



## Dockers Rock Britain

On July 27, workers forced the British government to release five dock workers jailed for violating sections of the Industrial Relations Act, Britain's new omnibus anti-labor bill. The methods by which the British working class achieved this victory, perhaps the greatest of the recent upsurge, provide significant lessons for workers throughout the world, and especially for the labor movement in the US.

Behind the current struggles is the deepening economic crisis in Britain which is quite similar to that in the United States. The low profitability of British capitalism has caused a decline in Britain's trade position with recurrent balance of payments and monetary crises.

The response of British employers and government has been to intensify their attacks against the working class. Wage controls, productivity drives (like those in the US at Lordstown and Norwood), and plant closures have all been used as they have in the US. Unemployment in Britain is currently at 3.5 percent, or 868,000 workers, which is very high by British standards. Yet inflation, one of the problems these measures were sup-

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British longshoremen cheer the start of the dock strike at a rally in London

### Editorial

## The Time to Fight is Now



The success of the year-old New Economic Policy, trumpeted by the Nixon Administration as the golden key to fabulous new riches for American capitalism, is a sign of the disorganization and political weakness of the working class. As an article elsewhere in this issue points out, the economic recovery is a mini-boom for business but a worsening of the standard of living of working people.

The NEP was initiated as a concerted attack on labor. While the Pay Board has succeeded in

holding back wage raises, the Price Commission selectively and deliberately permitted prices of many consumer goods, especially food, to skyrocket. Several provisions encourage business to increase productivity standards at the expense of workers' jobs.

Labor's response was anything but coordinated and effective. Initial bluster by labor leaders gave way to participation on the Pay Board. When double-crossed over the longshore settlement, Meany, Woodcock and friends left the Board but organized no

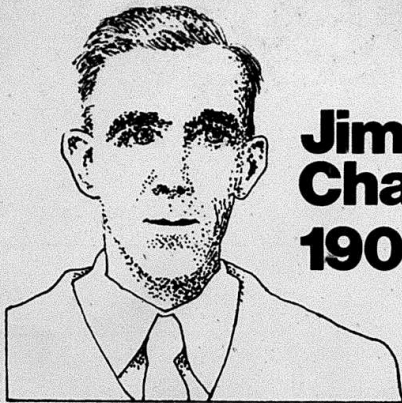
serious resistance.

These leaders organized no action program against unemployment or inflation. The demand for wage increases without price increases, or for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, would have presented a workers' solution to these problems in opposition to the "solutions" of the corporate state.

Instead, organized labor continued to rely on the politicians of the Democratic Party who had fought for wage controls in

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## Jim Charleson 1903-1972

Jim Charleson, a revolutionary socialist for over 50 years, and a member of the International Socialists of Great Britain, died in Edinburgh, Scotland, last month.

His life encompassed the whole of the revolutionary movement over the last period in many countries around the world. He was one of the very few who never compromised in any way.

Born in Leith, Edinburgh, in 1903, his first inklings of socialist ideas came from reading the works of Jack London. He served his political apprenticeship as soapbox carrier and paper seller for virtually all the political sects around at the time -- socialists, syndicalists, anarchists of various shades. None satisfied him until he joined up with the newly formed Young Communist League. He became one of their star soap box speakers and toured all over the East of Scotland.

Street meetings were the major political forum in Britain in those days. The YCL regularly had three street meetings going on simultaneously in Leith Walk, with an atten-

dance of hundreds at each and the speakers rotating between them.

Jim began his travels in late 1921 by getting a job on the "Lenin," a Russian icebreaker on a trip which took him to Kronstadt and Petrograd, giving him an idea of just how hard conditions were in Russia just after the Civil War. Later, Jim was on a ship going to Mexico, where he jumped ship and sold the ship's store of potatoes to a local farmer for seed. He then travelled around Central and South America, working in the oil fields for a while, eventually getting across to South Africa.

In South Africa he helped organize seamen to spread the unofficial seamen's strike that had begun in Britain. He also worked with the I.C.U., a multi-racial trade union. He wound up in prison for his activities in 1925. At Christmas, 1925, he was deported back to Britain.

Back in Britain, Jim began to have his first misgivings about the Communist Party. When an expensively printed hardcover book, "The Errors of Trotskyism," was distributed in large numbers to party branches, he

successfully moved a resolution in the Leith YCL that they would just leave them to rot. During the General Strike, he was puzzled and confused by the CP's policy of simply tailing behind the TUC (Trade Union Council) General Council, and suspicious when special emissaries were sent from London to ensure that local communists toed the line.

He said of this period that the rank and file felt that they weren't being told the whole story, but trusted in the integrity of the Bolshevik leadership and assumed that it would all come right in the end. Jim kept on organizing as best as he could, touring around speaking and helping the striking miners organize raids on potato clamps and hen houses to feed the starving mining villages.

Jim went to the United States in 1927, entering illegally under a false name to escape the blacklist that had prevented him getting work in Britain. He soon became a leading organizer for the American Communist Party on the New York waterfront, and a member of the Executive Board of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

A bitter factional struggle was going on in the American CP at that time, a reflection of the disputes going on in Russia. The Lovestone faction, who supported Bukharin, had the support of 80 percent of the party and were particularly strong amongst the longshoremen. The Foster faction supported Stalin and their main base was among the garment workers.

In their battle for control, the Stalinists deliberately wrecked the organization that had been built up on the waterfront in order to remove Lovestone's power base. It didn't seem to matter how little was left of the CP, provided the Stalinists controlled it.

Around this time, James P. Cannon went to Moscow as a delegate from the American CP to the sixth congress of the Communist International. Cannon illegally brought back from the congress a document by Leon Trotsky exposing the reactionary policies of the Comintern under Stalin. This document formed the basis of the left opposition in the USA.

Jim told us how an ex-IWW member, Max Rosen, brought a copy of the document down to the waterfront to show him. It came as a stunning revelation. Trotsky's document explained in Marxist terms all the disquiet Jim had felt with Communist Party policy from the General Strike onwards, it made everything fit into place. The shock was so great that Jim spent three days and nights without sleep just walking the streets of New York in a daze.

He went and met Cannon, Shachtman, Abern, and joined their group of supporters of Trotsky's line. He was to try to continue to work within the CP, but was expelled within a few weeks and denounced as a police spy. He then became a member of the organization set up by Cannon's group, the Communist League of America, and started helping to produce their paper, *The Militant*.

This tiny group were subject to constant persecution both by employers' thugs and by thugs in the service of the Communist Party.

In 1931, unable to find work in America, Jim was offered, and took, the chance of a job in Russia working as a welder in locomotive repair plants. As an illegal immigrant he had not used his real name in America, so by travelling under his real name he was not known as a Trotskyist in Russia.

He saw at first hand the misery

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"I believe in the status quo—robbing the poor and keeping it."

## Workers' Power 62

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# SUPPORT NORWOOD! FIGHT SPEEDUP!

Ken Fireman

Auto workers at the General Motors Assembly Plant in Norwood, Ohio, are entering the 19th week of a bitterly fought strike against the giant corporation, and its prime team of "efficiency" and speedup experts -- the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD).

The strike, which began in April, is over issues of working conditions. Since GMAD took over management of the Norwood plant last year, workers claim, a total of 740 men have been laid off, while line speed has remained constant -- in short, blatant speedup.

Wherever GMAD has gone in the past year -- Lordstown, St. Louis, etc. -- layoffs, speedup, and ultimately angry strikes have followed in their wake. Norwood, in suburban Cincinnati, has been no exception.

## GMAD vs. the Rank and File

At a public support meeting held in Detroit on August 6 by the United National Caucus, Norwood union representatives Richard Minton and Jim Faulkner spoke to an audience of local UAW members about their strike.

Minton, president of UAW Local 674 at Norwood, revealed the kind of pressure GM has been putting on workers to break the strike.

"They took ads in both Cincinnati newspapers, threatening to close the plant if the strike wasn't settled," Minton said. "They also sent letters to the entire membership, saying the same thing. That's pure blackmail."

But Minton added that such tactics aren't working. "Our membership is stronger now than ever before," he said. "We just aren't going back to work under these conditions."

Jim Faulkner, a district committeeman at Norwood, called GMAD "a mad dog division. They're taking jobs away from people all over the country."

"If you think this isn't your problem," Faulkner warned, "you're wrong. It'll be up here (Detroit) soon enough."

Minton indicated that he was unhappy with the support his local has been getting from the UAW International.

"They are giving us strike benefits, and they sent four or five International reps down," he said. "But they could have done more -- by hitting another GM plant."

Minton added that he had been in touch with people at the GM Vega plant in Lordstown, Ohio -- where workers were out for two months earlier this year over speedup and layoffs. He said that Lordstown workers conducted a wildcat strike

last month over working conditions.

"Lordstown settled short," Minton said. "They settled for language that didn't tie down the exact amount of manpower for jobs. So GMAD is pulling the same tricks on them as before."

Jordan Sims and Pete Kelly, the co-chairmen of the United National Caucus, also spoke at the meeting. "We desperately need production workers' councils in the UAW to fight this kind of speedup," Kelly argued.

Lou Smith, of UAW Local 647 in Cincinnati, also spoke. Smith is the leader of a militant black caucus at a GE plant. (See the article on Smith's fight against a frame-up weapons conviction elsewhere in this issue.) He offered the support of his group to the Norwood workers, and invited Minton to speak at his caucus' next meeting.

It is by no means accidental that companies like GM are putting the squeeze on workers to produce more at this time. As the general condition of American capitalist economy stagnates, and as American corporations are pressed more sharply by foreign competitors, it becomes harder and harder for companies to maintain and expand profit margins.

And so they do what they have al-

ways done in times of crisis -- shift the burden onto the backs of the working class. Nixon's Phase II program, which has rigidly restricted workers' wages while permitting prices to rise and profits to soar, is one aspect of this strategy.

"Efficiency" teams like GMAD are another. By carrying out a major rationalization of the productive process, boosting production per worker to the maximum (regardless of the human costs), and thus getting more value from each worker while paying him no more than before, the giant corporations see a partial answer to their plight.

And so the productivity squeeze on workers is no passing whim, but rather a conscious and systematic strategy of the American capitalist class. And it can be fought successfully only by an equally systematic struggle on the part of workers.

Struggles like the one at Norwood are essentially defensive strikes, fought in an effort to hold the line against the companies' offensive. But they cannot be won on a piecemeal basis. Workers at Norwood are confronting the largest corporation in the world, over an issue that is crucial to the further expansion of GM's profits.

For this reason, such a strike can

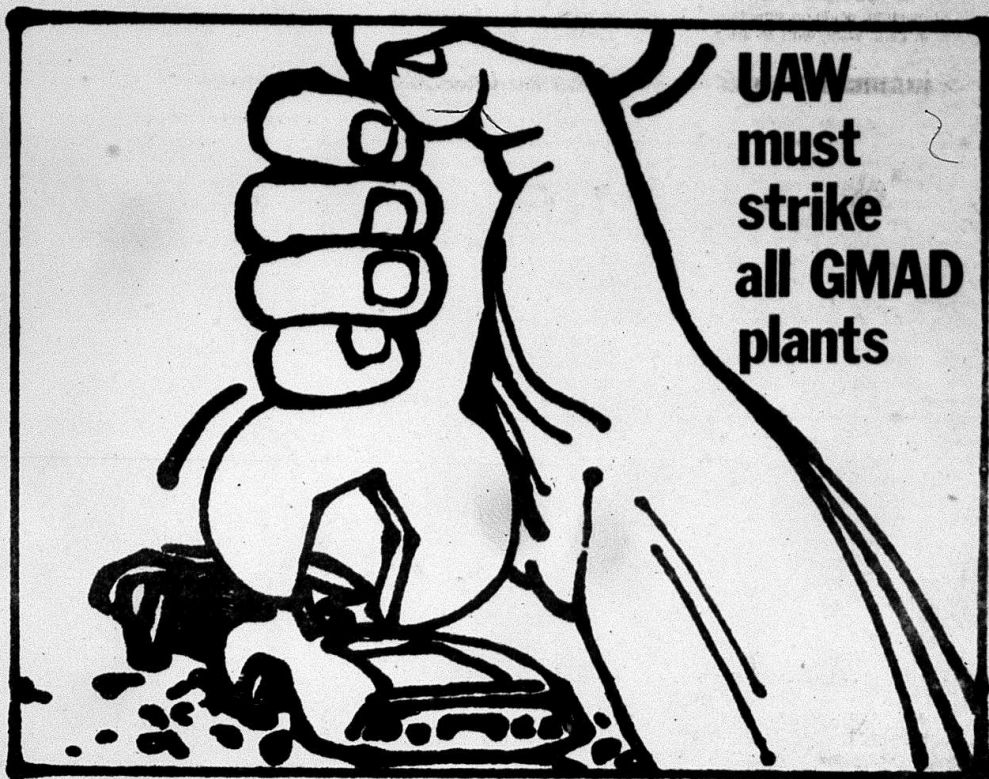
only win if it receives the fullest support possible from the rest of the UAW, and from other unions and other sections of the working class as well.

The August 6 meeting in Detroit should have been called by the UAW International. With the entire GM Division being attacked by GMAD, the UAW should be preparing the fighting spirit of all GM workers.

Instead, the International has kept the fights at Lordstown, Norwood, and other GMAD plants separated from each other.

Strikes like the one at Norwood, and other strikes sure to follow at other GMAD plants, should be spread to more than one plant, as suggested by Minton. A Production Workers' Council, such as Kelly proposed, could pressure Solidarity House to take such a step.

Moreover, productivity and working conditions must be made national issues by the UAW at the upcoming national contract negotiations this year. Only through such a nationwide struggle -- including, if necessary, national strikes against GM and other auto companies -- can auto workers hope to curb the voracious appetites of GMAD and their counterparts for men, jobs, and production. ■



# The Law and Louis Smith

Patrick Brady

Louis Smith is currently preparing for the next round in his battle with the Ohio courts. Early in September, he will appeal his conviction of April 24, 1972. He was sentenced to a term of one to three years imprisonment for carrying a concealed weapon, the maximum sentence provided by the law.

From beginning to end this case has been marked as a frame-up, an attempt to imprison an outspoken and effective leader of the black working class. A defense committee has been formed from union members and other concerned people to raise money and publicize the facts of this case. The NAACP and other forces within the black community have pledged their support to reverse this outrage against justice.

Smith has been employed at the GE-Evendale plant and been a member of Local 647-UAW for eighteen years. In 1968, he founded an organization of black GE workers known as Justice, Opportunity, Betterment (JOB) with the aim of enforcing the 1964 Equal Employment Opportunities Act inside the plant through applying pressure on management and the local union administration.

## Justice, Opportunity, Betterment

JOB's method of operation was primarily that of a watch dog committee over grievances filed with the union by black employees. GE-Evendale is an open shop, with hundreds of non-union hourly rate employees who worked during the 1969 national strike.

Before JOB was formed, where white workers stood little chance of winning a grievance, black workers were lucky if theirs were even filed. Union officials failed to process their grievances and would simply "forget" them. JOB has improved the grievance procedure for blacks to a significant degree (and for whites too, indirectly), and has forced the local union to institute a Fair Practices Committee as provided for under the UAW Constitution.

Through his example of militant unionism, in particular his uncompromising attitude against racial discrimination, Louis Smith has made powerful foes at GE, in both management and in the union leadership. During the weeks before his arrest, he and his wife were subjected to an ever increasing number of threatening phone calls, warning him to cease his activities.

Smith was arrested on February 21, 1971. He was due to attend a JOB meeting that afternoon at 5 o'clock. Another JOB member telephoned him that morning to relay a message that a sympathetic white worker had given him the previous day: that an armed group of KKK-



types would break up Sunday's meeting.

Although he had believed his phone to be tapped, Smith told this member over the phone that the meeting would be held despite this message and that he would carry a revolver to the meeting.

Smith's wife begged him not to go to the meeting, with the result that he had not left by 5:00 p.m. They were discussing the meeting in the kitchen when four policemen appeared at their rear door. The police asked if Smith or his wife had called about a "man with a gun."

They replied they hadn't and, as Smith was closing the door, the policemen forced it open and entered the apartment. When Smith asked if they had a warrant, he was seized, disarmed, and beaten. He was carrying a revolver in his hunting jacket at the time.

Smith was taken to the Fourth District Station, along with his wife who was arrested for disorderly conduct when she demanded to know where the police were taking her husband. At the station, Smith was worked over with a blackjack and was charged with disorderly conduct, assaulting a policeman, and carrying a concealed weapon. He was fined ten dollars for the first charge; the second was dismissed; on the third he was convicted and given a prison term of one to three years at Ohio Penitentiary.

If there were any doubt as to the existence of collusion between the police and courts to put Smith behind bars, these were dispelled during the five-day trial. The more glaring examples of police and court misconduct that emerged during the trial itself included the following:

1. The arrest was made without a warrant of any kind. The police claim, however, that they arrested Smith just outside of his kitchen door, and that a search warrant was unnecessary.

2. The trial was delayed for over one year because of postponements

initiated, for the most part, by the prosecution.

3. *The judge refused to permit the jury to examine photographs taken the day after Smith's release showing numerous bruises and scars he had suffered while in police custody.* Judge W. Morrissey remarked that this was not a case of police brutality, and that the evidence was irrelevant.

4. Morrissey permitted the jury to learn that Smith had been charged with assaulting a police officer at the time of his arrest. Indeed, the cornerstone of the police testimony was that they noticed a bulge in his coat, grabbed him, and that Smith then pushed the first officer down the steps. *The judge refused to permit the jury to learn that this charge was dismissed.*

5. Ohio law provides that it is legal for an individual to carry a concealed weapon if a "prudent person" in similar circumstances would have reasonable fear for his property, person, or family.

Smith's attorney filed for a dismissal of the case on the grounds that the defense had established this "preponderance of evidence." The defense presented witness after witness testifying to threats made on Smith's life that circulated inside the plant. They testified to the high degree of racial tension at GE, and Smith's wife told of the scores of threats made over the telephone at their home.

The prosecutor presented no evidence to the contrary. He made no attempt to call this testimony into question; yet the judge denied the motion to dismiss the case.

6. The judge completed his sordid performance by promptly sentencing Smith to the maximum penalty permitted by the law. He denied Smith a stay of execution and bond pending appeal, the bailiffs escorting Smith out of the courtroom within five minutes after the jury returned a "guilty" verdict.

Morrissey explained that he did this

on the basis of the opinion of Smith's "moral character" he had formed during the trial. Apparently, he deemed Smith, 37 years old and married, with a clean police record and steadily employed for 18 years at the same plant, as a menace to society. Fortunately, a higher court overruled His Honor a few days later and set bond at \$3,000.

The four officers arrived at the scene of the arrest in two different cars, by different routes, and without knowledge of each other, according to their own testimony. Neither car was assigned to the beat covering Smith's residence.

## Frame-up

Various circumstances surrounding the whole event make for an unpleasant theory of exactly what the police were up to on February 21, 1971. Smith had informed various members of JOB that he would be armed at their 5 o'clock meeting. He did this over a phone which he had believed to be tapped.

Thus it is possible that the police knew that he would be carrying a weapon when he left his home that day. The arresting officer and chief state witness was a Police Specialist at the time of the arrest; Specialists are not generally used for mere routine complaints.

A policeman was involved whose identity remained a mystery throughout the trial; indeed, it is impossible to establish whether he was in fact a policeman at all. Nor could anyone explain why the police entered through the rear door, which is accessible only by a walkway between the building and a detached garage.

*It cannot be ruled out that the police had been waiting for Smith by his garage, and when he hadn't appeared by 5:00 p.m., they went up the stairs after him. If Smith had gone down to his car on time, and had a gun battle ensued, few questions would have been asked of white policemen in a black neighborhood defending themselves against a man found to have a loaded revolver on his person.*

In large part, Smith's fate will be decided outside the courtroom. After such flagrant abuses of the law by the police and Common Pleas court, there is no reason to expect that appeals court will act differently. Only by creating public pressure directed toward the courts and the Governor of Ohio can Smith's freedom be guaranteed.

*[Letters to Governor Gilligan from labor organizations, community groups, and individuals should be sent to the Committee to Defend Louis Smith, P.O. Box 20001, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. All petitions and letters requesting a pardon will be presented to the Governor in person sometime following the filing of the appeal brief.]*

# Democrats Hustle Black Votes

James Coleman

In the 1972 elections, the presidential hopes of the Democratic Party depend on a massive turnout by black people for their candidate, George McGovern. In his drive for the Democratic nomination, McGovern surpassed the other candidates in his ability to hustle votes from black delegates through slick promises and skillful maneuvers.

The role of black delegates at the Democratic Convention has to be seen against the background of the Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana, in March. There the keynote speaker, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, spoke of the possibility of a "third party" which would include not only blacks, but "the best elements" of white youth and dissatisfied white workers.

That black politicians would even pay lip service to the possibility of independent political action reflects the depth of discontent with traditional politics in the black community. The central cities continue to decay, hardly affected by the few poverty programs which spread around a few thousand dollars. Unemployment mounts ever higher. Drug use, and the crime which goes along with it, captures the youth and makes life ever more dangerous. The police, whom some see as the only bulwark against complete anarchy, continue their racist abuse of the black community.

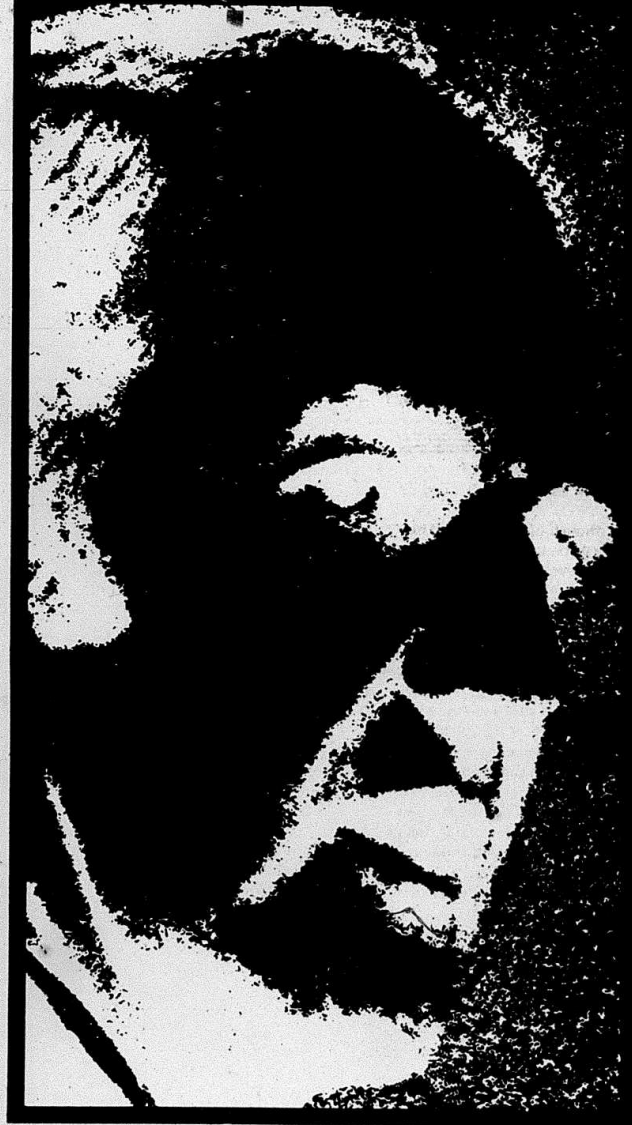
Hatcher's speech in Gary, although he had no intention of carrying through, did reflect the real potential for a break by the black population from traditional politics. In fact, such a break *would* have had the possibility of a positive response from some dissatisfied whites.

The alternative strategy outlined by Jesse Jackson, formerly of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), was to act as a bloc within the Democratic Party, putting a higher price on the black vote. Even this unprincipled position reflected the failure of blacks to get significant gains from their support of Democrats in the past.

## Cynical Dealing

*At the Democratic Convention and before it, all these possibilities were thrown away in cynical dealing.*

The role of Jesse Jackson, Newark's Mayor Gibson, Washington, D.C. Representative Walter Fauntroy, California Congressman Willie Brown, and others was to corral black votes for Senator McGovern. Their services did not come "free." Against the backdrop of the mortal social agony of the black community, they negotiated with McGovern for a grand prize — a promise that 10 percent of Federal patronage jobs will go to blacks! Their



reward was McGovern's acceptance speech — in which the unemployment, racist victimization, job and housing discrimination, and social neglect of 24 million black Americans received five words in the sixth-from-last paragraph.

The remnants of the Southern black movement of the 1960's were also visible inside the Convention. The Mississippi reform delegation, seated as a result of a decision at the 1968 convention, functioned as just another pro-McGovern delegation.

A reform delegation from Alabama, the other state in which a strong electoral effort had been mounted by the movement in the 1960's, failed to unseat the heavily-white pro-Wallace del-

egation. Without the courage which animated the black movement in 1964, the reformers tamely accepted partial representation. Finally, outside the Convention, Ralph Abernathy led a few hundred members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in a repetition of the 1968 efforts to influence the Democrats through moral concern.

If possible, the role of the "independent" blacks, and especially of the only black Presidential candidate, Representative Shirley Chisholm, was even more discreditable. Chisholm joined the last-minute stop-McGovern coalition alongside the forces of Wallace. The quid-pro-quo came later, when, in a completely cynical maneuver, Hu-

bert Humphrey released his black delegates to vote for Chisholm, hoping this would break off a few of McGovern's blacks. Chisholm, having joined in these maneuvers, was not above appearing on the platform to pose with McGovern before his acceptance speech.

The arrest of two black activists outside the Convention revealed the real nature of the "new politics" at the Convention. The two activists, members of the separatist group "Republic of New Africa," were arrested for nothing more substantial than having two handguns in their car. Actually, of course, they were arrested because they were known black militants.

The Convention, which had passed by an overwhelming voice vote a resolution denouncing the indictment of six anti-war Vietnam veterans by a Federal grand jury, was completely silent on this outrage committed against black activists. The black delegates un-animously joined in the silence.

*No better illustration of the racism of the Democratic Party, and of the 'new politics' elements within it, is needed. The maneuverings of the Jesse Jacksons and Shirley Chisholms within this party are futile and an obstacle to the real political advance of the black masses.*

## Time for a Change

In the last hundred years, party allegiance of American blacks has shifted once. When blacks first got the vote, they followed the Republican Party. This was based on the role of the Republicans, representing the then-progressive force of Northern capitalism, in ending slavery and bringing rights to blacks. Later, these real gains were compromised by the same Republicans. Yet blacks continued to vote Republican because of tradition and because "Mr. Lincoln set us free."

In the 1930's, the pattern changed. Blacks shifted to the Democratic Party, which promised equality through an alliance of their leaders with the new labor movement under the leadership of a liberal wing of the capitalist class. This time the gains were slighter. The entry of blacks into the industrial economy, the partial ending of segregation.

For the last twenty years, the Democrats have offered only rhetoric to blacks — none of the civil rights and voting rights laws passed since 1960 have really changed the lot of the black masses. Yet blacks continue to vote Democratic because of tradition.

In 1972, the Democratic Party offers patchwork measures which will have no effect on the steadily worsening conditions of the cities. The discriminatory unemployment rates, etc. It is time for a new shift in black allegiances — this time not to the competing capitalist party, but toward independent political action to spearhead a movement to build an independent party of the working class. ■

# Capitalism Lowers the "Boom"

Walter Daum

Backed by statistics, government officials are proclaiming that the US economic situation is the "best in a decade." Yet although growth rates and profit levels are rising, unemployment is also at a high level, prices are creeping upwards in the stores as well as in the statistics, factories are being shut down, public services continue to collapse -- all the symptoms of economic decay are still present. What kind of a "boom" is this?

Technically speaking, the Administration spokesmen are correct. In the second quarter of this year, the Gross National Product went up at an annual rate of 11.2 percent. Of this increase, only 2.1 percent is said to be due to higher prices, and the remaining 8.9 percent represents growth. No increase of this proportion has occurred since 1965, so the Administration is modestly taking credit for a masterpiece of economic management.

Corporation profits are also on the way up. Most businesses have been reporting significant gains compared to the past two years. Some companies, General Motors for one, have announced that their past quarterly profits were the highest in history. *From this point of view, business is indeed recovering from the Nixon recession.*

But the most important statistics for the majority of Americans, the unemployment and inflation rates, are

improving little or not at all. The unemployment rate is still at 5.5 percent, and this official figure ignores people who have given up looking for jobs or who have been forced to accept part-time work because of the shortage of full-time jobs. If all were counted, the jobless rate would be over 10 percent, according to the *Bulletin of Labor Statistics*.

As for inflation, the Consumer Price Index has been rising at a slower rate than last year, now at the rate of about 3 percent per year. But the wholesale price index has been going up more rapidly; in fact its rate of growth has been accelerating since Nixon imposed his New Economic

Policy a year ago. Wholesale price increases are invariably passed on to consumers, so the current sharp upsurge in food prices must be expected to spread to the full range of consumer goods.

In short, the business growth and profit boom is taking place at the expense of the working class. One vivid example is the case of the American Can Company, which announced last month that it was shutting down nine can-making plants and thereby eliminating the jobs of 4,800 workers. The company expects to retain all but a tiny percentage of its sales by transferring production to other plants without increasing the number of

workers employed.

At the same time, the company assured its shareholders that dividends would not be cut and that earnings per share will go up by one-third within three years as a result of the massive shutdown.

*The American Can Company case shows how profits are boosted at the expense of jobs. Raising profits at the expense of wages is the duty of the Administration's Pay Board. The government is equally proud of its roles in helping to boost corporate profits, and in holding down wages. The Phase 2 guidelines for the Pay Board were to restrict wage increases to 5.5 percent, which was intended to compensate workers for a projected 2.5 percent price rise and reward them for an expected 3 percent increase in productivity.*

Since the guidelines were announced, prices have been growing faster than projected, and productivity has been rising at a calculated 3.5 percent rate. But instead of allowing larger wage gains in compensation, the Pay Board has held raises down to an average of 4.9 percent, well below the announced guidelines and even further below the standards on which the guidelines were based.

So the Administration's business boom is precisely that -- a boom for business. It represents an attack on the standard of living of the working class, in the interests of the small capitalist minority who own and profit from the corporations. ■



The clamor raised by the government about economic recovery conceals serious difficulties. Along with persisting inflation and unemployment, there are definite signs that the current business boom will be neither far-reaching nor long-lived.

One warning sign is the failure of the increased Gross National Product to produce a significant number of new jobs. That the unemployment rate is hardly dented shows that the increase in jobs is barely -- if at all -- keeping pace with the growth of the workforce.

Even the automobile industry, which was singled out for special favor in Nixon's August 15 N.E.P. package last year by the repeal of the auto excise tax, has failed to help out. *Total US employment in auto is no high-*

*er today than it was a year ago -- despite a huge increase in the number of cars produced.*

The GNP growth is also supposed to put a damper on inflation. According to what economists call the "demand-pull" theory, higher prices are the result of excess demand for a limited supply of goods. With the annual output of goods rising rapidly the excess demand for goods will supposedly be satisfied at some point, but this hasn't happened.

The alternative "cost-push" theory

of inflation puts the blame for rising prices on workers' wage raises as a cost to business. This explanation also fails to fit the facts. Profits are now going up much faster than wages, and for most of the period of severe inflation starting in 1965, wages did not keep up with inflation.

To account for the economy's current problems in the midst of growth it is necessary to look at its recent history. Ever since World War II, the US unemployment rate has been prevented from sinking to Depression

levels by means of military spending, the permanent arms economy. The total number of unemployed, military personnel, and defense workers has oscillated between 10 and 12 million. In addition, certain production goods industries such as electronics and non-ferrous metals are heavily dependent on purchases from military contracts.

When military spending was cut back in the early years of the Nixon Administration, unemployment began to rise. Now, even though military budgets are rising again, the change in emphasis from supplying troops in Vietnam in the late 1960's to sophisticated "strategic nuclear forces" means that fewer jobs are created for each budget dollar spent. Military spending on modern equipment is no longer a solution to the unemployment problem.

But military spending is a prime  
*[Continued on page 18]*

## Just around the corner...



# labor in brief

Karl Fischer

## Farah strike continues; Boycott scab clothing!

A nationwide boycott has been launched in support of some 3,000 workers, mostly Chicanos, on strike against the Farah Manufacturing Co. at seven plants in Texas and New Mexico.

The key issue in the strike is over recognition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW) as bargaining agent for the Farah workers. Other demands call for wage increases, negotiated production standards, and the reinstatement of three union workers fired by Farah.

Farah has responded by recruiting scab labor to break the strike, attacking picketers with police dogs, and using their friends in the law enforcement establishments to arrest strikers -- a total of 700 have been arrested.

The AFL-CIO has endorsed the boycott, although Farah strikers say its support has largely amounted to lip service.



## IUE suit successful, but Pay Board renews attack on wages

A Federal court ruling last month struck down a Pay Board ruling that all workers making over \$1.90 an hour were subject to Pay Board wage guidelines.

Eleven days after the court decision, the Pay Board announced a new ruling, raising the cutoff point to \$2.75 per hour.

The suit was originally brought by the International Electrical Workers Union (IUE), in an effort to broaden the number of workers legally exempt from the Pay Board's 5.5 percent guideline on wage increases.

In challenging the previous \$1.90 per hour cutoff, the suit proposed \$3.35 per hour as a new cutoff. The final court ruling, while agreeing that the old \$1.90 cutoff was illegal, was silent on a new exemption level.

The establishment of \$2.75 an



hour as the new cutoff for exemption brings the total number of American workers exempt from Pay Board guidelines to 32.5 million, according to the Pay Board. However, the key aspects of the Phase II wage controls, remain intact. By forcing down wage increases won by workers in heavy industry, the government enables the companies to hold down the wages of less powerful, poorly paid workers with little or no difficulty.

## Committee for Union Democracy publishes newsletter

A welcome addition to the labor press, the *Newsletter of the Committee for Union Democracy*, based in Minneapolis, carries interesting news and analysis of labor activities in Minnesota. Recent issues have carried articles on strike activities throughout the state, from dock workers to paper mills to cab drivers.

[The Newsletter can be obtained from the Committee for Union Democracy, P.O. Box 24155, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55424.]

## Legal loophole denies benefits to 22,000 unemployed in Michigan

Despite the fact that unemployment in Michigan has now reached 10.3 percent of the total labor force, the third highest in the nation, that state's unemployed workers have lost the 13-week extension of unemployment benefits previously granted by Federal legislation.

The coverage has been lost due to a loophole in the law, which grants the extension to workers who have used up the 26 weeks of coverage normally provided to the unemployed. The law uses as its criterion not the total amount of unemployed, but rather the rate of "insured unemployed" -- i.e., the number of workers actually receiving unemployment benefits.

The law states that the 13-week extension is open only to workers in states where the rate of "insured unemployed" is 6.5 percent or more of the total labor force -- irrespective of real unemployment in the state.

And in Michigan, where real unemployment has continued to rise each month, the rate of "insured unemployed" has fallen below 6.5 percent for the first time since September, 1970. Thus the 13-week extension was cut off. Michigan officials have given no explanation for the contradiction between the rise in actual unemployment and the drop in the "insured" rate.

The cutoff affects more than 22,000 unemployed workers in Michigan, who have used up their 26 weeks of coverage without finding work, and now face complete elimination of their unemployment coverage.

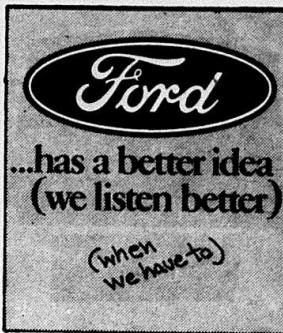
## Ford workers in Milpitas win strike over working conditions

Workers at the Ford Assembly Plant in Milpitas, California (near San Francisco) returned to work last month after a four-week strike over safety and working conditions in their plant.

The strike, similar to the bitter walkouts over working conditions at Lordstown and Norwood in the mid-west, was ended when the union's 39 outstanding grievances were settled "very satisfactorily," at least according to UAW Local 560 President Frank Cortese.

Workers had complained of oily and slippery floors, poor ventilation, and a host of other grievances.

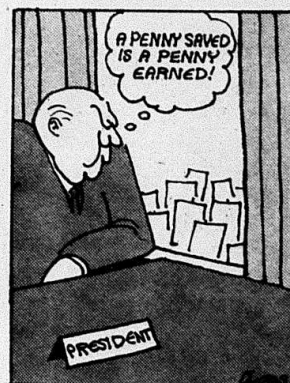
Milpitas is Ford's principal producer of the Pinto model, Ford's "economy compact" entry designed to compete with foreign auto makers. With Pinto production crippled as a result of the strike, Ford sent a high-ranking vice president from Detroit to meet with union negotiators.



## Nestle's strike enters 3rd month; layoffs, speedup at issue

Striking workers at the Nestle's Co. chocolate plant in Fulton, NY, entered the third month of their walkout facing a court injunction banning all picketing at the plant, and aware of the possibility that Nestle's provoked the strike in order to remodel their plant without paying unemployment benefits for laid-off workers.

The strike at Nestle's is over "flexibility" -- Nestle's euphemism for ef-



## efficiency layoffs and speedup.

The remodeling of the plant began almost immediately after the strike began on May 18. Most of the remodeling is being done to cover health violations in the plant cited by the Food and Drug Administration.

Workers now feel that Nestle's may have forced their hand with their flexibility program, seeing a strike as preferable to paying benefits to workers laid off under such a remodeling plan.

The court ruling banned all union pickets at the key main gates to the plant. Union officials plan an appeal this month.

## UAW sells out CPHA strike in Ann Arbor, Michigan

Cynically informing them that "you lost" because "you didn't stick together," United Automobile Workers Local 157 bureaucrats on July 19 told 52 people still on strike against the Commission on Professional and Hospital Activities (CPHA) in Ann Arbor that the strike was over.

About 130 workers, mostly women clericals and keypunch operators, hit the bricks February 25 for their first contract. Company resistance was tough, but the UAW officialdom refused seriously to do anything.

International rep Frank Dovelle went to Florida three days after the strike began. Local president Joe Danz told the strikers to "look happy on the picket line." But when asked about tactics like mass rank and file demonstrations "like in the old days," the bureaucrats replied that they were saving them up for when they really needed them.

Jesus Christ could be president of the UAW by then, for the workers at CPHA needed serious union support right from the beginning of their strike.

However, at their last meeting, the strikers simply were told that they would get one more strike pay check and their Blue Cross was paid up through July. As for getting jobs, the UAW bureaucrats said they did not know of any themselves and "don't bother Woodcock for them." (Many of the women toward the end of the strike wrote registered letters to Woodcock complaining of the slothfulness of Dovelle, Danz and the rest of the local leadership).

The officials "seemed more interested in the Democratic convention than they were in us," said Shirley Ireland, one of the striking CPHA workers.



# City Workers Squeezed By Productivity

Diana Olivieri



The capitalist "productivity squeeze" is not limited to workers in auto, steel and other private industries. The government of New York City has joined the owners of business and industry in attempting to solve its financial problems by speeding up its workers. Despite the continuing personnel shortages, Mayor Lindsay recently announced an overall productivity drive to increase output in sanitation, parks, fire department, welfare, and other city agencies.

With 11 percent more garbage already being collected by 470 fewer sanitation workers than last year,

city plans include increasing the quota further by half a ton per truck per shift. Street repair crews will be forced to work more night shifts with only a 10 percent pay differential, and the quota of filled potholes will be doubled from 15 to 30. In social services, an unspecified number of extra patients will be assigned to child guidance and mental health professionals and the case load of welfare workers will continue to rise.

The city policy of attrition -- not replacing workers who quit or transfer -- was a prelude to the present, more systematic attempt to increase productivity. In every new contract,

the city plans to demand productivity clauses requiring more potholes to be filled, more garbage collected, more meters read, more felons arrested, more parking tickets issued, faster and with fewer workers.

Whether the city will also require an increase in students taught, library books checked out, fires extinguished, or patients healed remains to be seen.

The city claims that this plan will benefit New Yorkers. But with pay increases tied to productivity and the city's fewer workers speeded up to meet higher quotas, the quality of public service must inevitably decline even further than the personnel short-

ages in the last few years have caused.

Indeed, the attempt to squeeze more work from public employees corresponds to a drastic decline, not an improvement, of public services. The bureaucracy will become even more ineffective as problem cases are pushed aside to meet quotas. And although the city denies any threat to public safety, the implication that a burning house now merits only four pieces of fire equipment instead of five demonstrates how city residents will be as penalized as city workers by the productivity demand.

The financial problem of the cities is, of course, one of the crises of a capitalism [Continued on page 18]

# Public Employee Strikes & "Politics"

Bob Powers  
Marilyn Danton

The past few months have seen three important strikes of public workers in the Bay Area: non-academic employees of the University of California at Berkeley; the Contra Costa County employees; and the Berkeley City employees.

Looked at together, these strikes have raised in a concrete way a whole series of political questions, including the right of public employees to strike, the role of oppressed peoples in strikes, the role of politicians and the Democratic Party, the problem of taxation, and the crucial role public employees play because of their special relationship to the state.

In each case the workers were able to unite across race, sex, craft, and union divisions. These strikes represent a new militancy on the part of public employees, who are increasingly feeling the effects of bankrupt local and state governments, and government bodies unwilling to provide the necessary funding to insure decent wages and working conditions. Public employees feel the crunch of legislatures' refusal to sponsor tax reforms which could take the bite off working people and place them on the business interests where they belong. Moreover, they do not have even the minimal protections granted organized workers in private industry: the right to strike and the right to collective bargaining.

Public employee strikes are strikes

against the state, and therefore become political right from the start. They are not "political" because of any association with politicians. Rather they are political in the real sense of the term: workers must pit their power against the power of the government or state.

Common to all of these strikes was a heightened militancy on the part of the workers involved. In all cases the lead was taken by those workers who are especially oppressed in this society: women and blacks. In the University strike, it was AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) 1965, primarily made up of women, who fought the legal, no win strategy of the "labor leaders." They demanded all union meetings, proposed mass demonstrations and alliances with students and the community, and finally led direct actions in the form of blocking entrances where many were arrested. It was clear that they, not the lawyers and Central Labor Council leaders, had the winning strategy.

Likewise in the Contra Costa County employees strike the United County Employees and the Social Workers Union, both primarily women, were the backbone of the strike. In fact, several years ago the UCE had been set up as a "company union" to fight real unionization. It has now been transformed into a real union through this strike.

In the Berkeley City strike, the most militant workers were the black refuse workers of Local 390. They set the tone of the strike. Not only did they reject the attempts to divide the strike along racial lines by the two black "radical" city council members, who only wanted to settle with them, but they also patrolled the streets and "forced" private individual scabs to quit hauling garbage to neighboring city dumps.

They were accused of "kidnapping" and other such things, but in reality they were doing what all workers must do -- protecting their rights and making the city feel the full weight of the strike. This was very important because it was clearly the mounting garbage and potential health hazards that kept the pressure on the City Council.

At the start, each strike was faced with a court injunction against picketing and other strike activity. The Contra Costa County and Berkeley City workers fought this policy head on by demanding the right to strike and risking arrest. The strike at the University of California, however, under the leadership of the Alameda Central Labor Council with its legal strategy, responded by failing to even call the action a strike. Picket signs only stated that the University was "unfair" to workers.

This legal strategy probably kept some of the workers out of jail, and preserved the union's treasuries. But

reliance on it only hurt the strike's chances for success. It prevented organized, all-union mass picketing at the University entrances. It precluded a campaign to gain the support of other public employees over the issue of the right of public employees to strike.

The "non-strike" confused the students, the community, and other workers as to what was really going on. It made it easier for some Teamsters to cross the lines. Militancy was kept to a minimum until the end (two months later) and then it was too little, too late. This strategy resulted in a settlement that was at best a holding action. By contrast, the other two strikes resulted in strong victories for the workers involved: a lesson which shouldn't go unnoticed by the workers and "leaders" involved.

During the Berkeley City strike, members of the International Socialists put forward a proposal which has received some discussion among the workers, that public employees in Berkeley (including those at the University) deal with the City Council at the next elections by running their own candidates. Such a campaign could provide a clear alternative to the liberal "friends of labor" who gave no help to the strikers' fight for their elementary rights, including the three "radicals" elected to the City Council with the vital support of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.



italism in decline. When profits fall, capitalists use various techniques to help raise them. To cut their costs, they institute wage freezes, layoffs and plant closings, and productivity drives.

Since they must take more and more of the wealth created by working people to keep profits stable, less is available for social uses. A stagnant capitalism can no longer sustain the level of public service that was possible with the temporary prosperity of the arms economy, and so must try to force the working class to pay for the irrationalities of capitalism.

Employers in the public sector have been trying to stretch their diminishing share of the wealth by getting more work for the same money. And so far -- with the aid of public employee unions -- they have been successful. In New York, the union leaders have demanded that they be "consulted" about layoffs and speed-up -- and then agreed.

As one DC 37 (of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) official said, "Where we're consulted first and a productivity program comes out as a joint effort, we're more than willing to pitch in." (Daniel J. Nelson, DC 37 Research Director, *New York Times*, August 10) Indeed, union leaders have even been praised by the city for their cooperation in the speed-up.

New York is also trying other ways to reduce the number of city employees, using welfare recipients (at \$2.78 per hour), computers, night shifts, part-timers to replace full-timers, and plans like a three-day work week of 13 hours per day to reduce personnel in Off-Track Betting by 255. The overall plan, then, is to eliminate thousands of jobs and to force more work from those who remain.

Public workers can hardly afford illusions that the government represents an impartial arbiter balancing the interests of employee and employer. The government is the employer, has always behaved as an employer, and has always sided with the employer; from using federal and state troops to break strikes since the 19th century, to buying the boycotted grapes of California growers during the farm workers' strike, to the so-called wage-price freeze and official speedups.

Furthermore, as less money is available for non-profitable services like schools, hospitals, and transit, public workers will face an employer who is even less willing or able to meet their demands than private employers. Already, state and local government payroll costs have declined slightly from 53.6 percent of total government expenditures in 1960 to 53.3 percent in 1970. This trend can be expected to accelerate in the future.

Public service workers must look to a solution beyond financially bankrupt governments whose only remedy is higher taxes on working people's pay. Until all the wealth produced by working people is allocated for the benefit of working people, and its distribution is democratically controlled by them, the public welfare will take second place to private profits. ■

[Diana Olivieri is a member of AFSCME District Council 37, and a member of the International Socialists.]

**"They told me I had bad blood. They never mentioned syphilis to me -- not even once."**

This was the way Charles Pollard, a 66-year old Alabama farmer, described the "treatment" given to him and 400 other black men, all victims of syphilis, by a government program which deliberately left the men untreated "to study the effects of the disease."

The study was begun by the Federal government in 1932, in Tuskegee, Alabama -- a city which is 80 percent black in population, and which had the highest occurrence rate of syphilis in the nation when the study began.

Only in the last few weeks have the facts come to light concerning this deliberate act of medical torture-murder. It seems almost inconceivable that medical science would carry on a 40-year experiment in which disease victims were left to die untreated under "observation."

The lives of black people literally mean less to medical science in this country than those of experimental laboratory animals, which are at least expended in the cause of scientific research. Only a system whose ideology and social practice regard black people as subhuman would have conducted "experiments" on them causing blindness, paralysis, heart disease, bone and dental deformities, insanity, and eventual death.

#### Premeditated Murder

The fact is that the syphilis "experimental program," whose perpetrators should be brought to trial for premeditated murder, had no scientific value of any kind whatever. By the early 1940's, the discovery of penicillin made the successful treatment of syphilis almost routine.

*This discovery, however, conflicted with the original purpose of the study -- to determine the effects of syphilis on the human body from autopsies. And so the decision was made not to treat the men with penicillin.*

When Nazi Germany used Jewish concentration-camp inmates as human guinea pigs, injecting them with live virus germs or freezing them to death to determine human tolerances -- experiments which resulted in the deliberate death of thousands -- the world was outraged.

After the war, the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal laid down strict guidelines outlawing such experiments. The guidelines, however, had no effect on the Nazi-like practices in the "democratic," "civilized" United States.

As a result, of the original 400 men in the study, only 74 are still living.

The fact that 400 black people were deliberately permitted to die slowly, painfully, and uselessly by members of a profession sworn to value human life above all else, was brushed aside by the current director of the program, Dr. J. D. Miller.

*"The study began when attitudes were much different on treatment and experimentation," Miller said. "At this point in time, with our current knowledge of treatment of the disease, and the revolutionary change in the approach to human experimentation, I don't believe the program would be undertaken."*

Miller added that the program is now offering any medical help possible to the remaining survivors. But many say it is now too late to do anything for them.

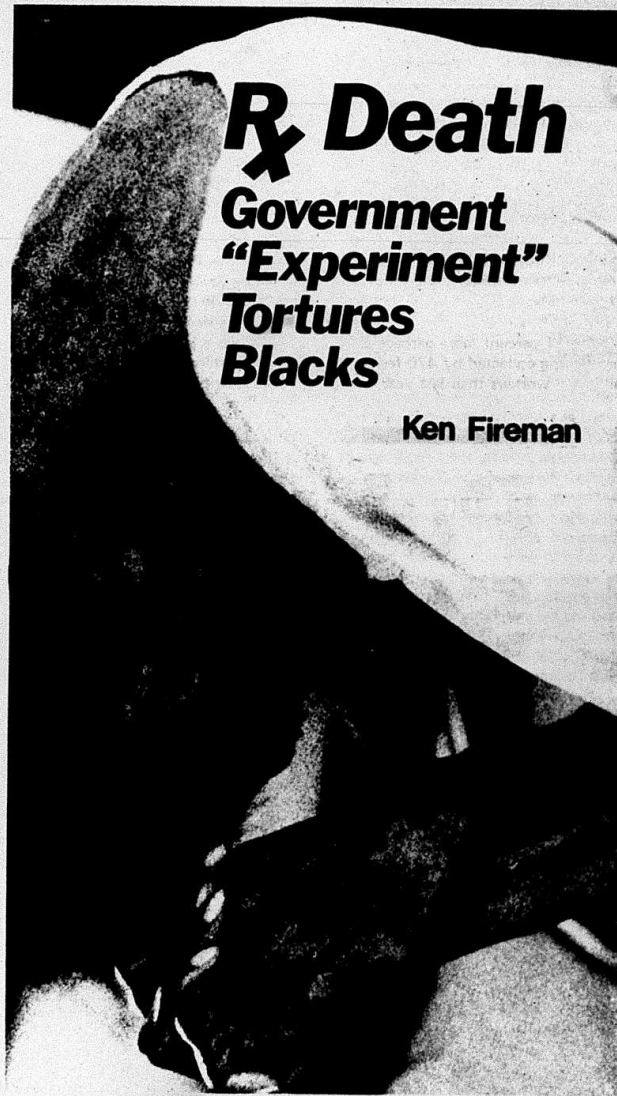
And the "revolutionary" changes in the medical profession towards such "experimentation" are belied by recent incidents of such inhuman experimentation in this country.

Three years ago, for example, investigations exposed an extensive network of studies of certain drugs and blood plasma transfers in Southern prisons. Many prisoners had been stricken with serious illness and some died.

Seven unwanted pregnancies occurred before the study was ended.

And eight years ago, a New York cancer specialist was found guilty of "unprofessional conduct" for injecting live cancer tumor cells into elderly and chronically ill patients without clearly explaining to them what was happening. The experiment was part of a study of immunity to cancer.

These cases demonstrate that such practices still go on today. But for sheer barbarity, none of them match the Alabama syphilis study, where black tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and farm laborers were selected by



Ken Fireman

In 1967, live hepatitis virus was injected into mentally retarded children at the Willowbrook State Hospital in New York. Parents, never informed clearly what the study was about, consented to it in order to get their children into the terribly overcrowded hospital.

Some 400 women, most of them Chicanas, were made unwitting participants in a study on the psychological effects of oral contraceptives in San Antonio, Texas, a few years ago.

The women, who had come to the clinic to get contraceptives, were given identical-looking pills. But 76 of the women were given "dummy" pills,

the government to "advance the cause of medical science" by slowly rotting before the watchful eyes of the doctors.

*The victims of such experiments have invariably been members of oppressed minorities or "social outcast" groups; blacks and poor whites in Southern prisons, Chicanas in Texas, mentally retarded children and old people in New York.*

In the richest capitalist country in the world, medical research and practice are thoroughly permeated with the racism and contempt for life that characterizes capitalism as a whole. ■

## ELECTIONS UNDER CAPITALISM, PART TWO:

# Weeding Out The Reformers

James  
Coleman

We have already seen that the illusion of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is essential to the survival of capitalist "democracy." This illusion of popular control is given chiefly by the election process.

But not because some magician, behind the scenes, has decided the illusion is needed. When the US Constitution was being written, the debates about whether government should be restricted to "gentlemen" were quite open. In reality, the illusion of "government by the people" has been constructed as a result of the reform efforts of the people themselves. These efforts are inspired by the most long-lived of all illusions - the illusion that by reforming its structure, the present system can be made truly democratic.

Elections, and the capitalist political system in general, have often been the mechanism for important reforms. For example, in 1935, Congress passed the Wagner Act giving limited rights to trade unions; in the 1960's, several Civil Rights acts were passed (which have remained totally ineffective); in 1972, one of the Presidential candidates stands for ending the Vietnam War.

### Mass Action and Reform

But not one of these important questions was put on the political agenda by the political leaders themselves. The Wagner Act came after several years of rising trade union action, climaxing in the huge San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Toledo strikes of 1934; in that period, when many wise heads thought revolution was possible, granting some rights to unions seemed the better part of capitalist valor. (The Wagner Act also placed unions under Federal regulation.)

Similarly, the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and later came after massive Black demonstrations; the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, begging Blacks to get off the streets and back into the voting booth, had to offer some enticement - however empty the promised reforms might turn out to be. And the McGovern candidacy comes after years in which every politician, Democratic and Republican, equated withdrawal from Vietnam with treason. It was the US failure on the battlefield and the anti-war sentiment and actions at home which forced the question of withdrawal onto the political agenda.

The people - especially in militant, direct action - can influence the political scene. But this is a far cry from

the illusion - the illusion of a representative system.

In every one of the struggles of the 1960's, the smart money, the "realistic," "practical" men, have scoffed at the "idealists" and said that the "effective" way to act was through the establishment's political machinery. In the process, they have urged the people in struggle to tone down their demands, to be more "effective."

They have always used the same argument: the power is at the top. Elect the right man, and all else will follow. But American history is full of "right men" who were elected, and turned out wrong. It is important to see why.

The most open case of capitalist politics in the United States has been the Republican Party. For decades the Republicans were content to be known as the "party of business" - a party dominated by small-town businessmen and big industrialists. The power groups in the Republican Party were groups around important governors or Senators, while the big money was known to flow to the Republicans and influence their politics.

No one was surprised if the Republicans paid attention to the wishes of business at the expense of labor or minorities. The Republicans have represented the political expression of the

philosophy that "What's good for General Motors is good for America."

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, claimed to be the "party of the people." While the Democrats have often used this claim purely for electioneering purposes, the claim has not been entirely cynical. Millions of labor and minority voters, thousands of activists in these movements, have made the Democratic Party their home in the honest belief that it was what it claimed. *Instead, the Democratic Party has been the graveyard of their reform hopes, for reasons beyond their control.*

Let us first look at the cities - centers of Democratic power since the 1890's. In the Eastern and later the Midwestern cities, with large populations of working class immigrants and later working class Blacks, the Democratic Party won power as a machine party promising a "piece of the action" to these groups. The victorious machine politicians - first Irish and Italians, more recently Blacks - were able to put thousands of their ethnic brothers on the city payrolls. They were able to create a certain number of jobs through city, and later Federal, funds.

But they were never able to win true equality or a really decent life for their followers. They were only able

to chip away at the edges of unemployment and poor housing. If a factory closed down, they were helpless.

Their constituents grew more affluent, but only as the economy expanded and as others - the Blacks in recent years - took their place on the lowest rungs of the ladder. Whenever the economy shopped expanding, the political leaders were faced with desperate poverty in decaying cities.

These political machines had sometimes managed to shake down the capitalist system - they had taxed (and extorted) money to spread around among the victims of the system, taking a healthy slice for themselves off the top. But they had not gained power over the system itself. The business decisions, the decisions of which plants opened and closed, were never in their power.

These decisions were never made to benefit the city populations, but for profit. Moreover, the machine leaders had to play ball with the business leaders to get anything done at all. They ended as the captives or willing agents of the big money which their political fathers had come to power by denouncing.

The same limits to democratic attempts are found on the national level - only the stage is much larger, much more crowded with minor characters, and the action is harder to follow.

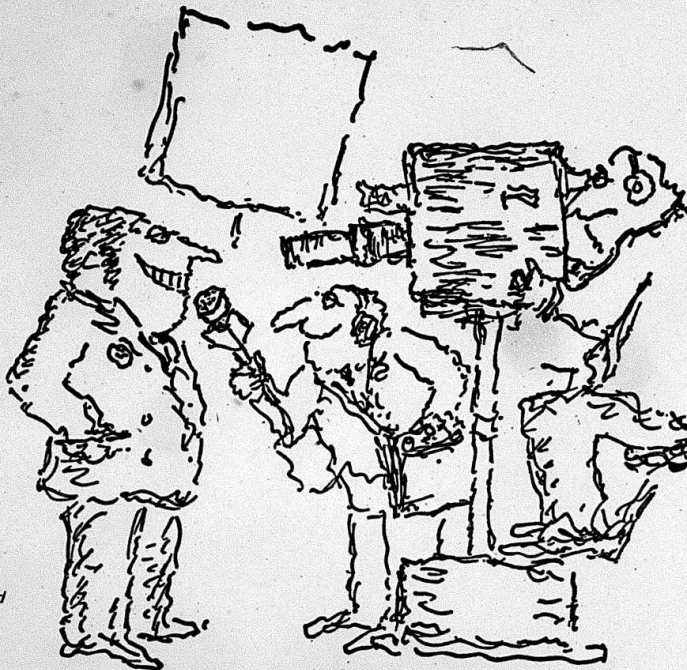
### The Politics of Money

The first fact which limits democratic attempts is that politics costs money - as witness the supposed remark of Joseph Kennedy to his son John: "Goddammit, I'll buy you the election, but I won't buy you a landslide!"

In 1972, the delegates to the Democratic Convention had an average income of more than \$20,000; the effort to elect McGovern was estimated to cost over \$35 million. On the Republican side, the cost of the presidency is about the same, the incomes somewhat higher.

For Republican candidates, the money comes from the business backers of the Party, who up to now have kept it well-oiled. For Democrats, large business contributions are almost as important, partly offset by the major contributions from labor unions. In addition, it helps to have a rich family - like the Kennedys - to get through the early primaries and the earlier minor elections until the big money starts to flow.

The result is that politics is a rich man's club. In 1970, the 535 members of Congress included (with some overlapping) 310 lawyers, 184 with business or banking experience, 73 teachers (including college professors),



KOREN

50 farmers (mainly big farmers), 47 with experience in journalism, and "a scattering of other occupations" (*New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac*, 1970).

The fact is that most Americans -- workers in factories, offices, stores, housewives, small farmers -- belong to the occupations totally unrepresented in Congress. Even if this were not so, the ties between Congress and business are cemented by the candidates' financial dependence on business, and by even more basic factors, discussed below.

A second factor which keeps the electoral system undemocratic is the two-party system itself. It provides for alternation in office but it keeps minor parties out of Congress. In most European countries, some form of proportional representation allows minority parties -- for example, all those which get 5 or 10 percent of the vote -- at least a few seats in parliament.

**The fact that in the United States only the candidate with the largest number of votes can be seated creates an enormous pressure on minority movements to merge with a major party, and on candidates in the major parties to place party unity above all other considerations.**

#### Built-in Limitations

Despite these limitations, reform politics flourish in the United States. Hardly an election goes by without some reform campaign, major or minor. These reform campaigns, and the less frequent occasions when reformers capture one of the major parties, provide a good deal of the illusion of representativeness in the US party system.

Bourgeois politics contains at its fringes various figures who genuinely attempt to achieve basic reforms within the framework of the bourgeois system. While their ideological commitment to capitalism renders most of their reforms hopelessly utopian, they are sometimes able -- especially when there is widespread popular discontent -- to emerge into the political limelight.

Built-in limitations keep them from accomplishing basic change.

Most reform efforts start and end in the primaries. Originally intended by reformers to end the power of political bosses, the primaries have come to mean something quite different. Essentially they are a barometer of public response to candidates being considered by the party bosses and the big money. In a certain sense they are like the "market surveys" which businesses undertake before marketing a new product. They weed out the sure losers.

Among the losers usually are the reformers. Without big-money backing, they drop like flies, around the same time of the year. They have had their democratic chance, and lost. Usually, those who stick around decide, sooner or later, to make the compromises necessary to put together a winning coalition -- which means to compromise with those they originally intended to oppose. By now, all that is left of their reformism is the rhetoric -- useful with the voters, and no threat to the real power.

Sometimes, however, reformers are nominated or even elected. Several things keep them from being effective.

First, they are isolated in Congress,

or in their own party. The Democratic Party has thrown up a number of genuine reformers on the local level, and some on the national level. The late Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, for example, was one of the last of a breed -- a "genuine reformer" who tried to use his Senatorial office to fight big business, and also big crime. But he was never able to win the backing from the party necessary to gain the Presidential nomination.

In 1972, another genuine reformer, Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, was an early presidential candidate. His campaign was never able to get the money necessary to get off the ground. Thus the genuine reformers are usually weeded out early.

If they succeed in gaining the Presidential nomination, there is the risk of the real powers sitting out the election. Aside from McGovern in 1972, this happened in 1964 when Barry Goldwater captured the Republican nomination, only to lose the backing of the party. His conservative supporters learned what radicals in the Democratic Party seem unable to learn -- the real power is held by shrewd, careful, moderate conservatives who can sink most candidates they consider too risky.

Even a pro-capitalist candidate can fall victim to this process. In 1912, President Taft, pro-business to the core, was up for re-election. He had made the mistake of taking anti-trust laws literally, and had earned the disfavor of Standard Oil, US Steel, and other powerful interests.

These interests, to undercut Taft, sponsored the third-party candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt -- which attracted many reformers and helped weaken the Progressives and Socialists. The result was that the Republican vote split and the Democrat Woodrow Wilson, who talked reform but checked with business first, was elected.

#### Electoral Gauntlet

*In sum, the capitalist election is a weeding-out process. The voters have their say on election day. But long before this, the candidates have run the gauntlet not once, but several times. First, to be born and educated into the middle or upper class -- which supply nearly all the candidates, and are completely out of touch with the way most Americans live. Second, to gain the friends and backing for a political career -- which usually means a careful adjustment to the prevailing winds. Third, to get the money and backing necessary for a Presidential campaign. Fourth, to gain the nomination of a major party, dominated by careful money. Fifth, to convince the party leaders, the business establishment, the press, etc., that they are "suitable" candidates -- perhaps with a good reform line if times are troubled, but safe.*

On election day, the voters will have their choice between two such carefully chosen candidates. But the real election, in which the candidates compete for the backing of business and of its representatives in the parties and the press, has already occurred. ■

*[In the following articles, we examine the nature of the various "establishments," the control of the capitalist system over them all, and the nature of capitalist politics in times of crisis.]*

# POLICE MURDER CHICAGO COPS - Licensed To Kill

Jon Christopher

Very few of Chicago's one and a half million blacks had to read a recent report by Northwestern University's Center For Urban Affairs. The report called Chicago's police force "trigger happy." It went on to say that Chicago has the highest percentage of people killed by police bullets of any major city in the country. And black and Spanish-speaking people were the most frequently killed.

For black people police brutality is not something to be read about in academic studies. It is a grim reality to be faced day in and day out in a white racist society. It is the job of the police to maintain this system and every black in America knows this.

Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two Black Panther leaders, were murdered in their sleep by over 100 bullets fired by Chicago policemen in a raid organized by the State's Attorney. An unarmed black Vietnam veteran was killed by a Chicago policeman in the halls of a high school a few months ago.

Over six black businessmen have been murdered by Chicago police connected with an extortion racket, and countless examples of day to day harassment and brutality never reach the press.

The same oppression holds true for black victims of crime. Police refuse to respond to rape calls in the ghetto, ignore the dope traffic and fail to prevent the gangland extortions that terrorize the black community.

Organized opposition to police brutality has only recently developed in Chicago. An influential black leader, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, a long-time Daley supporter, has been forced by mass pressure to respond to the issue of police brutality.

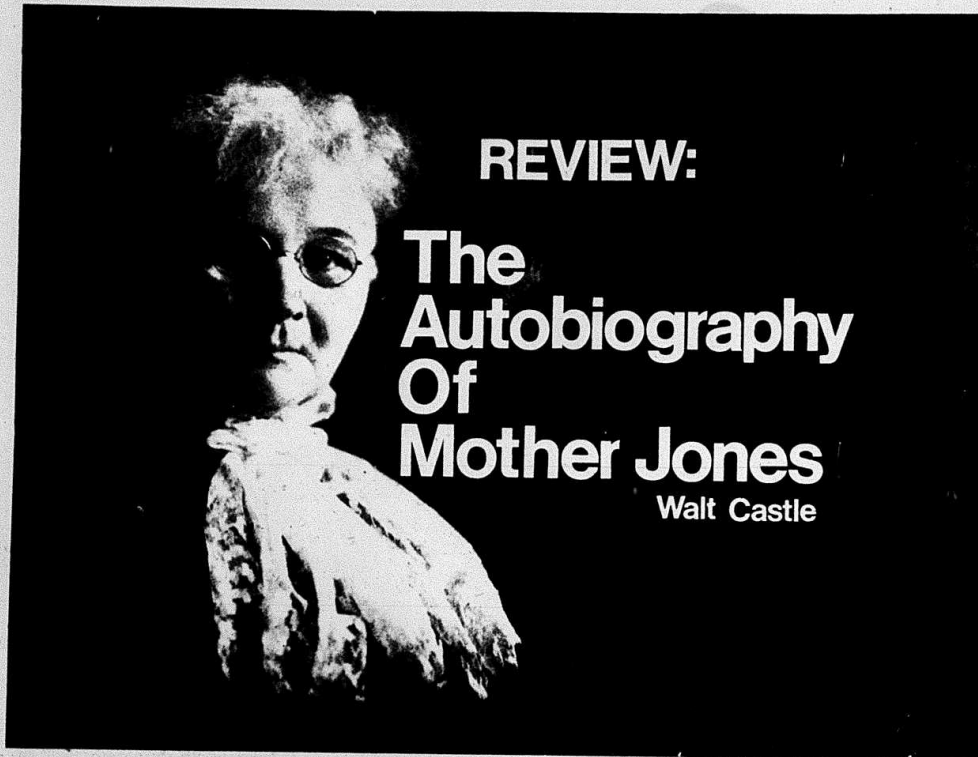
The sentiment against the Chicago police runs so deep in the black community that even black leaders who have supported Daley on every single issue for 17 years have been forced to break with the machine over the issue of the police. It represents the first serious challenge to the Democratic machine in the ghetto in decades.

Mayor Daley responded in typical fashion. He refused to allow Superintendent of Police James Conlisk to meet with Metcalfe. He also refused to meet with Metcalfe himself and ordered instead a series of "community meetings" in every police district.

These staged law-and-order circuses backfired on Daley. Almost every meeting held on Chicago's South and West Sides resulted in mass confrontations between Conlisk and blacks and Latins. Mass meetings of 4,000 people dramatized the depth of the hatred for the Chicago police force and showed the potential power black and Latins have in united confrontations with their oppressors.

A mass movement, independent of the narrow pressure group politics that Ralph Metcalfe represents, is needed to carry through the fight against police brutality in Chicago. ■





## REVIEW:

# The Autobiography Of Mother Jones

Walt Castle

The Autobiography of Mother Jones, forward by Clarence Darrow, introduction and bibliography by Fred Thompson. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., for the Illinois Labor History Society, Chicago, 1972. \$2.95.

Mother Jones was one of the popular myths or folktales of the early socialist movement in America. We knew that she had once existed, that she was for working people. That was all. Now her life, and its lessons, are again readily available to us.

The *Autobiography of Mother Jones* has just been reissued by Charles H. Kerr & Co., the Chicago publishing house which originally printed the work and which long stood as part of the revolutionary wing of the early Socialist Party. It is a book many of us have heard of, but few have seen.

It is more than fitting that this book should re-appear on the eve of insurgency in the United Mine Workers, a union Mother Jones served faithfully for decades -- often more faithfully than the leaders who are remembered as the founders of that union.

No one knows much of the life of Mother Jones before she became the champion of labor's cause. All we are told is that she was born in Ireland of a family of Republicans, in 1830, and emigrated here in 1835. She was married in Memphis in 1861, to an iron moulder, with whom she bore four children. Her husband and children were killed in a yellow fever epidemic in 1867.

She moved to Chicago and opened a dress making shop. In 1871, it was destroyed in the great Chicago fire. Near the refugee camp in which she stayed were the offices of the Knights of Labor. Often she went to their

meetings. Soon she became a member.

Mother Jones does not give us the details of her evolution, of how she came to be an organizer for the workers' movement. She simply states that during the seventies, "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad employees went on strike and they sent for me to help. I went."

### American Revolutionary

Mother Jones was neither a Marxist nor a theoretician. She had simply chosen her side in the class struggle and pursued the course resolutely until the end. At bottom, she set herself the most modest of goals, better wages and better working conditions. In her pursuit of these goals the system drove her to the most revolutionary of conclusions.

But Mother Jones was a true and accurate reflection of America and American working people. She had no philosophy, no worked-out theory of politics. When a Senator from Indiana exposed the plight of West Virginia miners whose lives were daily being taken by company thugs, she supported his re-election, even though the socialist Eugene Debs ran against him.

The *Autobiography*, written when Mother Jones was ninety-five, is filled with great gaps and omissions. Thus she fails to mention her participation in founding the IWW in 1905, or her endorsement of the Soviet Union at a pan-American Workers' Congress in 1921, much to the embarrassment of Samuel Gompers. (At the same Congress she exerted her influence to get the delegates to demand the release of all political prisoners.)

The forgotten history of the UMW is in good part the history of the men and women who fought the evolution of its leadership, which became increasingly unwilling to jeopardize its friendly relationship to the employers.

Mother Jones, as an organizer of "walking delegate" for the UMW, was forced to go into West Virginia un-

knownst to the leader of the union, John Mitchell. (No relation to the former Attorney General, save that both ended up working with the Republican Party.)

In 1902 the anthracite miners struck. Soon factories and railroads were without coal. The nation felt the power of the union. The President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, called in the president of the employers' association.

This man was George Baer, author of a famous letter to a stockholder that read in part:

*"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for -- not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian gentlemen to whom God has given control of the property rights of the country and upon the successful management of which so much depends."*

Baer further counseled his stockholder to pray for the triumph of this divine "right," urging that the reign of God was one of "law and order, and not of violence and crime," by which, of course, he meant striking.

Then Roosevelt sent for John Mitchell. "He patted him on the shoulder, told him that he was the true patriot, and loyal citizen, and not the mine owners," as Mother Jones says. But still the conference remained deadlocked.

"Divine Right" Baer, as he came to be called, announced that he would "call out the militia and shoot the miners back into the mines," before he would consent to a settlement. The owners were beaten, but refused to recognize the union.

A virtual executive committee of the entire capitalist class -- they were more above-board in those days -- met to discuss the question. J.P. Morgan hurried back from Europe and called a meeting of the operators on his yacht. Roosevelt sent the Secretary of State, Elihu Root. "How to lose the strike without apparently losing it

was what they discussed. But give the victory to the union they would not!"

Root offered a solution. Roosevelt would appoint an "impartial board of inquiry." The employers could avoid capitulating directly to the union, while the owners could pose as yielding to public pressure and cut away the miners' support if they refused to submit to the board. But it was Mitchell who capitulated.

"That night, Mr. Mitchell, accompanied by Mr. Wellman, Roosevelt's publicity man, went to Washington. He had an audience with the president the next morning. Before he left the White House, the newspapers, magazines, and pulpits were shouting his praises, calling him the greatest labor leader in all America. Mr. Mitchell was not dishonest, but he had a weak point, and that was his love of flattery; and the interests used this weak point in furtherance of their designs.

"When he returned to Wilkesbarre, priests, ministers, and politicians fell on their knees before him. Bands met him at the station. The men took the horses from his carriage and drew it themselves. Parades with banners marched in his honor beside the carriage. His black hair was pushed back from his forehead. His face was pale. His dark eyes shone with excitement. There were deep lines in his face from the strain he had been under.

"Flattery and homage did its work with John Mitchell. The strike was won. Absolutely no anthracite coal was being dug. The operators could have been made to deal with the unions if John Mitchell had stood firm. A moral victory would have been won for the principle of unionism. This to my mind was more important than the marginal gains which the miners received through the later decision of the president's board.

"Mr. Mitchell died a rich man, distrustful by the working people whom he once served."

This incident was the first of Jones' many battles with Mitchell and the leaders who succeeded him. The next had far graver consequences.

### Cripple Creek

The Cripple Creek strike of 1903 extended into New Mexico and Utah, involving thousands of Mexicans, Italians, and Indians. These were the metal miners, many of them members of the Western Federation of Miners led by Bill Haywood, later a leader of the IWW. They struck for the eight hour day, a demand that had won on a referendum in Colorado, but on which the legislature refused to act.

Mother Jones' own words set the scene best:

*"The state of Colorado belonged not to a Republic but to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Victor Company, and their dependencies. The governor was their agent. The militia under Bell did their bidding. Whenever the masters of the state told the governor to bark, he yelped for them like a mad hound. Whenever they told the military to bite, they bit."*

The metal miners asked the coal miners for help, asked them to go out in solidarity with them. The governor of Colorado sent a delegation to the UMW asking them not to strike. Mother Jones was sent to Colorado to discover the sentiment of the coal miners there and report back to the union.

Disguised as a peddler, Mother



Mother Jones leading demonstration by strikers in Denver

Jones traveled through the southern coal fields of the Colorado Iron and Fuel Co. She found the conditions deplorable. All the towns were company owned. The miners were paid in scrip instead of money, and were forced to purchase at company stores. The operators refused to give the miners their own check weighmen to see that full credit was given them. "The schools, the churches, the roads belonged to the Company."

In a few weeks, Mother Jones got word of a special convention of the UMW in Louisville. The leaders of the union were proposing to call off the strike in the northern fields. "And behind them," as Mother Jones observes, "was John Mitchell, toasted and wined and dined, flattered and cajoled by the Denver Citizen's Alliance, and the Civic Federation . . ."

Mother Jones took the floor, and appealed to their sense of solidarity.

*"You English speaking miners of the northern fields promised your southern brothers, seventy percent of whom do not speak English, that you would support them to the end. Now you are asked to betray them, to make a separate settlement."*

*"You have a common enemy and it is your duty to fight to a finish. The enemy seeks to conquer by dividing your ranks, by making distinctions between North and South, between American and foreign."*

*"You are all miners, fighting a common cause, a common master. The iron heel feels the same to all flesh. Hunger and suffering and the cause of your children bind more closely than a common tongue."*

*"I am accused of helping the Western Federation of Miners, as if that were a crime, by one of the National Board members. I plead guilty. I know no East or West, North nor South when it comes to my class fighting the battle for justice. If it is my fortune to live to see the industrial chain broken from every working man's child in America, and if then there is one black child in Africa in bondage, there shall I go."*

The delegates gave Mother Jones a standing ovation, and voted not to obey Mitchell's orders to scab on the southern miners. But his action was only forestalled. Eventually he forced the calling off of the strike in the northern fields.

The battle in the south went on

for almost a year. Strikers were shot by company goons, deported into the desert without water. The state was virtually under martial law. Mother Jones was arrested repeatedly and many attempts were made to deport her from the state, but she returned.

*"From the day I opposed John Mitchell's authority," she adds, "the guns were turned on me. Slander and persecution followed me like black shadows. But the fight went on."*

Eventually the strike was defeated. A major factor forcing Mitchell's betrayal was the desire of Mitchell and Compers to destroy the more radical Western Federation of Miners.

The struggles through which the book moves seem endless, Jones' experiences as wide and varied as the country. She tells of her meeting with J.A. Wayland, a socialist who wanted to start a utopian colony. Mother Jones told him the venture was foolish. A few years later, she enlisted his support for a project she thought more important: starting a paper in the interests of working people. It was to be called the *Appeal to Reason*.

Wayland objected that they had no subscribers. Mother Jones said she would get them. "He got out a limited first edition and with it as a sample I went to the Federal Barracks at Omaha and secured a subscription from every lad there. Soldiers are the sons of working people and need to know it." The *Appeal to Reason* became the most widely read socialist paper in American history, its circulation eventually numbering 700,000.

She organized marches of children crippled and maimed by their work in textile mills, dramatizing the cause of child labor. They marched from Pennsylvania to New York City, demanding an end to child labor, and collecting money for striking textile workers whose children they were. The strike was broken, but the Pennsylvania legislature passed its first child labor bill.

From there she went on to campaign for the defense of Haywood, Pettibone, and Moyer, officers of the Western Federation of Miners, falsely charged with the murder of the governor of Idaho. They were acquitted. Afterwards she actively supported the Mexican revolutionaries struggling against the brutal dictatorship of Diaz.

In 1919, she worked in the great steel strike. The strike lasted over one hundred days, covering several

states, with its headquarters in Gary, Indiana. The press spread horror stories of the "Bolshevik" strike. Government agents and company spies were everywhere. The organizers were constantly arrested; the strikers were beaten, murdered, and kidnapped by agents of the federal government.

And at this point, already slandered as much as possible, the union feared bad publicity! Not wanting to give the press any fuel for their incendiary attacks on the union, an organizer stopped someone from passing out a leaflet in headquarters protesting the blockade of revolutionary Russia. Mother Jones intervened. She believed in supporting everyone fighting against oppression. Her vision did not stop at the borders of the United States.

The government sent the army into Gary. They came with bayonets, mounted machine guns, and field artillery. They broke up the picket lines and established a reign of terror. The strike was broken.

*"Had these same soldiers helped the steel workers," added Mother Jones, "we could have given Garry Morgan and his gang a free pass to hell."*

No discussion of Mother Jones would be complete without some mention of her encounter with the movement for women's suffrage. In January of 1915, she went to New York to raise money for striking Colorado miners, brutally assaulted by Rockefeller's company thugs. There she was asked to speak to an audience of five-hundred women, mostly suffragettes. And uproar met her phrase: "You don't need a vote to raise hell."

Attacked, she relates, as an "anti," she answered that she was for anything that "would bring freedom for my class." The context clouds her exact viewpoint, but apparently she saw the movement as middle or upper class.

This does not mean that she didn't support the vote for women, for she added: *"No matter what your fight, don't be ladylike! God Almighty made women and the Rockefeller gang of thieves made the ladies."*

She referred at length to the situation in Colorado, a state where women had the vote. Had it not been for the conservative character of their vote, as one mine owner observed, the anti-labor forces could not have continued their control of the state legislature.

Having mobilized women in courageous attempts to organize mining camps, Mother Jones believed that *"Organized labor should organize its women along industrial lines. Politics is only the servant of industry. The plutocrats have organized their women. They keep them busy with suffrage and prohibition and charity."*

A product of her era, she later observed that she did not believe women should work, but should tend to their families and children. She was especially vehement that women should not be working in factories. "If men earned money enough, it would not be necessary for women to neglect their homes and their little ones to add to the family's income."

#### Class Viewpoint

But the one constant factor in the book is Mother Jones' class viewpoint. It colors her response to everything. It was her dedication to the struggles of the working class that gave her the clear-sightedness to see through the machinations of the union leaders as they prepared to sell out strikers, that led her to support the founding of the IWW, to defend the Western Federation of Miners against the attacks of the AFL bureaucracy, to defend the Russian Revolution, and to support the Mexican revolutionaries.

Her book closes with a last chapter called "Progress in Spite of Leaders." In failing health, she nonetheless maintained her commitment to the freedom of the working class until the end.

*"The rank and file have let their servants become their masters and dictators. The workers have now to fight not alone their exploiters but likewise their own leaders, who often betray them, who sell them out, who put their own advancement ahead of that of the working masses, who make of the rank and file political pawns."*

Mother Jones was but the first of a long series of radicals and socialists in the UMW. Some remained loyal to the miners and the working class, some turned traitor. The tradition of socialism in the UMW is a long one and covers the widest variety of politics and programs. But that is another story. ■

[The Autobiography of Mother Jones is available from I.S. Bookservice, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.]



Mother Jones with miners' children

The effects of "The Cultural Revolution" in China seem to be fading. As this happens, new tremors of experimentation occur, tightly controlled by the government.

During the "revolution," any uniformity in dress was scowled upon. Now, visitors say, bright dresses and lipstick are worn. One prominent British businessman finds the atmosphere "gay and more lighthearted." The universities closed by "The Cultural Revolution" are open again, and research journals are now published. But the universities have changed drastically -- in structure, in teaching methods, in student-teacher relations -- and the journals rarely report the findings of original research.

We know of changes in the university system through isolated models, the primary model being Tsinghua University. The story of this institution has been circulated all over China, to be imitated. During the "Revolution" the administration and over 100 teachers there were condemned for obstructing Maoist teachings. Power over the campus was grabbed by a non-academic Mao Tsetung Propaganda Team.

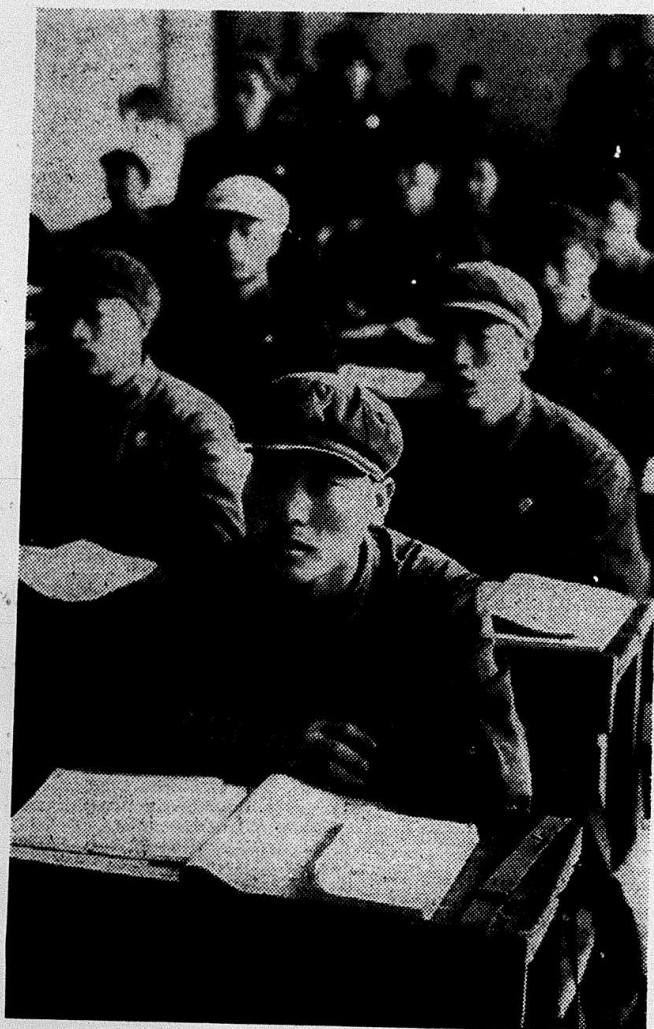
#### Anti-Working Class

On the surface, the educational system appears to have shifted in favor of the working class, at the expense of "intellectualism." Entrance exams have been abolished, and young people with working class backgrounds are favored as applicants. There are no formal tests, no credit-hours, no degrees. Most study and work does not take place on campus, but in factories or on farms. Students are expected to be productive workers while they learn, and their teachers are other workers, farmers, soldiers, and, to a small extent, professional degree-holding instructors, who must also work productively. Theoretical knowledge is taught only as it applies to practical work problems.

The course of study lasts from two to three years, after which the student returns to the factory or farm he or she came from, with no pay increase or privileges. Occasionally a student may indulge in an independent research project, or he or she may take a short-term training class in a special technical subject. Fragmenting knowledge into courses with credits, grades, and exams is seen as interfering with the learning process.

That doesn't mean that the student and teacher in China have freedom of thought or access to all knowledge. The long list of forbidden authors includes Shakespeare, Tolstoy, and Goethe, nor is music by Beethoven allowed. Also, every student must take what amounts to an intensive course in Maoism. *Both in structure and social function, the Chinese University is not only anti-"intellectual" but anti-working class as well.*

Technical training and political indoctrination are the stated goals of Chinese universities, the only reason they exist. Mao's statement of 1968, "It is still necessary to have the universities," suggests that the system was on the verge of possible extinction. In fact, students were refusing to attend classes and had taken control of the curriculum. On March 7, 1968, Mao ordered the army to occupy the



# Chinese Universities Under Mao: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

Derek Hirst

campuses and ensure "correct" political thinking.

Mao has always, however, shown uncertainty over what to do with the universities, and a continuous stream of new orders had left the entire system in chaos. Now, complete control has been taken by the Maoist bureaucracy and it is clear that Mao wanted to save the universities so that they

might serve the ruling elite in its long-range goal of building in China a wealthy, militarily powerful state. The Chinese university of today has its roots in the Stalinist idea of education, where education is used only to unite the nation under a poisonous bureaucracy.

Professors, while undergoing political orientation, are forced to do research

in service of the state. One world-famous authority on genes has been given the task of increasing wheat production. The scientists, like students, must work on practical, immediately-profitable projects. Only 3.4 percent of China's engineers and scientists are diverted to its nuclear weapons program, but many more are at the service of the army for production of other weapons.

#### "Liberal Arts"

"Students should study not only liberal arts, but also engineering, agriculture, and military science as well as criticize the bourgeois," Mao wrote on May 7, 1966. In reality, the study of liberal arts -- history, literature, psychology, economics -- has all but ended in China, and in its place is a not-so-liberal political indoctrination program.

Teachers in these fields must give up all sense of objectivity in order to preach the word of Mao. This is clearly not a case of anti-intellectual feelings among workers, but, rather, Mao's fear of a critical intelligensia whose ideas might spur the workers.

Reports from several Chinese universities have been published concerning liberal arts programs. The report from Peking University says that the main purpose of its liberal arts program is "the cultivation of a firm and correct political orientation." The program's aim at Hangchow University is "to propagate Mao-thought, criticize the bourgeoisie, and cultivate revolutionary fighters." Fudan University's program is designed for students who do not show "correct" political thinking. When a student's political thought has been "corrected," he or she is then transferred to a technical training program.

The difference between any two fields in the liberal arts has been "removed": they all promote the same ideas. A typical article in a historical or psychological journal begins with a quote from Mao, and data from the subject under study is then used to support the quotation. Scientific research methods in the liberal arts are condemned as "Western" and "revisionist."

#### Ruling Class Tool

In one way, the Chinese university system is probably more advanced than any other system in the world: The absence of entrance exams, and of a program which makes the main goal a degree, opens the university to every literate person.

But the progressive content of such a system is destroyed when the university exists for the purpose of promoting faith in a ruling elite. This elite, represented by Mao, controls not only the structure of the university, but all that is taught. Students have no voice in the university, except for the right to criticize their teachers for "incorrect" political thought. By turning student concerns against the teachers, the ruling administration is left with the power. No one can criticize the administration, the curriculum, or the teachings. Rather like an American high school.

Measuring student unrest in China is difficult. Only official documents are seen from outside the country, and they usually give a superficial idea of what is actually taking place. But the Chinese students have a history of revolt, and it may not be long before they again demand control over their universities. ■

# Docks

Michael Stewart

[Continued from page 1]

posed to solve, is still rampant at 10% a year.

The response to these attacks by British workers has been massive. Already this year, 15.3 million man-days have been lost through strike action, already far above last year's record of 13.5. This represents the greatest strike wave in Britain since the general strike in 1926.

These strikes have also been combined with plant occupations to prevent the companies from closing them, such as occurred last year at the Upper Clyde shipyards in Scotland.

Most of these strikes have been "unofficial," strikes called by the shop stewards in the local shops rather than by the national unions. It was at these unofficial strikes, and the ability of the rank and file to fight back, that the Industrial Relations Act (Britain's counterpart to the US Taft-Hartley Law) was aimed. This bill outlines the unofficial strikes and also secondary boycotts, among other actions. A court, like the American NLRB (National Labor Relations Board), was also established to rule on all violations of the law.

## Containerization

The immediate issue in the dock workers' struggle was containerization, and was similar to the issues in the recent longshoremen's strike in this country. Since 1967, containerization has resulted in a reduction of the work force on the docks by a third, from 60,000 to 40,000.

The dock workers are now fighting back, demanding job security. To reinforce their demands, they began picketing and boycotting all containers that were not packed by dock workers. This action was ruled a secondary boycott and thus illegal under the Industrial Relations Act, which had just become law last March.

The National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) first tried fining the dockers' union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). The TGWU bureaucrats, in a brilliant defense of their own interests, appealed the decision by arguing that they were not responsible for the actions of the rank and file since they had not called the actions. The court agreed, placing responsibility on the rank and file itself. It was this decision which ultimately led to the arrest of the five shop stewards for contempt of court.

Immediately all the docks were closed. Strikes began spreading to other industries. Even the truck drivers, who were opposing the dockers' right to pack containers (as the Teamsters were doing in this country) in a tremendous show of solidarity joined in the sympathy strikes against the hated Industrial Relations Bill.

Finally, after the stewards had been in jail for five days and when one hundred thousand workers were already on strike, the Trade Union

Council (TUC) (Britain's equivalent of the AFL-CIO) called a general strike for the next Monday, five days later.

Now even the Labor Party got in to the act. It denounced Prime Minister Heath as a "Nazi" and proclaimed that it would repeal the Industrial Relations Act if it was returned to power. Many workers, however, remember that it was the Labor Party in power which instituted wage controls, and which first introduced the Act.

The British Labor Party hopes to hide its anti-labor policies in order to ride workers' unrest back to power. But its real face was revealed by Labor's "shadow" secretary for unemployment, Reginald Prentice, who stated that he had "no sympathy at all" for the dockers.

Prentice, taking a hard law-and-order line, announced that the dockers were "wrong to organize picketing and the boycott against the policy of their unions. They were even more wrong to defy the Government."

Meanwhile, French dock workers in Le Havre showed their solidarity by refusing to load British ships, and even Harry Bridges got into the act. Pledging his union's solidarity, he sent a telegram offering to take whatever actions the TGWU leaders requested.

But the best way for Bridges to have shown his solidarity would have been by waging a real struggle against containerization in this country. American longshoremen suffered a sharp defeat earlier this year when Bridges sold out their struggle to preserve their job rights.

In the face of the massive response by the working class, the House of Lords, which functions as Britain's highest court of appeals, found a legal out for the government. It overturned the previous appeal of the TGWU, ruling that the union was indeed responsible for the actions of its shop stewards. On the basis of this ruling, the government released the five shop stewards and the general strike was called off.

## Rank and File Victory

The legal shenanigans could not cover up the fact that it was the workers, through their massive strikes and the threat of a general strike, which had forced the government to release the dockers. This victory was entirely due to the initiative and determination of the rank and file, led by their shop stewards.

It is this fact which makes the victory so significant for workers in other countries.

The victory could have occurred in no other way. For the TUC has played much the same role in Britain that the AFL-CIO has played here. Unwilling to really mobilize the masses of workers for a fight, the TUC has consistently capitulated to the government.

While officially taking a position against the Industrial Relations Act, vowing non-cooperation with the Act in all its aspects, they have ignored this position whenever threatened with action by the government. Thus, the TGWU originally refused to recognize the NIRC when ordered to appear before it. After it was fined, however, it did choose to recognize the Court in order to appeal the decision, and has since paid its fine of over \$125,000.



Demonstrators battle police outside London prison where five dock leaders were jailed

This situation was aptly pointed out by a shop steward who was interviewed in *Newsweek*:

*"The present leadership of the TUC at first tried to ignore workers' demands. They told us the rule of law had to be followed and that nothing could be done outside of it. But we made them change and now they've approved industrial activism. It has shown that we can push the trade union leadership. In fact, if we have to, we can push them out."*

The importance of the strong shop stewards movement in Britain cannot be overemphasized. Organized, both formally and informally, in shop stewards' councils, they have been able to provide leadership for the struggle against the Act and unemployment. It was the stewards who had organized the picketing of the containers against the wishes of their union leaders.

It was the stewards who initiated the series of strikes in response to the arrests and which forced the TUC to act. The development of a shop stewards' movement in the US will be an important part of the struggle to rebuild a fighting labor movement in this country.

Another key to victory was the tremendous class solidarity shown by the

British workers. Putting aside their sectional differences, such as those between the truck drivers and the dock workers, they were all able to unite in the struggle against the government.

Such solidarity is necessary in America if the government's and employers' attacks through wage controls, unemployment, and speedup are to be defeated. For instance, such solidarity, even among auto workers, would go a long way towards defeating the speed-up tactics of GMAD.

The struggle in Britain is far from over. The Industrial Relations Act still remains, even if the government cannot fully enforce it at this time. Unemployment remains high, and the struggle on the docks continues.

The organization of the rank and file must be continued, leading to the formation of Councils of Action. The British International Socialists have raised the call for such councils, which could unite all sections of the British working class and provide the coordination and leadership for the actions that must now be undertaken.

The primary task is to begin now building for a real general strike against the Act itself. The recent victory has pointed out the power the working class has. Now it must use it. ■

# Postscript

While the release from jail was sufficient to stop the spreading strikes in Britain, it did not end the dock strike. Rejecting pleas by their leaders to end their strike, dock workers voted to continue their strike until their demands were won.

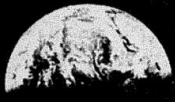
The government quickly called a state of emergency, giving it powers to use troops if necessary to load and unload ships. However, the government refused to use these powers, fearing that this would also receive a massive response from Britain's workers.

Finally, after two weeks, Jack Jones, leader of the TGWU, came in with a new offer. This included guaranteed

full pay for all who were currently registered as dock workers, and also \$10,000 severance pay.

Militants gathered at the building where their leaders were voting on the proposal demanding that the proposal be rejected. They felt that the contract still did not offer enough guarantees that jobs on the docks would be preserved.

When the settlement was announced, their anger rose, and the union leaders actually had to get police to protect them from their rank and file. While Jack Jones claimed the docks would be working again in a few days, the militants vowed to continue the struggle.



# international report

David Finkel

## Australia: Thousands demonstrate for aborigine rights

Thousands of people took to the streets in all of Australia's major cities on July 14 in support of Aborigine rights. On the following day, several hundred students held a sympathy demonstration in Lae, Papua - New Guinea.

The marchers called for black land rights, full employment for all races, and "compensation for all land stolen since 1770" - the year Captain Cook first landed at Botany Bay. These were the first such demonstrations in Australian history.

Previous actions have included storming of government offices in Brisbane, rent strikes on Aboriginal reserves, and the establishment of an "Aboriginal Embassy" in tents in front of Parliament House in Canberra. A week after the July 14 demonstrations, police tore the Embassy down - after all, it could have been embarrassing in an election year! But that only sparked off an even greater outcry - the issue of black rights can no longer be swept under the rug.

[Thanks to Ron Flaherty for this item.]



## Okinawan workers continue struggle against US imperialism

In Okinawa, the struggles of the militant Zengunro (All-Okinawa Base Workers' Union) have continued following the reversion of Okinawa to Japan on May 15. The month of June saw two major struggles around both economic issues facing the workers of Okinawa and the use of the island by US imperialism as a base for the bombing of Vietnam.

On June 15, the Zengunro mobilized at the Naha Military Port against the "attempt by US military authorities to literally mobilize Okinawan workers directly in their war of aggression against Vietnam." These authori-



ties had ordered seamen working on a tugboat to go on duty to the waters of Vietnam.

The revolutionary anti-Stalinist Tsushin newsletter reports that the reversion of Okinawa has helded US imperialism to streamline its operations.

*"Japanese imperialism has taken over the defense of both mainland Japan and Okinawa, thus enabling the US to reorganize its strategio system. Thus the US military bases in Okinawa are now enabled to concentrate all their functions on the aggression on Vietnam."*

*"KC 135 planes take off daily for air-to-air refueling of B-52 bombers bound for Vietnam, and direct sorties to the front lines in Vietnam . . . (and) logistic and supply activities have been stepped up since the reversion on May 15. A large number of B-52 bombers came to Okinawa in July under the pretext of 'unfavorable weather conditions' on Guam."*

This struggle was followed by a 48-hour base workers' strike on June 29-30 against massive firings following reversion, large scale wage cuts, and delays in wage payments, injustice in payment of summer bonuses, intensification of labor and forced overtime, as well as transfers accompanying the intensified bombing of Vietnam.

In the light of these struggles, the Japanese revolutionary student organization, Zengakuren, has resolved to carry out large-scale actions in the fall against the war in Vietnam and the use of Okinawa as a war base, as well as a revolutionary reorganization of the student movement and a confrontation with Stalinist forces.

## Northern Ireland: Sinn Fein persecuted for helping homeless

Mairin de Burca, Joint Secretary of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Official Irish Republican Army, has been sentenced to a \$500 fine or three months in jail for helping homeless families in Dublin move into vacant houses. Although acquitted of charges of violating an injunction forbidding her to enter the house where the

families were squatting, she was ordered to name the families involved. She refused to reveal the names because if the landlord got the names he would have been able to have the families evicted.

De Burca was held in contempt of court and ordered jailed until she gave the names. When an appeals court ruled that she could not be held indefinitely, she was sentenced to the \$500 fine or three months.

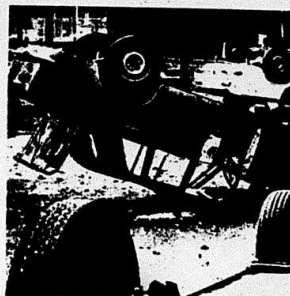
*[Contributions to help pay this fine, which neither Sinn Fein nor Mairin de Burca have the money to pay, can be sent to: Mairin de Burca Defense Fund, c/o Irish Republican Clubs, 37-76 64th St., Woodside, NY.]*

## Italy: State, bosses fear new mass workers upsurge

"All Sides Await the Autumn" is the word from Italy, according to the *Financial Times* of London, as the season approaches for the re-negotiation of labor contracts covering millions of workers. National contracts (now to be supplemented by firm by firm bargaining as well) come up for renewal every third year. In 1969, millions of man-hours were lost in strikes and picketing as well as sit-ins and other industrial direct action.

Beginning in July, pre-negotiation strikes have already been carried out by newspaper, telephone, and chemical workers. The spearhead of the contract struggle, however, is expected to be the metal workers, who number 1.3 million. Whereas in 1969 industrial employment "was expanding in a general atmosphere approaching euphoria," this year's negotiations will come after a long recession. This fact will be used to the hilt by the ruling Liberal Party to mobilize public opinion against the labor movement's claims.

The Bank of Italy has already published figures claiming that the increase in labor costs since 1969 has been 48 percent for private industry and 52 percent for publically owned industry.



Italian cars wrecked in the 1969 strikes

In 1969, much of the strongest militancy came from young workers who had migrated to northern Italy from the impoverished South, many of whom were attracted by the agitation of revolutionary "grouplets" against the labor bureaucracy. In response to the revolutionaries, the unions were forced into "similar extremism for fear of losing their hold on the labor movement." The Italian government and the capitalist press are taking comfort, for the moment, from the fact that the influence of the revolutionaries has receded during the recession.

## Puerto Rico: PSP plans boycott of 1972 elections

The Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) has been commissioned by the Party membership to launch a campaign of abstention in the 1972 elections. This policy was arrived at after it proved to be impossible to achieve an electoral united front with the Independence Party (PIP).

The apparent difference between the PSP and the PIP which made a common election strategy impossible is that the PIP, according to the PSP, attaches great importance to the election and hopes to roll up the largest possible numerical vote, while the PSP sees the elections themselves as having lesser, more educational importance. While planning to abstain, the PSP states that "we haven't the slightest interest in reducing the number of votes the PSP rolls up." It is not yet clear how this somewhat contradictory political line will be expressed in practice.

The PSP statement, published in *Tricontinental* magazine, calls for a major organizational effort to build the PSP as a revolutionary vanguard force in the coming year, particularly "once this year's little electoral skirmish is over."

## Cuba moves toward closer integration into Stalinist bloc

Cuba's decision to join "Comecon" - the economic bloc of the Stalinist states dominated by the Soviet Union - is expected to have a serious dampening effect on what remains of Castro's rhetorical support for revolutionary struggles in Latin America and elsewhere.

The economic pressure on Cuba to join Comecon was considerable. Cuba's estimated trade deficit with the Soviet Union since 1960 is estimated at between two and three billion dollars, to which must be added several hundred millions worth of deficit in trade with other Comecon nations.

Despite the advantages of achieving trade with Allende's Chilean government and the Peruvian military regime - both of which are tenuous given Allende's feeble hold on power and the superficiality of Peru's "anti-imperialism" - Cuba remains substantially isolated from most of the capitalist world by the imperialist US economic blockade. This isolation has put enormous pressure on the Castroite bureaucracy, despite its desires to retain independence and maneuverability, to move further and further toward economic integration into the Soviet bloc.

The scale and scope of Cuban activities in support of armed insurrections have been much reduced since the mid-1960's, when Che Guevara died in Bolivia leading a guerilla force. The clearest indication of this came in 1970 when Douglas Bravo, the guerilla leader in Venezuela, accused Castro of withdrawing support in response to Russian disapproval of guerilla activities.



In the middle of last year the two biggest European auto tire makers, Dunlop (British) and Pirelli (Italian) merged to become the biggest European rubber trust ever. The results for workers? In the three-quarters of a year since the merger, 8,500 employees have been laid off in Italy and Britain.

Shortly after the merger of the two firms, an Italian-English trade union committee was formed to defend the interests of the company's employees. In England, only shop-stewards are members, while in Italy it has the support of the three trade union federations.

The committee called for an international warning strike on June 9 against the company. While in Italy all its plants were nearly 100 percent shut down during a two-hour strike, in England only 7,500 workers (15 percent) took part in a one-day action. However, the strike had been forbidden by the four English unions connected with the industry, so that the strike was a wildcat.

The German unions were once again a brake on international solidarity; from the German Dunlop works in Hanau and the Veith Pirelli works in Furth/Odenwald there came no supporting action.



*This was the first European strike, but not the first international solidarity action by European workers. During the 9-week strike against Ford in Britain in the spring of 1971, the German and Belgian unions agreed not to carry out any extra jobs which would normally have been done in Britain. Shop representatives from continental Ford plants meet regularly with British unionists to discuss questions of common interest and plan coordinated action.*

With the formation and growth of multi-national or international corporations, only solidarity between workers of various countries can prevent the companies from playing off the national unions against each other. The formation of international workers' committees appears especially urgent in branches of industry which are showing rapid international expansion: auto, chemical, electrical, and so on. It is vital that this international solidarity and cooperation does not drift out of the hands of the workers themselves, become monopolized by top-level union functionaries, and gradually go to sleep in their desk drawers. ■

[Translated by Ron Flaherty from *Klassenkampf*, monthly newspaper of the Socialist Workers' Groups of West Germany.]

# East Europe Prisoners Appeal to Angela Davis

In *Workers' Power* No. 60, hailing the acquittal of Angela Davis on frame-up murder charges, we wrote that "Angela Davis has won widespread sympathy on the basis of her well-deserved reputation as a militant. She has stated her intention to return to the struggle to free political prisoners around the world."

"We suggest that Davis use her reputation and standing to demand freedom both for Black and other political prisoners in the US, and for the revolutionary socialists imprisoned by Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Stalinist regimes."

Since that time, appeals have in fact been made to Davis on behalf of prisoners in the Communist countries, expressing solidarity with her struggle and asking her support.

One such letter, from the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, formed early in 1972 after the arrest of dissenters in the Ukraine, congratulates her "on your victory over oppression and welcomes your statement that you will struggle to free all political prisoners." The letter goes on to explain the situation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, including revolutionary Marxist oppositionists.

These prisoners include the writer Ivan Dzyuba, the author of a book which "denounces from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint the Russian Communist Party for its Russian chauvinism and the consequent economic and educational discrimination against the Ukrainians and other national minorities in the Soviet Union."

The Committee (most of whose members are students of Ukrainian descent) closes with an invitation to Davis to "meet with you anywhere on your itinerary before you leave for your trip to the Soviet Union in order to discuss the issue of Soviet political prisoners. Freedom for All Political Prisoners!"

A second appeal, which has received worldwide attention, was addressed to Davis by Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television, former president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Czechoslovak Parliament and member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Pelikan left Czechoslovakia after the "normalization" — that is, the Russian invasion of 1968 which brutally crushed the aspirations of the Czechoslovak masses for democratic rights under Dubcek.

The occasion for this letter was the new round of repression in Czechoslovakia, in which hundreds of participants in the reform movement are awaiting trial and thousands of workers and professionals are being purged and thrown out of work. (In a future issue we will discuss in depth these trials and their meaning.)

Pelikan appeals to Davis as a fellow Communist, on the basis of the common motives which have led hun-

dreds of thousands of people to join the Communist Parties around the world. "You say that you became a Communist because, seeing people suffer, you understood that it was necessary to change society. The same for me. I joined the Communist Party in September, 1939. I was a student and had seen my country occupied by the Nazis."

Pelikan goes on to point out that both he and Davis have shared the experiences of prison, repression, discrimination, and suffering in the service of the Communist movement. The only difference between them is that Pelikan, after 30 years as a dedicated Communist (and even a member of the ruling bureaucracy), was expelled from the party along with half a million other Czech and Slovak Communists — "simply because we refused to consider the occupation of our little socialist country by a foreign power, itself socialist, as an act of fraternal aid."

Despite his continuing illusions as to the "socialist" nature of the Soviet Union, Pelikan points out the obvious parallel between the American imperialist invasion of Vietnam and the presence of 80,000 Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia.

After urging Davis to demand a list of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia and listing a large number of imprisoned Communists and Socialists, Pelikan explains that the system of repression is not limited to prisoners but runs throughout society (he might well have pointed out the parallel with the position of black people and other oppressed minorities in the United States).

"But prison isn't the only or main form of repression in Czechoslovakia. Tens of thousands of citizens have nothing to live on: they are deprived of work because of their political convictions. The best writers are condemned to silence, 'disobedient' theaters are closed, directors who made their reputation in Czech film are without work and forced to leave the country.

"The Minister of Culture does not recommend that theaters put on anti-

fascist works, fearing that the public will make 'dangerous parallels' which might lead to 'provocative enthusiasm.'"

"That, truly, is why you, Angela, and the millions of people who have supported you and who believe in a more just socialist society, can no longer keep silent on the subject of the violation of human rights in the countries which call themselves 'socialist', and which, by their attitude, discredit socialism more than no matter what reactionary propaganda.

"That is why I suggest, to you and to those who sincerely supported you, and not in a spirit of demagogic propaganda, that you:

"(1) Demand the liberation of all political prisoners in the world, in Greece, in Spain, in Portugal, in Brazil, in Iran, in the US, and also in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union;

"(2) Protest against the violation of the rights of men — especially the right to freedom of speech and organization, the right to strike, the right to emigrate, to work, and to study without discrimination — in the whole world;

"(3) Demand the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

"Feel sure, Angela, that not I alone but many other people await your reply, or, better still, your action."

It is a great tragedy that Angela Davis, who is justly regarded as a symbol of the struggle against political repression and the oppression of black people in the US, is prevented by her membership in the Communist Party from using her reputation to support the struggle of political prisoners and oppressed nationalities under the Stalinist regimes.

The American Communist Party, which vigorously supported the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the ensuing repression, represents part of the international apparatus whose actions reflect the interests of the ruling Russian bureaucracy. This apparatus — despite the revolutionary aspirations of many of its rank and file members, advances neither the interests of the world revolutionary movement nor the cause of human freedom. ■



Czechs confront invading Russian troops in 1968

# Obituary

[Continued from page 2]

of industrialization in Stalin's Russia. He lived with ordinary people and gave away his privileged foreign workers' rations. Once, a fleeing peasant (a supposed "kulak") bought his wristwatch from him for a cow and six chickens.

He saw starvation on a large scale, and at the same time saw the luxury in which the bureaucrats and visiting Western Communists were living. Illness caused by the terrible conditions permanently affected Jim's health.

Towards the end of 1932, Jim was tipped off that he was about to be discovered and left Russia in a hurry.

After his return to Edinburgh, Jim had a very rough time. Work was difficult, if not impossible, to get. When he tried to hold soapbox meetings on The Mound, Edinburgh's speakers' corner, Communist Party members came and broke it up.

Jim claimed that after he caught one of the CP's leading figures alone in a dark alley one night, the physical attacks on him stopped. However, he still found that even those ex-CP'ers who agreed with his political ideas were not prepared to take the risk of becoming involved in the Trotskyist movement.

During World War II, a Trotskyist group finally did get going in Edinburgh with 20 members, all but one of them manual workers. Jim had great hopes for this group, and was bitterly disappointed when it disintegrated due to faction fighting. He told us in graphic terms how the Internal Bulletin got fatter and fatter issue by issue until the sheer weight of documents started to drive the workers out of the organization.

After the group had fallen apart, Jim emigrated first to Australia, then to Canada. While keeping his beliefs alive (he used to mark his tools with four notches on the handle -- standing for the Fourth International), he was unable to be politically active because of the circumstances he found himself in.

He returned once more to Edinburgh in 1960 and had to nurse his wife through a long and crippling illness. It was after the death of his wife that Jim joined the International Socialists in 1970.

Despite worsening health, he insisted that no one should be simply a card-carrying member of a revolutionary organization. He took part enthusiastically in the activities of the branch. During the postmen's strike he spent many hours in bitterly cold weather taking tea round to the pickets and selling our newspaper, *Socialist Worker*.

His speeches from the floor were the high point of many of our public meetings. His old soapbox wit never deserted him, especially when he was "pouring the acid," as he used to call it, on bureaucrats of either the reformist or Stalinist variety.

But, vastly more important than the routine tasks of an IS member that Jim undertook, was his role in educating members of the Edinburgh branch. His special talent was in talking to the newest members, those who lacked the self-confidence to speak up in meetings. He was able to explain in simple human terms, always illustrating from his vast experience, the basic Marxist arguments and theories.

Jim never kept any books -- he made a habit of giving them away when he had read them -- but he seemed to know the classic Marxist texts almost by heart. He used to tell us that the theoretical level in I.S. was

higher than in any group he had ever been in, also that *Socialist Worker* was the best paper he had read in 50 years. If Jim was typical, we still have a long way to go to live up to his description of us.

Jim's life was full of disappointments: the degeneration of the Communist Party; the collapse of the Trotskyist group in Edinburgh, the deterioration that had occurred in *The Militant* -- the American Trotskyist paper he had helped to establish -- when he saw it again in Canada in the late '50's; the political fate of Max Shachtman, who had been his close personal friend in the States. With all this, he never lost heart and always looked to the future with optimism.

Even in the last weeks of his life, he was selling *Socialist Worker* to the nurses from his hospital bed. His political stamina and personal courage remain an inspiration.

Despite his impressive political achievements, many of us will remember Jim Charleson best for his extreme generosity and the many personal kindnesses he showed to us all. He had spent a great deal of his life at or near the headline, and never refused another comrade in need. He showed us what true comradeship could mean, and for that we will always be grateful. ■

# Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

the first place. This reliance continues, although the more conservative bureaucrats have refused to endorse McGovern for President after getting the cold shoulder from their "friends" at the Democratic Convention.

Under the wage freeze and Phase 2 policies, the working class scored an initial promising breakthrough but then suffered a series of major defeats. The miners' strike broke through the 5.5 percent wage increase guidelines, and demonstrated that the ruling class is not yet prepared to take a head-on

collision with a militant labor movement.

This victory was followed, however, by the sell-out of the national telephone strike last summer and the crushing defeat of the seven-month New York telephone strike which followed, in defiance of the CWA International and against the do-nothing policies of the Local 1101 CWA leadership. Then the longshore workers, on both coasts, were defeated in their job security struggle and had their inadequate pay increases slashed further by the Pay Board.

The following months have seen a rash of plant closures, pay cuts forced upon local unions under threat of further closures, and a brutal productivity drive leading to strikes at Lordstown, Norwood, and other plants in auto and other industries. In most of these struggles, local unions, left to fight alone against giant corporations with little or no support from the interna-

tionals, have done well to barely hold their own.

The time for American workers to fight back is now. As the economy moves temporarily back to a shallow "prosperity," new openings exist for a new wage offensive and a fight against speedup, layoffs, and unemployment. After a period of decline in strikes and other indices of militancy, wildcat and local strike activity is again on the rise. A determined show of industrial militancy can reverse the trend of defeats of the past months.

The British workers have shown the way for American workers to follow. Through occupations of plants to prevent closures, through militant action by dock workers to protect their jobs, and through a near general strike to free workers arrested for picketing on the docks, they have opened up huge cracks in their government's anti-labor offensive. Working class solidarity in action can do the same here. ■



# Economy

[Continued from page 6]

cause of inflation. The huge budget deficits have to be paid for, and their funds come out of taxes and government borrowing. These loans are in turn repaid out of future taxes, so the entire defense budget takes a large bite out of the national income. Unless overall economic growth keeps well ahead of military expansion, businesses try to hold on to their slipping profits by raising prices, and inflation

is the outcome.

Thus a major cause of the continuing high rates of unemployment and inflation is that economic growth is too slow -- despite the GNP's fastest growth in a decade. As a system, capitalism lurches along by a series of alternating booms and slumps. In order for the system to expand, each boom has to overcome the decline of the previous slump, whether it was a recession or a full fledged depression.

An important barometer for measuring the economy's potential for expansion is the health of the "capital goods" industries, which produce new plant and equipment. Products manufactured in this sector are themselves used in further production, so prosperity in the capital goods industries tends to spread throughout the economy.

Over the course of the business cy-

cle the booms and declines in these industries are much more severe than elsewhere. When profit rates are high, capitalists expand their investment in new plant and equipment; when profits fall, their purchases of new machinery slow to a trickle or stop.

Because of the arms economy, the oscillation of capital goods production is no longer as violent as it once was. During the 1970 recession, the high arms budgets did not permit capital spending to collapse. Consequently a record upward swing in production goods should not be expected. There is a new batch of military orders, but the growth in capital goods production is not likely to last.

This is confirmed by government surveys of businessmen's expectations for their own investment; these will be tapering off by the end of this year.

Unused industrial productive capacity, which was up to 27 percent a year ago, is still at 23.3 percent. This holds back possibilities for new investment, despite the Administration's tax credit allowance which in effect gives corporations tax giveaways for such investment.

The outlook now is for a moderate business boom of short duration, which will have little effect on inflation and unemployment. Long-term economic stagnation is the problem. It is a disease of the capitalist system, which is unable to advance the level of production without incurring great social costs and inequities. The working class, whose standard of living is threatened by the present business "boom," will be under an ever greater attack in the business stagnation of the near future. ■

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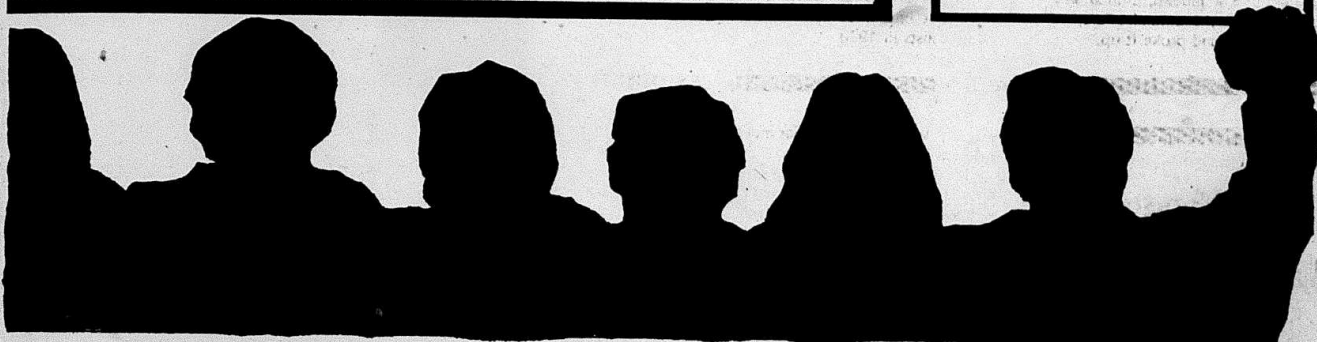
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## Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and 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.**

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