



Labor Quits Board

AFL-CIO President George Meany and the two other AFL-CIO representatives on the Pay Board (Steelworkers' President Abel and Machinists' President Smith) dealt President Nixon a blow March 22 by walking off the board. The next day, United Auto Workers President Woodcock joined them.

Teamsters' President Frank Fitzsimmons, playing political games with Nixon and also hoping for favorable treatment when a raise for 250,000 Teamsters comes due in July, remained on the Board.

Nixon, after a day in conference, announced that the Pay Board would be reshuffled. Four business representatives would be asked to resign, leaving only one to balance Fitzsimmons. The five "public" members (who have consistently been tougher than the business members in holding wages down) would remain.

In resigning, Meany used tough language. An AFL-CIO statement pointed out:

"In the second half of 1971, the after-tax profits of all corporations were up 19 percent . . . nearly three times the 6.6 percent increase of total wage and salary payments. The lions' share of the gain in profits is going to the big corporations and the conglomerate giants . . . The nation's 100 largest corporations scored a sensational 76 percent rise in profits last year . . . The only thing really controlled is pay."

All this was absolutely true, as was

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WOODCOCK & MEANY

Black Convention in Gary Clarence Jones



Baraka

"Let there be no mistake. We come to Gary in a time of unrelieved crisis for our people. From every rural community in Alabama to the high-rise compounds of Chicago, we bring to this convention the agonies of our people. From the sprawling black cities of Watts and Nairobi in the West to the decay of Harlem and Roxbury in the East, the testimony we bear is the same. We are witnesses to social disaster."

-Preamble to the National Black Political Agenda, page 1.

Over 5,000 delegates and observers converged on Gary, Indiana, on March 10-12 to confirm these truths. Discontent still abounds in the black community despite the decline and the disorientation of mass struggle; life for the mass of black people has gotten worse.

Every unemployed black youth, every black worker faced with a shrinking paycheck and every black woman intimidated by crime in the community can give testimony to this discontent. For Nixon and the capitalist oppressors of blacks the message was delivered loud and clear: They cannot rest easy, for the struggles of the black community will continue.

The organizers of the Gary Convention stated its purpose as being the creation of a "unified black political power under national direction." Under the themes of "operational unity" and "unity without uniformity," the convention was intended to encompass every tendency and organization within the black movement.

This call for black unity met a real sentiment in the black community for the unification of its ranks, but the organizers' conception of unity is the *submerging of political differences, compromising with the Right (NAACP, Democrats, etc.) in content and the Left (the nationalists, etc.) in rhetoric.*

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New York Rally Against Internment

On Saturday, March 4, over 1,000 Irish demonstrators marched through midtown New York to the United Nations. A rally was held at the UN building to demand the end to internment in Northern Ireland and the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

The rally was organized by the Anti-Internment Coalition, which includes the Irish Republican Clubs and a number of other Irish and American organizations and individuals. Featured speakers from Northern Ireland were Brendan Duddy, of the Derry Defense League, and Kevin McCorry, an organizer of Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

The International Socialists were represented by Joan McKiernan, who urged the crowd to take action themselves to help free the internees. She pointed out that the resolution now being discussed in Congress was mean-

ingless because it would not bind Congress or the President to do anything:

"If the politicians want to help, they can remove the American military base from Derry and end our aid to NATO. It is because of that aid that Britain can keep all those troops in Northern Ireland."

McKiernan also expressed the hope that people would do more than simply wear black armbands on St. Patrick's Day. "The Irish have mourned long enough," she said, "We want to fight for freedom now and there is much we can do right here."

She suggested that the Irish workers here demand that their unions call the next rally, and continued:

"The next time the British troops shoot an Irish person, why don't you just stop work. That's how the American government will know you mean business. You can call strikes in sympathy with the Irish workers. You

don't have to wait for politicians to show you the way."

Mario Biaggi, a local congressman, attempted to defend the role of the politicians, but the crowd was not convinced. James Scheuer, another congressman, was booed off the platform when he suggested a gradual withdrawal of British troops over the period of a year, while the Irish waited for Britain to pour development funds into Northern Ireland.

Unconditional support for the Irish struggle was given by Carlos Feliciano, speaking for the Puerto Rican nationalist movement, and members of the Berrigan Defense Committee, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and other groups.

The Anti-Internment Coalition has decided that its next action will be to picket the next British ship coming in to the Port of New York and ask longshoremen not to unload it. ■



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Lordstown, Woodcock and the Reuther Tradition

John Single

The inability of the UAW International leadership to supply imaginative and courageous leadership to the strike at the General Motors Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio, demonstrates that the tradition of Reutherism has nothing in common with what is militant and democratic in the history of the auto union. The Lordstown strike has provided UAW President Lenoard Woodcock with what he claimed he always wanted, the opportunity to take on GM. So far, he has let that opportunity pass him by.

Unlike all other leading industrial nations, America's largest industry is the production of automobiles rather than steel. GM -- which is larger than all its competitors combined -- is the pacesetter not only in the economy but also in the methods with which it extracts labor from its workers.

Since its emergence in the 1930's as number one super corporation, GM has been a major threat to the welfare of American workers. Its size has allowed it an efficiency in designing and maintaining paces of work, enjoyed by no other manufacturer.

The strikes against GM, and particularly the 1930's sitdown strikes (which in the Flint plants lasted forty-four days), posed a challenge to this super-exploiter. But the leadership of the union used the rank and file challenge solely to win economic benefits, rather than some union control over production speeds.

Under the cover of a phoney patriotism during World War II, GM was able to put the ranks of the auto workers on the defensive. While it made billions in profits, GM fought militancy on the line to establish better working conditions as if it were aid to Germany and Japan.

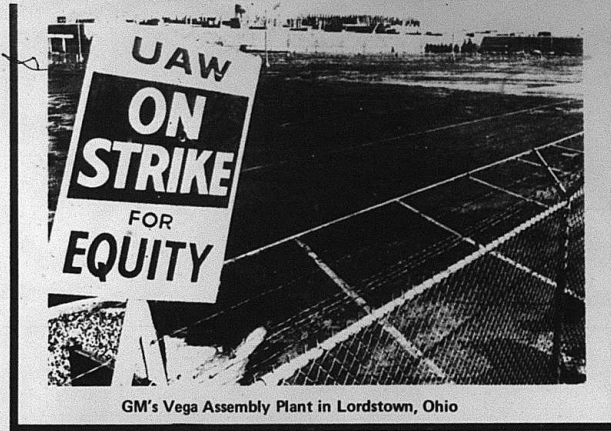
THOMAS-ADDES TO REUTHER

The wartime leadership of the UAW -- a bloc between the conservative R. J. Thomas and pro-Communist George Addes elements in the top bureaucracy -- eagerly bought the employer line. Thomas had no independent labor ideology and the Communists were super patriots because of the wartime alliance between the Russian and American ruling classes.

The ranks were all but powerless to fight the employer-union leadership alliance because the draft and the conversion of American industry to wartime production broke up the on-the-job groupings that were, and always are, the basic strength of the ranks.

During World War II, the major force in the UAW for maintaining militant policies was the Rank and File Caucus. At war's end, Walter Reuther, the least-compromised of the top leaders during the war, sought and won leadership of the Rank and File Caucus by promising to break with the sellout practices of the Thomas-Addes leadership.

The new "Reuther" Caucus provided the ranks with the organizational



GM's Vega Assembly Plant in Lordstown, Ohio

vehicle for dumping Thomas-Addes. But the (Joseph) "McCarthy Period" of anti-radical hysteria in turn provided Reuther with the weapons to clean the militants out of what had been the Rank and File Caucus.

It was not until 1955 that the ranks began to take on Reuther, to fight him as the obstacle he was to making an attack on the inhuman working conditions in auto. But the 1955, 1958, and 1961 wildcat strikes of GM workers against Reuther's GM contracts, which did nothing to change the notorious GM production standards clause, failed. The ranks had no national caucus with which to challenge Reuther. He had taken it from them and under false pretenses.

Reuther allowed the long 1964 strike of GM workers to shrivel into a meaningless picketline exercise. The ranks wanted most of all to improve working conditions. But Reuther negotiated instead what he considered a "substantial" wage increase and no more.

In February and March of 1967, Reuther crushed another opportunity to take on GM. In those months, the GM-UAW Local 549 in Mansfield, Ohio, conducted two wildcat strikes over working conditions and the sub-

contracting out of UAW bargaining unit work.

The February wildcat by the 2,700 workers at the key Fisher Body plant shut down seventy GM plants and a handful of Ford plants that obtained parts from the Mansfield factory. 190,000 GM workers were sent home for lack of parts. But Reuther forced the local back to work and did nothing to use the strength behind the strike to win its demands. Local and rank and file leaders were victimized by the corporation.

The second wildcat broke out during the first week in March. GM put out the word that they might move work out of Mansfield permanently. Reuther argued that the wildcats were ruining the chances of all auto workers to win a good contract later in the year. With that line he coerced the UAW-GM Council to vote 249 to 2 to place Local 549 in International trusteeship.

Simultaneously, Reuther claimed he was seeking "a new labor revival." At the AFL-CIO meeting on March 10, in Bal Harbor, Florida he held that the UAW "is not committed to striking -- it is committed to achieving social justice." He also stated that the wildcats at Mansfield were prompted by the

"mistaken" belief that management was farming out work.

The trusteeship broke the morale of the fighting section of Local 549's leadership. Three of the five top local leaders who were suspended quit their jobs. Frank Petty, the embittered chairman of the shop committee who had been sold out by the local's president, soon took a job with the independent and reactionary would-be union, the International Society of Skilled Trades.

As criticism against Reuther grew in the ranks, key International union staffers went to the press to claim that "Trotskyite" influence was behind the attacks on him (*New York Times*, March 14, 1967, p. 32). Art Fox, a River Rouge worker, then chairman of the Committee for Militancy and Democracy in the UAW and now a leader of United National Caucus, was singled out.

Reuther negotiated the 1967 contracts without raising serious demands against contracting out or for improvement of working conditions. Neither did he make good his promise that there would be no more contracts without a guaranteed annual wage. The main international banner on the wall of Cobo Hall (Detroit) during the April 1967 Special Bargaining Convention was that new and exciting one "For a Substantial Wage Increase."

Speaker after rank and file speaker hit the floor of the convention to criticize Reuther for his refusal to lead the membership in the fights that they wanted to make. They had no objections to getting a guaranteed annual wage or a substantial immediate wage increase. But as a black woman delegate from a Detroit Chrysler local pointed out: "Who is going to get your guaranteed wage Brother Reuther, those with seven years seniority and more? What about the younger workers?"

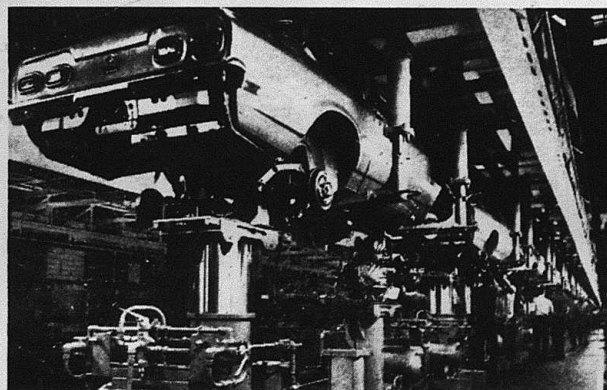
During the traditional time out for the rank and file floor demonstration during that convention, Reuther got clear messages shouted at him as marchers passed the chairman's stand. They carried signs, not one of which was for economic demands.

Instead, the home-made and local-made signs said "Working Conditions," "Humanize Working Conditions," "Dignity Now," "Regulate Body Mix" and "Representation Ratios On the Shop Floor: Management 1-15, Union 1-300 and more... Equalize."

Reuther let them shout themselves out. They had no organization that could unite all the rebel locals to challenge his job. Not all the resolutions sent in by locals were even printed up for the delegates consideration. The delegates went home from the second convention in one year's time in total frustration.

With this background the strikes to back demands for the 1970 UAW con-

[Continued on page 13]



Behind the ITT-Nixon Scandal

Charles Leinenweber

*The problems we have now
Give us a lonely thought:
Will the future for our children
Be as bright
As today has been for us?
ITT is committed to helping make
Our world a still better place
To live in:
Serving people and nations
Everywhere.*

Poem from ITT's Annual Report

Surely Richard Nixon will go down in history as the most corrupt and venal president this country has suffered since Lyndon Johnson. Jack Anderson's revelations of the White House-International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT) - Justice Department deal, turned enough necks that they won't easily be straightened out.

But for all the tumult of this storm, so far in the corporation world it has kicked up mostly dust - small particles like house lawyers, Washington lobbyists, and lowly company vice presidents. It is reminiscent of the GE - Westinghouse price-fixing scandal some years back, when division managers were packed off to a few months' jail, while top executives shook their heads sadly at the dishonesty of their underlings. Who really counts in this latest scandal?

To begin with, here are two characters whose names dropped swiftly from the news. They should not be forgotten:

*Harold S. (Hal) Geneen, ITT's board chairman, and the nation's highest-paid corporation executive, drawing \$767 thousand per year. Geneen is a prominent contributor to the Republican party, and according to lobbyist Dita Beard's memo, formulated ITT's \$400 thousand offer.

*Felix Rohatyn, partner in the Wall Street investment bank Lazard Freres, and a member of ITT's board of directors. Rohatyn is the man with

whom future Attorney General Richard Kleindeindst "held roughly a half-dozen secret meetings on the ITT case," according to Anderson. Rohatyn is no stranger to political fund-raisers, since he serves in that capacity for the Democratic party.

1. The ITT Story

One decade ago, ITT was an American-headquartered, foreign-based operation, sort of an overseas Bell Telephone - to which it is unrelated. During the 60's ITT, riding the crest of the largest wave of mergers in corporate history, backed rapidly into domestic industry, acquiring Avis car rentals, Sheraton hotels, Continental Bakery (Wonder Bread), Rayonier, Levitt & Sons (developers of Levittown), and numerous other companies, large and small.

By swallowing all it could get its hands on, ITT pushed its way into the top ranks of industry, until by 1970 it had climbed to eighth place, nudging aside such noble giants as Gulf Oil and US Steel.

The captain of ITT's drive to the top was Harold Geneen, who says that he is really worth \$5 million per year to the company. But Geneen's navigator was and is the investment banker Felix Rohatyn, whose firm does in fact draw close to \$5 million a year from ITT.

Rohatyn first came to ITT's attention when the company was shopping around for a car rental agency, in 1965. Rohatyn sat on the board of Avis, whose principle stockholder was Rohatyn's firm, Lazard Freres. Rohatyn engineered a stock swap with ITT, the result of which Avis became ITT-Avis. Rohatyn joined ITT's board, and Lazard Freres became one of ITT's two investment bankers.

The relationship between a fast-growing, acquisition-minded corporation and its investment banker is an

especially close one. The investment banker is the company's major financial advisor: it tells who can be taken over, and how to go about it. If a large sum of money is required for a take-over, the investment banker raises it by piecing together a syndicate of commercial banks for a short-term loan, or a group of insurance companies for a long-term loan. Or the investment banker can arrange a stock-swap instead.

The financial advice Lazard Freres offers ITT is obviously sound. Alone of the big conglomerates, ITT has maintained a fairly decent rate of profit - 8 to 9 percent - throughout its expansive period, and has managed to keep its debt relatively low.

Ordinarily, a conglomerate must borrow huge sums in order to take over another large company. But ITT, with its steady record both financially and on the stock market, has been able to offer its own stock, instead of cash, for major acquisitions.

The company's biggest coup came with its 1970 takeover of Hartford Fire, the nation's sixth largest property and casualty group, with assets of more than \$2 billion. Hartford Fire cost ITT next to nothing: the company issued 22 million shares of something called ITT Cumulative Preferred Stock Convertible Series N, and offered to trade these for Hartford's 22 million shares.

The ITT Series N shares - offered through Lazard Freres and ITT's other investment banker, Kuhn, Loeb - cost little more to produce than the printing bill. But Hartford Fire's stock acted like a regular slug on the stock market, so its holders - mostly large banks - bolted at the chance to trade for the more glamorous ITT issue.

99.8 percent - purer even than Ivory Soap - traded in their Hartford shares, and ITT became \$2 billion richer. The architect of the whole deal was Felix Rohatyn.

Capturing Hartford meant a lot to ITT, not because Geneen and Rohatyn



"Thank you, Operator"

had any special desire to peddle insurance, but because of the nature of Hartford's assets, its reserves. To an insurance company, selling insurance is a mere sideline, the bothersome but necessary way through which the company accumulates enough of other people's money to buy real estate, and stocks and bonds in industrial corporations.

With the money its policy-holders pay in, Hartford has bought, among other things, close to \$600 million in blue-chip corporation stock - including \$40 million in IBM, and \$20 million each in Standard Oil (New Jersey) and Texaco. Today this marvelous portfolio, accumulated at no expense to Hartford, belongs to ITT, which likewise paid nothing. The business of other people's money - finance capital - can be a heady one.

2. ITT and Anti-Trust

Prior to Hartford, ITT had suffered the humiliation of having some of its prime acquisitions kicked out from under it. In 1966, the company lost a bid to take over the television network of ABC, even though the merger already had been approved by the Federal Communications Commission. The Justice Department opposed it through the courts, and spoiled ITT's effort.

The Justice Department's concern reflected increasing fear, among some important politicians and capitalists, that the conglomerate-led merger movement had gotten out of hand. But to ITT, their reaction hardly seemed fair. RCA, for example, was as much a conglomerate as ITT, but nobody picked on it. The difference was, RCA had been around long enough that a serious effort to dismantle it was extremely unlikely.

Like ITT, RCA made television sets, and already owned a major network, NBC. RCA's investment bankers - the ones who plotted its own expansion - were the same as ITT's, Lazard Freres and Kuhn, Loeb. Two Lazard Freres partners, Rohatyn and a legendary Wall Street figure, Andre Meyer, managed the ITT-ABC attempt.

Meyer, in the meantime, sat on RCA's board of directors. In 1967, just as it had done for ITT and Avis, Lazard Freres helped RCA take over Hertz car rentals. A former ITT-Avis executive, who became a Lazard Freres partner, is now an RCA director.

It is a small world up there. The problem with ITT was that, as leader of the merger movement, it was disrupting part of that world. Not all capitalists move in the same direction and with the same speed. Some get tired blood and begin to wander. A merger movement is enormously threatening to the weakened goats of the capitalist herd, who begin to get picked off.

Economically speaking, the flow of capital is always out of sagging industries and corporations, into more speculative and promising ones. This creates problems, which are manifested in structures like anti-trust.

No goat wants to be thinned from the herd, but like it or not some must. They begin to bleat, in the courts and before congressional committees,

where generally they receive a sympathetic hearing.

There are several reasons why the hearing is sympathetic. The most important is that the anti-trust setup is an anachronism, created at a time when the weakling goats were far stronger, and it still reflects their interests.

Anti-trust was designed for a stable capitalism of unchallengeable world supremacy and self-sufficiency. It was an attempt to allocate domestic and world markets among established monopolies and oligopolies, who no longer wished to compete against each other, yet feared no outsiders.

This worked well enough until the last decade, when new centers of capital rose up to challenge the US. In European countries and Japan, monopolies that cut deep into America's world position are now encouraged and even created by their respective governments. In certain industries such as steel, the old American monopolies find themselves simply unable to compete. The same thing is happening in electronics, and even automobiles.

The tendency in capitalism is simultaneously toward expansion and concentration -- in other words, toward bigger monopolies. When a center of capital like the United States fails to give free reign to these tendencies, and instead protects the old arrangements that are becoming uncompetitive internationally, its world position will crumble.

Anti-trust lags far behind real conditions, as much as twenty years. The Nixon administration, which is well-attuned to the international perils that stagnant industries face, recognizes this lag.

Thus, Nixon recently proposed that American corporations be exempt from anti-trust strictures in their overseas operations. This will increase the freedom of "multi-national" corporations to combine abroad, and to take over foreign competitors, thereby strengthening the position of US capital against others.

In the meantime, however, the flow of capital into speculative industries must continue -- a movement thwarted by anti-trust as it now stands. ITT-Hartford was the biggest merger ever, in terms of sheer dollars.

The banks and other financial institutions that traded in their Hartford shares made a killing on the deal -- the Rockefeller Foundation, for example, saw the value of its traded-in shares increase from \$2.9 to \$10.5 million, almost overnight, and they were so cheered by this that they ran out and bought another \$4 million worth of ITT common stock.

If the ITT-Hartford merger were dissolved, not only would ITT lose, but so would its biggest stockholders. ITT's 1970 Annual Report states, "The 30 largest banks in the nation held 23 million shares [about 40 percent] of our common stock at year-end, with ten of the major banks each holding more than one million shares of common and Series N [Hartford] Preferred stock."

There was no doubt that ITT-Hartford would be challenged by anti-trust, and little question either that, if left to the usual mechanisms, the merger would be broken. Thus another mechanism had to be utilized, the Republican party. In order to get its gears

turning, ITT had to apply a \$400 thousand coat of grease.

\$400 thousand is a very large bribe. Although there is no way of knowing the details, we can assume that the figure represents the logical outcome of bargaining between ITT and the Republican party -- centered around questions like how much Hartford was worth to ITT and its allies, and how much the party could extract from the company to insure the merger's success.

It was a business deal, much like any other so important, and one that also involved secondary points such as how much publicity ITT could expect for its subsidiary, Sheraton hotels. The fact that the deal was between businessmen and politicians is by no means unusual, although by chance it did prove to be a scandal.

No one gets something for nothing, in capitalist politics or business. The Republican party would have to be

profiteer, and former head of the CIA -- under John Kennedy.

But what about the Democrats? There is good reason why the ITT congressional investigation will never get very far: Roll over a pile of cash to find a Republican, and you will also find a Democrat.

ITT director and chief bribe negotiator Rohatyn is a Democratic party fund-raiser. And with Rohatyn on ITT's board of directors is none other than that publicity-shy prince of the Democratic party king-makers, the man who gave us Lyndon Johnson, George Rufus Brown.

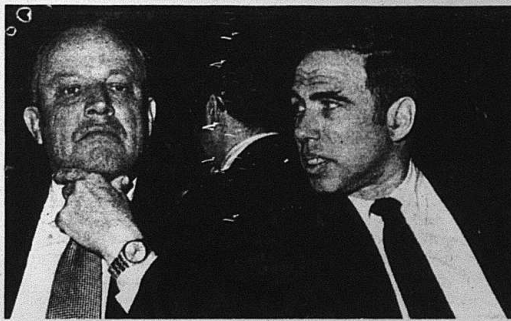
Brown is long-time head of the gigantic Texas construction company, Brown & Root, which he recently sold to a conglomerate, Haliburton. He is also board chairman of, and controls, one of the nation's largest oil pipeline companies, Texas Eastern Transmission.

Brown & Root's connections to

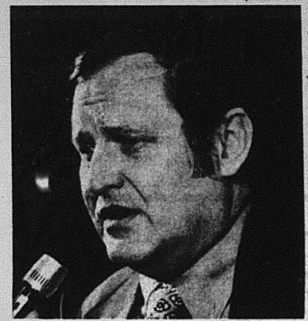
Spacecraft Center -- inexplicably located near Houston instead of Cape Canaveral.

The company also became prime contractor for something called Project Mohole, which failed after costing \$55 million, and which involved drilling a four-mile-deep hole into the ocean floor. The Mohole project created a bit of a scandal in its day, since its major beneficiaries -- most notably George Rufus Brown -- were mainstays in a Johnson-support group, the President's Club, who were by far the Democratic party's biggest fund-raisers.

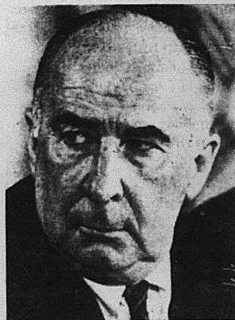
The President's Club raised \$4 million for Johnson between 1964 and 1966. In the meantime, Brown & Root went to Vietnam, to take its share -- with two other big companies -- of well over \$1 billion in construction projects, including ports at Danang and Cam Ranh Bay, the complex at Long Binh, the embassy in Saigon,



Richard Kleindeinst and Felix Rohatyn



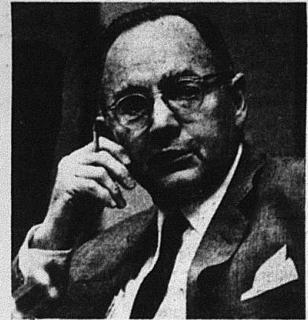
Columnist Jack Anderson



Attorney General Mitchell



ITT Lobbyist Beard



ITT Chairman Geneen

made up of the rankest greenhorns and fools to give ITT Hartford in exchange for nothing. No corporation would be so foolish as to give a major contract to someone, without expecting something in return. That is the way business works, and quite naturally it is the way capitalist politics work.

3. Bipartisan Bribes

John Mitchell, who once did some law work for ITT, knows this. So does Richard Nixon, who spent a few years on Wall Street, between elections.

The prominent Republicans at ITT also know as well as anyone the relationships between capitalist business and capitalist politics. Besides ITT's board chairman, Geneen, these include ITT director John McCone, multi-millionaire shipbuilder (oil tankers), war

Lyndon Johnson go all the way back to the New Deal, when the company backed Johnson for Congress and in return landed contracts for WPA dam and power station projects. During World War II, with Johnson on the House Naval Affairs Committee, Brown and Root became prime contractor for the Corpus Cristi naval air station, and soon entered ship-building, gathering \$357 million worth of contracts.

They backed Johnson for Senate -- his campaign headquarters was the Brown Building in Austin -- and afterwards received major Navy and Air Force construction jobs on Guam and other Pacific Islands, and on the DEW line in Canada.

With Johnson as vice president, and also serving as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), Brown & Root became a prime contractor for the Manned

and General Westmoreland's own "Pentagon West."

ITT-Hartford, Brown & Root-Vietnam. It's really all the same, the politics and business of making capitalism work. It is a story fantastically complex in its full details, but above all else it is bi-partisan: John Connally, former Democratic governor of Texas, now Nixon's all-important Secretary of the Treasury, began his career as a Brown & Root attorney.

At the very top, party labels mean very little. It is like the difference between a Ford and a Chevrolet. All the better if customers -- voters -- believe there is a difference, and engage in impassioned and angry debate about which is better. That proves they are interested in buying. No matter who wins -- Ford or Chevrolet, Democrats or Republicans -- for the system it all adds up to the same thing, the survival of capitalism. That is the point. ■

If the New Hampshire and Florida primaries are previews of coming attractions, then come fall we are in store for one of the most issue-less presidential campaigns yet. The most interesting -- and alarming -- feature of the two primaries was the strength of Wallace in Florida.

In New Hampshire, Muskie -- the Democratic Party front-runner at the time -- relied upon his "reassuring character," his "Lincolnesque stature" for votes. Muskie put his own character and stature on trial in New Hampshire, and proceeded to lose the case.

During the campaign, Muskie's intimate ties to the feudal Richard Daley machine in Chicago were disclosed. So was his miserable record as chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee.

There, posing as an ecology champion, Muskie in fact carefully diluted any legislation which threatened the profit margins of Maine-based business interests. On numerous occasions he accomplished that end simply by failing to show up for critical but potentially-embarrassing roll-call votes.

In addition, the fact that Muskie had to be all but bludgeoned into revealing the sources of his campaign funds did little to help his tarnished image. Behind his hesitation was his fear that, if he made such revelations, "I'd be out of the race; that's the simple fact." So much for Honest Abe Muskie.

While McGovern did better than expected in New Hampshire, no one is quite sure why. One explanation is that voters were voicing their concern with issues and disinterest in personalities. But while it's certainly true that McGovern lacks a personality, he is also devoid of issues.

He is a late-comer to the anti-war camp. In the midst of an economic crisis, he "finds it difficult to develop any interest or expertise in the economy" (as his official biographer puts it).

Not surprisingly, most people find it hard to work up much enthusiasm for Mr. McGovern. His new appeal to labor is a sudden turnabout from his old days of grilling the unions with Robert Kennedy and his support in the Senate for the reactionary, so-called "right to work" clause of the Taft-Hartley Act (14b).

BUSING AND RACISM

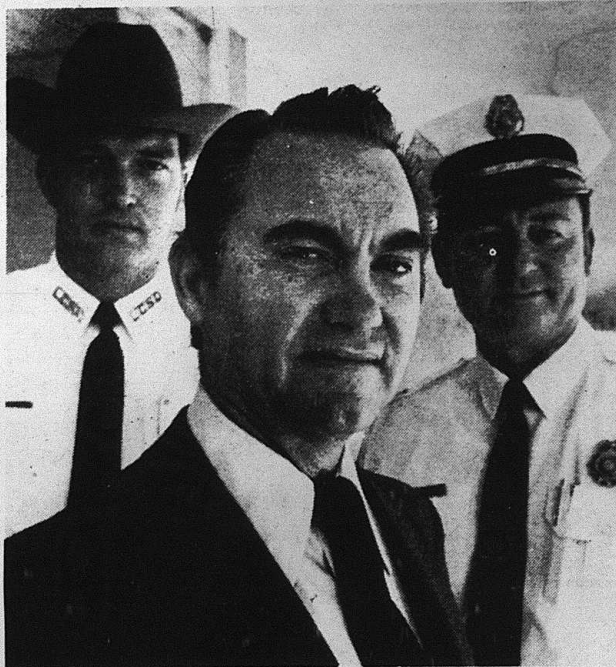
In the Florida primary, Wallace had the lead down up right from the start. His straightforward anti-busing position gave him a clear field, since "Scoop" Jackson -- who had hoped to be the anti-busing crusader -- is clearly the dullest candidate in the Democratic line-up. Wallace's more liberal opponents made a swift turn to the right -- sounding, as the *New York Times* put it, "more and more like the man from Alabama with each new day and new poll" -- but they couldn't overcome his lead.

The fact that busing became the major issue in Florida is testimony to the collapse of liberal politics. The Democratic Party hopefuls have no solutions to the economic crisis, unemployment, the continuation of the Vietnam War, or the dozens of other festering social problems facing America.

Any real solution to these problems would require an attack on the capitalist system which caused them, the system to which all the Democra-

Florida: The Challenge of Wallace

Shelley Kroll Levine



tic Party candidates are loyal. Instead they fall back on opposition to busing, which, like welfare "reform" is seen as a code-word for that old American stand-by -- racism. Race fears, which are always in the wings of American politics, are revived whenever a scapegoat is needed as a substitute for a solution.

When busing was used to segregate the schools (and in this form it still continues in many areas), there was no great outcry in white America. Now that it may be used to integrate the schools, all the old emotional fears have been attached to it. With the surfacing of these fears -- coupled to a deteriorating school system, a reflection of the crisis of the cities and of social services -- all the ingredients for demagogery are at hand.

While busing by itself will not solve the school crisis, neither can there be "separate but equal" quality education in a racist society -- as the Supreme Court was forced to acknowledge in 1954. Since 1954, legal segregation has widely been replaced by residential segregation (and backed up by gerrymandered school districts when residential patterns aren't enough), a problem which is just as much a reality in the North as in the South.

It is one thing for Northern liberals to sympathize with black children when they are attempting to integrate the schools in Little Rock, Arkansas --

it is another when the problem is right next door. The desire of blacks -- North and South -- to get a better education for their children than that provided by ghetto schools, which so long as racism remains will always be the most neglected schools, has everywhere met with the same resistance which tries to block every black advance in America.

Wallace did especially well in northern Florida, where rural white workers have been displaced by the increasing automation of plantation work and small farmers have been pushed off their lands by the forests of the DuPont paper trust. In the state's north, poor blacks and whites fight for what few jobs remain, while the big growers and corporate chiefs reap the benefits of the scramble in the form of falling wages.

Wallace plays upon this divisive race-conflict, both to strengthen his own political position and to aid agribusiness. The main source of Wallace's financial support in central Florida is the growers themselves.

Despite Wallace's pose as the "friend of the working man," his record in Alabama shows the emptiness of that claim. In 1968, the AFL-CIO published an expose of Wallace's labor policies.

Wallace has habitually invited business to close down union shops in the North and reopen in Alabama with cheap, non-union labor. In 1968,

Alabama was one of only 16 states with absolutely no minimum wage laws, ranked 49th in welfare payments to dependent children, and continually violated child labor laws. Wallace's highway patrol is famous for its skill in harassing unions.

But Wallace did not run on his record, but on his rhetoric. His rhetoric goes beyond traditional racism (in fact, he projects a racist appeal while avoiding openly racist language). Wallace is the only candidate that attempts to tap a real truth of American politics: the fact that there is no real difference between the two parties and that both of them are unconcerned with the "forgotten little people" -- the workers and lower middle class.

The truth about the "two-party system" is one which not only the liberals, but the labor bureaucrats as well try to cover up in their feeble and unconvincing opposition to Wallace. It is the tragedy of American politics that the labor movement is led by a pack of unimaginative, timid, and corrupt bureaucrats who subordinate the needs of American workers to the needs of capitalism, and will not lead that reservoir of discontent out of the trap of the two capitalist parties.

So far only a racist demagogue has pointed to the real secret of American politics.

MANY HUMPHRIES

Labor's other "friend" in Florida was Hubert Humphrey. To outshine Muskie, Humphrey played both sides of every issue in a bald attempt to win potential Wallace votes while maintaining those of his traditional constituents.

In Florida there was a different Humphrey for every audience. One newspaper columnist wondered whether six different men were campaigning under the same name. This strategy was hardly a new one for Humphrey; he is a past master at double-dealing.

Humphrey warned blacks against "those who would play upon differences of race and seek to divide us" while he assured white racists that he "will stop the flow of your tax dollars to lazy welfare chiselers" (another code word for blacks). He tried to project a dovish image to anti-war youth but showed his true imperialist colors in vying for Zionist votes -- bragging that he "is the only candidate who supports Israel's claim to the Jordanian section of Jerusalem."

The busing issue was a particularly sticky one for HHH. While assuring black audiences that he is against "a dual school system based upon segregated education," he told whites that the "courts have gone too far in advancing busing."

As for Senator Jackson -- said to be the favorite of AFL-CIO President George Meany -- his positions on everything from the war in Vietnam to economic policy are indistinguishable from those of the Nixon administration. Jackson was even offered the position of Secretary of Defense in Nixon's own cabinet.

Two other issues -- the war and high taxes -- did come up in Florida, but here again no significant differences between the candidates were visible to the voters.

Now that US imperialism is generally conceded to have lost the war in Vietnam, the candidates fussed over who first foresaw the "disaster."

[Continued on page 11]

Gary

CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 1

Factional fighting went on, but the issues involved were never made clear to many observers and delegates.

Matters too "hot" to handle openly on the floor (such as the NAACP's attack on the NBPA preamble) were handled in the backroom, maneuvered around, or tabled. The result was suspicion and confusion that threatened to break up the convention at some points.

BLACK POLITICIANS

The organizers and leaders of the convention were mostly Democratic Party politicians, with the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) as the power center. To them, black unity clearly meant unity under their leadership. A great deal of the factional fighting seemed to be a matter of various Democrats rallying their state delegations (headed by them) to strengthen their role in the convention and to make sure the CBC did not freeze them out of the leadership.

An example of this was the fighting that took place around the election of convention conveners. Charles Diggs, convention chairman and CBC member, attempted to ram through the CBC slate of Diggs, Richard Hatcher, and Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones). After the nomination he allowed no time for further nominations before proceeding to take a vote.

Even though the "no's" had clearly won, Diggs proclaimed the election of the CBC slate. With this the convention went wild, forcing Diggs to withdraw his decision and reopen nominations.

What followed was the nomination of the various "favorite sons and daughters" of the various state delegations. Along with their nominations some delegates issued warnings to the CBC (without naming them) calling for "fair representation" and an "open convention." The matter was finally settled by the state delegations caucusing for the vote. The results were never made public.

It is no accident that black politicians chose this time to enlarge their role in the black community by organizing this convention and vying for leadership. The fragmentation of the black movement gives these politicians an opportunity to try to strengthen their position within the community. The present confusion and rightward drift of the Democratic Party gives them no choice.

As black politicians their power rests in part on their base in the black community; in order to survive in the Democratic Party they must strengthen and rally their black base. At the same time that they rally their base, they must control the militancy and limit the political understanding of their constituency.

They angrily blame the plight of blacks on "White politics" and "white capitalism," but they have no real alternative to offer. For example, it was Hatcher, a black politician, who gave in to tax evasion by U.S. Steel

and allowed black schools in Gary to disintegrate.

Even though Hatcher won the Gary mayoralty originally as a popular rebel candidate of a mass movement, he is deeply bound to the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party, a defender of corporate interest, does not allow Hatcher the freedom or insight to eradicate the plight of Gary's blacks -- a plight that stems from the steel corporation domination of Gary.

Black unemployment is up 40 percent, housing is deteriorating rapidly, life in the mills is getting worse and the people are paying dearly, while the steel bosses sit on a bundle of profits. All the while, Hatcher buddies around with Democratic Party friends, talks of "blackness" and promises poverty programs, but refuses to organize a fighting mass movement against corporate domination.

Similarly, it was Carl Stokes, another black politician, who called in the cops to smash a black uprising in Cleveland. All of these black politicians have their "skeletons in the closet" and their hands tied to the Democratic Party. A real growth of political understanding among the black masses would put these black capitalist politicians in hot water.

The traditional moderate leadership of the black community played a very small role in the Gary convention. The NAACP instructed its delegates not to commit the organization to anything. It also issued a press statement condemning the NBPA preamble as "revolutionary" and "separatist."

In reality, even though the convention organizers employ a lot of revolutionary words, the actual content of the preamble fell far short of being revolutionary. NAACP's attack on the preamble was only a warning to the CBC to play it safe and a demonstration of the NAACP's fear of the black masses going beyond the moderates' control.

On the whole, the moderate organizations, NAACP, Urban League, and the SCLC, played a sort of stand-offish role -- not willing to gamble with the CBC, even though they endorsed the calling of the black convention to shore up their credibility in the black community.

MODERATE MILITANTS

The supposedly nationalist forces, headed by Baraka, played a very moderate role in Gary, despite their fire-breathing pretensions to militancy. They simply tail-ended the CBC and gave credence to its left phreology.

This was nothing new for them, of course. The political strategy of Baraka-type nationalists has always been fighting for concessions to blacks within capitalist boundaries. Programmatically there was no basic difference between the Baraka nationalists and the CBC.

Black News, a New York publication, is perhaps representative of the position of this sort of nationalist on the '72 elections. *Black News'* position is: "... make no mistake about this, our vote has got to be sold. Some crackers other than the Socialist Party and the Communist Party USA will get these 15 million black votes. But please, we can't sell it cheaply. We must be in the habit of getting the most for what we got."

"If black people supply 20 percent of the Democratic national voting

plurality," says *Black News*, "then we should have a signed and sealed agreement for 20 percent of all the acquisition upon the election of their candidate." Such a cynical position denies the ability of black people to organize independent struggles without capitulating to the Democratic Party. It reduces black people to an appendage to the Democratic Party. Besides, this "20 percent of the acquisition" would go only to a select few; the masses would not benefit at all.

The only assertive role the nationalists played in Gary was around the busing issue. Their position was anti-busing -- for community control and quality education. But the busing debate was only a minor part of the convention and their position itself seemed to already have significant support before the discussion began.

The National Black Political Agenda, the political document passed by the convention, contains within it a lot of good demands dealing with almost every aspect of black oppression. Among these are demands for fair governmental representation, quality education and free higher education, mass transit, a national system of health insurance, and land reforms. The main demand is for greater political representation.

But the agenda doesn't offer a

to play on and contain the frustration with the Democratic-Republican experience in the black community. They have no plans to concretize that frustration with independent political action.

The NBA lacks any local structure for mass participation and control. It is only a national organization of "black leaders." It lacks democratic measures of decision-making, and provides only for national conventions every 2 to 4 years.

The passage of a no presidential endorsement motion may sound like a break with the Democrats, but in reality it only leaves the individual leaders free to do their own thing while preserving "unity." Jackson and others have already endorsed Chisholm. There are also Muskie and Humphrey supporters, etc. among the leadership.

The black militants should not allow these leaders to sell-out the interests of the black community. Local committees should be organized to take up the question of a third party, not simply for "further study" but for actual organizing.

Hatcher in his speech spoke of organizing a broad-based party of all those whose interests are counterposed to the Democrats and Republicans. Even though Hatcher himself has no intention of organizing anything, we



strategy for really fighting for its many good demands. Jesse Jackson and Richard Hatcher spoke of organizing a third party movement in their keynote addresses at the opening of the convention. But the convention adopted a resolution calling instead for a National Black Assembly. The NBA is a retreat from a break from the Democratic Party and is obviously designed to give the Democrats still another "one last chance."

This is ironic since the preamble of the NBPA stated quite correctly that "Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interest conflicted with ours (which was most of the time)." Hatcher had even stated that no party that represents American corporate interest can represent black interest. But when the question of a third party was pressed forward by some militant delegates, Jackson very cleverly engineered a tabling of the question to the steering committee of the NBA for "further study."

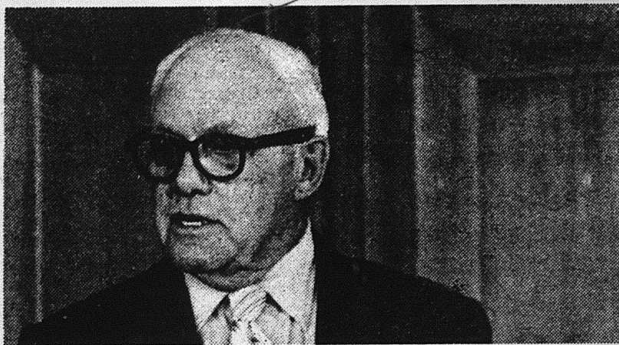
When a person is oppressed and their liberation continuously sold-out, they don't want to table the matter for "further study." Jackson and Hatcher have no intention of breaking with the Democratic Party. They only talk about it to scare the Democrats into granting them a little more power and influence within the party -- and

should accept the conception of building toward a broad-based party. Black activists must organize an independent political action movement that will at some point broaden to include all working people and the poor, whose interests are not tied to the capitalist parties.

Nixon's offensive against the working class, begun with the wage-price freeze, lays the basis for just such a movement. It highlights the common interests of all workers, and reveals their common foe. Along with organizing the black community and black workers around black demands (an end to job discrimination, etc.) and black independent political action, a program for all workers (jobs for all, no wage controls, etc.) should be raised to meet Nixon's anti-laborism and to encourage the semi-passive white worker to join the ranks of the black working class fighters.

Finally, the movement should not concentrate solely on electoral action. Black oppression must be fought by a mass movement on all fronts, in the schools, in the community, and, especially, in the workplace and labor movement. Likewise, a program for all workers cannot be won by simple electoral action -- rank and file labor must organize in every shop and factory. ■

George Meany Confirms The Mind of a Piece



George Meany has been president of the AFL-CIO (and previously of the AFL) for 20 years now, and has been active in the labor movement for most of his life. The least one would expect of such a person is some understanding of the history of the labor movement and of what its actual needs are. But that, it appears, is too much to expect of Meany.

An interview in the February 21 issue of *US News and World Report* gives some insight into the mind of George Meany, as he expresses his views on many of the major issues facing working people today.

It would be a kindness to dismiss Meany's views as just the ramblings of a senile old man. Unfortunately they are not all that new, and are far too widely accepted among other official leaders of the trade union movement.

What Meany's views reflect is an attitude towards the trade union movement developed long ago by Samuel Gompers, first president of the AFL. This was the idea of pure and simple "trade unionism" or more accurately, of *business unionism*.

Once the union was established, Gompers said, all that was left was to gain modest increases. He and his followers aimed at proving that the labor movement was responsible, its leaders "respectable," and thus to gain acceptance to participate in the managing of capitalism.

This attitude towards trade unionism has been thoroughly discredited time and again in the history of the labor movement. But history, it seems, is of no importance to Meany.

The first question asked Meany about organizing the unorganized: "Q. Why is total membership not growing as fast as the country's labor force? A. I don't know. I don't care. Q. Would you prefer to have a larger proportion? A. Not necessarily. We've done quite well without it."

Not only does Meany not care that 50 million workers are unorganized, and thus defenseless against the whims of management, he doesn't even think it a problem if union membership declines. Thus, later in the in-

terview he notes that "We made tremendous strides in this country under Gompers, and his percentage of the labor force was very tiny compared with what we've got now."

With that the whole significance of the rise of the CIO is brushed aside. Presumably, Meany would be just as happy with the old AFL. Needless to say, so would the employers!

Organizing the unorganized is not merely another good task the labor movement could carry out, it is crucial both to expanding the power of the labor movement and to defending the gains that have already been won. We were given a dramatic example of its importance last year when the government suspended the Davis-Bacon law (a law which makes it mandatory to use union labor on all Federal construction projects).

Suspension of that law would have been meaningless if it weren't for the thousands of unorganized (and largely black) construction workers who are not in unions. It was through suspension of that law that the government was able to bludgeon the construction unions into accepting wage controls. That, however, is too simple a lesson for Meany to learn.

Far more objectionable than his "I don't care" attitude is his explanation for the lack of union organization. Thus he argues:

"Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not appear to want to be organized? If they prefer to have others speak for them and make the decisions which affect their lives, without effective participation on their part, that is their right."

Indeed, Meany's problem is just with those "dumb workers" and what they prefer. As if they had ever been given a chance to have what they prefer, as if the employers were not waging bloody battles to deny them the right to organize, and weren't still trying to break weak unions.

Meany's arrogant indifference to unorganized workers parallels the inactivity of the AFL-CIO, its failure to use its power to help other workers

organize. It was views such as this in the 1930's which necessitated a massive upsurge among the rank and file to organize the CIO independently of the AFL. Listening to Meany one would get the impression that auto workers weren't organized before 1937 simply because auto workers didn't prefer it. Henry Ford's goon squads had nothing to do with it.

Meany's low view of the intelligence of the American worker is carried over into politics. When asked if he thought there would ever be a labor party, Meany answered with a definite no. Why? Because "if we set up our own political party, we'd be telling this country that we're ready to run the Government, and I don't think we're ready -- I don't think we're qualified to run the Government."

We partly agree -- Meany certainly isn't qualified to run the government, he isn't even qualified to run the labor movement! *But the rank and file is.*

SPECIAL INTEREST

Meany sees labor as only a "special interest" group. "I don't think any special-interest group is qualified to run the Government," he says, "I don't think General Motors should run the Government, and I don't think the AFL-CIO should run the Government."

Meany is the leader of a special interest group, the labor bureaucracy. But let's not confuse the interests of the bureaucrats with the interests of the overwhelming majority of people, who are working people. Meany does not identify with their interests, he couldn't care less about them. He is only concerned with the special interests of the labor bureaucracy.

The question of a labor party and of a labor government is not a question of Meany running the government, but of the overwhelming majority of working people democratically controlling the government and running it in their interests. That is what Meany is opposed to, just as he opposes the rank and file having democratic control over the unions.

Meany in fact identifies the "special interests" of the labor bureaucracy with the interests of the capitalist system, with its need for profits. This was made clear when he discussed the goals of the labor movement. "The labor movement doesn't work with goals," he said, "it looks for anything that it feels is possible."

Not only does he have no goals, but he bases his decisions not on what working people need, but on what he thinks is possible. Thus in discussing raising the minimum wage, he states that "some industries could do it -- and for others it would be just outside of any possibilities. So this is not going to be a goal."

Meany's identification with the

capitalist system leads to his support of US imperialism, that is, the interests of US businesses internationally. Thus he is unwilling to support any candidate "who advocates surrender in Southeast Asia," meaning any candidate who is for immediate withdrawal.

Similarly, Meany supports new protectionist legislation to impose import quotas. Such legislation protects, not working people, but American business. The result of such legislation could be a trade war whose major losers would be the working people of all countries.

These policies of class collaboration find their highest expression today in the wage-price review boards. These boards were not set up to defend the interests of the labor movement, but to defend the profits of businesses.

The need to curb inflation did not arise because rising prices were cutting into your paycheck, but because they were undermining the rate of profit in this country. Meany understands all this, but he acknowledges that "I was for controls before Nixon."

When wage controls were announced, all that Meany demanded was the right of labor to participate in the management of such controls. Instead of leading a struggle by the rank and file to defend labor's interests, Meany makes deals to sell them out in back rooms.

In discussing the rejection of the aerospace contract, Meany says "I think there would have been a strike



Cartoon from *AFL-CIO News* seems powerful and the AFL-CIO leadership is actually for bind

Confidential: Meecard

Michael Stewart

in the aerospace industry -- except for the fact the aerospace industry is in such bad shape that the unions don't want to do anything to make it any worse." Here again, Meany's line is, what's good for industry is good for us.

Never mind what the aerospace workers need, and ignore the fact that what has been good for that industry in the past has been the laying off of thousands of workers. If there is a conflict between what the industry needs, and what the workers need, Meany is on the side of the industry.

STRIKES OBSOLETE?

By far and away the most dangerous views expressed by Meany, and those which threaten the labor movement the most, concerned the question of binding arbitration and the right to strike. Meany begins by asserting that under no circumstances would he be for giving up the right to strike. However, what he offers with his left hand he quickly takes away with his right:

"Q. Would you accept binding arbitration in wartime? A. We have done it before, and I assume we would do it again. Q. Will there be more specific instances in which management and labor will agree voluntarily to go to binding arbitration? A. Yes, we advocate that. We have appointed a committee to meet with the American Arbitration Association to see if we can't find some way to evolve a formula

where that will become more or less the accepted practice.

"Q. What would be a substitute for strikes? A. Binding arbitration, voluntarily agreed on. Q. Isn't that a limit on the right to strike? A. No. When I say I'm opposed to limiting the right to strike, I mean by law or by force or by government mandate of some kind."

He is certainly worth his weight in gold to business, for the work he does for the capitalist class, but why should workers pay him? For such mental gymnastics Meany is paid \$90,000 a year.

If you fail to see the distinction between "voluntary" and compulsory binding arbitration, don't worry, for in fact there isn't any. All Meany is saying is that if there were no strikes, there would be no need for anti-strike legislation. He is for union "voluntarily" giving up the right to strike.

This fact has not been lost on the business community. In a recent issue, *Business Week* gleefully editorialized on this welcome new attitude among labor leaders. They too recognize the lack of distinction between "voluntary" and compulsory binding arbitration.

This was made even clearer in the interview when they discussed those sections of the labor movement who are already forbidden by law to strike, namely public employees. What is Meany's attitude towards those laws? "The union leaders keep coming to me and say, 'We ought to have someone put a bill in to give us the right to strike.' And I say, 'What for? You strike when you feel you have to strike.'"

And what of the penalties these unions face for breaking the law, such as jail terms recently given to Newark teachers? "That settled nothing," says Meany. "It just made it inconvenient for them for a while."

This complacent bureaucrat, who hobnobs with presidents and business leaders and grows fat on his enormous salary, can dismiss, has the nerve to dismiss, three month jail terms and massive fines as a mere inconvenience! Such callousness is doubly vicious given the fact that Meany and the AFL-CIO did virtually nothing to help defend those teachers.

His comments make it obvious that Meany has no intention of fighting against any new laws to enforce compulsory arbitration. His only strategy, if it can be called that, is to have unions "voluntarily" commit themselves to binding arbitration, so that he can argue the law isn't necessary.

Presumably if they were discussing a law to make us all crawl, Meany would immediately drop to all fours and say it wasn't necessary. Except they are not demanding that Meany himself crawl, but rather the rank and file of the labor movement. Meany will remain safe and sound in his mar-

labor and compulsory arbitration

The views expressed in the February 21 interview in *US News and World Report* are not peculiar to George Meany. It could just as easily have been an interview with dozens of other labor officials. This was made very clear at the next meeting of the AFL-CIO's executive council. The only views criticized at that meeting were Meany's comments on organizing the unorganized, and even that criticism wasn't unanimous.

On the most vital issue confronting the labor movement, the defense of the right to strike, there is a virtual bureaucrat's stampede to line up behind Meany. Already included are such labor leaders as I. W. Abel of the steelworkers and Joseph Curran of the NMU (National Maritime Union).

Though many other officials have not spoken out publicly on the issue, their lack of criticism of Meany indicates their support of his position. Their silence on the issue is mainly due to their fear of opposition among the rank and file.

Thus the *New York Times* reported that a recent bill in New York City to enforce compulsory arbitration on all city workers was passed when labor leaders there quietly passed along word to the city council members that they would not oppose the law.

The recent strike wave has not been due to militancy among labor leaders, but to the militancy and determination of the rank and file. The bureaucrats do not view those strikes as necessary even to win the few small gains that have been achieved, but rather as a liability. As Meany put it, "We find that strikes are becoming more and more expensive for everyone."

This attitude is in part a result of the fact that as the economic crisis worsens, even small gains are becoming harder to achieve. Instead of mobilizing the rank and file for a real struggle, these bureaucrats are looking for a way out, and binding arbitration is the vehicle they hope will get them off the hook.

With binding arbitration, all disputes between management and labor will be submitted to an arbitration

board to decide, the results being binding on both parties. This will enable the labor leaders to say, "We did the best we could, but the board decided against us" -- that is, the bad contracts will be fobbed off as a result of arbitration, and not of the rotten leadership of the labor bureaucrats, in fact of the leadership's acceptance of "voluntary" binding arbitration.

There should be no illusions about the neutral character of such arbitration boards, that they might help workers win their legitimate demands. For just as the current wage review board is inherently discriminatory against workers, so are arbitration boards. It is for that reason that the labor movement has traditionally been opposed to binding arbitration.

The discriminatory nature of arbitration boards is masked by the fact that the results usually represent a compromise of one kind or another. Yet once the capitalists know that any disputes will be settled in arbitration, there is no longer any need for them to seriously bargain -- there is no way for the labor movement to force them to bargain.

Moreover, with binding arbitration there is also a tendency for labor to reduce its demands in order to appear "reasonable," in hopes of getting a favorable ruling. The result is a deterioration not only in the standard of living but in working conditions as well.

Labor officials are making much of the distinction between voluntary and compulsory arbitration. But in calling for voluntary binding arbitration, by stating that they will accept binding arbitration in any form, they are only inviting the passage of new laws which will make it compulsory. Labor officials in New York, for example, have notified a finger to oppose a new law for compulsory arbitration in favor of their so-called "voluntary" arbitration.

The acceptance of binding arbitration by the labor bureaucracy -- sacrificing the right to strike in the interests of using the power of the state to help them keep control of the rank and file -- represents not merely a retreat but an outright surrender. ■

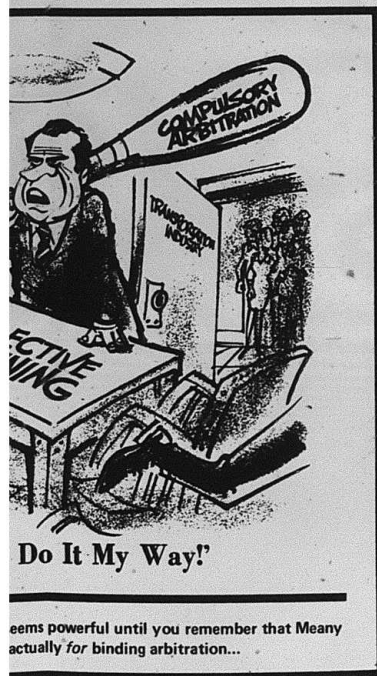
ble palace in Washington, mumbling all the time how unnecessary it all is.

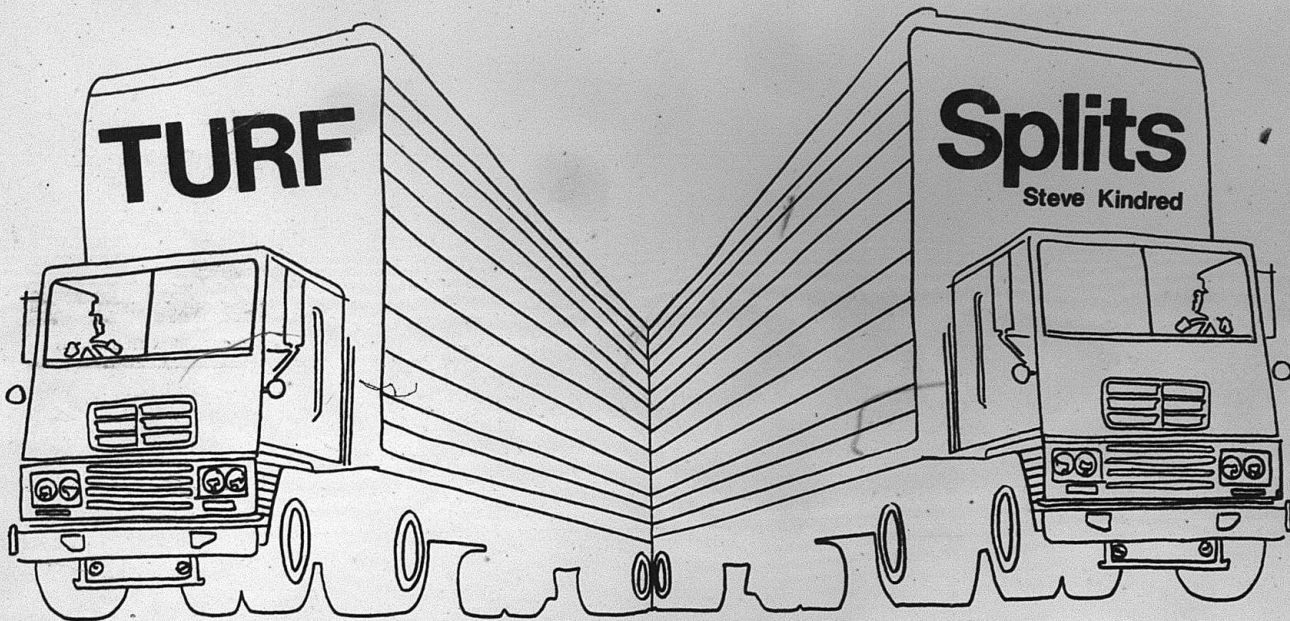
Strikes are not a luxury, they are absolutely crucial to the existence of an independent labor movement. Without the right to strike, trade unions would be little more than company unions. Without the right to strike, workers would be virtually defenseless against the growing employers' offensive.

Meany's ideas take on added importance because of this growing attack on the labor movement by both the government and the employers. It

was the same attitude towards the trade unions which dominated the AFL in the early part of this century, and which necessitated a massive upsurge among the rank and file in order to build the CIO. Such an upsurge is needed today, a new rank and file movement which can not only organize the millions of unorganized workers, but also defend the gains the labor movement has already won.

Part of its job will also be to drive Meany, and others of his ilk, out of the labor movement. The time to start is now. ■





Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) is the first broad-based organization in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for many years which offers a vehicle for unifying and enlarging rank and file opposition to the heightened attacks of the employers and the government, and to the bankrupt, do-nothing policies of Fitzsimmons and his fellow bureaucrats of the IBT "leadership."

TURF has drawn together many Teamster militants who had independently been active in local areas. It offers the promise of directly involving tens of thousands of Teamsters who face ever-increasing attacks on their already inadequate wages and working conditions, but who have been cynical about their ability to effect any change for the better. Unfortunately, this promise has been temporarily dimmed by a confusing, destructive, and un-called-for split in the leadership of TURF.

National rank and file organizations like TURF will be necessary in other industries and among the unorganized and unemployed. They will face similar organizational and political problems. Thus, the progress and fate of TURF should be of interest to all rank and file militants.

The split has some of its roots in the nature of TURF's birth. Communications between opposition groups in different areas began in early July of 1971. A month later, the first national meeting was held and the founding convention of TURF set for September 25.

A number of local Unity Committees and caucuses, plus many individual Teamsters involved in organizing the "500 at 50" pension petition, participated and agreed to the principles of TURF. But cohering these various local groupings -- with separate histories, identities, and leaders of their own -- into a real unified national organization was bound to present residual problems. Time, effort, and tact was required on all sides.

At this stage, when local chapters are just in the process of formation and initiation, the performance of members of the TURF National Executive Board is crucial. It is at these

Board meetings that lines of communications can be established, financial procedures set, policies discussed, and programs devised.

While both sides have made mistakes, the International Socialists believe that in the events leading up to the split, the TURF Western and Central Conference officers and TURF Vice President Andy Suckart and President Curly Best functioned responsibly and constructively -- while the Southern and Eastern Conference officers and TURF secretary-treasurer Jerry Vestal and Don Vestal (formerly the appointed national organizer and ex-officio member of the Board) have acted irresponsibly and selfishly placed tremendous stumbling blocks in TURF's path. We believe a sober consideration of the facts will support this conclusion.

CLEVELAND PROGRAM

The split in TURF occurred mainly at the top. There are good militants supporting both sides. The facts and lines of political disagreement are still very unclear to many members.

The split does reflect important differences in the direction TURF should take. An organization like TURF can accommodate widely varying points of view, but only if the issues are responsibly set forward for discussion and decision by the membership, rather than this or that leader asking for blanket support of *him*, regardless of his ideas.

This split will temporarily hurt TURF; it will confuse many. Fitzsimmons and the employers will rejoice and use it. It must be repaired or resolved. Every serious rank and file militant in TURF must consider the facts and choose which course -- not which personality -- he or she believes is best.

Where do the parties to this dispute stand on questions facing Teamsters? The program proposed for discussion by President Best to the Executive Board at its February meeting in Cleveland, and ratified by the Board represents an important and valuable starting point for discussion of these questions by the TURF membership.

The Cleveland program lays out

concrete proposals on union democracy, grievance procedure, pension reform, job security, etc. It also opposes labor compliance with the phony pay board, over-taxation of workers, and anti-strike legislation. It calls for a decent national minimum wage, organization of the unorganized, and pension reform for all workers.

Undoubtedly additions and changes will be proposed. The real importance of the program right now is its stimulation of discussion among the membership of TURF. Only by involving the whole organization can the membership get involved in programs which can make these stands real.

Vestal, Porter, and Connor are quoted in an article in the February 16 *Daily World* as calling for non-participation on the Pay Board. We support this demand, but full understanding and support of this stand by TURF as a whole can have far greater impact than the personal statements of any individuals.

Two areas in which we feel the program ratified in Cleveland is so far insufficient are discrimination and political action. First of all, failure to take specific stands which deal with the discrimination faced by minorities and women in the IBT, on the job, and in society as a whole, will leave TURF divided from many rank and filers. Secondly, to defeat right to work laws, wage controls, and anti-strike laws, and to win adequate safety, pension, and taxation laws (among others) will require political action.

We think the Democratic and Republican parties have demonstrated that they do not represent the interests of workers, but rather just the opposite. To fight for their own interests, workers need a party of their own, which they control. We hope the membership of TURF will come to share this view, for TURF can play a vital role in creating such a party.

Examination of the position of Vestal, Porter, etc. on most issues is difficult. They have never written anything down, and have not contributed to the TURF paper. To our knowledge, James Porter has never made a single substantive comment. However, some general observations can be made.

First, the strategy of Don Vestal and James Porter seems to be based on filing as many lawsuits as possible and then waiting. While a few lawsuits may offer some openings for activity, reliance on court action to achieve reform is a serious mistake.

Many court actions are lost; others take years and years; these problems will get worse as the political establishment tries to whip up increased anti-labor sentiment. Lawsuits cannot actively involve IBT rank and filers, and they leave the movement dependent on legal advice, which may be good or bad but is always expensive.

Second, the movement to transform the unions into organizations through which workers can fight to improve life on the job and in the society must clearly involve entering local union elections. On the one hand, these campaigns can be based on a program to end the division between union officers and members and involve everyone in the fight. Or, they can be merely another series of vague "reform" efforts, whose candidates lack the program, the backing, and often the integrity to withstand the pressures and temptations of the bureaucracy.

Only campaigns based on strong rank and file groups -- with a solid program on contract questions, on general social questions, and on radical structural reform of the unions -- can win real gains, even in the short run. How do the parties in the split compare?

The program put forward by the Best group and accepted in Cleveland proposes that no union official should be paid more than the best-paid workers in their jurisdiction. But in an interview in the July issue of the *Fifth Wheel*, a Bay Area rank and file paper, Vestal dodged this issue, saying in effect, "If they're bad they're worth nothing, if they're good you can't pay them enough."

Best calls for the election of all officials and suggests the replacement of business agents by a strong, elected shop steward system to return some power to the shop floor. But, far from standing for reforming the local union,

Vestal stands for appointed business agents.

We think Vestal's approach would lead to endorsement by TURF of every aspiring official trying to capitalize on rank and file discontent. But a program along the lines of the one adopted by the Cleveland Executive Board meeting could lead to the most important and exciting development in the trade union movement since the thirties. And nothing less will do the trick.

OPPORTUNISTS VS RANKS

In summary, Vestal & Co. are content to leave TURF a top-heavy, money collecting agency to fund court suits, which the rank and file can then wait ten years to lose. The Midwest-Western Conference leaders, on the other hand, believe that TURF's future lies in strong active chapters fighting on pensions, grievance procedures, and other issues facing Teamsters both locally and nationally. Despite some weaknesses, the program can become the vehicle for rank and file action, while Vestal's approach cannot.

These different philosophies existed side by side in TURF from the start, and lay behind the specific differences which led to the split. Who then is responsible for the split itself?

Most of the immediate concrete issues involved in the split concern the minimal steps required to get the national organization off the ground. The main battle field has been meetings of the National Executive Board elected at the Denver Convention.

The first meeting of the Board was held November 20 and 21 in Oklahoma City. All of the board members were there by Saturday morning -- except James Porter and Harry Connor, of the Eastern Conference, and Don Vestal, who arrived late Saturday night.

There were objections to proceeding without the full board, so only 5-6 hours of meeting were possible. Such irresponsible boycotts were repeated by two or more members of the splitting group at each subsequent Board meeting.

TURF President Best brought to Oklahoma City a proposed agenda which included organizational questions as well as a discussion of the wage freeze and proposed anti-strike legislation facing transportation workers. He also submitted written proposals dealing with procedures for handling membership, finances, and newspaper, etc.

Porter's sole contribution was a rambling tirade against Best. Vestal responded to a suggestion that his organizing trips should be coordinated -- to make more efficient use of large air fares -- with an angry statement that he'd go where he pleased.

Finances have been a major sticking point. Jerry Vestal, TURF's secretary-treasurer and former appointed Business Agent in his father's Nashville Local 327, has not made a single substantive written or oral contribution to any of the executive board discussions on this subject, or to any other. Nor has he done much in Nashville.

For most of the fall, Vestal answered no letters and it was impossible to reach him by phone. This failure of leadership lies at the base of TURF's confused financial state.

At the Nashville Board meeting in

January, Stan Sidicane, Don Vestal's attorney, interrupted the meeting to introduce Brother Best to two deputy sheriffs bearing legal papers in connection with a suit filed against Best by Porter, Connor, Sidicane, and Joe Ward, a Southern Conference officer. (Ward later claimed he hadn't known what he was signing.)

The suit is a complete phony -- a power play -- calling for removal of the elected president of TURF by the courts and for \$100,000 damages from Best. We will not go into the details of the suit here. We believe the charges are trumped up.

TURF should condemn this action; require Porter, Sidicane et. al. to pay the legal costs Brother Best has incurred; and set up its own commission of inquiry to investigate and fully clear Best of the Vestal group's charges. No intimidation of any TURF member by legal thug tactics should be allowed.

Before his final departure from the Executive Board, Porter spoke in defense of the suit, viciously attacking Best as a "cancer," and urging the Board to take the unconstitutional action of "dumping" Best in favor of Vestal. He said that Vestal's long experience on the International Executive Board in the early 50's and his later opposition to Hoffa as President of Local 327 make him the sole person in TURF who should be listened to or chosen for leadership.

This has been Porter's sole theme since Denver. But one-man shows are dead ends.

Vestal for his part has never rejected Porter's embraces or spoken on the subject: But ideas, not personalities, are the real qualities of leadership; movements, not individuals, produce real change.

The final episode in the split occurred during the February Executive Board meeting in Cleveland. Jerry Vestal, Connor, Porter, and Ward boycotted the meeting (which they had

helped plan). (The exact role played by Southern Conference officers Ward and J.C. Davis in the recent events is not yet clear.) A week later, they had a conference phone call of a minority (five or fewer) of the eleven Board members and announced that they were the executive board, and that they had deposed Best.

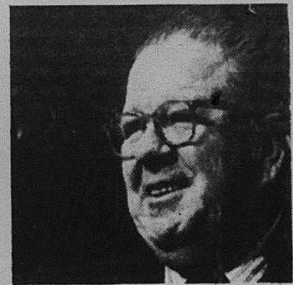
All in all, it is clear who is responsible for the split -- Porter, Connor, and the two Vestals have betrayed the hope and trust put in them by the TURF convention. TURF members should demand that they make amends and rejoin the Executive Board as responsible members, or resign (or be replaced in their areas) and let others continue the important work which is before TURF.

While this split is a serious setback for so young an organization, in other respects TURF has been moving forward. When it began, TURF was concerned mainly with opposition to Fitzsimmons and with the pension issue. The adoption of the broader program mentioned above, at the February Executive Board meeting, was a major step toward making TURF an organization in which all Teamster members can work for better conditions and a better union.

This program, and not the one-man show of Vestal and his cohorts who boycotted the February meeting, represents the future of TURF.

TURF's promise must now be made real through educational campaigns, demonstrations, and shop floor actions by the local chapters. Through such actions, the chapters will begin to have a regular impact on their locals, their shops and barns, and eventually in the IBT as a whole.

Two other organizational questions, while not central, deserve comment. First, there has been confusion about the role of appointed organizers in TURF, both in Northern California and in the Midwest (where Vestal gave a five state "charter" to one individual).



Teamster President Fitzsimmons

We do not have the facts to judge the particulars of each dispute. However, TURF cannot and should not be organized by appointees of anyone and this mistaken practice should not be repeated.

Secondly, the 500-at-50 committee and many of its activists in 41 states have been active organizers of TURF. Only in Oakland, California, has 500-at-50 maintained a separate existence. Because of the popularity of the slogan, it has functioned almost as a competing organization there. Hard feelings have resulted.

Pension reform can be most effectively won through TURF. 500-at-50 should officially dissolve and clear up this unnecessary confusion in the Bay Area.

The International Socialists (IS) supports TURF, and our Teamster members are active in building it, because it is a step towards major, necessary changes in the lives of working people. We feel that it is from these struggles and in such organizations that the working class will realize that the hardships they face are not "natural" or "inevitable," but the result of a profit-based capitalist system -- which has long outlived its usefulness and which a united working class has the power to replace with revolutionary democratic socialism. ■

Florida

[Continued from page 6]

This, of course, does not mean that these same politicians would pass up a chance to wage a more *successful* imperialist campaign, say in the Middle East or South America.

None even called for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and Southeast Asia. They merely argued about each other's "records" (all miserable) in a cynical effort to exploit anti-war sentiment. This effort might have brought dividends if the busing issue had not overshadowed all others.

Then, towards the end of the Florida campaign, the Democrats decided that they ought to come up with a token "bread-and-butter" issue in light of the current economic crisis. Right down the line, from Wallace to Chisholm, promises of "tax reform" were dangled before voters!

But tax reform, that white rabbit which Democrats pull from their hats every election-time, is the safest and vaguest way for Democrats to sound anti-big business without doing them

any harm. Our tax system is *already* a patchwork of reforms proposed by Democrats -- and working people continue to pay through the nose.

We don't need tax "reform." We need, at a minimum, a completely different system which lays the *entire* tax burden on business, where it belongs. But this kind of change, once again, will never be carried out by the corporations' political errand boys in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

It's no mystery why there has been no real debate between the candidates. We are in a period of economic and social crisis in which many of the traditional political differences within the business class and its political allies are being pushed aside.

The "liberal center" of the Democratic Party includes the politicians who, while the economy was booming, used to make careers out of defusing labor discontent with some minimal reforms. Today they find it difficult to pacify labor and serve the corporations at the same time.

Business demands lay offs, wage freezes, productivity deals, cut-backs in services and greater labor discipline. All those who accept the limitations of capitalism's drive for greater profits are forced to adopt the same solu-

tions to its problems.

It was the liberals who first called for wage controls -- and when Nixon introduced his New Economic Program, he stole the liberal economic program. It was Nixon who traditionally opposed wage controls and deficit spending. Now that he has introduced the liberal economic program as his own, his opponents have no solution to the economic crisis beyond some mild potshots at secondary aspects of Nixon's program.

The biggest political casualty of the economic crisis is the collapse of the "liberal center" of the Democratic Party represented by Humphrey and Muskie. But the party's left and right fringe (represented by McGovern and Lindsay, on the one hand, and Jackson on the other) are in no better shape than the center.

Like other reactionary countries America has a one-party system. Here it has been camouflaged by the one capitalist party having two heads to nod in different directions. But the two heads are now nodding closer and closer together, and Democratic liberals look more and more like Republican conservatives.

This is the reality behind Wallace's surge and the stumbling of the squabbling Democrats. ■

Pay Board

[Continued from page 1]

Meany's charge that the Pay Board has been "a direct instrument of the Administration's policies, motivated by political considerations and the interests of big business."

In the meantime, it was announced March 23 that food prices had risen 1.9 percent in February, while the overall Price Index rose at a rate equal to 6 percent a year.

Only Meany's words were militant. His resignation was a showy gesture, coming only after the Pay Board had considered all the major contracts of this year, slashing those it considered too expensive.

Meany's lack of real militancy shows in his handling of the West Coast Longshore settlement, the issue which led to his walkout. Meany and the rest of AFL-CIO officialdom were perfectly happy with the contract itself, which traded off the union hiring hall and safety measures for an inadequate wage gain.

Longshore productivity had risen so sharply over the life of the expiring contract, as compared to a meager rise in wages, that both the Pacific Maritime Association and the Pay Board staff members were in favor of the new contract, realizing that it was really a victory for the employers. Meany objected only when the Pay Board trimmed this sellout even further.

Meany's conception of labor leadership is to give management what it wants in the form of greater productivity, while getting some wages in return. His objection this time is that he was given nothing in return. In addition, he was angry because the Pay Board's cuts in the longshore and aerospace contracts violated a verbal agreement he claims was made last fall.

Meany did not question the basic goal of holding wages down, which he has consistently supported.

SMASH WAGE CONTROLS

Meany's real intent is not to lead a militant struggle against Nixon's policies. His walkout was a carefully-timed move in the AFL-CIO's all-too apparent election strategy for 1972. It freed the AFL-CIO to attack Nixon and go to bat to elect a Democratic President, promising "more equitable" controls under a Democratic Administration. Meany, Woodcock, and the others would undoubtedly return to sit on a new Pay Board under the Democrats.

This political motivation for the walkout was being openly discussed by AFL-CIO spokesmen soon after it occurred. As quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, "union strategists contend they'll be able to mount a more credible campaign to convince rank-and-filers that Mr. Nixon is to blame for the inflation."

The Democrats do not oppose wage controls. Indeed, they have now gone Nixon one better by calling for permanent wage controls. One AFL-CIO staffer admitted that "the Democrats will not be with us"



in supporting Meany's walkout. In the circumstances, Meany's commitment to a suicidal strategy, that of backing the Democrats, may be heroic, but is no help to labor.

The Democrats, and Meany, hold out the promise of "more equitable" controls. But the controls are not designed to be equitable. They are designed to do just what Meany complained of -- to increase profits.

With US industry plagued by obsolete plants and equipment, and new investments falling off, profits can be increased only by holding down wages -- or by getting more work for the same wages (speed-up, elimination of work and safety rules), which amounts to the same thing as cutting wages directly.

For wages to lag behind prices is not an accident or something put into the "stabilization" program by Nixon. This lag is built in. Because the Democrats share with the Republicans the goal of raising business profits, their version of wage controls can be no more "equitable" than Nixon's.

Nixon, for his part, cannot afford to let the Pay Board fall apart now. Before the Meany walkout, business leaders were already warning against compromise. "This is the showdown for Phase II," *Business Week* intoned in an editorial just before the walkout.

"The encouraging record of wage controls so far will be worthless unless the board wins this one."

Behind the efforts at stabilization is the shakiness of the dollar internationally. Since the devaluation of the dollar and the agreement on international currency levels last December, there have been one or two important "runs" on the dollar in foreign money markets. There has been no real improvement in the balance of payments.

The possibility that this agreement will break down altogether -- a very real danger -- creates the threat of a world depression. Nixon's measures are failing to avert this threat; labor needs its own program to do so. [See I.S. program on this page.]

Nixon cannot afford a major battle with labor now. He must try to make Phase II work until November. A Nixon victory in November, in the face of AFL-CIO efforts to elect a Democrat, would convince Nixon that much tougher controls could be imposed. This would lead to the "Phase III" nearly everyone expects -- a firm ceiling on wages, compulsory arbitration of all contracts, new anti-labor legislation, or other measures.

Yet a Democratic victory would lead only to a Democratic version of Phase II, with the certainty of tougher

measures in time. Now more than ever, only a refusal by labor to back either the Democrats or the Republicans, and the launching of an independent labor party, could provide a progressive hope to unite a majority of Americans in a real alternative to Nixon's programs.

But no such move can be expected from Meany. It will remain for rank and file workers -- some of whom, in organizations like the United National Caucus in auto, have already called for a labor party -- to make this hope real.

Right now, Meany and Co. should be forced to put their money where their mouth is. The longshore strike should be resumed -- this time, for maximum effect, as a united national strike by West Coast and East Coast unions.

Meany should be called on to lead a wage offensive and an offensive against layoffs and speed-up. When he quit, Meany said the AFL-CIO would no longer be bound to honor Pay Board decisions. Let him be forced to prove it in deeds.

Despite the fact that Meany's walkout is in large part bluster, it has helped expose the "wage and price control" program to the American people for the lie it is. Now is the time to supplement words with action and smash the wage controls. ■

The International Socialists' Program for the Economic Crisis:

Fight the Offensive Against Labor!

1. No Compliance with the Wage Controls For a 1-Day National Work Stoppage and Massive Labor Demonstrations to Roll Back the Controls.
2. Pay All Wage Increases Due under Contracts, Enforced by Strike Action if Necessary.
3. United Labor Action to Back Unions Threatened with Sanctions.
4. Unlimited Right to Strike.
5. No Layoffs, No Speedup.
6. No Wage Restraints -- No Linking Wage Increases to Productivity

Rises; No Trade-Off of Working Conditions and Practices for Economic Packages.

7. No Labor Participation in Wage-Price Control Boards; A Vote of Labor's Ranks on Compliance with Wage-Price Policy.

A Program for Labor to Fight the Economic Crisis:

1. Control Prices and Profits, Not Wages -- Nationalize Inflation-Producing Monopolies under Workers' Control.
2. 30 Hour Work Week at 40 Hours Pay -- Jobs For All.
3. No Freeze on the Fight for Equality: Equal Work for Women and Third World People; Equal Pay

for Equal Work.

4. Convert the War Economy to Rebuild the Cities.

5. Immediate Withdrawal From Vietnam -- Withdraw All Troops from Foreign Countries -- No Trade and Tariff Wars -- International Cooperation among Unions.

6. A Labor Party to Fight for Labor's Needs -- A Congress of Labor and Its Allies to Launch a Labor Party -- Independent Political Action by Rank and File Organizations and Social Movements.

7. Build Rank and File Organizations to Fight for This Program and to Make the Unions Serve the Workers' Needs.

Lordstown

[Continued from page 3]

tract demands were mechanical. The top leadership called the shots. In most locals there was little spirit. Picketing was token.

The first break in the doldrums that set in after the 1967 convention has come with the strike in the Lordstown GM Vega plant. It supplies ever greater proof to liberal skeptics that the primary concern of industrial workers is working conditions and not money. It is proof for those who are free to see it that young workers are interested in more than "quitting time and payday."

The Lordstown strike is one of if not the most important labor struggles of the post-World War II period and the new era of rank and file labor militancy that broke into the open on a widespread basis in 1964. The average age of the Lordstown strikers is 24. This is the first pure test of the new generation of workers, of the generation that represents the working class version of the counter-culture revolution.

The Lordstown workers are without the work ethic of their parents. They are taking on the largest corporation in the world and the most sophisticated and liberal social democratic of union bureaucracies. And, they again undercut the myth that the official leadership of labor has more advanced attitudes than the ranks.

INTERNATIONALISM

The Lordstown strikers are getting -- at best -- what amounts to no more than token help from their international union. But the Lordstown strikers themselves, including many in the local leadership, have sought to initiate some of the most courageous and imaginative strike policies that have been designed in three decades.

They wanted to send a rank and file delegation to the West Coast to get aid from the longshoremen. An extension of the waterfront strike would have kept competing Japanese autos off the market. West Coast longshore union President Harry Bridges would have fought them, but the opposition to Bridges in his own ranks was high -- particularly during the dock strike.

Moreover, the Lordstown strikers also wanted to send a rank and file delegation to Japan, to get Japanese auto workers to conduct sympathy strikes and to explore making international agreements on production standards and line speeds.

To both this plan and the attempted link to the longshoremen, the International UAW said no. "You can't have rank and file delegations roaming the world with every strike. If we let one local do it there would be no end to it and we haven't got that kind of money" . . . was the sort of answer they gave. Some of the UAW bureaucrats even dropped hints that the local wanted to send some of its people on a pleasure trip.

The International has told the Lordstown strikers that if there are

any trips to the coast or abroad they will have to be made by the International. Bullshit Ole Reba! Think of the opportunity that is being missed. Does Woodcock believe workers can't find their way around a foreign country? Most have served time overseas in the armed services. Or, what if Woodcock were to lead such a delegation? What if he accompanied a group of Lordstowners to Japan just for the publicity it would give the rank and file delegation and the meetings it would open up for them? What if he remained silent and let them have the spotlight so that a real beach head for international working class solidarity could be established?

Like Reuther, Woodcock and the UAW staffers do a lot of talk about international agreements. Delegations are regularly sent abroad from the UAW's headquarters and Washington, D.C. offices. But the results are piddling and there is a lot of what ends up as pleasure tripping.

Above and beyond the benefits that a rank and file overseas delegation of Lordstown strikers would bring for all American workers, for the first time Leonard Woodcock would be in

vered by the ranks, a champion of those who labor. But he became the prisoner of the present institution of collective bargaining. He accepted its limitations. To all intents and purposes, he agreed with management that it is their right to make all decisions connected with production methods and paces.

Woodcock's reputation and mark in history will be the same as Reuther's unless he is willing to break with the past and lead the fights that those who pay his wages want him to make. That is a big fight, it is true, and not without great risks. But it is even more obvious that there is the power potential in the ranks to make the fight.

Why does the Lordstown strike provide an opportunity for a bold new labor program and strategy? General Motors itself opened the door to it. They put the Vega plant in the national spotlight by advertising that the production methods there are the wave of the future.

For months prior to the strike the press was regularly invited in to take a look at "the most advanced methods of assembly line techniques in use in

reason why, they want their lives to add up to more than a sum of drudgery hours . . . more than a series of nerve racking commutes to areas behind chain-link fences where all rights of citizenship cease.

If their present union leaders change course and show a willingness to lead the ranks toward these goals that is all to the good. But there is no evidence that this will happen. In fact, the evidence is all in the other direction. This leaves those of us who produce the things that make the nation run but one alternative.

Real changes cannot be won simply by putting new leaders into office. Local, regional, and national rank and file caucuses can and must be built to elect new leaders, but to place them into the same set of organizational machinery, armed with no more than more militant demands, will see them become prisoners of the same set of circumstances that has made half leaders out of those now in office.

STEWARDS FOR EVERY FOREMAN

For top leaders to be able to feel the presence of the ranks at all times there has to be a new structural design for the unions. If there is a working and negotiating steward for every foreman, the ranks can keep their demands before their new leaders at all times. If the stewards at this ratio of representation form a regularly meeting committee, it will become the center of power in every local.

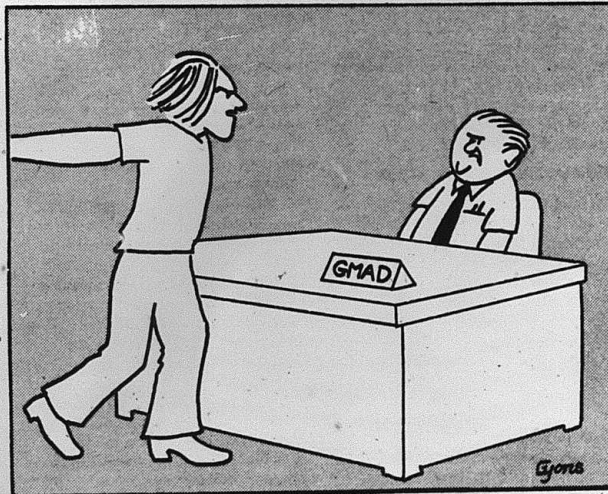
The leadership of this form of stewards' committee would for the first time make stewards actually representative of the ranks on a day-by-day basis. Stewards councils formed from representatives of these committees on an area basis pyramided to congresses of stewards on a regional and national basis would be the next step toward keeping national officers within reach at all times.

It is unlikely that this long range plan can be accomplished just by sending a few good rank and filers to local union meetings. To even begin to popularize the idea of new forms of representation the fighting elements in the ranks will have to get themselves together in some sort of committee or caucus together to make possible self-protection and the putting out of rank and file educational programs.

Such caucuses will be fought by more than management and the international officers. The old style politicians will also fight any kind of change that favors the ranks of labor. The Lordstown strikers' idea of sending delegates to seek the aid of other workers can also be used to move against political enemies in government offices.

To expand that fight means a drive to end all union support to those politicians, to the eventual point of electing worker candidates who owe nothing to either the Democrats or Republicans and who owe everything to the organizations of workers who elected them. The millions that the UAW and other unions spend to elect politicians who are on the employers side could be used to set up a lot of conferences between rank and file workers in the United States, Canada, and all over the world.

When delegations to those kinds of conferences get their heads together we will see what a real program for labor looks like. ■



"One of our cars was stopped for speeding... and it was still on the line!"

the big time. He would be showing a little real union class. When he steps down his memory would not be the object of rank and file disgust as is Walther Reuther's (regardless of the sad counter-claims made in some of the articles in the special Winter 1972 issue of *Dissent* magazine, "The World of the Blue Collar Worker").

Like Reuther, will Woodcock have time to get some university chairs named in his honor? And what kind of personal monuments are those? Can it be that periodic insights allow him momentary views of what the new militancy is doing to his image? Can it be that this is responsible for his occasional emotional outbursts in committee meetings and at Pay Board meetings in Washington.

It is probable that Walter Reuther actually believed that it was impossible to make a head-on fight against GM to humanize working conditions. Riches were not his goal. His whole life attests to that, no matter that his job allowed him far greater comfort than that experienced on or off the job by workers on the line.

Reuther wanted to step down re-

the world." With a new sense of importance the workers responded with resistance to a line speed of 101 jobs an hour.

GM answered with a new speed-up, resulting from a layoff of over 10 percent of the work force while maintaining the same line speed. Grievances piled up and management claimed the workers were committing minor but multiple acts of sabotage.

Unlike the Mansfield Strike of five years ago, the public and the rest of labor was conscious of the Lordstown struggle before the strike began. More important still, there is now visible evidence of the loss of the pre-World War II work ethic in broad sections of the total American labor force, whether blue collar, white collar or professional.

Critical masses of Americans have begun to question the value of jobs that bring no more reward than a paycheck. They want to create quality products and services that bring pride and recognition, they want to make decisions about the immediate production process, they do not want to be told to perform without knowing the

Mao's China, Part 1.

How Stalinism Conquered China

Chris Harmon



Mao, Lin Piao and Liu Shao-Chi, before the thieves fell out.

The events leading up to Nixon's visit to China have come as a shock to many. In the space of less than a year, Mao Tse-tung has supported Yahya Khan in the massacre of tens of thousands of Bengalis, congratulated Sirima Bandaranaike for putting down a rebellion with the assistance of the British, the Americans, and the Russians, and backed the Sudanese dictator Nimeiry, who murders trade unionists and communists.

Now Mao has welcomed to Peking the man who continues to order his bombers to burn, maim, and kill in Vietnam.

Admirers of Mao have also been worried by changes taking place inside China. Until 1966, the president of China and Mao's chief lieutenant was Liu Shao-chi. Maoists throughout the world were taught to regard Liu's book *How To Be A Good Communist* virtually as a textbook.

Then suddenly it was revealed five years ago that Liu was a "capitalist roader," "the main traitor, workers' thief and Kuomintang agent."

His place as officially designated successor to Mao was taken by Lin Piao.

Hardly a reference or picture of Mao appeared without Lin being there too. All over the world followers of Mao coupled the two names together. But last autumn Lin too disappeared from public life. Now it has been officially announced that he has been "eliminated."

The people who are supposed, according to Maoist statements, to be running China, the masses, have at no stage been consulted in any way about the removal of Lin. Months after the event, no one knows what the issues at stake were.

Socialists in the West have to have some understanding about the real nature of Chinese society and the real character of the revolution that brought it into being. Otherwise the conclusion is all too readily drawn that "revolutions always fail."

The present rulers of China came to power in 1948 after a long and bitter civil war. Although they called themselves "communists" and spoke of the "working class," the industrial workers played very little part indeed in their victory.

There had been a revolutionary workers' movement in China, but that had been destroyed by the counter-

revolution way back in the twenties. As early as 1930, only 1.6 percent of the Communist Party membership were workers.

In the years that followed, the party's activities were confined to the most backward parts of the country, where there was no industry. An indication of how little the Communists did among workers is the fact that they did not call a conference of trade unions between 1929 and 1948.

BUREAUCRATIC REVOLUTION

What in fact happened was that the Communist leaders, most of whom were drawn from the old Chinese middle class, succeeded in building up a massive peasant army.

The peasants were willing to fight because the old organization of society offered them nothing but misery and starvation. The communists were promising to lighten the burden of rents and interest payments.

In some areas they promised a radical revision of the landowners' land -- though not where the landowners were prepared to support the Communists.

Meanwhile, few people anywhere were prepared to put much faith in the old Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek.

It was a government that had never managed to keep in check the rival warlords who dominated different parts of the country. It had failed miserably in defending China against Japanese invasion. A member of the US government was driven to describe

Chiang's regime as "just a bunch of crooks."

In 1948, even many of China's capitalists were regarding a victory for Mao as the lesser evil. Whole sections of Chiang's army deserted to the other side, sometimes led by their generals.

The removal of the Chiang Kai-shek clique undoubtedly improved life for the mass of Chinese people. But it did not involve any smashing of the bureaucratic and authoritarian set-up, nor did it involve workers gaining any control over industry or the state.

When the Communist forces took over the cities, they tried to make sure that life there continued much as before. For instance, before entering Tientsin and Peking, Lin Piao issued orders for "Kuomintang officials or police to remain at their posts." Those who had protected the old regime were left in their old positions.

The new rulers carried through a program that meant an eventual ending of private ownership of industry. But industry passed into their hands, not into the hands of the millions of workers or peasants.

Even during the civil war, the leaders of the Red Army had enjoyed incomes about three times those of the rank and file. Now the differentials grew even greater.

But the main aim of the new rulers was not personal consumption.

It was to create a united China, under their rule, which could stand up to the other world powers. And that meant, above all, developing industry in China on a scale comparable to that

in the advanced countries.

Mao's model was Stalin's Russia, which had been able to build up industry, although only by denying the mass of workers and peasants the most elementary rights.

But China confronted immense obstacles in trying to follow the same path. In 1948 its industry was even more backward than Russia's had been in 1914.

Meanwhile, the economies of the advanced capitalist countries had expanded enormously. The gap to be bridged was much greater than the Russians had faced.

For about ten years the Chinese seem to have believed that a close alliance with Russia could help them solve their problems. They backed up Russian policy all down the line.

Stalin was continually praised, and when Khrushchev smashed the Hungarian revolution in 1956, he too was given unreserved backing.

But the alliance gave few real benefits to the Chinese. For instance, total aid from Russia between 1950 and 1963 was a mere 600 million dollars. Yet the Egyptian government, which imprisoned Communists, got 400 million dollars in 1959 alone.

Nor was aid to the Chinese a gift. Far from being free, Soviet aid was rendered mainly in the form of trade. What's more, the price of many goods from the Soviet Union were much higher than those in the world market.

Friction began to develop between the Russian and Chinese leaders which came to a head in the early 1960's.

The Russians suddenly withdrew all their technicians from China, leaving many industrial projects half-finished and doing incalculable harm to the Chinese economy.

From that time on bitter polemics between the two powers gave way to physical clashes on their borders. The Russians describe China as a "military dictatorship," while the Chinese call Russia "social imperialism" and its leaders "the new czars."

On the border between the two countries there are, according to Chou En-lai, "a million Russian troops." There are probably a similar number of Chinese. ■

[To be concluded]

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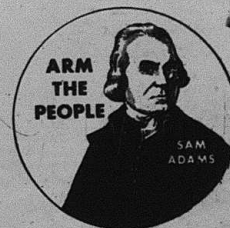
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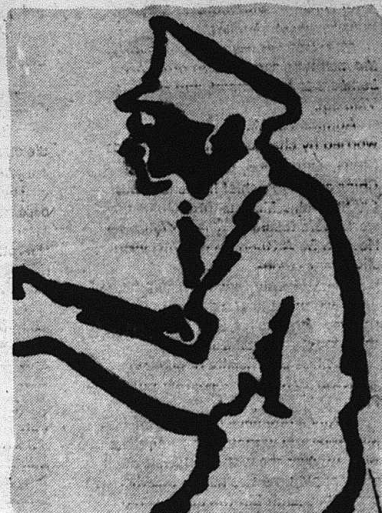
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STRESS Strikes Again

Dan Potter



"Come on out of there you mother fuckers," screamed the cops, simultaneously firing a barrage of double-ought buckshot and .38 magnum into a west-side Detroit apartment. The apartment was occupied by 6 persons engaged apparently in nothing more illegal than a friendly \$.25 poker game. Five of these six wore badges, belonging to the Wayne County Sheriffs Department.

Despite repeated attempts on the part of the deputies to identify themselves and surrender, the firing continued for 10 minutes and some 50 rounds. One deputy was killed and three others were wounded, one critically. Both the deputies and the Detroit police initially involved in the shooting were black.

The Detroit cops were attached to the notorious STRESS squad. STRESS stands for Stop the Robberies Enjoy Safe Streets. Three days after the shooting, the county prosecutors' of-

fice released ballistics tests which revealed that the dead deputy was killed by a bullet from the gun of a white deputy, who had arrived on the scene only after the deputies had surrendered and been handcuffed.

One of the surviving deputies called the shooting deliberate "cold-blooded murder," not just a case of mistaken identity or negligence, as was originally claimed by Detroit Mayor Gribbs and Police Commissioner Nichols. "They shot Henry (Henderson) and (James) Jenkins while they had their hands up," said the deputy.

Other eyewitness accounts of the shooting support this statement. It took the direct intervention of some cops to prevent the other deputies from being summarily executed by the plainclothes STRESS cops and their uniformed, all-too-eager helpers from the Livonia precinct station.

Since it was set up in January, 1970, the STRESS squad has been re-

sponsible for the deaths of 14 persons, all but two of whom have been black. Blacks constitute about 96 percent of those arrested in STRESS operations, which are directed primarily against the heavily black inner-city [see Workers' Power No. 43].

The STRESS cops assume the multiple roles of judge, jury, and executioner. What happened in this latest case can be assumed to have happened in others. It is quite certain that if the deputies had been civilians none of them would have escaped alive.

Most likely, narcotics or some such other convenient evidence would have been fabricated and then planted at the scene, thus providing the needed rationalization for murder. This time, the apartment was not immediately sealed off pending an investigation as is the usual procedure. Suspension of legal niceties ordinarily gives the police ample time to manufacture false evidence.

If public pressure forces some sort of investigation of a police murder, it usually turns out to be a whitewash anyway. At most, a couple of lower-ranking cops are suspended or dumped. The basic policy of police terror in the black community is reaffirmed.

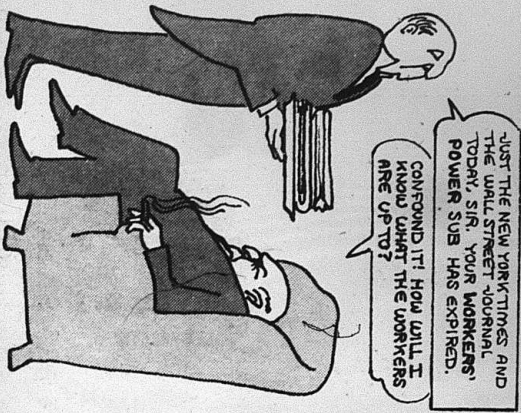
In this case, the power structure of Detroit may have a harder time papering over the truth. Some members of the black community are moving to launch their own independent investigation.

Police Commissioner Nichols labeled the shooting a "terrible tragedy" -- probably because the repressive policies of the police apparatus he commands have finally been exposed in the most glaring manner imaginable. More and more people have begun to challenge the basic STRESS approach of shooting first and asking questions later at the City Morgue.

Perhaps the STRESS squad's license to kill will finally be revoked. ■

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