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# Miners Union in Crisis

*"The walls of justice are closing in on Tony Boyle."*

With these words, labor lawyer Joseph Rauh accurately described the situation involving Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers union (UMW), and the continuing investigation into the operations of the union.

Indeed, Boyle is in trouble. The 67-year-old autocrat, who has run the UMW like a personal dictatorship, is under fire for three separate illegal acts.

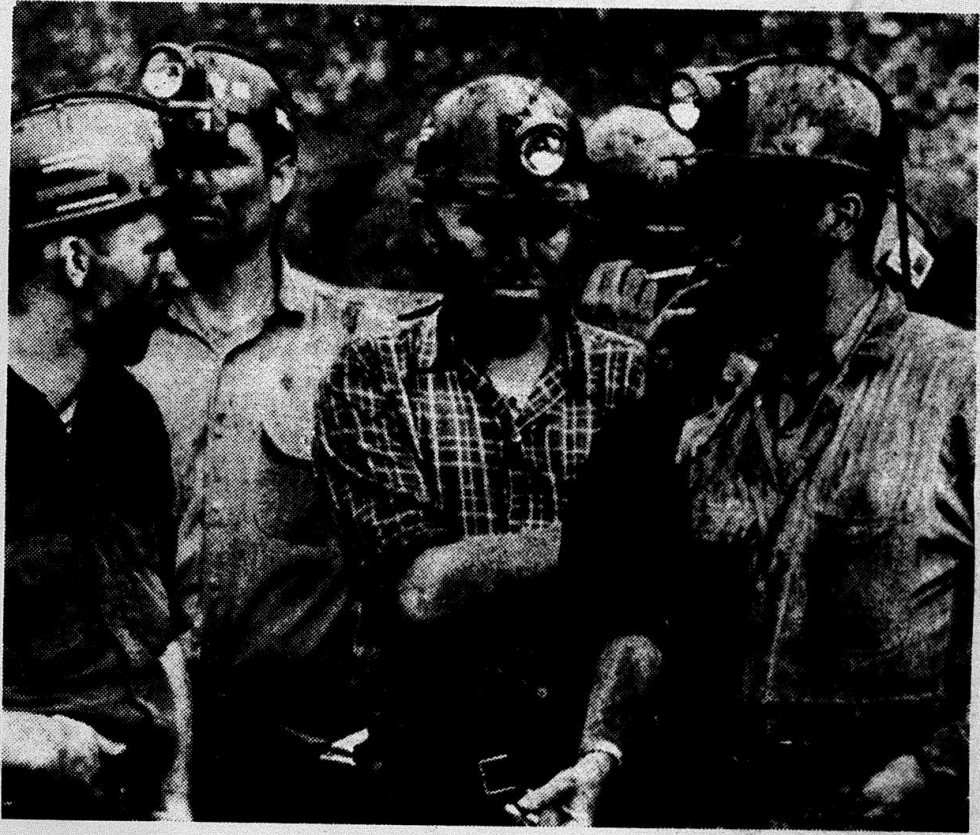
First, Boyle was convicted in April on 13 counts of conspiring to illegally pump union funds into political campaigns.

Then, on May 1, a US District Court in Washington ruled that the most recent UMW election, in which Boyle was re-elected to the union presidency over the stiff opposition of reform candidate Joseph (Jock) Jablonski in December, 1969, was null and void. The court ruling cited even separate violations of either federal labor laws or UMW by-laws in overturning the election, and called for a new election within six months.

But for Boyle, still reeling from these verdicts, the greatest challenge was yet to come.

Three weeks after the UMW election, on December 31, 1969, Jock Jablonski was found murdered in his Parkville, Pa. home, along with his wife and daughter. The murders were early a professional job - telephone lines to the house had been carefully cut, the three victims were coolly and

*(Continued on page 4)*



# Russia, China OK US Mines

David Finkel



Russian chats while Vietnam burns

For many Americans, the first response to Nixon's speech of May 8, announcing the mining of North Vietnamese ports, was one of fear and apprehension. For the first time in this war, events seemed to be moving toward a direct confrontation between the United States and Russia and the possibility of a nuclear war.

After all, many said, Russia could never permit the US to prevent it from giving aid to North Vietnam. At the very least, the commentators solemnly pondered, the cancellation of Nixon's summit trip to Moscow must be inevitable.

And what about China? Supporters of the Maoist regime, echoing the

statements of Mao and Chou En-Lai, have insisted that the newly formed Nixon-Mao friendship in no way contradicts Chinese support for the Vietnamese struggle and other anti-imperialist wars of national liberation. But Nixon announced, along with the mining, that rail lines would be destroyed by bombing, including those connecting China and Vietnam.

Even before he spoke, Chinese ships anchored off North Vietnam had been shelled and strafed by American warships and planes, causing casualties to Chinese crew members and Vietnamese civilians on board. Nixon's new war policy appeared to threaten the entire basis of the friend-

ly realignment of US and Chinese power in Asia, in which liberals have placed so much hope.

As the May 11 deadline for the activation of the mines approached, hawks and doves alike held their breath, mesmerized by the thought that all they could do was pray for everything to work out. Campus anti-war demonstrations began breaking out on a large scale for the first time since 1970, fed largely by the fear that this new escalation would bring the world to the brink of disaster.

This fear, however, proved to be completely misplaced. It was based on a fundamental misunderstanding

*(Continued on page 7)*



# 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.

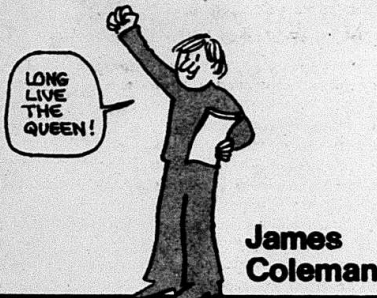
The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

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.**

## British Gay Liberation Manifesto



James Coleman

The May 13 issue of *Socialist Worker*, newspaper of the British International Socialists, notes with approval the publication of a manifesto by the British Gay Liberation Front. *Socialist Worker* calls the manifesto "essential reading for all socialists."

The manifesto summarizes the op-

pression of homosexuals by "physical violence and by ideological and psychological attacks" — conditions which have not been improved by Britain's legalization of homosexual relations between adults several years ago. Homosexuals in Britain remain victimized by police, employers, and

gangs of "queer bashers."

The manifesto also makes clear that specific reforms are not enough to end this oppression. It argues that the oppression of homosexuals is "rooted in our society's most basic institution — the man-dominated family."

The first Gay Liberation organizations in Britain began more than a year ago. While approving their general outlook, *Socialist Worker* criticizes their emphasis on experimentation with "liberated life styles."

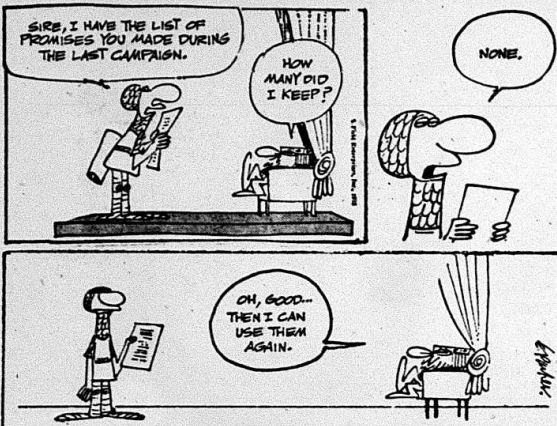
This, *Socialist Worker* argues, is necessary but does not by itself provide a way forward. The failure of the gay movement to find a strategy for ending capitalism is explained by *Socialist Worker* in terms of the backward ideas of the labor movement and most socialists on the gay question.

The weaknesses pointed to by *Socialist Worker* also existed in the Amer-

ican GLF organizations, and led to their disintegration in most places and their replacement by organizations (the "Gay Activist Alliances") with an activist approach but an orientation to influencing the politics of the Democratic Party. This orientation can win no more than small reforms.

The British GLF may go through the same process if it cannot find a road forward. The recognition by socialist organizations of the importance of gay oppression may provide such a road, however.

It is possible, with the backing of socialists and militants who have overcome traditional prejudices, for gay workers to fight on the job for their rights, and thus to utilize the power of the labor movement. Such approaches are being tried in the United States, and may be applicable to the gay movement in Britain. ■



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Editor: Kit Lyons. Editorial Board: James Coleman, Joel Geier, Kit Lyons, Jack Trautman, Michael Stewart. Art Editor: Lisa Lyons.

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# Longshore "Leaders" Capitulate To Pay Board

John Cartwright

The bankruptcy of the American labor bureaucracy's strategy for dealing with the Nixon administration's wage controls became even more apparent last week, when the Pay Board ordered the East Coast longshoremen's wage increase reduced from 70 cents an hour to 55 cents an hour.

The 70-cent increase, scheduled for the first year of the International Longshoremen's Association's new three year contract, was itself achieved at the cost of major concessions to the shipping companies in the areas of working conditions and the administration of the longshore industry's guaranteed annual wage plan.

The Board's action on the East Coast contract closely paralleled its move in reducing a 21.9 percent wage increase negotiated by the West Coast longshoremen to 14.9 percent. In both cases, the board followed its strategy of victimizing workers who are less able than most to resist effectively, either because of conditions in the particular industry (as was the case in the aerospace industry), the threat of direct congressional intervention (as in the longshore industry), or timidity or disunity in the union leadership (which was evident in both industries).

The ILA had hoped to win approval of its wage increase by accepting a "productivity deal," under which the work force is reduced and the remaining longshorement work under deteriorating working conditions -- while the shipping companies reduce their costs, increase the volume of their operations, and, therefore, their profits.

Productivity deals have been a feature of waterfront labor negotiations

since the early 1960's. The Pay Board's actions on the longshore contracts underline the futility of allowing wage gains to be tied to deteriorating working conditions, only to see the wage increases cut back.

*But even without wage-price controls, productivity deals are a serious mistake for labor. The wage increases of the last decade, which were supposed to have compensated for concessions made by the longshore unions on working conditions, have been seriously eroded by inflation, while the sharp decline in the work force and the resulting speedup have continued.*

Since the current recession started in 1969, shipping companies have tried to maintain their profits by taking back some of the concessions originally offered to the unions as incentives for allowing automation on the docks. For example, in the new ILA contract the guaranteed annual wage plan, which was originally accepted by the union in return for allowing containerization of cargo, was modified in the companies' favor.

In addition, the ILA in its latest round of negotiations failed to achieve parity for longshoremen in many East Coast ports who were fighting to gain guaranteed annual wage agreements equal to the ones in effect in New York and Boston, which provide a pay guarantee of 2,800 hours a year. In Baltimore and Philadelphia, for example, the ILA settled for a guarantee of 1,900 hours.

The ILA's past failures to achieve a uniform standard of wages and pay guarantees were an important factor in the refusal of Texas longshoremen to support the East Coast dock strike last fall, which was being fought in large part to preserve the New York guaranteed wage agreement against

the companies' attempts to weaken it.

When the possibility first arose last winter that the new longshore contracts would be cut back, longshore union leaders were quick to issue militant-sounding statements promising resistance.

Thomas ("Teddy") Gleason, the ILA president, offered to form a united front with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (the West Coast longshoremen) to resist wage cuts. Harry Bridges, the ILWU president, in turn vowed that the unions would shut down all US ports if as much as a penny were cut from the ILWU's contract.

The reality has been quite different. When the West Coast contract was cut back, Bridges held off on his threat to renew the longshore strike, apparently because Gleason refused to take any action while the ILA contract was still pending before the Pay Board. It seemed that Gleason might be willing to betray the ILWU if the ILA contract was approved intact.

Gleason, in turn, began giving indications as long as a month ago that he would not be willing to order strike action even if his own union's contract was cut back. The ILA leader, it seems, was frightened of the possibility that the Nixon administration's proposal for new anti-labor legislation in the transportation industry (a bill which would give the government even wider powers to break transportation strikes than it presently has) would be passed by Congress if the dock strike were resumed.

## WHO'S FOOLING WHO?

This was a very real threat, although Congress is controlled by labor's supposed friends in the Democratic Party, which the ILA and the rest of the labor movement faithfully support at every election. The Democrats in fact are no more willing to prevent passage of the Nixon transportation strike bills than they were to block the legislative moves which forced the settlement of the West Coast longshore strike earlier this year.

Gleason, who understood perfectly well that the Democratic Party would faithfully defend the interests of the big corporations that control it, told a meeting of the Washington Propeller Club that Congress and the administration were "waiting for us" to renew the dock walkout as an excuse for passage of the anti-strike bills. "I think we're going to fool them," Gleason added.

Just who was he trying to fool? Not Congress, the administration, or

the shipping companies. They got what they wanted. Only the rank and file longshoremen wound up, as usual, losing.

With Gleason saying things like this, it came as no surprise when the Pay Board reduced the ILA's contract. For form's sake, Gleason denounced the reduction as "unacceptable." But his proposal for dealing with it was the most pathetic on record since the beginning of the wage-price controls last fall: He said he would ask the Pay Board to reconsider its action.

Soon after Gleason's capitulation, Harry Bridges announced that the ILWU would accept the Pay Board's cuts too. The cringing submission of the ILA and the ILWU to the Nixon administration's attack on their members' wages and working conditions is hardly worse than the response of the rest of the labor leadership.

For example, when the aerospace contract won by the United Auto Workers was cut back earlier this year, the UAW proved unable to resist effectively. Leonard Woodcock, the UAW president, for all of his militant rhetoric and ringing denunciations of the Nixon administration, did nothing more than file a suit challenging the order. This was clearly hopeless since the federal courts have consistently upheld wage controls in the past.

In fact, it seems that the labor movement's only serious strategy for resisting Nixon's controls is to work for the election of a Democrat this fall.

This approach at best will prove futile, however. If the Democrats vote for passage of anti-strike legislation in Congress, it is hardly likely that a Democratic president would move to scrap wage controls. The Democratic Party, no less than the Republican, is a political tool of the ruling class, committed to maintaining the capitalist system.

The legislation authorizing controls in fact was passed at the initiative of the Democrats in Congress, and all the leading contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination advocated wage controls before they were put in to effect. Most of them have since conveniently forgotten this, and are now issuing vague criticisms of the Nixon program. But it is clear that if any one of them was elected president, the wage control program would undergo only cosmetic changes.

In view of labor's timidity in resisting the Nixon program, it is likely that the only thing that would change would be that wage rollback orders would be issued with a smile. ■



Gleason and Bridges grin while ranks burn



# UMW

Karl Fisher Lynn Jones

[Continued from page 1]

efficiently executed, the job was carried out in the dead of night.

UMW militants almost immediately accused Boyle of plotting the brutal murders. Indeed, Boyle had had much to fear from Yablonski. The murdered man had campaigned against Boyle on a reform platform, accusing the incumbent of being an "embezzler" and a "dictator." Yablonski had also agreed to testify before a federal grand jury about corrupt practices in the UMW - practices he was intimately familiar with, having sat on the UMW Executive Board for 27 years.

After the election, Yablonski immediately filed an appeal with federal labor officials, charging "massive election fraud," the "intimidation" of dissidents, and illegal campaign expenditures of hundreds of thousands of dollars of union funds.

Throughout the campaign, Yablonski had repeatedly asked federal officials to intervene on grounds that Boyle was engaging in openly illegal acts to steal the election. These requests were ignored.

In the immediate aftermath of the killings, three "small-fry" were arrested and charged with actually carrying out the murders. The three men - small time hit-men from Ohio - were convicted and sentenced to death. But this hardly satisfied Yablonski supporters, who asked pointedly where the men got their orders, and their funds.

## THE BIG MAN

Finally, in the last two months, the answers began to come out. Annette Gilly, wife of UMW official Paul Gilly, confessed on April 13 to her part in a conspiracy to plan Yablonski's death. Her confession implicated several high union officials: her husband Paul; her father Silous Huddleston, president of UMW Local 3228 at LaFollette, Tenn.; William Prater, a UMW District 19 field representative from Tennessee; and finally Albert Pass, a member of the UMW Executive Board and a close ally of Tony Boyle.

Mrs. Gilly's confession stopped short of directly implicating Boyle in the conspiracy. But she said that she had been told by her father that "the Yablonski murder had the approval of the 'big man.'" "To me," said Mrs. Gilly, "that meant Tony Boyle."

Her statement led to the arrest of Silous Huddleston, and on May 3, he too, confessed. Huddleston admitted that he had directed and handled the payoff for the Yablonski murders, and that union funds had been secretly channeled to him for that purpose by Albert Pass.

Huddleston's confession also stopped short of implicating Boyle, naming Pass as the highest union official involved. But special prosecutor Richard Sprague stated on May 3 that "We have certain information that a fund was set up at a conference between Tony Boyle and Albert Pass." Sprague termed this a "murder fund," and charged that the money to pay for

Yablonski's death "came from the national union." Albert Pass and William Prater have since been arrested and indicted for conspiracy to violate federal laws.

The confessions of Gilly and Huddleston read like chapters out of *The Godfather*. Gilly related that her father told her and her husband that "Yablonski's murder had to be expedited or a Pennsylvania district would do the job. My father said that District 19 had never let the union down and they weren't going to now."

Later, Gilly stated, "My father and I went to Bill Prater's house for the specific purpose of asking Prater whether or not, in the event someone

said not to use dynamite because it would probably kill the family and only give Yablonski a headache."

"He said not to use arsenic because Yablonski would only get sick and the family would die. He said that the only way to kill Yablonski was to shoot him."

"After the meeting," continued Huddleston, "I called Paul (Gilly) and told him that Albert said dynamite and arsenic are out. I told Paul to shoot Yablonski."

The reaction of rank and file miners to these revelations has been mixed and uneven. In the West Virginia and Pennsylvania coal fields, where Yablonski ran the strongest in 1969,

Through their dictatorial rule, through setting up the machinery for the misuse of union funds, through encouraging gangsterism in the union, the UMW leadership has opened the doors to an attack on the union that all miners will have to battle.

Defending the union does not equal defending Tony Boyle. If it turns out that Boyle did indeed play a role in Yablonski's murder, he should be prosecuted. If these accusations are true, miners should not defend Boyle. In any case, miners must take up the battle to rid their union of corrupt leadership and to return the union to the control of the rank and file so that no bureaucratic clique can "run" the union.

These anti-government, pro-Boyle sentiments have been reinforced by the latest statement of Miners for Democracy, the remnants of Yablonski's supporters inside the UMW. On May 7, they announced plans to file suit in Federal District Court in Washington, asking the court to place the entire financial structure of the UMW under federal trusteeship until a new election is held.

Not only does this move reinforce rank and file support for Boyle; it can have little effect in actually freeing the union from his dictatorial control.

Given the past record of the federal government in its dealings with the UMW, it is, to say the least, doubtful that a federal trusteeship over UMW finances will concretely aid miners in recapturing control of their union. Instead, such a move can, in fact, open the door even further for government interference in the union.

## NO UNION-BUSTING

Furthermore, such a move opens up Miners for Democracy to attacks of union-busting. Many miners do not know the program of the group; they do not know that it is a rank and file group that seeks to reform the union from within.

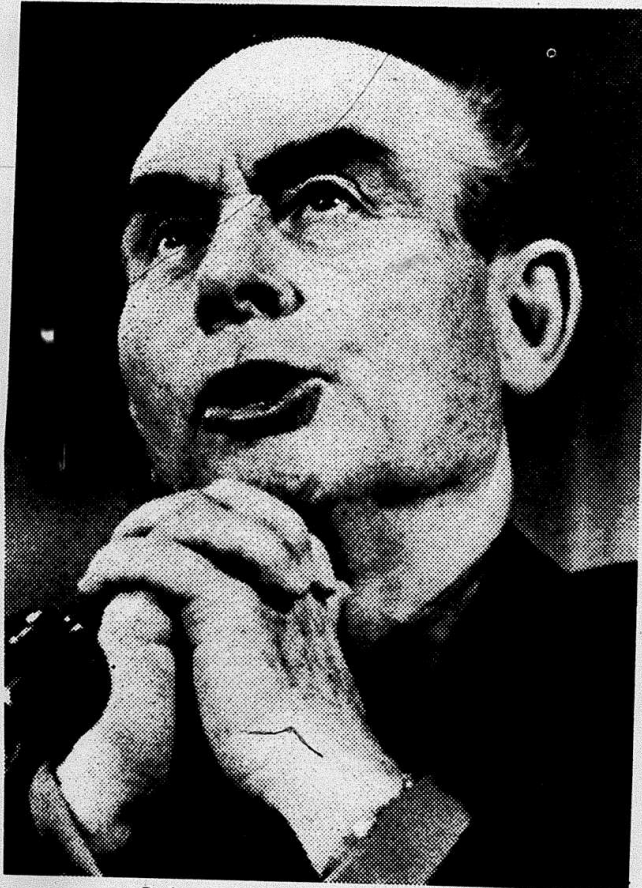
Many times in the past rank and file groups in the UMW have chosen to disaffiliate from the union rather than fight within it. Such moves have led to bloody warfare among miners, weakening the entire union in the face of corporate and governmental attacks.

Miners for Democracy has made serious mistakes, but it is not a union-busting outfit. It is a rank and file movement in the UMW and should be supported by militants, even though it has made mistakes.

The group is planning to challenge Boyle again for the union presidency when new elections are scheduled. Two of Jock Yablonski's sons, Kenneth and Joseph Jr., announced plans to organize a new "reform drive" and to run an as-yet unnamed candidate against Boyle.

But Miners for Democracy must do more than run a candidate against Boyle. They must put forward a program to deal with the tremendous problems of the union: a program that both deals with the internal problems of the union and one that enables the union to fight the mine owners, one that enables it to regain the power that it once held.

Miners for Democracy must break out of their isolation in Pennsylvania and West Virginia and reach the rank and file of the UMW in Illinois, Indiana, Tennessee, Alabama, and other mining regions. ■



Boyle prays for divine help against the rank and file

additional to Yablonski were killed, the union would still pay."

"Prater replied that he didn't care if the whole family or the whole town was killed," continued Gilly, "as long as the job was done. Prater said they could run Yablonski down with an airplane if necessary."

After the murders, Gilly was told by her father that "the union would take care of me. He told me that with the union the sky was the limit, unless I talked, then the grave was the limit."

Huddleston's statement describes union officials and their hired gunmen casually discussing various methods of killing Yablonski.

"I told him (Albert Pass) the boys had thought of using dynamite or arsenic," stated Huddleston. "Albert

sentiment seems to be largely anti-Boyle.

But in other coal mining areas -- for example, Southern Illinois and Indiana -- many miners appear to be rallying to Boyle's defense, viewing the government's attack on Boyle as an attack on their union as a whole. The UMW has a long-standing tradition of opposition to any government intervention in their affairs, dating from John L. Lewis' bitter battles with the federal government in the 40's.

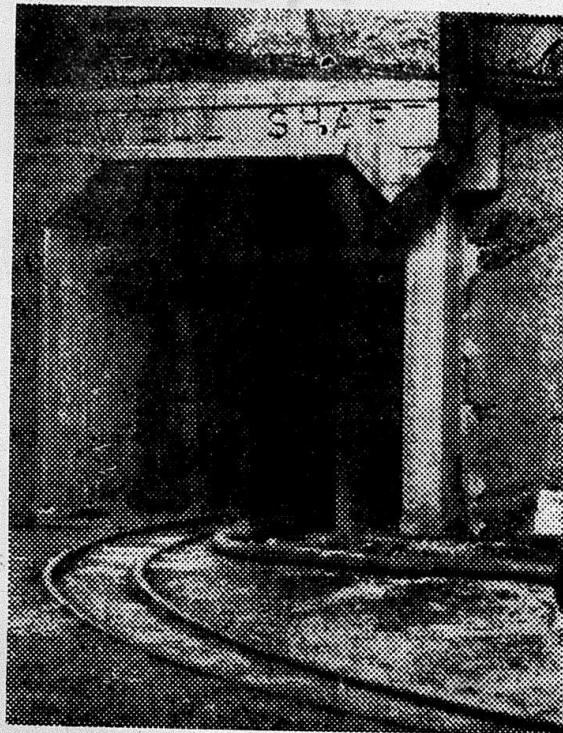
Certainly miners are right in questioning the government's motives in prosecuting Boyle. What rank and file miners must realize, however, is that it is Boyle himself, his predecessor, Lewis, and the UMW bureaucracy, who have opened the union up to this kind of attack.



Kellogg, Idaho:

# The sun don't shine so bright at the Sunshine Mine...

Rachel Simons



Going East from Spokane on Interstate 90 you pass along the Spokane River and across the border into Idaho to its source, Lake Coeur d'Alene. Then on past the Lake, up over the Fourth of July Pass, you enter the "Silver Valley," the heart of the Coeur d'Alene mining district.

The befouled and hazy air that you notice on the way down the pass becomes more apparent as its source nears. On toward Smeltonville, the green forested hills turn brown and browner. To the right you see the garish, almost industrial revolution era appearing, Bunker Hill Smelter complexes, spewing forth smoke and noxious gases from what looks like a hundred stacks.

In the foreground pools of yellowish, green, and orange liquids evaporate and percolate away. These pools are made and surrounded by giant heaps of black slag from the processing furnaces.

On past Kellogg and Wardner, grim reminders of a miner's life in a mining company town, you turn off the Interstate to the Big Creek Road. On the way to the Sunshine Mine, after passing a golf course, the road rises past some homes to where a sign announces, "Safety Starts Here." A little further on up the road the surface structures of the mine come into view.

The Sunshine Mine, famous for being the richest and deepest silver mine in the nation, now wears a different honor. Prominent signs read: "Today Is the First Day of the Rest of Your Life, Begin It Safely."

On the fateful day of May 2, 1972, the first Tuesday of May, the annual stockholders meeting was being held in Coeur d'Alene. The previous day, Sunshine Mining Co. stock traded on the New York Stock Exchange at between 10 1/4 and 10, closing at 10 with no change for the previous day's trading. The volume was 50,000 shares. The stock closed the week at 8 7/8 down 1 1/8 and traded at a greatly in-

creased volume after the fire hit the news.

Even as the Company's lack of safety standards were spelling disaster to laboring miners, the Company officials were reporting good news. Marvin Chase, Vice-President and General Manager, reported that, "Production is up, the grade of the ore was increased and costs are down." In the first quarter of 1972 production was up 10 percent over last year's rate and the upward trend continued.

Chase reported that cutting costs at the Sunshine Mine involved having reduced mine personnel from 622 to 514. (Cuts in personnel in the mines automatically mean increased safety hazards for the remaining miners; it is repair and maintenance functions that are cut, not production standards.)

Newspaper accounts also stated that this year's annual meeting was a quiet contrast to the previous two when dissident stockholders took the floor to hurl charges of mismanagement.

While the Board of Directors were debating whether or not to declare a dividend, their meeting was interrupted with news from back home. A fire had broken out at the source of the stockholders' profits.

One hundred and eight miners were able to scramble to safety. Another hundred were trapped deep in the earth. Most of the miners who escaped were working at levels above the fire location, among timbers in old workings between the 3,400 and 3,700 foot level of the mine. Judging by his brief, shallow press reports, Chase, the mine's spokesman, showed a cool disregard for the fate of the miners, for their families and friends in the mining district. Rumors as to the cause and source of the fire and the fate of the trapped miners were rampant.

The Sunshine Mine, unlike others in the area, does not backfill mined-out diggings. It is said the ground is so solid that filling isn't necessary, but

it's also a lot cheaper not to backfill.

Some of the old diggings are instead used as dumping grounds for timbers and other waste. Other old diggings are bulk-headed with timbers, which as a result of heat, moisture, and pressure may have ignited. Unfilled diggings collect gases and become a tinderbox just waiting for a spark.

Another possible source might be an electrical fault that may have ignited the creosoted timbers. There is also a rumor that a mechanics' room may have been the source as piles of rags and lubrication products were present. Whatever the exact cause of the fire, it is clear the safety standards at the mine were poor. US mine owners make, at best, only minimal efforts to build escape routes or inform miners about what to do in case of emergency. It is a tribute to miners that they take it on themselves to learn the layout of the mines and train each other in escape procedures, and to help each other when disasters do occur.

The Sunshine miners had been issued little safety equipment such as breathing apparatus and what they had was in poor working order. No emergency stores of food had been stockpiled.

Even after mine rescue crews were summoned from Bunker Hill, Hecla, and other mining companies in the district, they were poorly equipped and inadequately prepared to deal with the problem.

So the search went on throughout the more than 100 miles of tunnels varying from 2,700 feet to more than 5,000 feet below ground. Rescue crews worked around the clock battling intense heat, smoke, and toxic fumes. Ninety-one miners were found dead. Only two were saved by rescue workers.

Circulating through the awaiting on-lookers and rescue crewmen, federal and state officials sought to reassure, rationalize, and make promises about

tougher mine safety laws. Rogers Morton, the Secretary of the Interior, was there, as was the Director of the Bureau of Mines and Idaho Governor Cecil Andrews.

Emergency meetings were set up between governmental mine-safety officials and representatives of the United Steelworkers who represent most of the miners in the district. Perhaps out of this disaster, say local residents close to the mining scene, another mine-safety bill will be passed, "written in blood."

Fire and explosions are not normally a problem in hard rock mining like in coal mining, but they are not unknown. The Sunshine Mine was closed for several months in 1946 due to a fire. Mining accidents in the district have caused numerous deaths over the years due to unsafe working conditions.

Federal officials, who are almost universally looked upon as agents of the employers by the miners (because of their notorious lack of real concern for the miners, and their acceptance of mine owners' bribery), admit the lack of safety at the Sunshine Mine. Sunshine Mine's accident rate in recent years has been higher than the mining industry's average.

Reports filed with the US Bureau of Mines also showed that Sunshine officials failed to meet a two-month deadline to correct some safety hazards found at the mine by federal inspectors last November. This is in spite of a federal program that was supposed to monitor telephoned-in safety complaints, which was reported last December to have not been acted upon.

As bad as the federal and state laws and their administration are, the Steelworkers must share part of the blame. This last year the Steelworkers took over the independent Northwest Metal Workers Union to represent the Bunker Hill production employees. As a result, the district has one union, something miners have fought for since the 1870's, when the miners' union, an affiliate of the IWW, began organizing.

But since the early days in the district when the struggle was bloody and martial law prevailed, the unions became less militant as time wore on. The mining companies learned they could live and profit with unions.

## ACCOMPLICES

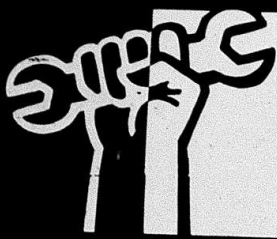
No one should go down in a mine, or work in a plant, that is unsafe. When unions allow this, they are accomplices in industrial slaughter.

The mining and related processing and smelting companies have, and will, cry poverty in their own defense. And one would think, by just looking at a mining town and the productive facilities, that the industry is poverty stricken. Yet boards of directors report profits and investors continue to invest.

As long as silver, lead, and zinc markets exist, as surely there is a need for such metals, the Coeur d'Alene district will be worked. The question becomes how, under what conditions, and by whom?

Mining, like other basic industries, should be nationalized. But nationalization is not enough by itself. The question of control remains. Only when industry is controlled and run by the workers who work in them can a safe and decent way of life become a reality. ■





# labor in brief

Karl Fischer

## Another Foreman Bites The Dust

An angry auto worker shot and killed his foreman at the Ford Motor Co. stamping plant in Rawsonville, Mich., near Detroit, on May 6. William Culpepper, a 49-year-old worker, killed foreman Jack Goebel after Goebel had accused him of drinking on the job, suspended him, and ordered him out of the plant.

Culpepper responded by taking a .25 caliber pistol out of his locker, ordering a fellow worker out of the way, and fatally shooting the foreman. Culpepper then shot and wounded John Rich, a plant security guard.

Culpepper, originally from Alabama, had suffered from a severe heart condition. Co-workers said that he had to take "as many as 100 pills a day" for the ailment.

Two years ago, a Detroit auto worker named James Johnson shot and killed his foreman and two other employees at the Chrysler Eldon Avenue plant, after being discharged.

## Spanish Bullfighters See Red

When Spanish bullfighters wave their red capes in the air these days, they're not waving them at the bull. Over 1,200 bullfighters in Spain voted to go out on strike May 1 to press demands for tax concessions from the government.

The action was termed a "work suspension" by the bullfighters' union, since all strikes are illegal in fascist-ruled Spain. It is the first such action in Spanish bullfighting history.

The union also said that foreign bullfighters touring in Spain will respect the strike.

The walkout may force cancellation of Madrid's San Isidro Festival, regarded as the "world series" of bullfighting, which was scheduled to begin May 11.



ON STRIKE

## Teamsters Strike Soft Drink Companies



Teamster workers in Northern California are continuing their five-month-long strike against Bay Area soft-drink companies. The strike is proceeding despite court action to limit picketing and boycott activities.

The strike has become so bitter that union officials are discussing the possibility of a general strike of Teamsters in the Bay Area to support the workers' demands. Jack Goldberger, a Teamsters official, publicly notified the San Francisco Labor Council this month that such a general strike was being discussed among union officials.

The basic issue in the strike is money. Drivers for the beverage companies make an average of \$180 a week (before taxes), compared to a \$240 per week gross for drivers in freight.

The strike has lasted so long because of the complete intransigence of the companies. They originally sold a grossly deficient settlement offer to the union's International representatives and vice-presidents, but saw this settlement voted down by rank and file workers in every striking local.

Next, the companies went to court and won rulings from sympathetic judges which limited picketing, hampered boycott activities, and slapped fines on several locals for "property damage" caused during picketing. But these attempts at intimidation have largely failed, and the strikers remain very solid as the walkout enters its fifth month.

## Rubber Companies Put The Squeeze On Workers

Rubber companies in Akron, Ohio, have forced the United Rubber Workers union (URW) into agreeing to renegotiate existing labor contracts with the companies, using threats of plant closings and layoffs. The companies expect to win major concessions on wage scales and work rules from the

URW in the renegotiations.

At this time, two of the largest URW locals in Akron -- Goodrich Local 5 and Firestone Local 7 -- have already voted to reopen the contract. More locals are expected to follow.

The existing contracts were negotiated in 1970, after a weeks-long strike against the "Big Three" rubber companies (Firestone, Goodyear, and Goodrich). Rubber workers are paid on a piecework basis -- hourly wages depend on weekly production -- and the companies are expected to press for higher production standards in the scale during the renegotiations.

The rubber companies justify the reopenings on the grounds that only cost reductions will save the jobs of Akron rubber workers. Indeed, over the last two decades thousands of jobs in the rubber industry in Akron have dried up.

But the companies fail to mention that they themselves are responsible for this job squeeze. It is they who have been phasing out operations in Akron, and moving plant facilities to other areas -- in an effort to avoid the strong traditions of militant unionism among Akron workers.

## Executives Wages Go Up, Up, Up

The time of year when American corporations hold their annual stockholder meetings has just ended. Corporate finances, or at least some of the corporate finances, are made public at these meetings, and, on the average, these corporations scored a 13 percent increase in profits over 1970.

*The top executives of these corporations also received, on the average, pay increases equal to the profit increases. Pay increases to workers, meanwhile, have been held down to 5.5 percent by Nixon's Pay Board.*



In many cases, executives received increases well over 13 percent. Henry Ford 2nd, Chairman of Ford Motors, got a 37.8 percent increase in 1971, and the President of Ford Motors, Lee Iacocca, registered a 48.3 percent increase. The President of Avco Corp. received \$120,000 in 1970, but in 1971 his pay was \$214,993 -- almost a 100 percent increase.

The President of Honeywell Inc., a major manufacturer of the weapons used in Vietnam, grossed \$252,890 in 1971, compared with \$180,000 in 1970. In 1970, J.M. Roche, retired Chairman of General Motors, received \$577,750. In 1971, before he retired, his pay was \$822,000.

## Scabs Not Subject To Wage Controls



The United Auto Workers (UAW) has demanded that the Federal Pay Board nullify a pay raise granted by the LTV Electrosystems Corp. to 87 scab workers at LTV's Greenville, Texas plant.

Over 700 UAW workers have been on strike at the Greenville plant since February 4, to back up demands for higher wages in a new contract. The LTV management recruited 87 engineers to take the place of UAW workers in an effort to break the strike.

The company then boosted the pay of these scabs to an average of \$4.24 an hour -- a raise of 17 percent from the average \$3.62 an hour paid to UAW workers before the strike.

The UAW's suit, filed with Internal Revenue Service officials in Detroit, charges that this raise violates the 5.5 percent guideline established by the Pay Board.

*"If the government stalls in acting against LTV," said UAW Region 5 Director Ken Worley, "it is saying in effect that certain wage increases are excessive and inflationary if negotiated across the bargaining table, but are permissible if put into effect by a company to fight a strike."*

## Wall Street Journal Tells It Like It Is

The official line of both the federal government and big business is that workers' wages must be controlled to fight inflation, because "rising wages produce higher prices." But that great bellwether of America's corporate ruling class, the *Wall Street Journal*, is not so sure.

In its issue of May 18, 1972, the *Journal* ran a front-page "business bulletin" stating that price levels of industrial raw materials -- goods like zinc, cotton, wool, ores, etc. -- have risen sharply in the past several months.

The article added that this index has been a reliable indicator of general price levels in the past, and concluded that higher consumer prices were in store for us.

But the truly fascinating admission was the *Journal's* assessment of what caused this price rise. "Pushing up the index," the article states, "which is relatively unaffected by labor costs, is increased demand for many materials..." (emphasis added).

The corporations may sing one tune when they speak to workers. But when they talk to themselves, the story is a bit different. ■



# Vietnam

[Continued from page 1]

of the relation of the various imperialist powers to the war in Indochina.

This war is not in any way a war between the United States and Russia, or the US and China. Nor do any of these imperialist powers intend to get into war with each other in Vietnam.

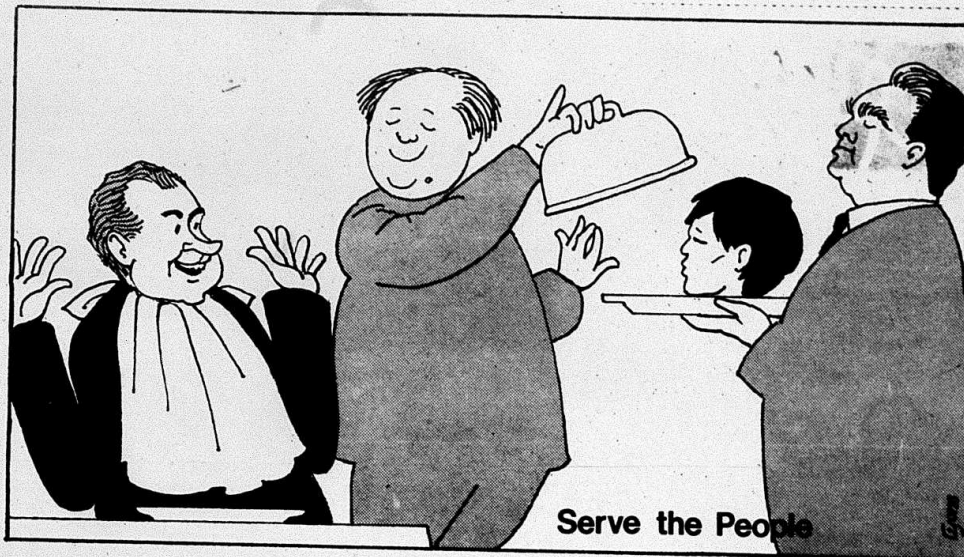
The US is defending neither "democracy" nor "self-determination" in South Vietnam, but rather providing the sole support to a rotten regime which in fact is only a figleaf for US domination. The NLF and North Vietnam -- whose victory over the US in this war socialists must support because they are leading the entire Vietnamese nation against an American invasion -- do represent the same Stalinist social system that exists in Russia and China. But the war is not one between Stalinist and capitalist imperialism but between US imperialism and Vietnam.

## IMPERIALIST APPEAL

In this context, it becomes clear that Nixon's strategy has nothing to do with seeking a direct confrontation with Russia. On the contrary, his speech was an appeal from one imperialist power to another -- backed up, as such appeals always are, with the right combination of muscle and sweet-talk to make the deal worthwhile.

Nixon's speech came against the backdrop of military disaster for the US and Saigon. The North Vietnamese offensive, while it may or may not achieve victory this time around, has shown that the total collapse and defeat of the Saigon regime -- which would have occurred eight years ago without massive US intervention -- is now a strong possibility even with that intervention.

Having found no military or political way out within Vietnam itself, Nixon has turned to Russia with a demand that Moscow pull the American chestnuts out of the fire by forcing North Vietnam to negotiate on US terms. Should Russia fail to do this, Nixon's mining operation will humiliate it before the world and might buy some time for Saigon by providing a



psychological boost.

The war has reached a new (and possibly terminal) stage -- in which desperate all-out air and naval bombardment and blockade, and attempted diplomatic maneuvering with Russia and China over the heads of the Vietnamese, have equal weight in the US strategy.

So, the deadline came and went. The mines dropped in Haiphong and other harbors were activated as scheduled. The Thanhhoa bridge along the rail line linking Vietnam to China was hit by saturation bombing. Laird, Kissinger, and other Pentagon officials held press briefings to amplify the new "tough" policy -- all ships trying to run the blockade to be sunk, all supplies to be cut off without exception. But nothing resembling a big-power showdown took place.

Russia, after three days of silence, issued a mild-mannered protest statement which described the US action as "adventurist" and "fraught with serious consequences for international peace and security" and called upon the US to return to negotiations. The statement also promised to "continue to render the necessary support" to the Vietnamese -- without any indication of how this might be carried out. The Chinese government, with equal boldness, "reserved the right to demand compensation" for damage to its ships.

In the meantime, Russian Foreign

Trade Minister Patolichev and Ambassador Dobrynin conferred with Nixon on trade matters and issued a public guarantee that the Moscow summit would proceed as scheduled. A routine meeting of the SALT talks was also held in an atmosphere of cordial

Inter-imperialist business as usual went on uninterrupted. In the eyes of the governments of Western Europe and the liberals in the US, Nixon was off the hook as far as the fear of confrontation was concerned.

Recent information suggests that the entire script, including possibly the mining of the harbors, was cleared in advance with the Soviet government.

It is crucial for socialists to understand clearly the sellout of Hanoi by the Russian and Chinese Stalinist regimes. Rather than jeopardize their growing ties to Western Europe and the US respectively, or risk any threat to the stability of their own "spheres of influence," these "anti-imperialists" preferred simply to play along with the US, making verbal protests while leaving their Vietnamese allies to their own devices.

In one extremely revealing remark, Treasury Secretary Connally stated that the US had every reason to expect Russia to adopt a restrained policy, just as the US kept hands off in 1956 as Russia crushed the Hungarian revolution! The parallel could not be clearer.

Although the thrust of Nixon's po-

litical pressure is aimed at Russia, it is equally clear that his policy would be impossible had he not been greeted with open arms at Peking in February. Having sipped tea with Nixon and sent China's table tennis team to tour Detroit auto factories and other tourist attractions, Mao is in no position to denounce Moscow's capitulation to Nixon's escalation.

While denouncing the Stalinists' collusion with Nixon, however, socialists should not raise any illusions about, or place any confidence in, the motives for any future Russian and Chinese aid to Vietnam. The Vietnamese are entitled to demand arms and supplies from any source they can. But the politics of Sino-Soviet aid to Vietnam have nothing to do with supporting Vietnamese self-determination, but are aimed at pulling Vietnam into the orbit of one or the other of the Stalinist Great Powers.

This was again demonstrated by the very fact that Sino-Soviet support to Vietnam has essentially stopped short in the face of the blockade, precisely at the point when the advantages of aiding Vietnam conflicted with the need to maintain the interests of Russian and Chinese foreign policy and the stability of the power blocs which they dominate.

It was this expectation that undoubtedly gave Nixon the confidence he needed to carry out his latest move. Events will show how much more time he has purchased for Saigon. ■

# Union Anti-War Conference Called For June 23-24

A group of 22 union officials, from 13 different trade unions, are organizing a group called Labor for Peace, an organization whose goal will be to "bring the Vietnam war to an immediate end."

The group has called a national conference of union officers and delegates from unions around the country, to found the organization. The conference will be held June 23-24 at the headquarters of the Teamsters union in St. Louis.

Among union officials attending a planning meeting in early May were: Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the UAW; Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Teamsters; and Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the

Amalgamated Clothing Workers union. Joining in the conference call, although not present at the meeting, were Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, president and vice-president of the United Farm Workers; and Myra Wolfgang, vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

In announcing their plans, the group issued a statement calling the Vietnam war "the root of all our current economic problems," and called for its immediate end.

But despite these noble sentiments, the organizers of the conference have stated that it will be open only to trade union officials. Rank-and-file workers, as well as the rest of the pub-

lic, will not be allowed to attend.

Like previous anti-war labor groups, this new formation will be nothing but a bureaucratic letterhead organization unless its organizers seek to mobilize direct action by the working class against the war.

Given the previous role of anti-war labor officials as political lobbyists for the Democratic Party, it is unlikely that any call to work stoppages or other working class anti-war direct action will come from the June 23-24 meeting.

Anti-war activists and workers must demand that these officials endorse anti-war action in their own unions, and guarantee the protection of the militants who organize such actions. ■



# Telephone Workers Denounce Bell



THE OPERATOR  
YOU ARE  
REACHING  
HAS BEEN  
RIPPED OFF

Nearly a year ago the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, a federal agency, made headlines by announcing it had discovered the obvious: "The Bell's System is the Nation's Largest Oppressor of Blacks and Women!" Last Friday in New York City, at the conclusion of a week of hearings, it was equally obvious that the government has no intention of doing much to end racist and sexist practices by the world's richest monopoly.

Consciousness of discrimination in New York Tel is very high. Only two years ago, 8,300 operators in Manhattan and Brooklyn, almost all Third World women, wildcatted for two weeks against low wages and unceasing harassment.

One major issue was the notorious Absence Control Plan which allows management to discipline employees for any absence, even those which are the result of a proven illness. Elimination of the Absence Control Plan, which is applied especially severely to blacks and young workers, was one of the major rank and file goals of the recently defeated plant strike.

There is also much resentment against the extremely restrictive and totally management-controlled procedure for getting an upgrade out of the most disagreeable jobs (i.e., operator, frame), where women and blacks predominate.

31 past and present employees testified against the corporate giant. Blacks and whites, operators and craftsmen alike, they recounted how they or some fellow worker had personally suffered abuse by management, or had been passed over for an upgrade.

Several operators pointed out that

they made so little that they were eligible for welfare assistance. Many of the witnesses were union militants who had been fired for organizing struggles against these injustices.

AT&T claims that it no longer classifies jobs by race or sex. It produced evidence of a few women installers and male operators hired recently as a sign that it plans to move toward a sexually integrated workforce. It presented figures showing that its operating companies in the Northeast, like New York Tel, have begun to hire black men for top craft jobs like repair and switching.

However, testimony taken at the hearings demonstrated that these token concessions were won one by one, against resistance. Nonetheless, the hearings tended to obscure what must

be done to end even the most blatant forms of discrimination.

The Federal Communications Commission, the EEOC, and Bell System lawyers were all quite anxious to separate the issue of discrimination from the broader question of the Bell System's power to organize and discipline its workforce in any way it sees fit. But many of the grossest forms of harassment are possible only because Bell System workers have won few rights on the job.

The FCC even refused to prohibit New York and New Jersey Bell from firing any of the hostile witnesses still in their employ, despite evidence presented at the hearing that both companies have a history of retaliation against militants.

## CWA ABSENT

Sadly, one force which through action could have pointed the way to a real change was absent from the hearings. The Communication Workers of America (CWA), the largest union in the telephone industry, has a history of accepting the Bell System's policy of wage and other forms of discrimination against blacks and women.

The universal abdication of both local and national CWA leadership on this issue virtually guarantees that the company will not be forced to abandon any policies it desires to maintain. Moreover, the company is likely to use any program "for affirmative action against race and sex discrimination" agreed to by the government -- in the absence of vigorous intervention by the union -- to further intensify chauvinism on the part of the predominantly white male craftsmen.

Although several New York Telephone rank and file groups attempted to intervene in the hearings, the widespread demoralization gripping both plant and traffic -- in the aftermath of the recently crushed seven month strike by 38,000 craftsmen -- permitted little success. However, there is growing union recognition of the disastrous consequences of allowing International CWA President Joe Biernie to stall union action against racism and sexism in the Bell System.

We believe that this can and will be an issue at the CWA International Convention scheduled for June if the delegations from the locals in big cities like Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco can be forced to represent rising rank and file opposition to the dismal 25 year reign of the Biernie machine.



Gay Semel (left), Kathi Dennis (center) and Gabrielle Gemma testify at hearings



# Farm Workers Wine Boycott Ruled Illegal

The United Farm Workers Union (U.F.W.) gave in last month to intense pressure from the federal government, and agreed to drop its boycott of nine non-union wine companies in California's Napa Valley.

The boycott tactic has been an important weapon in the UFW's seven-year fight to win union recognition for farm laborers. In both their initial campaign against wine growers in 1965-66, and their struggle against table-grape growers in 1967-70, nationwide boycotts of scab products played a major role in achieving victory for the UFW.

Secondary boycotts have been illegal in the US since the passage of the anti-labor Taft Hartley Act in 1948. However, the National Labor Relations Board has not applied this legal stricture to the UFW because agricultural laborers are exempt from coverage under this law.

But the NLRB reversed themselves in March of this year. Acting on a complaint from nine California wineries, whom the UFW has been boycotting to back up demands for union recognition, the Board filed suit charging the UFW with conducting an "illegal boycott." The suit argued that since the UFW represents some employees classified as "non-agricultural" -- some packing-shed and winery workers -- the NLRB has jurisdiction over the union.

## POLITICAL SHIFT

The immediate cause of this new ruling was a power shift on the Board. Last summer, President Nixon appointed fellow conservative Peter Nash as general counsel of the NLRB. This appointment gave Republicans a 3-2 majority.

Initially, the UFW leadership attacked this new ruling, calling it an "effort to destroy the farm workers' movement." But in April, with a court hearing pending on the issue, the UFW signed an agreement with the NLRB and called off its Napa Valley boycott.

Since then, the UFW leadership has moved to convert its boycott staff a-





# Workers' Boycott Illegal

cross the country into a political machine to elect a Democratic president this fall. Cesar Chavez has endorsed George McGovern for president, and all UFW resources throughout the country have been channelled into this effort to either defeat the GOP, or at least pressure them into lifting the NLRB ban.

The problems with this strategy are twofold. First, placing the blame for the anti-boycott action exclusively on the Republicans fails to take into account the tremendous political pressure being mounted, and the capitalist character of the Democratic Party.

Agricultural business interests throughout California and the West have been organizing to outlaw UFW boycotts. These "agribusiness" interests are tied into the Democratic Party as well as the GOP, and it is naive at best to expect politicians who represent these interests to side with farmworkers.

Beyond this lies the question of the boycott as an effective strategy. The UFW has tended to rely on this weapon almost exclusively in its most recent campaigns.

Unquestionably, a boycott can have great effect on a reluctant company, if serious organizing has been done among workers in the fields beforehand. But when the union virtually ignores the possibility of organizing strike action in the fields, and relies exclusively on boycotts -- as was the case in both the Napa Valley campaign and the lettuce-growers boycott of last year -- the boycott becomes a substitute for building a strong union at the grass-roots level.

What the UFW must do, if it is to avoid travelling that well-worn road of once-militant unions turned into bureaucratic machines, is to reach back toward its roots -- the rank and file farm workers in the fields -- and build a union movement which can once again challenge the growers, with or without a boycott. ■

[Adapted from reports by Thais Grak and Marie Pelka.]

George Wallace's victories in the Maryland and Michigan primaries show that the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy have no way to fight the threat that Wallace represents. This was especially clear in heavily Democratic and unionized Michigan.

Wallace won even in Detroit, where the large black vote went mainly to his opponents. In the white Detroit suburbs (Macomb and Oakland counties), he took over 60% of the votes. Wallace ran well in both blue-collar and white-collar areas, picking up about two thirds of the blue-collar vote.

He owed his victory very largely to the school-bussing issue, which accounted for about 35% of his votes, according to post-election polls. In Macomb and Oakland counties, a variety of local anti-bussing opinion referenda won by margins averaging 15 to 1.

Despite Wallace's "Populist" rhetoric stressing the representation of the "little man," his was a conservative vote. Aside from bussing, the issues of crime and "the way things are going now" accounted for much of his vote.

Bureaucracy, taxes, and other "populist" issues he has included in his speeches were not important in the voting. Almost a third of his votes, according to analysts, came from Republicans or those who usually vote Republican -- that is, from conservatives.

George McGovern, who took second place, owed his votes largely to the issue of withdrawal from Vietnam. Humphrey, who tried to stress "bread and butter" issues, had little support except among blacks (black radio stations treated their listeners to advertisements stressing Humphrey's fight for civil rights -- in 1948).

Despite the voters' response to the post-election polls, however, the economy was the major hidden issue in the primary. The rising cost of living, the layoffs threatening many workers, the increasing cost and decreasing quality of such services as schools, hospitals, etc., have produced a sense of unease in most voters and panic in some.

Yet union leaders make no fight against the employers' attacks, while the Democratic candidates shy away from the real economic issues to concentrate on such attractive but empty questions as tax reform. In the circumstances, many voters see no way out.

Many white voters strike at the false, but frightening "threat" of the blacks, symbolized in the bussing issue. Others simply vote for the candidate

# Democrats, Union Bureaucrats Open The Door To Wallacism

who is vocally "against." Both reactions lead to a Wallace vote.

The Democrats and the labor leaders tried to fight Wallace with an "anti-Wallace" campaign stressing Wallace's ties to the far right. This remained unimpressive to the white voter stirred up about bussing. The Democratic candidates equivocated on this issue, while the union leaders ignored it.

To have blunted Wallace's appeal on the false issues (mainly race), the labor leaders would have had to focus on the real ones -- the deteriorating economy, the government controls, and the need to smash them. *Being committed to electing the Democrats, they could not do this, for the Democrats engineered and are committed to the wage controls* -- which remain the great omitted issue of the campaign.

## FOR A LABOR PARTY

Finally, to have blunted Wallace's rhetoric about the "little man," the unions would have had to take a step the refuse to take. They would have had to repudiate the Democratic Party -- with which the voters are fed up -- and call for a labor party. Only this could have blunted Wallace's claims to "represent" the "forgotten voter."

Instead, the Democrats and union leaders are now maneuvering to defeat Wallace -- in a way that will give him his biggest victory.

Not daring to try to cheat Wallace of the delegates he has won, the Democrats are maneuvering to make sure that the delegate seats won by Wallace are filled by reliable party hacks. After one or two convention ballots on which they are pledged to vote for Wallace, the delegates will be "free."

Already, Humphrey and "honest" George McGovern are dickering over how to split them. One Michigan Democrat said frankly, "We're probably going to get together in a smoke-filled room and divide them up."

This will be a perfect kick-off for a Wallace third-party campaign, assuming Wallace is well enough to campaign. Wallace will be able to charge "bossism," to charge that the Democrats do not represent "the people." The greater the backroom dealing, the more the new "reforms" in the Democratic Party will be revealed as a fraud.

Wallace will be the winner, whoever win the election. And his brand of politics will gain steam in the next four years as the economy continues to rot and the Republicans and Democrats continue to put forward anti-working class solutions.

Only the formation of a labor party, with a program to solve the current crisis in the interest of working and oppressed people, could defeat the threat of Wallace. ■



George McGovern



Hubert Humphrey



George Wallace



# Veterans Demolish Phony Job Fair

Kevin Richards

Angry veterans disrupted and demolished the May 9-10 Job Fair in Chicago Tuesday, when they learned that employers were only taking applications.

The American Serviceman's Union, which had prepared for the Fair with a campaign for full employment for veterans, were the most vocal veterans in the largely spontaneous action. A crowd gathered around a couple of ASU speakers and without any plan or organization began overturning employers' booths, causing the employers to flee in the process.

For weeks the bourgeois press had heralded the Job Fair. For months the subways and unemployment offi-

ces had carried signs proclaiming it. It was to be Chicago's third and largest such fair, with eight hundred companies offering 5,000 jobs. Ten thousand veterans were expected.

This meant, of course, that at least 5,000 veterans would receive no jobs at the Fair. But why did the disruption occur when the Fair was only an hour and a half old and there were still plenty of jobs? The answer lies in what the employer representatives were telling the veterans.

One man, with six and one-half years truck driving experience before he went in the service, was told "we'll call you in a week." Another vet was told he needed a college degree and

countless were told "we'll let you know." Due to the big build-up, thousands of veterans desperate for work had come expecting to go home with a job. When it became clear that this wouldn't happen, the protest erupted.

The Fair managed to limp along for a time after the initial disruption until one of the slick young organizers of the Fair started speaking to a group of angry young veterans in an attempt to get them to "give the Fair a chance." This drew a large crowd which then moved angrily through much of the rest of the Fair; by one o'clock, three hours after it started, the Fair was over.

Many veterans simply left and went home, but a large group marched down Halsted St. in an attempt to reach Mayor Daley's house. They were turned back by the police and returned to the Fair site where crowds lingered for an hour or two.

Aided by stricter security measures, the Fair organizers tried again the second day. However, seventy-five percent of the employers failed to come back and those that did weren't handing out jobs. Two thousand vets came the second day but only 88 received jobs, while another 1,000 were referred elsewhere for physicals or more interviews.

The Fair officials tried to blame the events on the ASU rather than the Fair's raising of false hopes among bitter, unemployed veterans who find themselves no longer "of use" to "their country." But what the Fair did was bring together thousands of

veterans and focus their anger on a specific target by making the promise that broke the camel's back.

What the officials hoped would be a feather in the establishment's hat was turned into one more exposure of their bankruptcy.

International Socialists were present both days of the Fair distributing a leaflet calling for a shorter work week with no cut in pay in order to create more jobs. Unemployment, according to the leaflet, is part of the general attack on working people and is designed to help profits which are up twelve percent this year.

What is needed is a united movement of all workers, whether employed or unemployed, struggling for a decent job and living wage for all, an end to anti-strike actions by the government, wage controls, and all other attacks on workers. Inflation should be controlled by ending the war in Vietnam and controlling prices rather than making workers pay for the crisis.

The rank and file of the trade unions, which are also threatened by the rising unemployment, must fight to make the unions take up this struggle. Only a real movement for full employment for veterans and non-veterans alike can solve the problem.

When there aren't enough jobs, no amount of Job Fairs will create them. The exposure of the Chicago Fair must be the spark to an organized movement that can fight for more and better jobs for all workers. Make business, not workers, pay for the economic crisis. ■



Stretching from curb to curb, veterans march back to Amphitheatre after being turned away from Mayor Daley's neighborhood

## STOP THE WAR! JOBS FOR ALL!

## Students And Veterans March In Chicago

Jon Christopher

On Tuesday, May 9, some 400 University of Chicago students led a march through the neighboring black community to the Veterans' Job Fair. They demonstrated together with black GI's against the war in Vietnam and unemployment, demanding "Stop the War - Jobs for All!"

Members of the International Socialists argued for this strategy for the march and it was the most effective anti-war demonstration by U of C students in recent years. For the first time students went beyond the campus and attempted to make links with the communities surrounding the university.

Students marched to Kenwood High School where over 50 black students left their classes and joined the march. As the march continued along the middle of 47th Street, a major

street in the black ghetto, people left their shops and joined the march, many honked their horns in solidarity and clenched fists were often visible.

In the white working class neighborhood near the Job Fair (Mayor Daley's home community) the response to the march was also favorable, with many people joining in for a few blocks and chanting anti-war slogans.

At the Job Fair - where black veterans had rioted a few hours earlier in frustration and anger over the fact that there were no jobs to be given out - the blacks joined the march and led it over 10 miles downtown to the Civic Center, where another rally was held. The black veterans gave the march a sense of the immediacy and harsh reality of the social crisis we are facing in this country.

The veterans truly understood the relationship between the war and the

economic system in this country, having to fight in a racist war in Vietnam for a country that cannot provide jobs and food at home. Students at the University of Chicago began to understand for the first time that the barbarism of the war in Vietnam is expressed at home as well and that it is veterans, both black and white, the unemployed, and the working class that are hit the hardest by the economic situation in this country.

The positive response that the march received from many Chicagoans showed the depth of the anti-war feeling in this country. It gave encouragement to the efforts of those students who have sought to broaden the demands of the anti-war movement and attempt to link the war to the domestic crisis which confronts the majority of the people in the United States. ■



# New York: The Right to To Abortion Threatened

Karen Kaye



Amidst emotion-filled debate, marches and demonstrations, and the unprecedented intervention of President Nixon, New York State's 2-year old abortion law, the most liberal in the nation, has been repealed, and the repeal has been vetoed. At best, women in New York State have won the retention of what is an inadequate law, and the threat of modification of that law, or of another repeal struggle in the next session of the legislature, is very real.

The law in New York allows a woman, on the consent of her doctor, to obtain an abortion in a hospital or clinic up to the 24th week of pregnancy. It was passed two years ago following fierce debate between liberal lawmakers and conservative and Catholic forces.

At that time, the new and militant women's liberation movement was demanding Free Abortion on Demand as part of a broader program for women's liberation. The pressure of this movement was certainly a factor in the passage of the law.

But the disintegration of the radical women's liberation movement as an organized force in the last year opened the door for the Catholic Church to greatly intensify its campaign to have the law removed from the books, and to put women in New York once again under the nineteenth century statute that permits abortion only to save the life of the mother.

In recent months the Catholic Church and "right to life" groups have been putting pressure for repeal on

legislators and have organized anti-abortion demonstration in New York City and in Albany. At the last minute, as their bill passed from committee to the floor of the legislature, they won the open support of President Nixon to their cause.

In a move that shocked many government observers, the President entered into the internal affairs of a state legislature by sending a strongly-worded letter of support to Cardinal Cooke of the Archdiocese of New York, in which he called the Cardinal's efforts to outlaw abortion "a noble endeavor."

Nixon also stated that, "One of the foundation stones of our society and civilization is the profound belief that human life, all human life, is a precious commodity . . ." But he did not attempt to reconcile this profound belief with his escalation of the Vietnam War.

## RIGHT TO LIFE

This contradiction in Nixon's statements is only one of many to be found in the continuing controversy over New York's abortion law. Those who oppose abortion have made numerous emotional speeches about the "right to life" -- of the fetus, but do not mention the thousands of women who are forced to kill and maim themselves in illegal abortion attempts when legal abortion is not available.

Since the liberal law was passed in New York State, an estimated 350,000 legal abortions have been performed there. A study made after 15 months of legal abortion in New York City

showed that the maternal death rate had dropped by one half in that period, to its lowest level in the city's history -- 2 deaths per 10,000 live births. In addition, deaths associated with legal abortions dropped from 24 in 1969, before liberalization, to 15 in 1970, the first year of the new law, and to 5 in the first eight months of 1971.

The out-and-out foes of abortion are not the only ones who represent a threat to the rights of women in New York. A prime example of a hidden threat is Governor Nelson Rockefeller who vetoed the repeal bill. His own proposal concerning abortion is to reduce the period in which abortions may be legally performed from the present 24 weeks to 18, and he intends to introduce a bill to that effect in the next legislative session.

To some, this may be an acceptable compromise -- in a choice between something and nothing, something is certainly preferable. But why have women been reduced to this miserable choice, when just two years ago women saw New York's liberal abortion law as only a first step that would lead to *free abortion on demand* (in all the states), *free 24 hour childcare, equal pay and equal work* -- in short, full equality for women and a better standard of living and more freedom for all?

*The answer lies in the disintegration of the radical women's movement. Unable to develop a strategy for involving the majority of women, the movement turned inward and split itself into fragments.*

One of these fragments, that represented by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), decided to try to focus women's liberation sentiment into a campaign around the issue of abortion. They formed an organization called the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), which holds demonstrations and initiates legal suits around its major demand of *Repeal All Abortion Laws*.

This represented a setback for the women's movement in at least two respects. Previously, whatever else it lacked, the movement had been aware that women would never gain liberation around any one issue. Secondly, until that time, the radical movement's demand around abortion had been *Free Abortion On Demand*, which showed a more complete understanding of the fundamental changes needed in society for women to achieve liberation than does the "repeal" slogan.

## WORKING WOMEN

WONAAC has made no attempt to attract the working women who, in growing numbers, are beginning to support many of the demands of the women's liberation movement. Instead, it has sought the endorsement of Democratic Party politicians, who lend "prestige" to the organization by signing their names to ads in the *New York Times* and speaking at rallies.

WONAAC's failure to grow and attract a militant base (which is all the "prestige" a real movement needs) shows that most women's liberation activists saw that it no better met the movement's need for direction than had the former rap groups and zap groups.

As women go to the defense of the New York law, it would be well to bear these lessons in mind. Now, more than ever, is the need apparent for a women's movement that involves and speaks to the needs of working women.

As unemployment, the cutbacks in social services, and wage controls threaten the standard of living of working class families, the position of women will likewise deteriorate unless we fight back in an organized fashion. The Equal Rights Amendment has been passed; but protective legislation is being annulled, and most women workers are not in unions.

*We may win legal abortion; but if we can't afford them, or, if we can't afford a decent standard of living for the children we want to raise, we still don't have the right to choose. Now, more than ever, women must organize for free abortion on demand, for equal pay and equal work, for free, quality childcare -- and now is none too soon to begin.*

300 workers, most of them women, staged a sit-down strike May 10 at the Chrysler plant in Lyons, Michigan, in protest against the firing of a woman who had used the restroom at an unauthorized time.

The agreement between Chrysler and Local 1424 gives workers two 12-minute breaks per shift. But Laney Mustaine, a machine operator, said, "We didn't fight for those breaks in the contract in order to spend them all in the can."

A United Auto Workers (UAW) spokesman quoted in the *Detroit*

*Free Press* "said there has been an 'understanding' about emergency relief time for women in their menstrual cycles, and that this privilege was being denied." According to workers, the company has been tightening up on such permission, and that women had to wait as long as 30 minutes. So some women began to leave without it.

When one woman was fired for this, the workers responded with the sit-down. At 8:30 they sat down at their posts and remained there until the end of the shift, taking breaks at

the regularly scheduled times.

Both the United Auto Workers and Chrysler called the strike "unauthorized and unsanctioned," although the local president said that disciplinary action from the company was not expected. Newspaper reports said that a strike vote was scheduled for the following Friday.

The sit-down strike was used effectively in the 1930's, when auto workers were fighting for the right to have their union recognized by the companies, but has been rare since then.

## Women Auto Workers Stage Sit-Down





# international report

David Finkel

## British Unions Retreat

The British trade unions "are in full retreat before the onslaught of the Tory government and the employers," reports the May 6 issue of *Socialist Worker*, the weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists. The Transport Workers Union, caving in to court and state pressure, paid a \$130,000 fine imposed for the boycott of container trucks by Liverpool dockers.

Unless checked, the retreat by the union leadership will become a rout and lead to recognition by the unions of the Industrial Relations Act, and registration under its terms. In another recent development, rail unions, under threat of contempt-of-court proceedings, ended a work-to-rule slowdown when a "cooling-off" period was ordered under the terms of the Act. The combination of these events makes a major victory for the Tories in the campaign to strangle union action through enforcement of this legislation.



Tory Prime Minister Heath

## Chilean Miners Strike

A general strike of miners began at the largest government-run copper mine in Chile on May 4. Over 8,000 miners walked out at the huge Chuquicamata copper mine, after a workers' assembly had voted to strike for 48 hours to back up demands for a greater voice in the running of the mine.

The assembly also authorized a longer strike, if necessary, to win the demands.

The Chuquicamata mine was nationalized by the Allende government last July. It had previously been operated by the US Anaconda Corp.

The nationalization of the mine was part of a broad program of government takeover of privately-owned businesses in Chile by Allende. Allende, who was elected to the Chilean Presi-



dency by a broad "Popular Front" coalition in 1970, had promised workers a large role in the running of all nationalized businesses.

But the five worker representatives on the governing board of the Chuquicamata enterprise have charged that they have been consistently outvoted on policy matters by government-appointed board members, who outnumber them by one on the board.

The current general strike is the first at Chuquicamata since 1966, when Anaconda still ran the mine. It is being carried out in violation of an internal security law which prohibits strikes in government-run enterprises.

The strike was denounced by Jorge Arrate, President of the Chilean State Copper Corp. Arrate announced that he and the Minister of Labor, Jose Oyarce Jara (a member of the Chilean Communist Party), would go to Chuquicamata to negotiate with worker representatives.

This outbreak indicates the extent to which the Allende government has violated its pledges to the Chilean working class. Elected on a platform of "peaceful socialist transformation," with the massive support of the Chilean labor movement, Allende has nationalized American economic holdings only to pursue a policy of tight bureaucratic control designed to increase production — at the expense of the Chilean workers.

## Struggle in Spain

Spanish workers' struggles continue, following the shooting of two workers by the police in Ferrol (in northwestern Spain). Late in April, construction workers staged continuing "lightning strikes" on building sites in and around Madrid.

The forces behind the strikes are unclear. According to some reports the official Sindicatos — the version of unions permitted by Franco's regime — favored the strikes in order to recover the influence lost by the leadership after the Ferrol struggles. At

that time workers said that the Sindicatos did not represent or defend them.

Many strikes and other actions in Spain are organized by illegal workers' economic and political associations. Recent reports from Spain have indicated that these underground forces are gaining strength, at the same time that right-wing extremists are denouncing the limited liberalization in Spain.

The prospect of a new revolutionary crisis, in which the Spanish workers will face the task of throwing off the thirty-year stranglehold of fascism, may be starting to emerge.

## Peoples' Capitalism Tabled

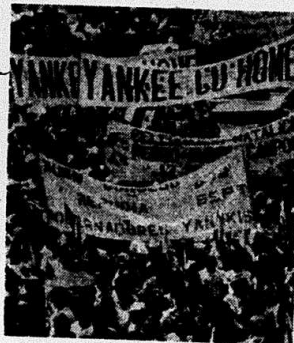
The *Wall Street Journal* reported on April 28, that the opposition Popular Democratic Party (Populares) of Puerto Rico, which controls the senate, voted a one year postponement of Governor Luis A. Ferre's "People's Capitalism" proposal (see *Workers' Power* No. 57). Governor Ferre has thus been deprived of an important propaganda tool for winning working class votes in the November election.

Populares leaders cited an analysis of the proposal by MIT Professor Paul Samuelson, a Nobel Prize winner. Samuelson said that the Ferre plan is filled with tax loopholes which will no doubt be exploited by the wealthy. He considered the plan a "squander" of public funds.

To this criticism, millionaire strike-breaker Governor Ferre replied that Professor Samuelson's views represent "the traditional orthodox interpretation of the reactionary schools that still see human beings as articles of commerce subject to the insensitive laws of supply and demand."

True enough, but so does he!

[Thanks to Lori Larkin for this item.]



## Romanian CP Purge

The impact of national tensions and struggles on the Stalinist bureaucracies is underlined by recent reports of a major purge in the party and government leadership in Romania.

Apparently, the purge resulted from renewed tensions in Transylvania, the region inhabited by a large Hungarian minority, involving both Romanian and Hungarian party officials. The purge involved the demotion of several party secretaries of predominantly Hungarian regions for unspecified

"deviations," "abuse of power," and "personal reasons".

The secrecy with which party and government affairs are conducted in Stalinist countries makes it difficult to determine the specific political basis, if any, for the reshuffling. In a speech to the Central Committee, however, President Ceausescu hinted that further changes may occur at the national Communist Party conference in July.



Romanian President Ceausescu

## Egypt Jail Workers

As of late April, sixty-six textile workers in Cairo, Egypt, remained in prison following brutal repression of strikers at the end of March. The strike began when workers demanded a seven-hour day and parity with wage gains won by public workers.

When employers answered with a lock-out, workers demonstrated at factory gates and were attacked by 9,000 club-swinging security cops. In addition to the arrested, some 200 workers were hospitalized.

Meanwhile, responding to growing popular discontent, the Egyptian regime has made a public gesture against the privileged classes. 400 luxury shops in Cairo and Alexandria are closed, and some items have been banned from import — including radios, televisions, and cigarettes. The probable result will be a big boost to business on the black market.

## Zaire-Portugal Deal

New ties between Portugal and the African state of Zaire have apparently led to a crackdown by Zaire authorities against the liberation movement fighting to free neighboring Angola from Portugal. Reports from Khinshasha, capital of Zaire, said the entire headquarters staff of the ELNA (National Army for the Liberation of Angola) had been placed under arrest in Khinshasha.

The *Financial Times* of London reports that "diplomats in Lisbon (Portugal) are studying the reports with particular interest in view of the recent improvement in relations between Portugal and Zaire."



# JAMES CONNOLLY AND THE IRISH REVOLUTION

Sandy Brown

When James Connolly was executed by the British Army for leading the Easter uprising in 1916, few in Ireland supported him. As he had predicted, he was denounced as a madman and "one of the greatest scoundrels the country ever produced."

Now almost exactly 55 years after his death (he was executed on May 12, 1916), Connolly is treated as a national hero in Ireland. The Lynch government in the South hails him as a heroic nationalist and Irish martyr but conveniently forgets that he was a revolutionary socialist.

The Irish union bureaucrats cite James Connolly as one of the founders of the Irish trade union movement at the same time as they order union members to scab. There is nothing very surprising about this. The Irish ruling class is anxious to appear as the heirs of the Easter 1916 rising, but they certainly don't want anyone taking socialist ideas seriously.

Unfortunately, Irish revolutionaries also praise Connolly while they ignore his ideas. Despite their courageous defense of the Catholic communities in the North against British troops, and their valuable work in the civil resistance movement, neither wing of the IRA has built the socialist movement Connolly stood for.

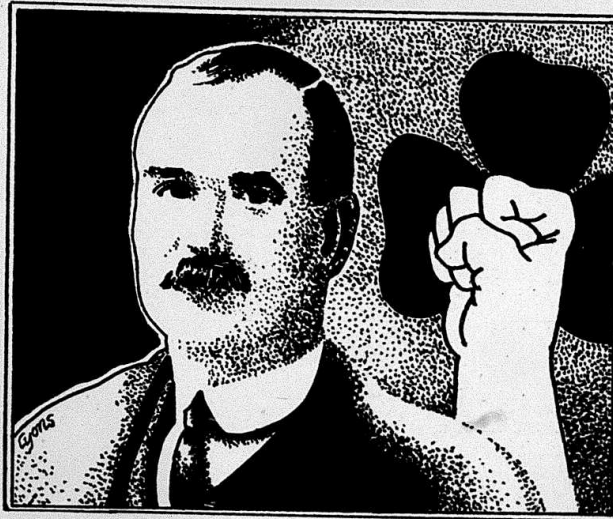
All this makes it important to look at what Connolly actually called for. It is essential to understand Connolly, not only because so many in Ireland claim him, but because his politics are an important guide for the struggle today.

## ENGLAND STILL RULES

The core of Connolly's politics was his understanding that only a socialist Ireland could be truly independent. He said: "If you remove the English Army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin castle, unless you set about the organization of the socialist republic your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country." This is precisely what happened when the South gained political independence in 1922.

Today the bulk of Irish industry is controlled by foreign (mainly British) investors; the Irish capitalists are completely tied to these foreign investors and Jack Lynch's Southern Government is totally subservient to their interests. Meanwhile, 8 percent of the workforce is unemployed and 10,000 people are homeless in Dublin alone. This is, of course, exactly what Connolly predicted.

The same thing will happen in the North today if they simply "remove the English Army." Both wings of the IRA have carried on a heroic defense of the Catholic community against the British Army. All social-



ists must support them unconditionally in their fight against the British troops. But neither wing of the IRA has even begun to build a conscious working class movement that could go on to take power. And without that, as Connolly said, "England would still rule you."

Connolly argued that the struggle for national independence in Ireland was inseparable from the fight for socialism. This was, perhaps, his most important contribution to Irish politics:

*"The struggle for Irish freedom has two aspects: it is national and it is social. Its national ideal can never be realized until Ireland stands forth before the world a nation free and independent. It is social and economic, because no matter what form of government may be, as long as one class owns the private property, the land, and the instruments of labor from which all mankind derives their subsistence, that class will always have the power to plunder and enslave the remainder of their fellow creatures... The party which would lead the Irish people from bondage to freedom must then recognize both aspects of the long struggle of the Irish nation."*

The Official IRA has taken a very different position. They argue that the fight in Ireland today is for democracy and independence and only after that is won can the fight for socialism begin. This has meant that instead of trying to build a working class movement they have worked to build various all-class movements fighting for democratic reforms.

The Provisionals, when not concentrating exclusively on military operations, have done much the same thing though they have no such worked out theory.

Connolly argued, on the other hand, that a workers movement had to be built to free Ireland. Neither

the Irish bourgeoisie nor the Irish middle class could be counted on to lead the fight.

The bourgeoisie, he said, "have a thousand economic strings in the shape of investments binding them to English capitalism." Nor did he believe the middle class could lead the movement: "Having learned from history that all bourgeois movements end in compromise, and that the bourgeois revolutionaries of today become the conservatives of tomorrow the Irish socialists refuse to lose their identity with those who only half-understand the problem of liberty."

Connolly made clear that "only the Irish working class remains as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland."

For Connolly a working class movement was not simply something to write about. He spent his entire political life building that movement.

Connolly was the Belfast Organizer of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, although his efforts were hampered and finally destroyed by the sectarian hatred between Protestant and Catholic Belfast workers stirred up by the employers. He led the successful fight in the Irish Trade Union Congress to form the Irish Labor Party. Along with James Larkin he led the Irish working class in their resistance to the Dublin lockout of 1913, when the City of Dublin was virtually paralyzed and there were sympathy strikes throughout Ireland including in Belfast.

Connolly was willing to work with middle class groups as long as the working class movement retained its independence. The Easter 1916 rebellion was made by an alliance between the Irish Citizen Army, a trade union militia formed by Connolly to protect the workers during the Dublin lockout, and the Irish Volunteers, a group

of militant middle class nationalists.

But Connolly told the Citizen Army just before the rising: "The odds are a thousand to one against us... In the event of victory, hold on to your rifles, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic as well as political liberty."

He was, of course, only repeating in practice what he had always said in theory -- that only the working class could be counted on to fight for true independence -- and that only socialism could bring that independence.

## IRA FAILURE

Unfortunately, neither wing of the IRA has followed Connolly's example. In the South, both have been campaigning against Ireland's entry into the Common Market. But instead of fighting the Common Market on a socialist basis and trying to make their campaign part of building a working class movement, they have tried to unite all classes against entry.

They have both put forward an economically independent capitalist Ireland as the alternative to the Common Market. But the whole history of the South since 1922 has proved that Connolly was right in saying that there couldn't be an independent capitalist Ireland because the Irish capitalists are hopelessly tied to British imperialism.

In the North, in addition to their resistance to British troops, both IRA's have been heavily involved in the civil rights movement. They have done valuable work in building marches and demonstrations and particularly in helping to build the rent and tax strikes in the Catholic ghettos.

But they have largely limited the struggle to a fight for democracy. They have tried to build an all class movement, just as in the Southern Common Market campaign. They have not seriously tried to build a campaign around class issues, such as *no more factory closings, one man, one job, one family, one house*, which could even begin to reach out to Protestant workers.

Nor has either wing of the republican movement followed Connolly's example of participation in workers' struggles. Despite the fact that the Irish working class has been one of the most industrially militant in the world, the republicans haven't worked in the trade union movement. Their approach has been to take occasional military actions to support strikes, so that workers, in turn, will support military actions.

Despite their bravery and their very real accomplishments, neither wing of the IRA will carry out Connolly's program of building a socialist workers movement to free Ireland. That job will have to be done by a revolutionary socialist party that can lead the fight to defeat imperialism and build a workers' republic. ■





# I.S. conference on rank and file labor revolt

## meets in Chicago

David Finkel

The weekend of May 13-14 was marked by a highly successful educational conference in Chicago conducted by the International Socialists, on the subject of the rank and file revolt and the tasks of socialists in the working class.

The conference was attended by over 125 people, including members of the I.S., a large number of independent radicals and socialists, and other political groups from Chicago, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Cincinnati, Madison, Milwaukee, and other cities. In addition to the main sessions of the conference, evening workshops on industrial organizing and public employees attracted large numbers of participants and generated considerable political discussion about the ideas and activities of the I.S. and other socialist tendencies.

The conference included three major political presentations, followed by question and discussion periods, and one panel on concrete experiences of the rank and file movement.

Art Fox, a long-time socialist, auto worker, and organizer of the United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers (UAW), opened the conference with a presentation of a Marxist analysis of the economic crisis and the impact of the New Economic Policy (NEP) on the working class. Joel Geier, the National Secretary of the I.S. and an activist in the Civil Rights and student struggles of the 1960's, presented "Socialist Perspectives in the Black Liberation Movement." Brian Mackenzie, a member of the I.S. and Local 1101 of the Communication Workers of America (CWA), closed the conference with a presentation linking the tasks of socialists in the rank and file movement today to the problem of building a revolutionary party in the United States.

Speakers on the panel included a chief steward in the United Action caucus of CWA Local 1101, on the lessons of the New York Telephone strike; an AFSCME (American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees) organizer, on the problems of organizing the unorganized, with particular attention to women clerical employees; Steve Zeluck of the American Federation of Teachers,

on the crisis of education and teacher unionism and the perspectives of the United Action Caucus in the AFT; and UNC co-chairman Jordan Sims, on his experiences as a black auto worker, the relations among black and white workers and the role of the UNC.

### ECONOMIC MYOPIA

Fox opened his speech by recalling the reaction of liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith to Nixon's wage-price freeze speech. For Galbraith, the freeze came as "the culmination of a long and still dimly perceived process." For Marxists, however, the process of state intervention to stimulate the capitalist economy is a basic and continuing one, no matter how dimly perceived by liberal apologists for capitalism. Unfortunately, Fox noted, the same myopia is shared by many Marxist economists who have predicted that capitalism would choke to death because of inability to distribute a gigantic surplus product, rather than from an inability to generate surplus rapidly enough.

Fox pointed to a shift in the thinking of Marxist economists on this question, reflecting the end of a twenty-year prosperity in which the possibility of working class revolution appeared to have gone out of existence and in which socialists were thoroughly isolated from the working class. During this period, the "radical critique" of capitalism moved toward condemning its "materialism," "excessive production," and "affluence."

During this period, Fox argued, the tendency of the rate of capitalist profit to fall was masked by increased productivity and an expanding mass of profits -- leading some theoreticians to the conclusion that the tendency itself had been overcome through the production of a continually expanding surplus product. The argument for this conclusion was that monopoly capitalism had successfully established a virtual "baronial capitalism," in which huge monopolies could simultaneously satisfy workers' wage demands and raise prices to meet the cost.

What these economists failed to

notice -- partly, suggested Fox, because their isolation from the working class hid from them the daily relations of class struggle in production -- was that throughout the 1950's and 1960's a continual struggle was waged by the corporations to extract the last possible drop of surplus value from their work force through speed-up and other measures.

While pointing out the mistakes of Sweezy and other economists, on their assumption that capitalism had resolved its internal contradictions through the growth of monopoly, Fox also took issue with other Marxists who argue that the Permanent Arms Economy constitutes a new category of capitalist production which has stabilized the system in the post-war period. (This has been the traditional point of view of the International Socialists.)

While a thorough comparison of the theories held by various Marxists was impossible within the framework of this discussion, he argued that the classical (pre-1900) symptoms of capitalist growth, in which falling prices, shorter work week, and higher wages occurred simultaneously, had begun to disappear *before* the emergence of massive arms spending. Fox stated that arms spending should be regarded, from the standpoint of the entire system, as part of expenditure on capital goods, and that if it were so regarded then the continuing fall in the rate of profit would be clear.

The central theoretical point raised in the speech was that state intervention in the economy as the accumulation of capital -- through financing of arms equipment, roads, etc. -- does not in any way overcome the tendency of the falling rate of profit, but simply masks it through the expansion of both public and private debt. As the debt rises faster than the increase in real production, future production is mortgaged in advance to pay the interest on this debt, a process which Fox called the creation of "fictitious wealth."

The inflation generated by this process causes massive outflow of capital seeking to avoid the low national rate of profit. In the 1960's, more far-sighted capitalist politicians in the

US, like John Kennedy, began to recognize this threat to investment in the US and, in response, began to formulate wage control formulas that finally came to fruition under Nixon. In other words, the direct assault on the wage gains won by American workers, which are necessary to maintain (let alone improve) living standards under conditions of inflation, are necessary in order to keep America profitable for big business.

The specific measures announced under Nixon's NEP, both internally (the wage freeze) and externally (the end of dollar conversion) flow from the specific character of the current economic crisis. Essentially, the "built-in stabilizers" of Keynesian economic theory, in which government spending is supposed to "prime the pump" of the economy when investment stagnates, have exacerbated the crisis rather than solving it. In 1970, a \$117 billion increase in the total debt far outstripped the \$45 billion increase in the GNP stimulated largely by state intervention.

The alternatives open to capitalism, in response to this development, are limited. The possibility of a "new industrial revolution," over which various Marxist and other economists seem enthusiastic -- that is, an explosive growth in a short period of time in technological productivity, at relatively low cost compared to current levels of investment -- seems to be ruled out. Fox explained that although the technology exists to carry out this revolution, capitalism itself is incapable of carrying it through because it cannot afford a sweeping modernization of existing capital stock.

### HEAD-ON COLLISION

The only remaining possibility is a massive productivity drive aimed at intensified exploitation. This includes the formation of "productivity councils," as in the steel industry, in which the collaboration of the labor bureaucracy is crucial. Under the cover of contractual "productivity clauses" enabling corporations to take measures to step up production, steelmakers are using supervisors in place of workers, and ignoring seniority and other provisions of their contracts. The GMAD division of General Motors in the auto industry, which is responsible for the working conditions and speedup at the Lordstown and Norwood among other plants, is part of the same development.

The result of this drive is leading in the direction of a head-on collision between the corporations and workers, especially the younger workers, who will not accept lying down the increasingly intolerable conditions to which they are subjected.

Against this background, the struggle for rank and file control of the unions, and for turning the unions into fighting instruments of the rank and file, against the bureaucrats who openly collaborate with the corporations' productivity drive, assumes special importance for socialists. In concluding, Fox pointed to the topic of the conference as a whole: "The conflict is coming -- it's here -- the problem now is to give it organized expression."

[Future issues of Workers' Power will discuss in depth the other presentations and the issues raised in political discussion at the conference.]



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## Four Men

*[This is a translation of a poem written by a 23-year-old Turkish youth who is now in prison. It illustrates the psychology and utopianism of the Turkish youth.]*

*Turkish society is a ransacked rather than ransacking society (like Vietnam, say, rather than the US), so the attitude of Turkish youth is bound to be of a different type (than the American). Nonetheless, the crucial class criterion of radicalism holds for Turkey as for the US.*

*As long as the battle of the Turkish youth remained linked to the Turkish labor movement it was revolutionary. As soon as it became impatient and fostered hopes of changing the world singlehandedly overnight, it ceased being revolutionary. From then on it was a utopian protest movement of extreme militancy.*

*It is true that the more important faction of the student movement remained anti-capitalist, internationalist, and socialist in ideology, but once the active connections with the labor movement were broken the radical action was bound to disintegrate. That it did, and from then on it was very easy for the establishment to draw the radicals into a corner.*

*The most militant radicals, who were at the same time the greatest utopians, fought back until the last moment and died heroically or were imprisoned. As for the problems of labor, they remain unsolved and given the present political conditions there is little hope they will be solved in the near future.]*

*[The translator of this poem is a Turkish student in the US].*

I come from the deepest of nights,  
I come from the latest  
of mornings awaited in the restless eyes.  
Life has hardened into the corns of my hands,  
the stary reflections in my eyes of distant hopes . . .

I am the hungry in India,  
I am the volunteer to the Vietcong,  
I am the shutdown miner in Bolivia,  
and I am the "dirty nigger" forgotten  
in the side streets of America.

-I-  
I met death in India with starving eyes,  
they burned me in the Monsoon winds,  
on a rainy spring day.  
They let my ashes go by the Ganjes.  
Above the dark waters of the Ganjes  
now rises a christal moon  
in a pure white gloom.

Bombay is the truest scene of life  
and in Bombay the bodies of the starved bloom.

-II-  
In Vietnam,  
on a cloudless April morning  
was I born under the storming bullets,  
where tank trails mark the rice fields,  
and the humid and slanting  
eyes of women  
stare at the yet warm bodies of the dead.  
When I was fifteen  
I strangled an enemy with my own hands.  
And then the sleepless nights,  
when the white stars of a black sky  
poured into my eyes.

In the luminous redness of the dawns,  
were the sun, fire, gunpowder and blood,  
and my friends and I,  
We made an immortal epic  
in the streets of Saigon:

We died  
the most silent of all deaths  
with no coffins and no prayers  
we dug our own graves  
in the jungles of the Tropics.

-III-  
I worked in the tin mines of Bolivia  
with the heat of the equator sun on my head  
and endured  
with the taste of a fresh drop of water on my lips.

The total curse of the Lopez steppes  
grew into giants in my soul,  
then the May of 1965,  
frightened and hesitant  
and hoping for something better than our hungry nights  
the general strike was declared.  
Now under the cheerful heat of a June sun  
we wait.

In the distance  
grows a dark spot.  
One more, and another, and another.  
The spots multiply in the distance.  
The spots are little  
the spots are steel  
the spots glow

they come toward us  
the spots are PLANES!  
Stop it, you!  
you son of a bitch!

A giant roar,  
bullets, bombs, the earth is turned upside down etc.  
And all

of a sudden  
a burning dust cloud . . .  
in my eyes is the most realistic unknown of life  
Death.  
The spots gradually fall silent,  
the humans spit blood on the earth.

-IV-  
In the United States  
my enslavement begins in the white cotton fields  
with the red traces of whips  
on black skins.  
We are like black spots among the whites.  
And in the New York Port  
A French arm, a remnant of the 18th century,  
the Statue of Liberty,  
rises above the gray waters ashamed.

But I,  
I spit on this affair,  
I am engaged in the bloodiest struggle of all ages,  
With the torch of liberty in my hands  
I travel in the death carriage of Luther.

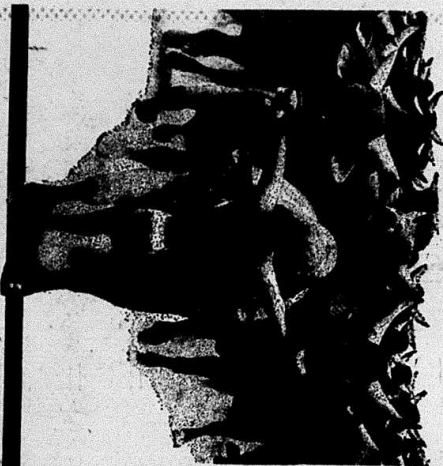
I come from afar through the nights  
and I swear with history as my judge  
I am going to die  
for the awaited mornings of distant nights.



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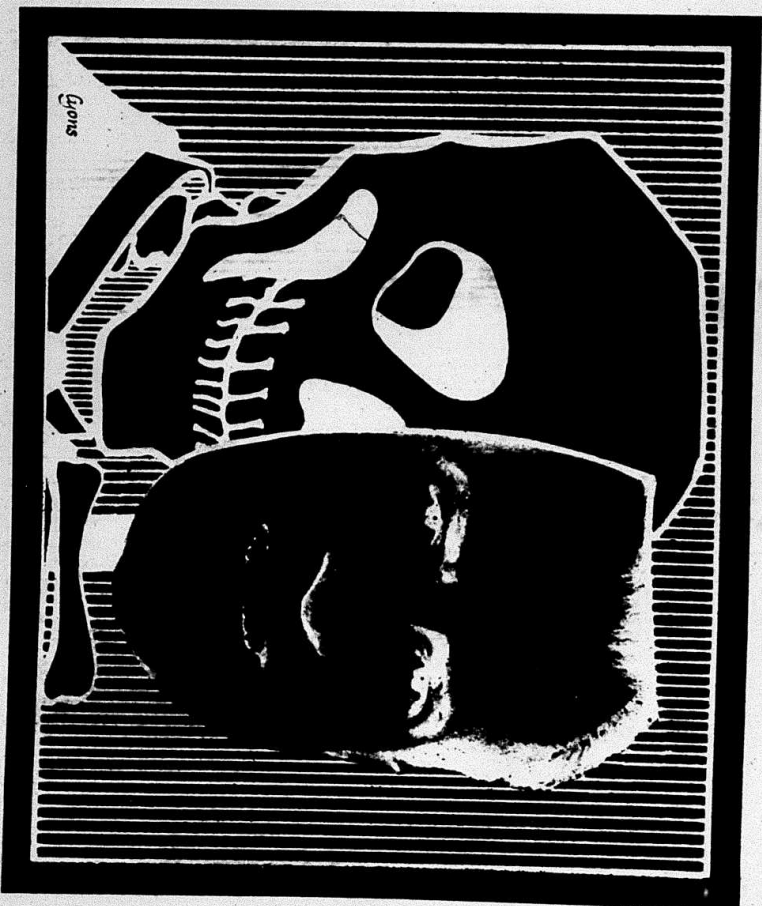
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## Vietnam: How Far Will Nixon Go?

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