justify its miserly offer by pointing to \$52 million in debt service (interest on school bonds) due this year. Board president William Ross quite rightly concludes that the debt service obligations are the main cause of the school system's funding crisis. The problem is that Ross intends to extract the needed money from the hides of Philadelphia's teachers and students.

Frank Rizzo, the right-wing mayor of Philadelphia, firmly maintains that there will be no additional money for education. Rizzo says that real estate taxes would have to be more than doubled to bail out the school system,



A pupil waving to striking Philadelphia teachers after his school was closed

and he is unwilling to take such a step.

In opposition to Rizzo, the Educational Action Coalition is calling for greatly increased taxes to fund the schools. This coalition is built around the Urban Coalition, Home and School Associations, and the Progressive Caucus of the PFT.

This Coalition represents the same bankrupt approach as that of UFT President Albert Shanker in New York City (see *Workers' Power* #70, p. 3). It is an amalgam whose supporters range from liberal banking interests, eager to reclaim the interest on the school bonds they hold, to the Communist Party, a vocal supporter of the Progressive Caucus.

The Educational Action Coalition is a coalition of groups under a working class facade but with a program which runs counter to the interests of working people. It is an attempt to lull working and oppressed people into supporting an anti-working class approach.

In this case, the issues are clear. While the carrot of increased school funds is held out, the stick of greatly

increased taxes which will fall almost entirely on working and poor people is quickly readied.

Real estate taxes hit hardest at those least able to pay. The overwhelming burden falls on small homeowners and apartment dwellers (who have them tacked onto their rent).

The only viable alternative would be an immediate suspension of the \$52 million debt service payments. Further funds could be raised by taxing the city's banks which have been collecting the debt service payments and milking Philadelphia's educational funds dry for years.

Teachers are among the first to be hit by the financial crisis facing the entire public sector. The crisis in Philadelphia's educational system is reflected in most cities.

St. Louis teachers have begun the first strike in their history. They are demanding a wage increase, hospitalization insurance, and a grievance procedure. They have been particularly angered over a proposal in the Missouri legislature to abolish tenure for all teachers in the state.

Membership in AFT Local 420

and the St. Louis Teachers Association (an NEA affiliate) has been growing rapidly. The two organizations have presented a united front to the Board of Education for the first time this year.

Chicago teachers have just settled a two-week long strike, gaining a 2.5% wage increase and a reduction of the school year from 40 to 39 weeks with no loss in pay.

In Detroit, the school board has announced plans to send out lay-off notices to all its employees, effective in April. New York high school teachers face a 10% staff cut February 1, on top of a 7% cut put into effect just last September.

The problem is national in scope. The American Federation of Teachers reports that across the country 326,000 teachers are jobless, an unemployment rate of over 10% (and most teachers are not covered by unemployment insurance). But national solutions are not forthcoming. Instead, federal aid to education is being sharply cut.

On January 11, the Nixon administration proposed cutting \$100 million from aid to vocational education, eliminating the \$90 million federal aid to libraries program, and abolishing other programs totaling \$270 million.

These cuts must be fought. We must demand more money, not less, since the present aid is inadequate. Working people must not be taxed to provide these funds. Instead, we look towards a national campaign for more money for education, demanding that the federal government eliminate defense spending, tax corporations and banks, and provide adequate aid to education as a first step towards rebuilding the cities (welfare, housing, medical facilities, transit, etc.).

Such a fight will require a militant alliance of parents, teachers, and students with a program capable of drawing in other working class forces. A national fight will emerge only after such alliances are built on the local level. We urge rank and file teachers, parents and students to take up the fight in Philadelphia, to follow East Harlem with another show of strength and solidarity. ■

[Jim Gregory is a New York City teacher, a member of AFT Local 2, and a member of the International Socialists.]

Teachers Fight St. Louis Blues

The Missouri legislature and the St. Louis Board of Education have introduced a major political issue into the strike of St. Louis teachers. The legislature is debating a bill which would eliminate tenure for all Missouri teachers.

The St. Louis Board of Education angered St. Louis teachers by supporting the anti-tenure bill. Teachers fear that the board will use the opportunity to reduce salary costs by firing teachers at the upper end of the pay scale (one fourth of all St. Louis teachers have,

over eighteen years of service and thus receive maximum pay). The board thus succeeded in intensifying the feelings surrounding the strike, the first teachers' strike in St. Louis history.

Talk about the strike began in September and gradually picked up steam. Salaries for St. Louis teachers start at \$7500, which is tenth in the nation among cities of similar size.

In the past the board has successfully used the fact that there were two teacher's organizations (AFT

Local 420 and the St. Louis Teacher's Association) to minimize pay increases -- no previous contract has been the result of collective bargaining. For the first time this year the two organizations have been able to agree on common demands and present themselves to the board as a unified force. The common demands included a one thousand dollar pay increase across the board and free medical and dental insurance.

Discussion of these demands and now the action of the board have in-

creased the militancy of teachers in both organizations. Until Thanksgiving less than half of the teachers belonged to either group. At present, over 65% belong to at least one of the organizations.

In addition, support for the strike has been growing among women teachers and among white teachers. This is important because in the past male teachers and black teachers (63% of all St. Louis teachers) have been the strongest supporters of collective bargaining. ■

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Railroad strike: railroaded by Brennan?

One of the first acts of Peter Brennan, the new labor lackey in Nixon's cabinet, has been to put an end to the strike on the Long Island Railroad (see *Workers' Power* #70).

Brennan talked the twelve unions striking the railroad into returning to work for 90 days on the basis of management's "final offer" which they had rejected earlier. Union members will immediately receive a 6% raise retroactive to January 1, 1972. If an agreement is not reached at the end of 90 days, the unions will be free to resume the strike.

Much of the initial reactions from the rank and file was hostile and suspicious, with many members fearing that the "temporary" settlement would be turned into a permanent one.

Cost of Living Council begins cutting wages

The Cost of Living Council has demonstrated that it intends to take over the wage-cutting job of the now-defunct Pay Board. On January 25, it announced that the wage and benefit increase negotiated between New York City hospitals and Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union would be reduced from 8.3% to 5.5%.

In doing this, the Council is purposely taking on a weak union before it acts on the challenge of the Longshoremen -- a considerably stronger union. The government is obviously much more concerned about the effects of a dock strike than a hospital strike.

Local 1199 President Leon Davis denounced the cost of Living Council's decision, but proposed no action other than a court challenge.

NY CWA votes Dempsey, should keep eyes open

The ranks of CWA Local 1101 in Manhattan have taken a significant step forward by electing Ed Dempsey president of their local.

Dempsey defeated incumbent president Ricky Carnivale by a small margin in a run-off election. John Smith, candidate of the CWA International, was eliminated in an earlier election (see *Workers' Power* #69).

Dempsey's victory is important because he was the only candidate who presented the possibility of renewed struggle against New York Telephone and the CWA International leadership.

Several planks of Dempsey's platform were important in this respect. He called for an alliance of big-city locals to fight the Interna-

tional, he proposed a delegate assembly for the local, and he favors organizing operators into the same local as craftsmen. If these changes actually occur, some of the weaknesses in the union which led to the defeat of last year's seven-month strike will be alleviated.

However, there should be no illusions about Dempsey. His campaign contained many weaknesses, most notably a reluctance to actively involve the rank and file members.

During the campaign, United Action, a rank and file group, issued leaflets saying "Vote Dempsey But Keep Your Eyes Open." 1101 members should not forget the second half of this slogan. They will most likely need to wage a struggle to make sure Dempsey keeps his campaign promises.

Telephone and auto are still racist, sexist

Two recent developments involving the federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission have once again highlighted the rampant discrimination in hiring and promotion practices against blacks, women, and other minorities by two of the largest corporations in the world.

One case involves the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, called by the EEOC "the nation's largest oppressor of blacks and women." The company has agreed to pay \$15 million to 15,000 women and minority men it has discriminated against in promotions. It will also raise the wages of 36,000 workers by a total of \$23 million per year.

\$23 million is insignificant to AT&T, which made a profit of \$2.5 billion last year. In return for this settlement, the EEOC will drop its opposition to another rate increase which AT&T is seeking.

In the other case, General Motors agreed that all new hiring in the next two years at its St. Louis plant will include 20% women.

The decision is unlikely to have much effect in the immediate future. The plant is under the control of GMAD which laid off about 1000 workers in a speedup campaign last year. Until these workers are recalled, no new hiring will take place.

Mine Workers victory brings black lung benefits

Coal miners disabled by black lung disease are beginning to benefit from the recent *Miners for Democracy* victory in the United Mine Workers elections.

In District 12 (Southern Illinois) about 250 cases have suddenly been resolved in favor of the disabled miners in the last few weeks. These were cases which had been pending for years.

These miners and their families

will now receive monthly payments. The payments are relatively small and in no way an adequate compensation for this disease, but the money is important for miners trying to survive on social security or a UMW pension.

Under the administration of former Mine Workers President Tony Boyle, black lung cases were neglected and miners were often unable in practice to secure the benefits they had struggled to win.



Milwaukee AFSCME strike: a mixed settlement

Members of AFSCME District Council 48 in Milwaukee recently settled the largest public employee strike in Wisconsin history. Twelve thousand city and county workers walked off their jobs January 4. Involved were all municipal workers except police and firemen. Teachers had previously signed their contract, but most respected picket lines set up by school clerical employees.

Coordinated strikes of public employees are an important tactic in overcoming the isolation of strikes by individual locals. This isolation has often led to defeat, especially since all municipal governments are trying to solve the financial crises at the expense of their employees.

The Milwaukee strike, which lasted a week, ended in a mixed settlement. Milwaukee County employees won a 5% pay raise this year and 4% next year -- they had asked for 6% each year. City workers submitted their dispute to non-binding "fact finding." One of the most dangerous aspects of the settlement was the agreement to pay beginning employees a lower wage. This not only creates new divisions in the work force, but also provides motivation for firing older workers in favor of newer, cheaper ones.

The next step for public employees must be coordinated state-wide bargaining. This may be the only way to pry more money out of the states, many of which have experienced budget surpluses recently.

Rank and file shorts

This year you'll be able to make more money and still be poor. The "poverty level" for an urban family of four has been raised to \$4,200 -- up about \$193 from last year.

If that's not enough to keep you poor, another government agency is also doing its part. As of January 1, the Social Security tax was raised sharply to 5.85% on your first \$10,800 income.

Last year it was 5.2% on your first \$9,000. In 1974, it is scheduled to take 5.85% of \$12,000. For a worker making \$10,800, this tax increase alone represents a 1% drop in his or her standard of living.

Prices are up again, too. The cost of a dozen eggs rose 30¢ in December and January.

If you pay to heat your home or apartment, you'll be paying up to 8% more soon, thanks to Phase 3. But there's always a bright side -- experts figure the price rise will ease the shortage of certain fuel oils. Some companies had contributed to this shortage by slowing their processing of oil since they weren't getting a big enough profit.

Five hundred construction workers in Auburn, Michigan, destroyed some work being done by a nonunion electrical contractor on the unfinished Walter Reuther Junior High School.

Three UAW members, including an alternate committeeman, were suspended from their jobs at GM's Willow Run (Mich.) plant for wearing gas masks to work. The three filed grievances over fumes from gasoline-powered fork lift trucks a year ago, but nothing had been done.

In suspending the workers, GM denied that a problem existed, but promised to correct it if it did.

Before the Supreme Court's recent abortion decision, library workers in New York, members of the American Federation of State, County, & Municipal Employees, adopted a resolution favoring free abortion on demand. The only objection came from one AFSCME member who argued that demanding free abortion would alienate potential support for the simple repeal of anti-abortion laws.

AFL-CIO President George Meany has returned to Nixon's Productivity Commission, which he left when he and other labor leaders quit the Pay Board in March 1972. This move signals the increasing importance of the productivity question in the next phase of the "New Economic Policy."

'I, FOR ONE, KNOW I'M A PRISONER OF WAR'

Part Two Of An Interview With Herbert X. Blyden, A Leader Of The Attica Liberation Faction

[The first portion of this two-part exclusive interview granted by Herbert X. Blyden, a leader of the Attica Liberation Faction now imprisoned in the Bronx House of Detention, appeared in Workers' Power #70.]

Workers' Power: How do you see the relationship between capitalism and prisons?

Herbert X. Blyden: Look at prison industries: for example, Augurn with the license plates.

I would think that if a man works in a steel plant five days a week, that he should first of all be allowed to take a shower every day after he comes out of that plant.

I hear they are up to two showers a week now in the prisons upstate. Only one was permitted before the riot.

In addition the prisoners are making on the average thirty-five cents a day. Now before the first infractions that they had up there, the uprisings, they were making ten to twenty-nine cents a day.

This was doing steel work. I think that in Detroit steel workers are making \$4, 5, 6 an hour. That's not too much. Now I would think that out of that

money, with that salary, some of the men could take their families off the welfare rolls.

I think it would be more of an incentive for the people not only to work but in effect rehabilitate themselves.

"Rehabilitate," that's a hell of a word. That's to make you what you were! You know we don't want to be made into what we were before!

We want to be retrained, taught to do things which are constructive generally speaking and conducive to an overall betterment to our people and the community.

The prison administrators are not for that. They are for housing you here just for care, custody, and control.

So I see capitalism as in effect the same type of oppression as we have in the ghettos, where the landlords and the factory owners make us go to work for so much a week.

They build a prison industry in the prison. We don't get any of the money. We don't get any of the benefits from the prison.

That little upstate community and the surrounding communities, these rural communities benefit by it.

However they are not housing people from that rural community in that prison. They are taking people from the urban areas the inner cities and transporting them several hundred miles away.

In effect these are warehouses, prison colonies for black and third world peoples. That, I think, is what capitalism is doing to us by transporting us.

WP: How have the revolts affected the consciousness of white and black prisoners in terms of unity in struggle, and in terms of class consciousness?

HB: Oswald himself (New York State Correction Commissioner) said that he was amazed at the working order among so many different groups that he saw when he came in to meet

Walter Collins, New Orleans black draft resister, was released from Federal prison in Texarkana, Texas, December 6 -- exactly one month later than his original parole date.

He had served two years of a five-year sentence for refusing to be drafted, and his case became the focal point for a campaign against racism and the draft.

His release was delayed a month because Collins refused to cooperate with the parole system. He described it as "mad and unjust" and a "state between absolute slavery and serfdom."

Collins pointed out that paroled prisoners are often subjected to petty harassment and are sent back to prison at the whim of officials.

He said that now that he is out of prison he will fight such restrictions not only for himself but for the many other prisoners who are subjected to repression while on parole. ■

Black Draft Resis- ter Freed



Prisoners at a rally during the Attica uprising in 1971.

with the Attica prisoners during the uprising.

He broke them down into the Young Lords, the Black Muslims, and the Weathermen. Sam Melville was a white radical prisoner who died in the troopers' attack. He called Sam Melville's group "the Weathermen."

I think that the fact that Attica, with some of the most hardened of New York State criminals, could come together and stay as a unit, as one close knit family for so many hours, and had to be *vamped on* as a unit, I think it shows the consciousness level of today's prisoners.

A lot of people thought Melville was black. I'm a black power advocate myself, so don't misconstrue what I'm saying. I relate to all whites like Sam Melville, John Brown, Robin Palmer. I relate to that type of white first and foremost.

The fact is that you're not having white inmates being beaten up by blacks any more. You have a lot of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in here, and only a handful of whites, so naturally Black and Puerto Rican inmates used to say "Oh, here is a white guy. A white guy has got me in here, let's beat this guy up." But now you say to him, what are you doing in here? He says, I'm third world, I'm poor, I'm oppressed. So there is some form of bond there, because the white guy is catching hell too -- Appalachia-type whites, working class whites, for example.

Out there in minimum security when a Black man would come into a factory he's the last one hired and the first one fired. This couldn't happen if the whites on the assembly line would tell that management: "Wait a minute, this is our factory! We are going to hire this man, black or white, if he is qualified."

WP: What effect has the repression and imprisonment of its leadership had on the black and Puerto Rican movement?

HB: Let's go back to when Malcolm X came out of prison. He joined with the Nation of Islam under Elijah Muhammed. But his death had the effect of putting everything in limbo.

Then you had the rising up of the Panthers. Actually the reorientation of Huey Newton's thought began with his incarceration. So again you have everything in limbo.

Then you look at the James Farmer types who went into the government and come back worse than they were when they went in. You look at Roy Innis and Core and some of the money that they're getting and you question whether or not they are working for you or against you.

You look at the Gary conference, the National Black Convention. You see where they actually come out supporting the Democrats and the Republicans. They haven't really done anything. I think they're starting another meeting this week now, the second convention. What are they trying to prove?

You've got people like Ronald Dellums on the Coast who was supported by the Panthers and then kicks Shirley Chisholm over the wayside and ends up supporting McGovern.

When the people see this they question the sincerity of some of these more rhetorical leaders. Because all they're doing is talking. They're not actually putting their money where their mouth is. They're not putting it into action.

They just talk that talk; they can't walk that walk.

So when you see an Eldridge Cleaver

or Rap Brown or George Jackson ready to put into practice what he preaches, then you can relate to him on a different level.

I don't think that Eldridge is sleeping well today and I don't think Rap is sleeping well either. Because they know that all true revolutionaries are the ones that are dead. So they are striving towards that higher plane, death. But they are going to die in a revolutionary act. They are true revolutionaries.

That's why we relate to them. That's why our people are beginning to relate to the Rap Browns and the George Jacksons and the Jonathan Jacksons and the Eldridge Cleavers you see. A lot of us are disgusted to be alive.

I know for a fact I shouldn't be sitting here at this table. But Sam Melville is probably resting in peace. Because he knew that his death came in a revolutionary act. It came about as the result of a revolutionary act. He knows that we will not let his names be dragged in the mud.

Some people refer to the so-called political prisoners in American prisons today as prisoners of war. I for one know I'm a prisoner of war, I'm at war with the system. We are all for overturning the system, by armed force if necessary.

An interesting point was raised in the demands of the prisoners at Attica. It's been referred to in the media as Point Two.

It's the second point of five and it calls for the comrades to be transferred to a non-imperialist country. A lot of these comrades' plights are such that they would rather just get the hell out of America. It's been a year since Attica, but the conditions are still the same.

We are at war with the system. We're not going to compromise our principles. We're going to fight the system.

We want to get the hell out of these prisons.

If we can get out of these prisons, we will certainly be granted assylum somewhere. As a matter of fact, before the situation in Algiers changed so dramatically -- where now they want to make their billion dollars for the oil that was one of the countries that said that they would accept us. Tanzania said the same. Guinea Bissau said the same. And I think China. But I don't think I'd like to go to China.

WP: Why not?

HB: Because of the peaceful co-existence treaty with the U.S. If you're going to exist with your enemy peacefully, all the while your comrade is being kicked in the head, then something is wrong with the comradeship. Then you have to question who the real enemy is. This is why I question China's leadership over the Third World community.

WP: What do you expect to result from the recent indictments against Attica prisoners?

HB: They are trying to work a deal which would in effect sweep the whole indictment, the seventy-seven counts, under the rug. I'm against this deal.

I think the people want to see Hogan (Manhattan District Attorney) squirm, because he has been using their name. "In the name of the people we indict so and so. We indict Feliciano. We indict the Tombs Brothers Seve, the Panther Twenty-one, the Harlem Six." And the people keep saying, "No, you're not doing this in our name Mr. Hogan."

With the acquittal of three of my co-defendants, the people told him to take those charges and throw them out the window. ■

After several years of sitting on its hands, the federal government has taken a step towards eliminating the racism practiced by Bethlehem Steel Company at its Sparrows Point, Maryland plant. Real doubt remains, however, about the government's interest in enforcing its decision.

Almost everyone agrees that racism is prevalent in the company's hiring and promotion policies. As in most American industry, blacks at Bethlehem Steel have always been put in the hardest, dirtiest, and lowest-paying jobs. Although whites got preferred treatment, the company's racist policies ultimately hurt all workers since they played upon and perpetuated racist divisions and hostilities between blacks and whites. Only Bethlehem Steel benefitted.

The government's order, issued by outgoing Secretary of Labor James Hodgson, came in response to complaints filed by black workers five years ago. It calls for alterations in the plant's seniority system to make up for past discrimination. All workers in predominantly black departments must be given a chance to transfer to other departments. This meant that even though a worker might have 25 years in the plant, he could easily be bumped from his job to a lower one in his new department if layoffs occurred.

Enforcements of the decision will represent a serious problem. Although the government has the authority to cancel all federal contracts to Bethlehem until the company complies, Hodgson rejected the request of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance to take this step. Cynics doubt that incoming Labor Secretary Peter Brennan, long a defender of the racist practices of his own union, will do any better.

It is now the responsibility of the

Bethlehem Steel Racism Hit



Steelworkers Union to enforce this decision. Indeed, it is shameful that the union bureaucracy, along with the company, argued against these measures as "too disruptive." Because the Steelworkers did not take the lead in fighting the company's racist practices, the government had an excuse to interfere in an area that should be the sole responsibility of the union -- the seniority system.

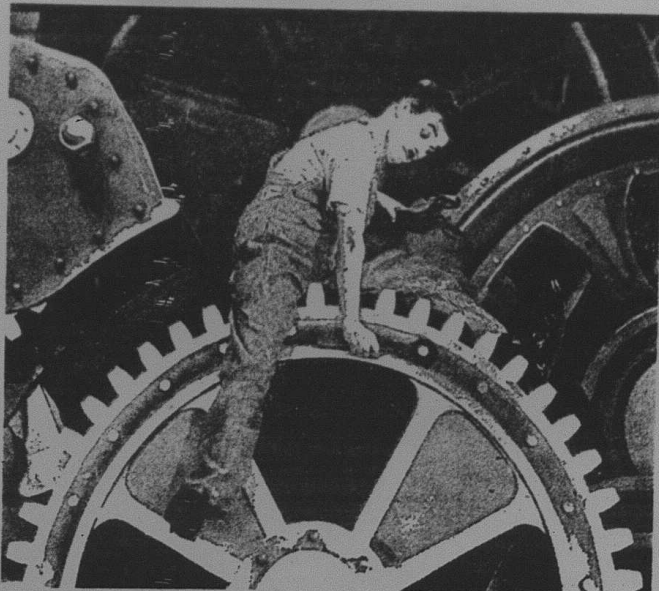
The motives of the government in using this decision are rightly open to question. It would certainly prefer to see intensified racial antagonisms rather than a united working class

fighting for better conditions for all.

But as long as blacks and other minorities are discriminated against, the employers and the government will continue to be able to divide the labor movement by playing off blacks and whites against each other.

The only solution is for the unions to openly and aggressively champion the fight to end all forms of discrimination against blacks and other minorities at Bethlehem Steel and throughout American industry. Union bureaucrats have refused to lead this struggle. It is now up to black workers to do so. ■

St. Louis GMAD Attacks Local



The GMAD management at the St. Louis assembly plant now apparently feels that it is not enough to merely discipline, fire, and layoff hundreds of assemblers and plant workers. In recent weeks it has made known its intention of concentrating an attack on union officials of UAW Local 25.

Three district committeemen have been laid off for anywhere from a balance of a shift and a day to three days. One has been outrightly fired supposedly for telling a worker to leave a bolt off of a car.

The plant manager has told the bargaining committee that he feels that it will be easier to pay and clear a few committeemen than it would be to do the same for hundreds of workers. This company policy is especially dangerous at the present time of increased work load and worsening working conditions. The plant workers are already under-represented, but with no committeemen in their areas they will have no representation at all.

At the same time that the company is pursuing this new tactic, it is pushing an old one. They are again claiming sabotage against the night-shift and sending them home early. This is a continuation of their policy of keeping the ranks divided between black and white, and day shift workers.

Most workers here, however, are beginning to see through these racist attempts to divide the work force. A rank and file caucus is pushing a program of common struggle among all of the workers to defeat GMAD. A group of them is now building for the United National Caucus's Production Workers' Conference February 3rd and 4th. ■



Productivity: The Employers' Attack And How To Fight It

Lori Larkin

Part Two: Productivity Deals New Phase In The Struggle

"To a large extent the name of the game tomorrow will be 'Productivity Bargaining,'" said Secretary of Labor Hodgson in a speech to Federal Labor Mediators early in 1972. This message is the guts of the Nixon Administration's "Productivity Campaign." It is simple and clear... now is the time for a "new approach" to labor bargaining.

When all the rhetoric is stripped away, the Administration's commitment to economic recovery really comes down to increasing business profits.

As explained in our first article (see *Workers' Power* No. 70), productivity has come to center stage because its increase is really a way to reduce labor costs, a good way to ensure larger profits.

One thing standing in the way of a "productivity drive" by the employers is their lack of control over "efficiency" measures for the shopfloor. By "efficiency" measures, they mean changes in the work practices and workrules, formal or informal, that workers have won which protect them from speedup and harassment.

Only by breaking down these practices and bringing the shopfloor under

their complete jurisdiction will employers have the "flexibility" they need to increase productivity.

Only then will they really be able to institute speedup, shorter breaks, layoffs or whatever else is needed. And only then can business increase its profits while the Administration gets its economic "recovery"... out of the hides of working men and women.

"Productivity Bargaining."

"Productivity bargaining" is the game plan through which Government and business hope to accomplish their goals.

The "bargain" or "productivity deal" is that labor surrenders old work patterns and gives management "flexibility" in matters of "efficiency."

In return workers may receive a sizeable pay increase. This form of bargaining has been prevalent in Europe for some years.

Through "productivity bargaining," employers hope to institute their control over the shop floor with the union's cooperation.

In some industries, of course, the unions are so weak that new production quotas and workrule changes can simply be imposed on the workers.

This has been the case, for example, in New York telephone since the defeat of the CWA strike early in 1972.

But in many industries with stronger unions and traditions of union control of work practices, "productivity bargaining" is fast becoming the style.

The new twist to this type of agreement is that it settles the pay issue, but only begins the introduction of "workstudy" and "timestudy."

These studies lead to changes in the pattern and pace of life on the shopfloor, as well as the size of the workforce. Such changes may be disastrous for the workers affected.

Workers have found the "productivity bargaining" approach wherever it has been tried, in Europe and in the United States, has given the employers a great deal of leverage in their battle for complete control of the shopfloor.

In addition, this approach has placed added obstacles in the path of militants who fight for improved conditions.

Productivity bargaining gives management complete control over the deployment of labor, length of time worked, number and spacing of shifts, introduction of "efficiency" machinery and many other practices.

Of course much of this is nothing new. Many of these practices have always been under management control.

What is new is the attempt by employers to apply a comprehensive approach to control of the factory floor through a formal agreement with the union.

Under this arrangement, the union promises in advance not to fight management procedures. In the name of "higher productivity" the employers are making a fullscale push to draw the official union structure into enforcement of management's control over the workplace.

Speedup in Key Industries

"Productivity bargaining" is gaining a small but sure foothold in key sectors of the U.S. economy. International unions have given it their blessing in steel, longshore and construction.

In the latest steel contract, labor and management agreed to set up productivity councils at the factory level to develop methods to cut the companies' costs.

The joint discussions of workrules outside the grievance procedure is a large step backward for workers and a big victory for the employers.

One company in which productivity councils have been active is Armco Steel. C. William Verity, the Chairman, made the following evaluation of the councils' functioning:

"I am encouraged by a changed attitude of many of our people who are now much more interested in eliminating waste, improving production, improving yields and taking pride in their product."

Verity went on to attribute the 6 to 7% productivity rise in his plants during the last year to new technology and to LOWER UNEMPLOYMENT! The joint efforts of labor and management to cut costs will only mean harder work and still fewer jobs for steel workers.

In the railroad industry both the United Transportation Union (UTU) and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in return for wage boosts, have conceded many work-rule changes long sought by the industry for more "efficient" operation.

The pact gave management flexibility in the use of yard-switching

personnel and permits crews to operate trains over longer runs. UTU officials claim the concessions will save the railroads as much as \$782 million a year!

The latest offensive by the railroads is the campaign to cut down the size of the workcrews - a move the unions claim is dangerous. This was disastrously proven by the Illinois Central commuter train crash last fall in Chicago in which fifty passengers were killed because no crew member was assigned to signal an onrushing train to stop (see *Workers' Power* No. 69).

Employers have pushed a law permitting this through the Indiana legislature, over the head of the Union. Penn Central has announced plans to get rid of almost ten thousand union members, about 12% of their total workforce, via this workcrew size reduction.

Economic coercion is also used by employers to extract "productivity deals." Firestone tireworkers in Akron, under the threat of plant closure and largescale layoffs, recently signed agreements in which the union gave the six-hour workday won during strike action in the 1930's.

The unions also were forced to concede a whole series of changes in workrules, with the promise of more to come.

"Productivity bargaining", backed up by government propaganda and coercion, may well become the norm of labor relations. Already it is creating an even more urgent need for the rank and file to struggle against their union leaders' cooperation with corporate management.

Who Profits?

"In an era where our business and labor people see each other all too often as adversaries... added productivity is the bridge that links their interests for higher wages, higher profits and stable prices."

- Secretary of Commerce Peterson

Increased productivity, says White House propaganda, is good for everyone. It is the road to a higher standard of living for workers as well as profits for business.

"Productivity" is another word for "team spirit," the stuff which has produced football dynasties and made America powerful. So the story goes.

A productivity rise will lead to higher profits because of the reduction in labor costs. Unfortunately, despite the myths of this new campaign, a rise in the nation's productivity will not at the same time mean a better life for working people.

The "efficiency" in production that the Administration piously preaches is the efficiency of job cutting and speedup.

Nor will a productivity rise be the way to a good life for consumers as the White House contends. The railroad industry generated a sharp productivity rise in 1972. Much of the increase, however, came because they eliminated most passenger trains which require larger crews than freight trains! A "gain" in profit terms, a loss in human terms.

The Government's Role

The government is using several tactics in its campaign to encourage "productivity bargaining" and work rule concessions by unions.

First and foremost is coercion. The White House has made it clear

that wage controls will be removed only when national productivity is raised by any means necessary.

The Pay Board has made "evidence" of productivity gain a prime criterion for approving labor contracts and has prepared an elaborate list of "productivity norms" for different industries.

These standards are "flexible," however, as longshoremen found out. Their wage boosts were trimmed despite enormous productivity increases and lagging wages on the docks!

Evidence of productivity gain, for the Pay Board, appears to be synonymous with union concessions on work-rule changes. The Pay Board took specific notice of railroad union concessions on "efficiency" questions in approving the UTU contract.

The White House has increased "jawboning" in labor negotiations, along with talk of antistrike legislation, to push productivity bargaining.

An important theme of the Government's "Productivity Campaign" is the need for labor-management cooperation to improve plant "efficiency."

Administration officials are pushing the technique of labor-management productivity councils at the plant level, as was done in World War II, when all strikes were banned. They point with pride to the August 1971 steel contract mentioned earlier.

Another message of the "Productivity Campaign" is the necessity to improve the "work ethic." Nixon is worried that many younger workers in particular lack "dedication" to their work.

He fears that their high absenteeism, sloppiness and lack of craftsmanship threaten to prolong inflation, hold back domestic economic growth and damage the U.S. in world trade.

The Government is promoting all sorts of "enlightened" proposals to deal with the deteriorating "work ethic" . . . the fourday (10-hour day) workweek, worker "consultant committees," job shifting at regular intervals (as is done in Japan) and the old trick of profit-sharing.

Some of their "improvements" are

packaged to look like "equality of sacrifice," or may seem to benefit some workers in the short run. But any such "improvement" must be understood as part of the comprehensive plan of the Administration to push "productivity bargaining" as the new approach to labor-management relations.

The talk of national interests, efficiency in production, responsibility, workers' pride and the rest of the rhetoric of the "Productivity Campaign" all form the ideological backdrop for this scheme.

Productivity and Capitalism

THERE CAN BE NO "PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS SINCE THIS REALLY MEANS CONTROL OF THE WORK-FORCE BY THE EMPLOYERS

The Administration claims a productivity drive will mean a better life for everyone. But this contention hides the reality: that production in a capitalist system is production for profits, not for use.

This is why the "Productivity Campaign" is a campaign for business, not for human interests. The Government is in fact declaring that business interests are the interests of the nation.

This is the reason the effect of higher productivity - which should mean shorter hours, more leisure and higher wages - will in fact mean speedup, shorter breaks, greater strain, and greater unemployment.

Socialists do not see increased productivity as an end in itself. We believe it should be a means for increasing the amount of goods and services available to people, while at the same time reducing the burden of work. Increased productivity should be a true measure of human happiness, not profits.

Only then would a "productivity campaign" be a cause that we could all support. ■

[Part III will examine the attitudes of Labor Officialdom to the "Productivity Campaign."]

Meany Backs Productivity

Two years ago when productivity wasn't the "starlet" it is today, President Nixon set up a National Commission on Productivity.

Relegated to "backstage," the Commission had a shoestring budget of \$800,000 and met a total of four times in the first two years of its existence. People were soon asking, "What ever happened to . . ."

However today is a different story. The Productivity Commission has a \$5-million budget for fiscal 1973. It is headed up by Commerce Secretary Petersen who recently announced a series of energetic projects the Commission is taking on.

The Productivity Commission is asking industry to set up labor-management productivity councils on a plant by plant basis. "We want to bring out a team approach to increasing productivity," says secretary Petersen.

A recent Harris poll of American attitudes towards productivity, ordered by the commission, showed, in the Secretary's words that many people believe "productivity is a

12-letter dirty word representing certain people getting exploited by others."

The commission's answer to what Petersen calls "a misunderstanding of the whole economic system" is a "major public educational effort beginning around the first of the year in all media."

The council will give \$10 million to this "educating" campaign. Petersen discussed a series of advertisements aimed at changing Americans' attitude towards productivity with such catchy slogans as, "AMERICANS DIDN'T GET RICH BY GOOFING OFF!"

Another pet project of the Productivity Commission is a drive to promote government productivity at all levels. Right now a survey is going on to develop ways of measuring productivity in the various government agencies.

If Petersen has his way the tentacles of the "Productivity Campaign" will touch all Americans, even in their homes. ■

Woodcock Has No Answers For "Blue Collar Blues"

Beth Cady Joe Fine

As the 1973 auto contract negotiations near, working conditions loom as an issue for the first time in 30 years. For both union and management the "blue collar blues" has become a major problem. Recognition of the problem has been forced by pressure from the ranks in the form of increased absenteeism and poor quality production, as well as increased worker militancy and the open demand for union action.

Management and the union have little idea of how to solve the problem. The major companies have responded with various "job enrichment" experiments as they speed up their assembly lines.

Doug Frazier, head of UAW's Chrysler Department, tackled the problem by saying "If you ask me how to humanize the plants, I couldn't tell you how to do it." UAW President Woodcock went even further in discussing the problem by saying:

"We are raising expectations beyond our ability to fulfill. We don't know what the answers are because it is obvious that they have to be operative in a reason-cost framework."

But for the ranks an improvement in working conditions is more than idle expectation; it is a necessity since auto workers are forced to work under brutalizing conditions.

The American economy faces a severe crisis from international competition. The response of the corporations and the government has been a drive to increase productivity (output per man hour). The auto industry has been a major focus of this campaign, and the General Motors Assembly Division, the infamous GMAD, has drawn a spotlight nationally as a testing ground.

For Woodcock and the International, the attempt to stay within a framework of "reasonable cost" means acceptance of this latest assault of capitalism - productivity drives and its accompanying dehumanization of the worker. To really improve conditions in the plants would prove costly to the industry because it would entail an attack on productivity.

If workers could negotiate their own production standards, speed-up would be impossible and in many cases work loads would be decreased. More people would have to be hired and profits would be cut.

Woodcock accepts both the compe-

titive needs of American capitalism and the auto magnates' insistence on maintaining their present profit margins. It is for this reason that he has accepted positions on Phase III's Labor Management Advisory Board and Productivity Commission.

It is for this reason that the UAW has refused to wage a real fight against speed-ups like that of GMAD, leading the union instead to the planned defeats of Norwood and the "Apache strikes." It is for this reason that bureaucrats like Woodcock and Frazier see no solution to inhuman working conditions.

The hidden history of the UAW is that it was organized in the fight against the oppressive factory conditions of the late 1930's - speed-ups, job insecurity, the arbitrary dictatorship of management.

The victory of union recognition meant significant improvements: "Conditions were good when the union won back then," Stephanie Prociuk, a rank and file leader of UAW Local 3 (Dodge Main), reminded recently upon retiring. (*Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 30, 1973). But World War II and the post war years saw these gains in working conditions slowly traded away for increased wages and fringe benefits in what became a permanent contract bargaining pattern.

Woodcock's latest plan is a one hour credit for every week of perfect attendance at work. After 40 weeks of perfect attendance the employee is rewarded with 5 days off. If a worker is sick a day he loses that week's credit. This is an absentee control program rather than an attempt to humanize working conditions!

It was through a militant struggle waged in the '30's that the ranks won their first battle against the auto makers. Power in those days was concentrated on the shop floor not in the hands of the bureaucrats.

A movement that will fight to improve working conditions must originate with those who are forced to work under those conditions - conditions which many old timers say are no better than pre-union days. For this movement to succeed it will have to place the needs of auto workers above corporate profit. To build such a movement the ranks will have to take on not only management but the union leadership itself this time around.



Review

Marilyn Danton

HUEY NEWTON'S To Die For The People

"The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of non-violent action toward sterner actions. We dared to believe that we could offer the community a permanent political vehicle which would serve their needs and advocate their interests. We have met many foes; we have seen many enemies. We have been slandered, kidnapped, gagged, jailed and murdered. We know now, more than ever before, that the will of the people is greater than the technology and repression of those who are against the interests of the people. Therefore we know that we can and will continue to serve and educate the people."

-- Huey P. Newton, May 1, 1971

To Die For The People is a history of the development, problems and successes of the Black Panther Party through the writings of Huey P. Newton. The apparent inconsistencies and twists of this important black organization can be understood from a careful reading of the book.

There are no get-rich-quick schemes for revolution. For all their Marxist rhetoric, the Black Panther Party never adopted a Marxist analysis of the only means by which the capitalist state can be overthrown: through the self-organization of the working class, black and white.

The Panthers' decline was tragic. But to understand the developments and why and where the Panthers went wrong is important to revolutionaries everywhere.

From the friendship of two black brothers attending Merrit College in

Oakland, California, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense was born in 1966. It burst onto the national scene when the Panthers went to Sacramento, California, to protest legislation that would prevent citizens from carrying a loaded gun in the city limits.

This legislation was aimed against the Panthers because they were patrolling the streets of the West Oakland ghetto in an attempt to stop the rampant police brutality that the black community faced daily. Guns at their sides, they would stand at the legal distance and inform any black person being harassed by the Oakland police of their rights.

The sight of a dozen or so young black armed men dressed in black leather jackets and berets entering the capitol building was a terrifying sight to the white legislature. It was only a portent of the future.

The Mulford Act passed overwhelmingly, ending the Panther patrols. But the Panthers were more than armed patrols. Bobby Seale and Huey Newton had a plan for the entire black community.

The Panther Ten Point Program took up the problems of economic exploitation, housing, education, jobs, and political prisoners. Above all, it called for the right of black people to control their own communities and to determine their own destiny free of the oppression of white racist society.

Despite the way the press has attempted to portray the Panthers, armed self-defense was only one point in their program.

The Panthers embodied the new direction of the black movement in America, no longer willing to simply march and non-violently protest the daily indignation and oppression that black people received at the hands of white society. The black movement turned to Black Power, emphasizing pride in being black and demanding

justice in America on their own terms.

The Black Panther Party represented the best of these groups. They understood the need to organize black people to fight for their own interest, not against all whites but against anyone who oppressed or exploited the ghetto, black or white.

The Black Panther Party steadfastly stood for this principle. They judged black politicians for what they did for black people, not on the basis of skin color. If they didn't measure up, they were attacked like any white politician.

The Democratic Party was, and still is, the traditional home of black people because of its more liberal rhetoric and program. It came under heavy attack for the way it had used black people at election time, and done nothing for them once in power.

The Black Panther Party refused to support black politicians running in the Democratic Party. In 1968 they ran several of their own members as candidates in the newly formed Peace and Freedom Party in California against these politicians.

During this same period the Black Panther Party came under heavy attack by the police and the courts. Their rapid growth and real success in organizing black people caused the state to clamp down on them by any and all means.

Huey Newton went on trial for his life on frame-up charges of murdering an Oakland policeman. The fact that Newton is free today is testimony to the mass movement that demanded his freedom "by any means necessary." The slogan "Free Huey" became an international rallying cry for all those fighting the racist oppression of blacks in America.

Although Newton was finally freed, after two years, the attacks continued. In April 1968 Eldridge Cleaver, a leading member of the Party, was arrested in a shoot-out with the police and another Panther was killed.

As the Panthers spread nationally from their base in California, so did the vicious repression against them. Other Panthers were similarly disposed of in Los Angeles, New York and New Haven. These extreme tactics on the part of the state and government severely weakened the Party.

For a time during 1969 and 1970, the Panthers adopted a policy of armed confrontations. For them a war was going on. [For a discussion of the Panthers' ideas during this period, see the review of George Jackson's Blood in My Eye, Workers' Power No. 64.]

The Panthers welcomed this struggle and attempted to use it to organize the ghettos. But the small organization was no match for the armed power of the state. As this became clear, the Panthers were forced to abandon this strategy.

Fascism

In response, the Newton-Seale line began to change. Their defeats led to a conservative turn, and the repression they had received led them to completely misjudge the political situation in America.

The fact that there was no mass working class movement willing to fight for the rights of blacks today was now taken to mean that no such movement would ever exist.

The Panthers' new line stated that the working class had been bought off. America was fascist. Anyone willing to support the Panthers had to be supported in a United Front against Fascism. Anyone who attacked or criticized them were fascist agents.

It is a fatal mistake to assume that if workers are conservative, they will never change. But this is exactly what the Panthers assumed. This assumption made it impossible for them to adopt a strategy that could appeal to workers' interests and begin to break through their conservatism.

Black Workers

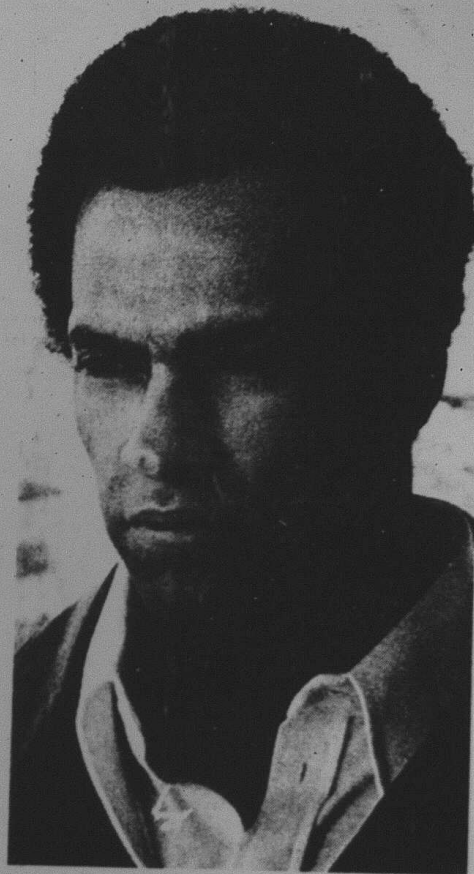
For a brief period it seemed as if the Panthers were going to put their earlier theory, that America was capitalist and needed a socialist revolution to end exploitation and oppression, into practice by attempting to organize black workers. A Black Panther Caucus formed at the General Motors' Plant in Fremont, California. [For a discussion of this Caucus by its leader Kenny Horsten, see the pamphlet Black Workers on the Move, available from I.S. Books for 15¢.]

This caucus, however, received little support from the Party. Eventually it disappeared. Thus the one force that might have been able to defend the Panthers from the vicious attacks -- black workers -- was overlooked.

The Panthers developed a theory that it was no longer the working class that would bring about revolution in America. They decided that now only the "lumpen-proletariat" (non-working poor) could play that revolutionary role.

Huey Newton wrote that because automation and technology were growing so fast, there would be less and less jobs. The great majority of people, black and white, would no longer work. Hence it made no sense to attempt to organize workers!

When the Panthers' isolation became clear, in early 1971, a radical change took place in the Panther strategy. The Panthers realized that for too long the Party had neglected the community and black people. Only by going back could they build the revolutionary organization and be the vanguard of the American revolution.



Now the important thing became the "survival of the community" until such time as the consciousness of the people became revolutionary. They dropped any real attempt at organizing, in favor of numerous programs of "survival." These included the Breakfast for Children program, Free Health Clinics, Free Shoes, and the Sickle Cell Anemia Clinics.

In a non-political elitist fashion, the Panthers set out to "Serve the People." By serving them, the Panthers planned to win their support and become the leadership of the future revolution.

The black church was "re-evaluated." It could play a progressive role according to the Party, and the Party's participation in it could ensure that it would play such a role: "The church is in its developmental process, and we believe it needs to exist. We believe this as a result of our new direction. . . So we do go to church, and not in any hypocritical way. Religion, perhaps, is a thing that man needs at this time because scientists cannot answer all the questions."

Not only was the church re-evaluated, but "black capitalism" came up for a review also. In the past the Panthers had correctly called black capitalism a shuck. They had stated that they were opposed to any form of capitalism, black or white. Now this policy changed.

Sometime in the future, of course, when it came time for the revolution, the black capitalists would have to be destroyed also. But if they "really believed" in the community and its liberation, they would presumably accept the fact that they had paved the way for their own annihilation!

The Panthers began as a militant organization committed to building a revolutionary black community and open to alliances with radical and revolutionary white organizations. Today they have forsaken most of this militancy in exchange for acceptability and approval by all elements of the black community, including the conservative and reactionary forces.

No longer do they correctly attack the Democratic Party for using blacks. Recently, they have supported some of the same black politicians they once attacked as black lackeys and boot lickers.

The Panthers are still an important organization within the black liberation movement. But unless they begin to organize around democratic and working class demands, to build a black and white working class movement in America, they will be doomed to play a sideline role in the developing American revolution.

This is an important book to read. It is necessary to understand the Black Panther's development and the mistakes they have made. Sympathy and understanding are important but not enough.

Clear forthright criticism and the development of a dialogue with the Panthers and other important groups in the black movement are a must for revolutionary socialists in America today.

The question of racism and the reactionary role it plays inside the working class cannot be passed over. A strong black working class movement will play a key role in developing the basis for unity between black and white workers.

Unless black and white revolutionary socialists are able to find the solution to the problem of working class racism it can be safely said that there will be no united working class movement, and no socialist revolution to end capitalist exploitation and free all mankind. ■

Over 1800 residents of Detroit, most of them black, booed Detroit's Police Commissioner off the stage last week as he tried to defend the racist brutalization of Detroit black people by his men.

The recent campaign of police attacks on the Detroit black community grew out of an incident on December 4, when three young black men were involved in a shoot-out with four members of Detroit's elite STRESS unit. All four of the police were wounded, one of them fatally. The blacks escaped, kicking off one of the most extensive manhunts in Detroit history.

To date, the fugitives have been involved in two more shoot-outs, the first leaving one more STRESS agent dead and another wounded, the second leading to the capture of one of the fugitives, Heywood Brown.

STRESS, which stands for "Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets," is an elite undercover operation supposedly aimed at attracting and apprehending muggers. In 1972 STRESS agents killed 16 people, all but one of them black, and most of them teen-agers. The STRESS operation has slowly extended itself into other areas besides street-crime, notably narcotics.

Most of the comments by the angered residents covered two major areas. The first was the extreme measures the police department has resorted to in its effort to catch the fugitives. The second was the question of why these men were involved in the original shoot-out.

Family and friends of the fugitives at the Council meeting spoke again and again about the number of community projects and good works in the black community the men had been involved in over the past several years. The men were originally ambushed by police after leaving a suspected dope house on the north fringe of the city's west-side ghetto. Police claim the men were moving a shipment of dope, although none was found in their abandoned car after the gun battle.

Anti-Dope Guerrillas

Friends of the accused claim the men were actually involved in shutting down dope houses in the neighborhood because of the destructive effect that narcotics has on black communities. Blacks involved in this kind of guerilla activity is a relatively unpublicized occurrence that has been happening with greater and greater frequency in Detroit.

If these men were, in fact, trying to run dope out of the community, then the question is, why were the police after them? There are two possible explanations, both of which point to the ties between the destructively high dope trade in Detroit and the police department.

The first possibility is that the services of STRESS are available to big-time pushers as hired killers. The second is that the police receive a lot of graft from the pushers, and the curtailing of the dope trade by young militant blacks is cutting deeply into the profits of the police.

Whatever the exact details, most people in the black community are convinced that STRESS ambushed the three men not because they were pushing drugs but because they were interfering with the pushers. But holding them up to the community as both dealers and cop-killers, the police felt they had all the justification necessary to pursue the three in the most brutal and vicious manner.

In the seven weeks since the original

incident, illegal searches in the black community have been the order of the day.

Residents at the meeting reported police breaking into their homes without warrants, holding them at gunpoint, threatening and harassing them, and in many cases brutally beating people. One man victimized in this manner had no more connection to the fugitives than a house address similar to one of the men. Another man, responding to what he thought were robbers breaking into his home in the middle of the night, was fatally shot by the police.

Blacks and some whites all over the city have been arbitrarily stopped by police on the street and subjected to searches and harassment.

Meetings held by black community leaders, attracting hundreds of participants, led to the City Council decision to hold an open meeting. But during the Council meeting one councilman left, one went to sleep, and the others, with the exception of newly elected black councilwoman Irma Henderson,

would demand, among other things, the end of racist police attacks on the black community. But only one third of the planned number of signatories were collected and organizational hassles kept the Labor Defense Coalition from proceeding any further with their plans.

Since the City Council meeting, a number of prominent blacks from various groups have formed an organization called United Black Coalition to demand a congressional investigation into the racist attacks on the black community. Represented in the coalition are the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Guardian of Michigan (an association of Black police officers), and the Black Panther Party, among others.

If it is to have a real impact, this new organization will have to organize not just a small group of relatively well-known black personalities, but the entire black community to meet the attack of the police force head on.

Black communities in every major



Detroit police converging during capture of Hayward Brown.

STOP STRESS

Kay Stacy

remained silent. Mayor Roman Gribbs was absent from the meeting because he was busy elsewhere installing a local television weather-reporter as honorary airport commissioner.

When a radical black attorney, Kenneth Cockeral rose to speak, the City Council tried to hustle him off stage. A small confrontation broke out, and the crowd refused to let anyone speak until Cockeral was allowed to talk.

He presented the City Council with 30,000 signatures of residents demanding the immediate abolition of STRESS. The signatures had been collected last fall in the wake of public anger at STRESS killings at that time.

The Labor Defense Coalition, of which Cockeral is a part, a split off from both the Black Workers Congress and the Motor City Labor League (a local radical organization), had organized a rally that attracted over 8,000 residents. Plans were made to collect over 100,000 signatures on petitions as a part of building a movement that

urban center have been growing more and more tense as battles between militants and police have spread. The community support for blacks held up in a sporting goods store in Brooklyn recently was quite apparent to police on the scene and tempered their efforts to dislodge the blacks.

The support of the black community for the fugitives in Detroit has been demonstrated by the inability of the police to capture the remaining two men. Continued violence and repression will only drive the black community closer together.

The opportunity to build a city-wide community movement that takes up the serious problem of police repression as well as other social problems is the greatest since the Detroit uprising in 1967. The question is whether the various black organizations building the struggle now will fight for a movement to unleash the power of the black community or whether they will simply attempt to ride it to personal power in the city government. ■

Irish Workers Strike Against Terrorism

Sandy Boyer
Joan McKiernan

Thousands of workers downed tools in Northern Ireland in early January. The work stoppage was called by the Catholic Ex-servicemen's Association to protest the recent rash of murders and assassinations by loyalist terrorists.

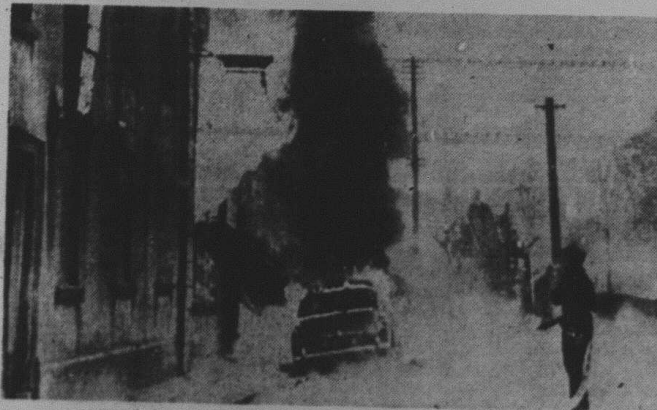
The most significant demonstration was carried out by deep-sea dockers in Belfast. A mass meeting of both Catholic and Protestant dockers heard speakers from both denominations call for an end to the bloody violence. Hundreds of housewives in the Andersonstown district marched through the streets to add their voices to the protest.

The extent of the demonstrations forced the authorities to start court proceedings for the first time against eleven loyalist terrorists.

Since last spring 122 people in Northern Ireland have been victims of sectarian assassinations. The British government continues to push the lie that the Irish Republican Army (IRA) is responsible for the spiralling death toll. In fact, two out of every three victims were Catholics. In December, 36 people died - loyalist terrorists and the British Army were responsible for 29 of these deaths.

These murders expose the British Army's justification for its presence in Northern Ireland as a cruel joke. They have tolerated open parades of the Ulster Volunteer Force, the Protestant para-military organization, while arresting on sight any IRA member they can find.

Recently several Belfast priests, hardly militant republicans, held a press conference on the activities of the British Army in their neighborhoods. A Father Wilson said he had seen British troops in plainclothes fire at civilians and had been told that they were trying to get terrorists to expose themselves by firing back. Another priest said that he had given



Bombed mill burning in Newry, Northern Ireland

the Army the names of four men involved in bombing Catholic homes and no action had been taken.

The army's reply to the press conference was that British troops used only controlled violence. Obviously their real role in Northern Ireland is to protect British investments, not Irish lives.

The British army's attitude is easily explained. The army is afraid that any serious attempt to come to grips with loyalist gunmen will reveal the extent to which these killers are bound up with the official Ulster Defense Regiment, which is financed and trained by the government.

The killings also play a useful role in maintaining William Whitelaw's regime. They scare the Catholic population and weaken its ability to resist any coming settlement that does not recognize its demands.

Finally, the Army can point to the killing to justify its one-sided actions against those who dare to oppose British rule in the Six Counties.

The British Army's low regard for human life has only encouraged right-wing Protestant terrorism. Consider the attitude of William Craig, head of Ulster Vanguard, an extreme right-wing Protestant organization. While denying any knowledge of Protestant bombings, Craig said: "One could not rule out the fact that they could have been caused by a loyalist organization. Until the constitution of Northern Ireland is restored this sort of thing is more than likely."

Earlier Craig had urged Protestants to "shoot to kill" if there was any attempt to set up a united Ireland. Obviously these statements amount to inciting Protestants to murder Catholics. Some Protestant leaders in the Ulster Defense Association have called upon their members and loyalist forces in general to refrain from further terrorist activities.

The Provisional IRA has denied responsibility for the sectarian assassinations which they have called "completely reprehensible." They have

accused Craig and the Vanguard of having responsibility for the murders and called for Vanguard action to end the assassinations. They expressed the hope that Protestants would refuse to be led into a civil war.

But they have done nothing to make this more than a vague hope. Their civilian bombing campaign has gone steadily on except for a brief break for Christmas. It has even spread to comparatively peaceful areas like Cookstown that have never been bombed before.

The sight of the factories and offices where they work and the stores they shop in being destroyed by Provisional bombs helps drive Protestant workers into organizations like the Ulster Volunteer Force.

The Provisionals have no program to offer Protestants except regional autonomy inside a united Ireland. Protestant workers see a united Ireland meaning simply an end to the small but very real advantages they have over Catholics - better jobs and a better chance to get a job. They are afraid that the very few steps they have been able to take in the direction of security and a decent standard of living will be wiped out with all advantages going to the Catholics.

In fact, the call for a united Ireland, without also calling for a socialist Irish Workers' Republic, has only a limited appeal to Irishmen of any denomination. The Republic of Ireland, marked by mass layoffs and repressive legislation, is not very democratic let alone a workers' paradise (See *Workers' Power* #70).

Cease Fire Not Enough

The Official IRA to its great credit has recognized the very real danger of a sectarian civil war. They have halted all offensive actions in order to avoid any possible provocation that could set off sectarian killings.

Unfortunately a cease-fire simply is not enough to have any effect on the situation in Northern Ireland today. In the months since the Officials declared their cease-fire the situation has grown steadily worse. This does not mean that the cease-fire was a mistake but only that much more is needed to make any real progress in the North.

The Officials, unlike the Provisionals, realize that what they have in common with the mass of Protestants is that they are both working class. But they have not really acted on that realization. Their program for the North continues to be centered around support for the campaign for civil rights.

But the history of the past four years makes it tragically clear that Protestant workers view civil rights as the same sort of threat to their position as a united Ireland. The civil rights demands must be broadened into demands for all working people, like jobs for all, no more factory closings, and a decent house for every family.

Only by waging this kind of campaign, in the South as well as the North, can a step be made toward not only heading off a civil war but toward a common fight by Catholic and Protestant workers against their real oppressors. ■

Irish-Americans Protest British Rule in Ireland

Over a thousand Irish Americans marched in pouring rain last week through midtown New York to a rally held to commemorate the murders of 13 persons by British troops in Derry last year.

On the route, heavily restricted by police, marchers shouted "British Troops Out Now" and "IRA All the Way." Irish Republican Clubs carried a banner "For a Socialist Ireland." Members of the International Socialists marched with the Anti-Internment Coalition and distributed leaflets calling for the building of a workers' movement to resist repression in Ireland.

Denis Cassin, speaking for the Irish Republican Clubs at the rally, said that the deaths of the 13 in Derry were only one act of oppression by

the British. He said that British imperialism was the real enemy, not only in the north but in the south as well. In the south, the Lynch government has allowed the factories, mines and farms to be taken over by British imperialists. Cassin stated that the only way to fight repression in Ireland and the United States was by mass mobilization.

The demonstration was sponsored by all the major Irish groups in New York City. Such unity had only developed recently with the demonstrations against Jack Lynch. The unity of the Irish groups is a reflection of the seriousness of the repression taking place in this country and in Ireland, and the groups' realization of the need to work together in order to resist.

In Ireland severely repressive legis-

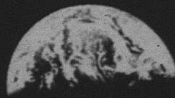
lation has been passed to crack down on the IRA. In this country the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of the Fort Worth Five. These Irish Americans, who are not charged with any crime, now have to return to jail in Texas where they already spent three months for refusing to answer the questions of a grand jury.

Several demonstrators were harassed and arrested by police during the recent Lynch demonstrations. The secret agents tried to get revenge for all the eggs that broke on their coats by pressing federal charges against arrested demonstrators.

In a separate incident one person has already been fined \$100 for selling an IRA support paper. Continued demonstrations and mobilization of Irish and American workers is necessary to fight this repression. ■

international report

Paul Benjamin



The Philippines: a "showcase of democracy" it isn't

On January 17, 1973, President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines declared that his authoritarian new constitution had been ratified.

Marcos had hoped to find some kind of popular support for his "New Era." To this end, he allowed open discussion of the proposed new Constitution. But his strategy backfired. Speakers against the Constitution drew warm responses from their audiences. Few could be found to defend the charter.

Marcos responded by re-instituting censorship and postponing the promised plebiscite on the Constitution.

Soon afterwards he created hand-picked "citizens' assemblies" to register their reactions to the new Constitution and to Marcos' four-month old dictatorship. Not surprisingly, these "assemblies" discovered there was no need for a plebiscite, nor an end to martial law, which "will be continued in accordance with the needs of the time and the desires of the people."

Clearly, the gilt has been ripped off of this "showcase of Western democracy" in the Pacific.

But it is equally clear that the opposition as constituted is powerless to do anything about it. It represents the liberal sections of the bourgeoisie who dislike (or are personally threatened by) Marcos one-man rule. But they support Marcos's program -- the preservation of capitalism in the Philippines.

The formal restoration of democratic rights in the Philippines by itself could not solve the islands' problems of poverty and unemployment. In fact, it was the deterioration of the economy which led Marcos to declare Martial Law, as the only way to preserve the system.

A serious Filipino opposition movement will have to include a social program which can offer an economic alternative -- a socialist alternative -- to the system Marcos is trying to protect. This kind of movement can develop only from the people themselves. As it grows, the present "liberal opposition" will end up clinging to Marcos to protect its own property and positions.



Ferdinand Marcos

Israel: roundup of militants masks social crisis

The left in Israel is undergoing the biggest attack ever mounted by the authorities. Some 60 militants, both Arabs and Jews, have been arrested and charged with involvement in or knowledge of a so-called "Syrian spy ring."

An hysterical press campaign has been aimed even against the Zionist left and some papers are calling for the outlawing of non-Zionist and anti-Zionist groups.

A member of the Israeli parliament, Abraham Levenbraun, has disclosed horrifying stories of the torture and humiliation of the detainees.

It is scarcely accidental that the discovery of this "spy ring" has helped take the heat off the government for Israel's deepening social crisis. The crime rate has gone up 35% in the last five years. Prostitution has become widespread in the major cities. Juvenile delinquency is on the rise; authorities cannot account for fully 20,000 Israelis between the ages of 14 and 17.

The government has brought in 150 border police from the Gaza strip, where they had been fighting Arab guerrillas, to patrol the streets of Tel Aviv.

Israeli workers have been opposing government economic policy in a series of strikes and slowdowns for the past two months. Recently the government announced price rises of up to 25% on many basic consumer goods.

The government is using the convenient spy scare as an excuse to crack down on the left, while trying to divert attention from its inability to solve Israel's economic and social crisis. Israeli workers cannot allow their government to get away with creating red scares while refusing to deal with the deteriorating economy.

Cuba: dissident workers sentenced for sabotage

A Cuban court has recently sentenced a group of "counter-revolutionaries" to prison terms ranging from 8-30 years. The convicted persons all belonged to a group which for some time had allegedly been carrying out counter-revolutionary activities, especially the sabotaging of machinery, equipment and plants.

The prosecution claimed that the group "took advantage" of their jobs and administrative posts, from where they also "bewildered" local peasants and workers.

While there is no way to know who the accused or what their ideas really are, or what if any acts they may have committed, the accusations imply that most were workers, protesting against the regime where it hit them hardest: on the shop floor.

Guinea: liberation leader assassinated by Portuguese



Amílcar Cabral

Amílcar Cabral, one of the most prominent leaders of the African struggle against colonialism, was assassinated on the night of January 20th in front of his home in Conakry, in Guinea. Cabral was the leader of the most successful revolt against Portuguese rule in Africa. His army of around 10,000 black men and women controls three quarters of Portuguese Guinea, in West Africa.

This is not the first time that Portuguese imperialists have resorted to assassination in their attempts to destroy the independence movement in their colonies. Four years ago, the leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane, was murdered in Tanzania.

The Portuguese killers will learn to their sorrow that the African movement for self-determination will not be stopped by the death of any one man.

The United States government, by supplying Portugal with the arms to carry out its repressive policies in Africa, bears its own burden of guilt in this as in other crimes of its allies in imperialism.

Chile: workers fight to keep factory control

Workers in the town of Arica, in northern Chile, have been fighting bitterly to maintain the gains they made during the "bosses' strike last October.

Workers in 13 electrical equipment factories took over their factories and managed them for two months after the walk-out by directors, managers and most technical employees, despite attempts to disrupt production.

The leaders of the CUT (Chile's AFL-CIO) refused to issue a statement of support for the Arica workers. Alejandro Alarcon, a member of the Revolutionary Workers rank-and-file group and the only CUT executive who went to Arica to express his support for the workers there, was denounced for preventing a "peaceful" solution to the conflict.

Many factories in Chile are occupied,

so the outcome of events in Arica could set a crucial precedent.

In Alarcon's words: "...we can say that the government and the majority of the Popular Unity coalition are themselves guilty of handing back the factories that had been taken over by the workers..."

"Worse than that, 'social peace' has not stopped at the return of the factories, but has led to public statements that the best interests of the middle class will be guaranteed and that the 'excesses' of the workers will be curtailed."

Australia: Prime Minister front for US imperialism

Prime Minister Whitlam of Australia has lost no time in repairing his relations with Washington, strained recently by anti-Vietnam war demonstrations.

Whitlam's "socialist" government was elected with a mandate to oppose continuation of the war in Vietnam. Just as he took office, Nixon began his terror bombing of Hanoi. Australian reaction to the bombing was led by the dockworkers, who began a boycott of American shipping (see *Workers Vanguard* #70).

The government could scarcely condemn the protests so soon after taking office on an anti-war platform. But Whitlam quickly called a halt to the protests. He condemned the dockers' boycott of American shipping. The dockers, under pressure from Australian labor bureaucrats as well as the government, voted soon afterwards to end the boycott.

The Prime Minister declared that the bombing of North Vietnam represented "the only cloud on the horizon in relations between the United States and Australia." He said "there are many opportunities, great opportunities, for cooperation between the United States and Australia."

One of these opportunities came along shortly. The Australian government (along with New Zealand, an equally "socialist" government) has indicated that it will remain a member of SEATO, America's military alliance in Southeast Asia.

SEATO was in the process of falling apart. Pakistan has withdrawn from the alliance, and France has no interest in it. The withdrawal of Australia and New Zealand would have ended any excuse for the U.S. to maintain the alliance.

The U.S. State Department had told Whitlam that breaking up SEATO would threaten the continuation of an American presence in Southeast Asia after the Vietnam war. It might even make it difficult to get congressional approval for further Asian military involvement.

Whitlam was willing enough to place himself at the head of Australian anti-war sentiment, especially as the war was clearly almost over. He is equally willing to provide a front for continued American imperialism in Southeast Asia after the fighting stops.



feed back

Rejoinder to Moore

David Moore's letter (*Workers' Power* #70) in response to my article on "Eco-Profits" gives me a chance to enlarge upon a couple of points.

Moore states, as I did, that businesses profit by not repairing the damage they do to the environment, both in and out of their plants. But the thrust of my article was to show that they can make profits both coming and going: they now are finding ways to profit from the popular pressure -- and the real need -- to stop ecological destruction.

One way of doing this is to shut down unprofitable plants, citing governmental pollution regulations, or public pressure, or union demands for decent working conditions, as the reason. In some cases, the threat to close down is meant to force workers to accept unsafe or unhealthy conditions, or to convince a community to live with pollution rather than financial hardship. In other cases, the plants will be closed, with the environmental concern used as an excuse.

In any case, the workers and the community are the ones who suffer, while the company improves its profitability. Yet Moore writes, "Better for a few workers to be temporarily unemployed than to expose masses of men, women, and children to . . . serious diseases, etc."

I hope Moore is referring here to a future socialist society, where workers whose workplaces are under repair will not have to bear the financial burden of unemployment. In capitalism, both alternatives are unacceptable: when an obsolete plant shuts down, the workers bear the bulk of the burden, their unemployment is far from temporary (in some cases it is permanent), and these days it is happening to more than a few.

This capitalist "solution" to the problem of environmental damage is part of an overall strategy of "rationalizing" industry in order to raise profits. The drive to win new productivity clauses in the upcoming round of labor contracts, symbolized by Phase III, is the outstanding example.

The capitalist strategy is made necessary by the general economic crisis that has become evident to all in the past few years; at present, that strategy is succeeding at the expense of the working class (see the article in this issue on Phase III). Under the circumstances, the labor movement needs a full strategic program to fight back. Moreover, labor's strategy would be futile if it did not lead in the direction of abolishing the capitalist system of profit at human expense.

That's why I suggested the principle "no factory has to be closed" as one plank in such a program (in my article it is clear that this refers to "production . . . needed to raise the standard of living of people in the U.S. and around the world," not armaments or useless and dangerous products), as well as the demand that repairs (or reconversion) be paid for by

the businesses that have profited by polluting. Other planks, such as those Moore puts forward for achieving full employment, are also a necessary part of labor's program.

I don't agree with Moore that it is diversionary to analyze ecological destruction in the context of the capitalist attack on the working class and all of humanity. On the contrary, that's the only way of bringing about a real solution.

Walter Daum

Lewis Without Tears

Lynn Jones' article "Victory for Miners" (*Workers' Power* no. 70) gives an excellent brief outline of the current situation in the United Mine Workers. There are, however, two serious political errors in the article.

First, Jones glorifies the past of the UMW in an entirely unwarranted manner. One would think from the article that the UMW was a model progressive, democratic union until 1949, when John L. Lewis suddenly lost faith in "King Coal" and turned it around.

In fact, the Boyle machine is a linear continuation of the Lewis machine, which was built upon the bones of radicals and militants in the coal fields. Lewis victimized opponents and collaborated with the coal bosses from the 1920's on, as his predecessors had done before him. Entire districts

of the UMW have not had an election in over 40 years.

Second, we are told that "miners have traditionally kept their union out of the folds of either the Democratic or Republican Party." What this "independence" has meant in the real world is that the UMW bureaucracy ("the miners" have had little say in the matter) played footsie with both parties instead of just one.

Since the turn of the century, miners have been saddled with a succession of bureaucratic, corrupt and class-collaborationist leaderships, John L. Lewis' demagoguery notwithstanding. They have now begun to end this sorry tradition, but their work won't be helped by building myths about the past or pretending the conservative politics of that past represent some more militant alternative to the pallid liberalism of the MFD.

Tom Condit

Roadblock to Revolution

In reading Lynn Jones' "Victory for Miners" in *Workers' Power* #70, one might conclude that the model of unionism to be imitated today is the reformist unionism of John L. Lewis during the 30's and 40's.

The article makes such an unfortunate conclusion likely mostly by what it fails to say about Lewis and the UMW rather than what it actually says.

It is true that Lewis was a fighter -- he deserves a token of credit for being the only leading bureaucrat in a major union to attack the no-strike policy in World War II. But he was also a tough bureaucrat who suppressed internal dissent, using physical force against critics.

Lewis maintained a top-down, autocratic organizational structure. Only a tough bureaucrat could have taken the initiatives which Lewis took . . . if he hadn't broken with the conservative AFL, quite possibly the industrial workers' movement of the 30's would have gone far beyond the merely reformist, merely unionist

form that it took under the leadership of Lewis, Hillman, and others.

Lewis' initiatives were aimed -- successfully -- at heading off a revolutionary movement in the American working class, and Lewis did it with the help of many Communists and Socialists. He knew how to use radicals -- who made great cannon fodder -- for his purposes. All those radicals who worshipped Lewis knew that opposition to him would result in getting one's teeth kicked in, or worse.

While it is true that the UMW in the 30's and 40's had a "social vision," it was of the illusory promise of the New Deal. Lewis himself was guided by the conception of the industrial union as a stabilizer in the capitalist economy.

It is certainly true that the CIO was a great step forward for American workers. However, the CIO was sidetracked from developing in a revolutionary direction in large part because it was led at the top by men like Lewis who, for all their militancy, were loyal to capitalism (and also because many communists and socialists simply helped organize the CIO without raising a program which would lead in a revolutionary direction).

While it is true that the UMW avoided hidebound loyalty to either major party, Democrat and Republican, it is not true that the UMW was independent of them both. Rather it favored the policy of Gompers (another "legendary leader"), to support whatever capitalist party seems to offer the best deal at the moment.

The only policy which would have been truly independent of both capitalist parties would have been the formation of a labor party, based on a program of struggle for the entire class. And Lewis never took one step in the direction of forming a labor party. When he broke with Roosevelt in 1940, he turned his support to the Republicans.

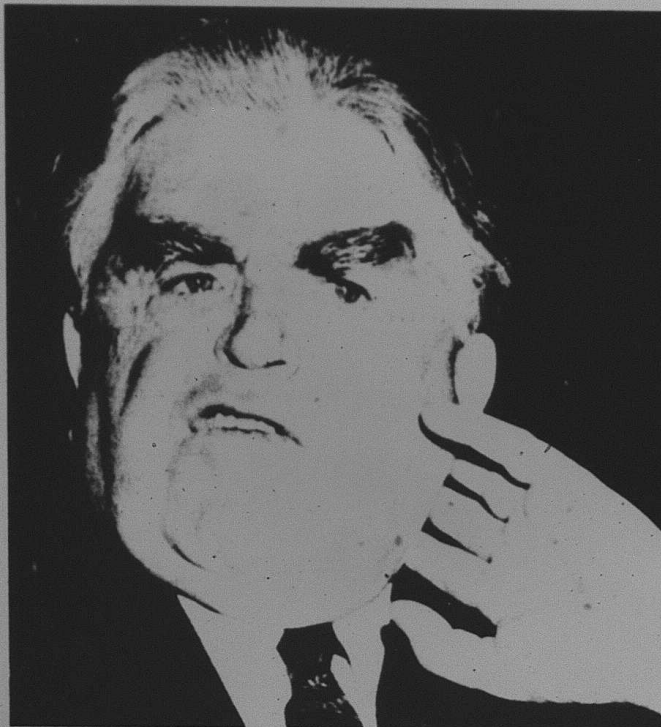
As a result of Jones' one-sided account there is no indication of the causes for the degeneration of the union, which as she tells it seems to strike in the 50's as though a totally new disease.

Lewis' policy of loaning funds to the mine companies is simply charged with dishonesty: he failed to tell the ranks. That was the first time Lewis did something without telling the ranks! Besides being dishonest, Lewis was trying to maintain a sick industry in the hands of its private owners. To take the only alternative to his actual policy -- to call for nationalization -- would have been for Lewis a break from his entire labor career. Rather than the tragic downfall of a once great leader, Lewis' services to the mine owners were the logical outcome of his earlier course.

Finally, there is one incorrect statement in Jones' article, in contrast to her various one-sided statements. In her last sentence, she refers to the "last time the UMW moved with a far-sighted leadership at its head." Far from being "far-sighted," John L. Lewis' vision was notable for its myopia.

Lewis saw his own time with great clarity, making him a highly able director of forces in action and an effective spokesman for the immediate moods of the ranks. But his reliance upon what is possible merely under the existing system, merely under capitalism, and his failure to base his approach upon the real needs of the workers he led, even though those needs go far beyond what this system can care for, show a vision clouded with cynicism and pessimism.

James Mott



John L. Lewis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppressors. 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, awails

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.

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