

Viet Cease-Fire: Armed Truce Is No Peace

Since the North Vietnamese government announced that a peace settlement had been negotiated and demanded that the United States sign by October 31 as promised, millions of Americans have been hoping that the Vietnam war may finally be over. The US government was then also forced to break the news to prevent the embarrassment of being caught trying to delay the signing until after the US elections which Nixon expects to win.

Nixon evidently hopes to gain additional advantage by squabbling over minor details until the election is past. Expecting to be in office another four years, he will then feel free to break the terms of anything he signs to suit US political and military aims, just as the US has broken every other agreement it has ever made in Southeast Asia.

But even if and when the cease-fire begins, the war will not be over. The US will remain in Vietnam, attempting to force its policies on the Vietnamese people. The settlement solves none of the basic questions in the war, and will lead only to

(Continued on page 13)



Election Ignores Blacks

EDITORIAL

Black people are the "forgotten voters" in this year's election. Capitalist politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, once gave lip service to reforms to win black support. This year they've scurried off to hustle votes by appealing to the fear, insecurity and racism of whites, including many white workers.

George McGovern and the Democratic Party are relying on traditional voting patterns to deliver the black vote. Meanwhile, a few black figures and celebrities like singer James Brown and Sammy Davis, Jr. have aroused anger among other established black leaders by endorsing Nixon's re-election.

The truth is that neither Nixon nor McGovern offer any program against racism or to achieve black equality. Instead, the candidates and parties of big business focus

on shadow issues and dishonest rhetoric.

Nixon and the Republicans campaign around straw issues to bring out the ever-present racist potential of white voters. McGovern responds weakly by reprinting a harmless Senate speech or two memorializing Martin Luther King, which only masks his own retreat and compromise on black rights and his unwillingness to support a mass struggle for equality and black liberation.

While whites take out their

fears and frustrations over taxes and unemployment by turning to racism, it is the oppressed communities which are the most threatened by these evils. When capitalism produces -- as it must -- periods of stagnation and recession, unemployment, poverty, and drug addiction reach epidemic proportions in the black and Spanish-speaking communities.

The violent attack on black children in Canarsie, New York

(Continued on page 4)





FUND DRIVE TOPS 50%; 4 WKS. TO GO

The IS Fund Drive passed the half-way mark this week. As of October 27, the total received stood at \$7,663. The goal is \$15,000 by November 22.

Of the large branches, Detroit still leads with 90 percent of its quota met. Seattle, not far behind, has reached 81 percent.

Several smaller branches, Champaign-Urbana, Rochester and Riverside, have met or exceeded their quotas.

The money collected in this drive is needed for expansion of the International Socialists' resources and activity.

Increasing the quality and number

of our publications, and more frequent and extensive speaking and organizing tours, are high priorities.

IS members will provide much of the funds for this drive. In order to reach our goal, however, we need contributions from the readers of *Workers' Power*.

Your contribution will help in the re-building of a revolutionary working class socialist movement in America.

[Checks may be made payable to the International Socialists or to Joel Geier, and should be sent to 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Austin-			
San Antonio	\$ 75	\$ 0	0
Ann Arbor	100	30	30
Boston	350	0	0
Champaign	60	85	142
Chapel Hill	60	0	0
Chicago	1,200	376	31
Cincinnati	60	0	0
Detroit	2,500	2,245	90
East Bay	2,000	695	35
Knoxville	40	15	38
Lansing	60	0	0
Los Angeles	1,500	750	50
Madison	500	285	52
New York	3,500	1,633	47
Pittsburgh	45	5	11
Portland	200	50	25
Rochester	60	120	200
Riverside	40	40	100
San Francisco	600	222	37
Seattle	850	685	82
MAL's	150	175	117
Nat'l Office	1,500	30	1
TOTAL	\$15,450	\$7,663	50%

Detroit nears 100%!



INTERESTED?

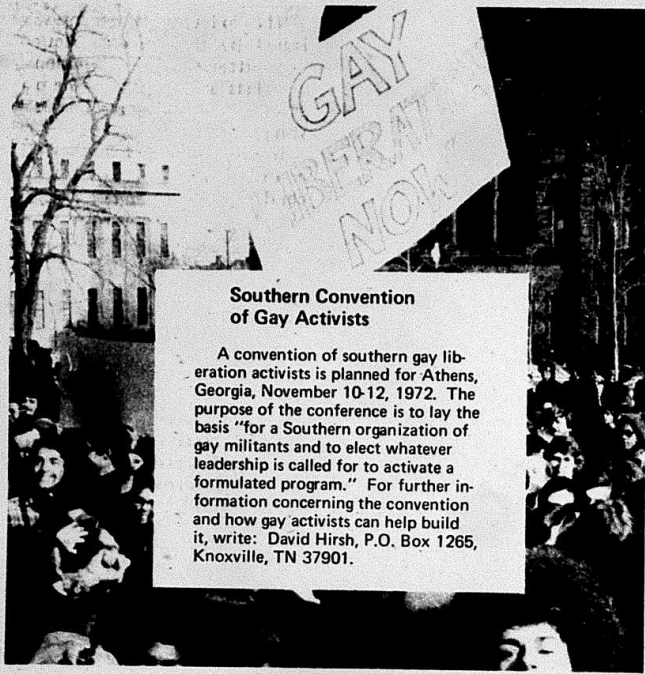
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Third Floor
14131 Woodward Avenue
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I would like more information about International Socialism and the I.S.

Name

Address

Occupation



Southern Convention of Gay Activists

A convention of southern gay liberation activists is planned for Athens, Georgia, November 10-12, 1972. The purpose of the conference is to lay the basis "for a Southern organization of gay militants and to elect whatever leadership is called for to activate a formulated program." For further information concerning the convention and how gay activists can help build it, write: David Hirsh, P.O. Box 1265, Knoxville, TN 37901.

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N.Y.: BLACK STUDENTS VS. RACIST VIOLENCE

Jim Gregory



Police and students outside John Wilson High School in Canarsie, Brooklyn

John Wilson Jr. High School 211, located in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn, is the scene of the tensest situation New York's schools have faced since the racist 1968 teachers' strike against community control of schools.

Since October 16 there have been daily confrontations at the school between hundreds of white parents from Canarsie and parents of 32 black students attempting to enroll at Wilson.

The black children live in the Tilden Houses of Brooklyn's Brownsville ghetto, located in school district 23. For the past few years, junior high school students from this housing project have been bused to Junior High School 285, located in district 18, which was somewhat less crowded than Brownsville junior high schools.

This year, however, the district 18 school board refused to admit new Tilden Houses pupils, on the grounds that Junior High School 285 was itself overcrowded and that admitting more blacks would disturb the 50-50 black-white racial balance of the school.

On October 13, New York schools Chancellor Harvey Scribner assigned 15 blacks from the Tilden Houses, whose brothers and sisters already attend 285, to that school.

At the same time he assigned 31 others to John Wilson Junior High, currently 32 percent black and Puerto Rican. Parents at Wilson immediately protested this decision, and the current confrontation quickly developed.

The events at Wilson came as no

surprise to New Yorkers even slightly acquainted with the city's schools. New York's educational budget has been cut for two straight years.

Construction of new schools has virtually stopped. 8,000 teachers have been laid off since September, 1971, while student enrollment has increased. The results have been overcrowded schools and an increase of 10 percent in class size.

The More Effective Schools Program, aimed at improving education in ghetto schools, has been eliminated for lack of funds, as have early childhood pre-school centers.

Vocational high schools have been forced to drop one period per day, and academic high schools have dropped elective courses.

John Wilson Junior High, like most of the city's 900 schools, has been hurt by the budget cuts. More students and fewer teachers this year have meant an overcrowded school with excessively large classes.

White parents at Wilson have expressed fear that admitting more students would strain the school's capacities even further.

The black parents, on the other hand, point to the undeniable reality that Wilson is far less overcrowded than Brownsville schools and has better facilities.

Basic Democratic Rights

The aspirations of the black parents for equality and a decent education for their children are basic democratic rights which must be supported. These black youth, facing vicious race-baiting and even physical attacks for attempting to exercise these rights,

must be defended by the black community and the socialist movement.

A large part of the motivation of the white parents is racist. But both sides are being misled and used. The underlying long-range issue is how to get quality education for all children in New York, and busing won't accomplish that.

Busing tens of thousands of Brownsville and Bedford-Stuyvesant students into already overcrowded Canarsie and East Flatbush schools will at best serve to equalize the misery.

The Board of Education has little or no interest in establishing equality and decent education for black youth. The Board is using these students as pawns in an attempt to mask the collapse of the entire educational system.

The only solution is *immediate restoration of the budget cuts* with additional money for building more schools, hiring more teachers, and restoring slashed programs.

Both sides in Canarsie are playing the Board of Education's game by taking the budget cuts for granted and fighting over how to divide up what's left, rather than fighting for more for everybody.

The immediate interests of both black and white parents lie in a joint struggle to demand of the Board of Education and the city that they stop using children as pawns in their cynical game, and provide the funds needed to begin to solve this crisis. This must be accomplished through taxation of capitalist corporate and banking interests, not by further taxing black and white working people.

The black community and parents

could advance their just struggle for their right to attend Wilson by putting forward, at the same time, a proposal to the white parents to join them in raising this demand.

Unless such a campaign is started now, the Wilson incident will be replayed in school after school as innocent children suffer. As always, the black and Puerto Rican people will be hardest hit as the decay accelerates.

Every school in the city has been hurt by the budget cuts; every school is a potential powder keg.

For example, Theodore Roosevelt High School in the black and Puerto Rican South Bronx has lost \$250,000 from its operating budget. Franklin K. Lane, another ghetto high school, has registers of fifty to sixty in many classes assigned to classrooms with 42 seats. The list could go on indefinitely.

Within the past few days, racist violence has escalated throughout the city as a small group of whites in Queens spilled oil and hurled rocks at black children being bused to school.

Unless all involved in education -- teachers, parents, and students; black, white, and Puerto Rican -- join together to fight the attack on education launched by the Board of Education and the city, education in New York will be lost in racial turmoil.

The only possible victor in this instance will be the Board of Education, which will be the Board of Education, which will have succeeded in saving money at the expense of the education of New York's schoolchildren.

The following statement was issued by the National Action Committee of the International Socialists and represents the position of the IS on the Canarsie struggle:

In the immediate conflict over the attempt to prevent black children from Brownsville from attending the Wilson school in Canarsie, the decisive question is the defense of the black community against racism and the threat of violence against black children and the black community.

It is also a question of defending the most elementary rights of the black community to equality and decent education; i.e. not to be trapped in the most overcrowded and run-down schools. Under these circumstances we defend unequivocally and unconditionally their right to attend the schools of their choice and to win this right by any means necessary.

I.S. Position on Canarsie



Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

(see page 3 for coverage of this crisis) is a warning of even sharper violence that may follow as the job, housing and education squeeze tightens.

When this happens, the politicians who support this system, like rats leaving the sinking ship, abandon their promises to hand out token reforms and equal rights in order to keep things quiet. And the liberals are the first rats to desert.

As the busing issue surfaced last year, Nixon quickly sensed the chance to win support by championing local opposition to it. The busing issue is one around which suburban, lower middle-class and working-class whites, whose economic security is being eroded, can focus on blacks as the explanation for their troubles.

"Two-way" busing involves more than simply the right of black people to attend any school they want, a right which socialists unconditionally defend. It also involves sending white students (mostly working class) to worse schools, an issue made to order for the racists.

Even whites who are not racist find it impossible to defend. The initiative is seized by the racists, whose talk about "quality education" (skillfully picked up by Nixon) is a code word for their real program -- to preserve the status quo and leave blacks trapped in the most run-down, decayed inner-city schools.

For these reasons, socialists oppose both the "pro"-busing and "anti"-busing forces, both of whom use racism to further their own ends. The liberals who proposed two-way busing as a way to win token gains for a few blacks, not by attacking the system but at the expense of working class whites, refuse to fight even for this miserable program now that it is under attack by the racists.

But the shadow-boxing and maneuvering of the candidates around these false issues make little long-run difference. What neither capitalist party or their candidates offer is a road forward for a massive struggle by black people -- for their basic human rights and for a solution to the economic and social dead-end of capitalist society which generates and fans the flames of white racism.

A real solution to the problems of education, jobs and defense of the black community must begin with a massive black liberation movement fighting for decent education, the complete reconstruction of the cities and full employment -- in short, a program for full black equality, not a program limited to attending a slightly less rotten school and to holding a fixed percentage of an already unstable or shrinking number of decent jobs.

The leadership for a fighting black movement can no longer be offered either by the liberal politicians and the traditional church leaders. The strength and cohesion for a fighting movement can be found in the workplaces -- in basic industry, where blacks are already playing the most militant role on union issues, and are winning the grudging respect of whites.

Black workers must now take the lead in fighting back attacks on black people and for the interests of all workers.

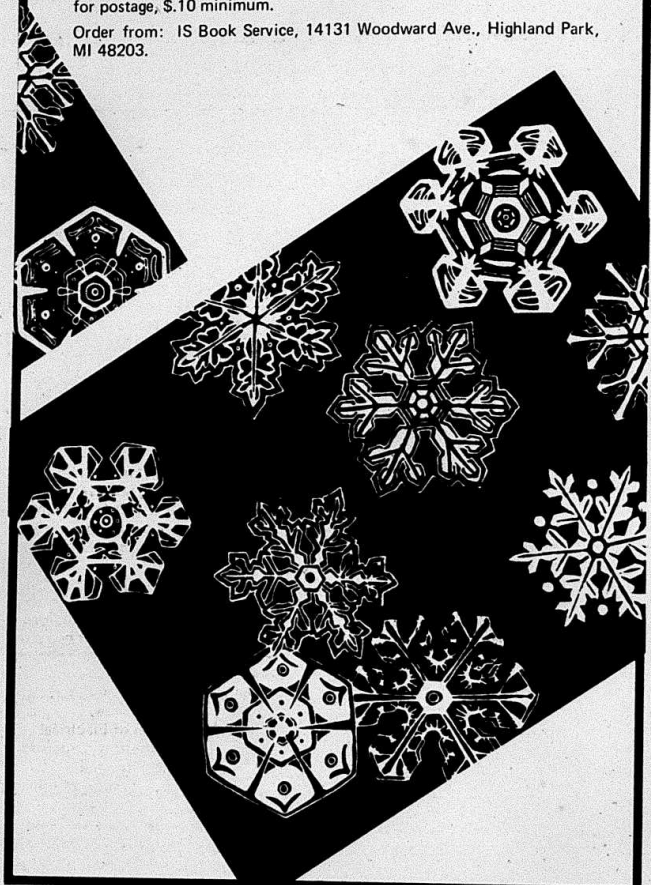
Neither Democratic nor Republican parties can be the vehicle for such a fight. To achieve these goals, black workers must radicalize the union movement and take the lead in fighting for an independent working class party. The elections of 1972 offer no political gains for black, Spanish-speaking and other working people through either party. A break from these parties, led by black workers who are hurt most of all, is the only way out of the quicksand which is rising around our necks.

I.S. Greeting Cards

Four designs: 1. Snowflakes (shown in part here). 2. Marx as Skating Santa (See Issue No. 66) with "Revolutionary Greetings." 3. Fist with holly (See Issue No. 65) with "Revolutionary Greetings." 4. The GMAD Reindeer with "Season's Greetings" (coming in our next issue).

1 and 2: Black on heavy white paper. 3 and 4: Black on heavy red paper. Envelopes are included. \$1.10 each. Please include 10 percent for postage, \$1.10 minimum.

Order from: IS Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.



I.S. Southern Newsletter

A monthly Southern newsletter of the International Socialists is being established as a result of discussions at the Southern Educational Conference held by IS at the Highlander Center near Knoxville, Tennessee.

Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and southern Ohio were represented at the conference. Unfortunately, comrades and friends from Texas, Florida and Missouri could not attend.

The most substantial of several discussion sessions at the conference was on "Southern Economy and Black Liberation." Sy Landy, National Secretary of the IS, gave a fairly full historical analysis of the South since the 1890's.

Landy pointed out that, far from having any real "colonial" relationship to the US as a whole, the Southern white capitalist class increasingly provided the political leadership in Washington, functioning in the interests of the whole national bourgeoisie.

The token measures designed to

placate the black middle class and its white liberal allies has alienated the poor whites from the system while at the same time failing to significantly improve conditions for the masses of blacks.

Thus, there is a distinct possibility -- the beginnings of which have already been seen -- that black and white workers will increasingly unite against their common enemy, the capitalist class.

Such an inter-racial radical movement has a precedent in the extensive co-operation between black and white farmers in the Southern populist movement in the early 1890's.

Other topics discussed at the conference were the "Labor Movement in the South," "The Miners of Appalachia," "The Program of the IS," and aspects of the national and international class struggle.

[The newsletter is available free of charge by writing c/o Mott, Box 1265, Knoxville, TN 37901.]

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward

Auto: Fruehauf office workers vote to leave UAW

Office workers at the headquarters of Fruehauf Corporation in Detroit have tragically voted, 93-76, to pull out of the United Auto Workers union. Fruehauf's office workers -- about 80 percent women -- were involved in a long, bitter strike for union recognition only three years ago.

Although Fruehauf's production workers had been organized for many years, the corporation fought the unionization of office workers with special vigor, hiring scabs and engaging in intimidation and violence against the strikers.

The production workers at Fruehauf -- who work in the very same plant with the clericals -- supported the strike. But the UAW International told them that they must not strike because their own contract had not expired. A pretty sorry sight -- 6:00 a.m., 10' above, and UAW brothers crossing the picket lines of their union sisters.

Women's liberation groups also supported the strike.

The strike lasted seven long months, the women walking picket lines through one of Detroit's most vicious winters. By the time the strike ended most of the women had been forced to quit and find other jobs. As a result most of the women left at Fruehauf were scabs hired during the strike. Obviously, the UAW International has failed completely to win their support.

In explaining her vote, one worker said, "We just didn't think we needed a union. They didn't do anything for us." Although the office workers had plenty of reason to be upset with the UAW bureaucracy, they have now left themselves defenseless and at the mercy of Fruehauf.

It may not be too long before they feel the need to fight the unionization battle again. If so, their next step must be to join the fight for rank and file control over the unions.



Police guard Fruehauf in 1965

Isolated Fedders strike ends in stalemate

After seven long months, the strike at the Edison, New Jersey Fedders Corporation is over. (See *Workers' Power* no. 65).

Through sheer tenacity, against a vigorous attack by the corporation, rank and file strikers have won what looks on paper like a virtual stalemate.

On one hand, minor salary increases were won, ranging from 30 cents during the first year for some workers to 5 cents for others.

All workers were rehired and the company agreed to a drug prescription plan.

However, the union gave up several vacation days -- the workers will now have only 12 instead of 17 holidays.

In broader terms, however, the settlement is a clear defeat for the union.

Fedders succeeded in isolating the strike and imposing a settlement that was substantially below not only the rest of the industry, but far below even what Fedders was granting at its other plants. Fedders' plan is clearly to use the Edison settlement as a pattern during the next round of negotiations.

The blame for this defeat must go directly to the bureaucrats of the IUE (International Union of Electrical Workers) International who allowed the strike to remain isolated.

Fedders certainly knows who won. Since the end of the strike, the corporation has increased the line speed. Court charges against those arrested during the strike still stand.

Workers in the plant are already complaining about the speedup. The struggle will continue, but to be successful the rank and file will have to overcome the isolation which prevented victory in this strike.

Washington teachers strike settled on a low note

Members of American Federation of Teachers Local 6 in Washington, D.C. are back at work after a nine-day strike. Local 6's Executive Board was badly split on the final agreement, and voted to recommend acceptance by a margin of only 8 - 6.

The teachers will receive a pay increase (their first in three years) of 7 percent now and 5 percent more next September. In addition, the Board of Education will rehire 182 out of 300 teachers who had been laid off due to budget cuts and will provide more money for school supplies.

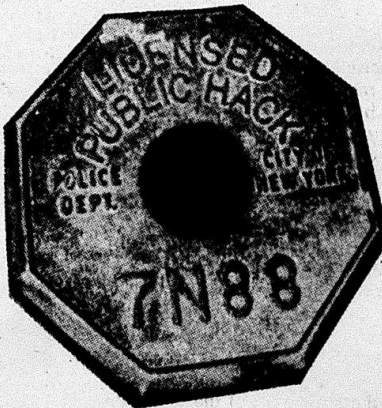
Earlier in the strike, the rank and file had twice refused to return to work on the basis of similar agreements negotiated by their leadership.

Fines and jail sentences imposed on Local 6's leadership during the strike were dropped after membership ratification of the agreement, but a \$90,000 fine against the union itself is still pending.

N.Y. taxi bureaucrats call for a vote of confidence

On Wednesday, October 11, President Harry Van Arsdale convened the semi-annual membership meeting of AFL-CIO Local 3036, the New York City Taxi Drivers Union.

Many drivers attended this meeting prepared to force Van Arsdale into discussing the progress of negotiations for a new contract with the fleet owners. New York drivers and maintenance workers have been working without a contract since November 1970.



At this meeting, Van Arsdale cleverly changed his tactic. Instead of ignoring the topic of contract negotiations, as usual, he asked for a vote of confidence for the union officials to call a strike when and if they felt it necessary. He got his vote of confidence, but serious questions remain.

Will a strike be run by the bureaucrats only on the one issue of the miserable 42 percent commission rate recently introduced for newly hired drivers, which has divided newer drivers from older drivers and has led to demoralization in the past? Or will it also include other issues such as who will pay for health and welfare benefits?

The leadership supposedly "settled" this issue earlier by letting the bosses put half the health and welfare burden on the drivers.

How will a strike be run? Through strike committees in each garage, or from the top down? The latter method has contributed to past defeats and could do so again.

New York taxi workers, like most workers throughout the country, have been set up for a sellout by their union "leadership." But it's not too late to fight this. The Taxi Rank & File Coalition has played the leading role in opposing the current leadership and it can continue to do so by attempting to organize the mass of taxi workers for a city-wide strike around unified demands.

[Thanks to Philip Peters and Daniel Murphy for this item.]

Chrysler bosses "amazed" as thousands mob employment office

Huge traffic jams developed around Chrysler's Lynch Road Assembly Plant in Detroit at 5:00 a.m. on a rainy Monday morning recently, as thousands of unemployed workers showed up to try to get 1,600 new jobs.

One Chrysler official said -- with a straight face -- "I never realized there were that many people who want work." Apparently he thought they were all "just a bunch of lazy welfare-chiselers."

Let him try welfare for a while and see how he likes it. Better yet, let him try working in his own crummy plant!

Superbriefs

What little protection workers have gained through the Occupational Health and Safety Act is being further diluted by the Act's appeal procedure.

In its first year, over 1,000 appeals were filed with the Occupational Health and Safety Review Commission. Of the 400 completed cases, penalties were reduced in 23 percent and raised in only 3 percent of the cases.

Even if an employer receives no reduction in his penalty he can still benefit by filing an appeal, as this permits a further delay in correcting the health or safety hazard in his plant.

In case you didn't notice, the government's "wage and price" controls have once again produced a sharp rise in prices. The Consumer Price Index -- seasonally adjusted -- rose five-tenths of one percent in September. This is equivalent to 6 percent on an annual basis.

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the courts to hear cases against IBM since so many judges are IBM stockholders.

A federal court in New York is experiencing "considerable difficulty" in finding enough non-IBM stockholders to fill a three-judge panel hearing an anti-trust suit against IBM. Three Supreme Court justices have disqualified themselves in another IBM case.

Factory workers quit their jobs in August at the fastest rate in the last 2½ years. According to the Nixon administration, the "quit rate" of 25 per 100 employees indicates that workers are "more confident," about getting a better job.

True. Couldn't it also mean that workers are getting more fed up with their present jobs?

The Truth About Taxes

[In the 1972 elections all of the candidates claim to represent the "little man" for a system of "more equitable" taxes. But the real tax swindle is based on capitalism itself.]

You might not know it, but if you worked last year you paid more taxes than the United States Steel Corporation. That company made \$154,000,000 in profits and paid no federal taxes! Last year six of the forty-five greatest corporations paid no taxes at all.



For many, many years Big Business resisted paying taxes on profits. Only during World War II did a corporate profits tax become essential to keep American capitalism going.

When the war ended the arms economy didn't go away. During the last twenty years about 10 percent of the production of our society has gone for war purchases.

Up to a few years ago the corporate tax rate was 52 percent. Taking half of all profits certainly seems confiscatory. Only a few years ago Congress reduced the rate to 48 percent.

This is the rate George McGovern says he would keep, rather than returning to the prior 52 percent. In this way he would maintain the greatest loophole of all.

In 1969 the average tax rate for all corporations was 37 percent. But the top 100 industrial corporations only paid 26.9 percent, so the smaller corporations pay on the average 44 percent. The tax system subsidizes the giant corporations and also facilitates mergers and the building of conglomerates.

The story of US Steel is instructive. In 1969 it made \$243 million in profits and paid \$5 million in taxes, a rate of 2 percent. In 1970 it made \$109 million and the government gave it a tax credit of \$66 million, so it didn't have to pay any taxes; and in 1971 it made \$154 million and again paid no taxes.

International Telephone & Tele-

graph (ITT) has paid less taxes as it got bigger. In 1969 it made \$360 million in profits and paid 14 percent in taxes. By 1971 it made \$410 million and paid 5 percent.

Conglomerates acquiring other companies can do so tax free by exchanging stock. For example, if a capitalist wants to sell his family company to ITT he turns over the shares to ITT which then becomes the 100 percent owner of the business.

He receives shares of ITT in exchange, so he becomes one of thousands of owners of ITT. The entire transaction is tax free.

Some of the biggest industries in America pay the least taxes. Out of 17 of the largest oil companies, seven

The only difference between GM and a speedway is that here the cars are on a conveyor.

— The Conveyor - Framingham UAW Local 422 newspaper

Auto workers at Framingham, Massachusetts, have voted overwhelmingly to strike against their General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) management.

The vote was 831 - 76. The issues are the same as those of GMAD plants at Norwood, St. Louis, and elsewhere -- speedup and unresolved grievances (over 3,000 of them).

Conditions at the plant in Framingham, which builds Buicks, Oldsmobiles and Pontiacs, have gone from bad to worse in the last few years.

The plant has been under the control of the GMAD management team since 1968 but, as elsewhere, conditions have become really unbearable only in the past two years.

During this period new and higher production standards have been established and further "rationalized" by GMAD's time and motion study experts.

Harassment of workers who protest against overloaded jobs and increased supervision by management have become commonplace.

The present speed of the line is 45 cars per hour but production plans call for upping it to 57 cars per hour. As in other GMAD plants a severe shortage of labor power coupled with overloaded jobs has resulted in the repair yards constantly being overfilled, since the cars were never built right in the first place.

Framingham workers have followed the strikes at other GMAD plants, especially the Norwood strike, with great interest. As the Norwood strike ended people saw clearly that an iso-

lated strike at only one GMAD plant was doomed to failure.

When a contract was finally ratified which gave the Norwood workers little gains many criticisms were made of the UAW and its handling of the strike.

The defeats already caused by the policies of the UAW makes many production workers hesitant to go out. This hesitation stems from a realistic assessment of the situation.

The workers know that nothing was won at Norwood and Lordstown, and understand the unwillingness of the UAW International to call a strike against all GMAD plants.

They understand clearly that something will be accomplished only when there is a strike against this entire division, not when the union strikes one plant at a time.

The realization is widespread among workers at Framingham that speedup resulting in increased productivity has brought GM tremendous profits for 1972.

The government's "New Economic Policy" and wage controls have brought GM record nine-month profits of \$1.5 billion, despite a drop-off in profit rates for the third quarter.

But in order to meet the growing demand for new cars (without hiring more workers, of course) and competition from European and Japanese imports, GM is forced to further "rationalize" production.

One production worker neatly summed up the situation by saying "Every year the union asks for control of working conditions -- especially the speed of the line -- and every year the situation gets worse."

Unstated but real in this conflict is the struggle over who controls the speed of the line -- a question of workers' control.

In the struggle between management and labor both sides will be asking the UAW leadership "Which side are you on?" ■

Framingham Militants Join Fight Against GMAD

Beth Cady



paid taxes on profits at a rate of less than 10 percent in 1970.

In that same year the eight largest railroads excluding the Penn Central all had profits, which added up to \$529 million. They paid \$26 million in federal taxes, a rate of 4.9 percent.

These giant companies get away from paying the supposed 48 percent corporate tax through all kinds of loopholes, whether the oil depletion allowance or rapid depreciation of assets for tax purposes.

Perhaps the one tax loophole that tells us the most about the system is the one that saves big business the most money, the capital gains provision. This cost the government \$6 billion in 1971 alone.

The Poor Pay More

The tax setup gives special privileges to the growth of capital, which is essential to the functioning of the whole system. The wages of labor get no such breaks.

The average working person pays 32 percent of his income in taxes of various forms. This includes income taxes, sales and excise taxes, gas and property taxes. If you work 40 hours a week this is equivalent to paying over 13 hours a week to the government out of your earnings, or 2 hours 40 minutes a day, every day.

Under the capitalist system the working class works for a wage or salary for those who control the means of production and distribution. The profits made by the owners are produced by working people.

In America 1 percent of all adults own \$1 trillion in personal property and financial assets, 25 percent of all the wealth in the country. They own 62 percent of all publicly held stock and control virtually all the bonds. This tiny number which owns and controls the economic system is the capitalist class.

The 102 largest industrial corporations which the capitalist class owns add up to 48 percent of all manufacturing assets, and their \$3.6 billion in profits comprise 53 percent of all manufacturing profits. The 67 million people who work for wages or salaries created that wealth and made those profits.

The class struggle is fought over the wealth that labor produces, as well as for control over the work process. The more the working class gets the less the profits there will be, and the more profits the capitalist class is able to extract the less there is left for the workers.

But today one-third of what is left to the working class after the capitalists get their profits goes to the government. There it is used to buy weapons from the big arms contractors, to build highways and in other ways line corporate pockets.

The tax system distributes income from the working class to the capitalist class. So not only do capitalists exploit workers through their day-to-day buying of their labor power, they also do it through the power of taxation.

The product of the worker is not only syphoned off every day at work, but also through the medium of the government to eventually find its way into the hands of the capitalists.

Of course the capitalist class objects to its taxes, yet they are paying proportionately less and less every year.

Most people take it for granted that this society could not exist without taxes. In a society where the vast majority work for the benefit of a tiny minority which control the entire economic life of the country this makes sense, but the working class will bear this tax burden until the abolition of capitalism and the wage system which accompanies it. ■

[The following is an article by Don Bostic reprinted from the September, 1972 issue of the United Justice Train, the voice of the rank and file opposition at UAW Local 7.]

Working people hustling, fighting, killing other working people -- it's on all our minds. We are afraid to walk our streets; few of us go out after dark except in a car. We hesitate to leave our homes for fear that, when we return, our few possessions will be gone.

We dare not stop to talk to one another on the streets -- because we are subject to being robbed or mugged by a person or group of drug addicts -- day or night.

No one in the working neighborhoods feels safe.

Robbing, breaking in, snatching purses, stealing out of cars, garages and homes (often moving all the furniture out in broad daylight); selling property stolen in a neighborhood openly in the same neighborhood; youthful bandits roving around the block in twos and threes, spotting places, things to steal -- all this is now a commonplace.

Everyone in the neighborhood knows this, sees it day after day.

Some people try to give the bandits a feeling of support in what they are doing. Others encourage the criminals by asking, "What do you have for sale today?" With an eager eye out for a bargain, they buy loot stolen from a neighbor and thus subsidize criminal activities against themselves.

On every block dope houses sell their poison like a corner drug store, often exchanging drugs for stolen radios, hi-fis, TV sets (on which the owner has often made only one payment).

No one pays any attention when drugs are openly sold on the streets. Few are shocked when as many as seven people are executed at one stroke in a drug war.

Let's take a hard look at the drug speedup in the shops.

Drug taking has reached the epidemic stage -- shooting heroin, swallowing amphetamines at the water fountain, sniffing cocaine, cooking up a doze of heroin in the washroom, nodding on the line, sometimes passing out for lack of a fix -- all these are now commonplaces.

We know it! Management knows it too! Like the song, "You Can Get Anything You Want at Alice's Restaurant," you can get just about any kind of drug you want these days in the shop. All you have to ask is "Where is the bag?"

If this widespread use of drugs were the end of the problem, we who work in the shop might be able to live with it for some time. But the use of drugs has many other dangerous tentacles.

It destroys working class solidarity! It reduces good human beings into robots! It creates antagonisms between workers! It brings criminals into the shop! It breaks up families! It increases crime and vice in the shop and in the community where we have to work and where we all live!

Sometimes it just starts with a \$5 a day habit, but winds up as a \$60 a day habit, which means it is more than a day's pay. So, to meet their habit, workers begin to borrow money from the loan sharks who spring up all over the shop, profiting from the pain and misery of fellow workers.

Don Bostic

SMASH SNACK!

Eventually the worker reaches the point where he must leave his whole paycheck at the shop to pay the loan shark. He has nothing to take home or to pay other expenses with.

Then stealing becomes the order of the day. Stealing! Loan sharks! Selling of stolen goods! Increasing crime!

When did this all come about? When did it start to mushroom?

In 1965, a few workers were using pep pills; a few smoked marijuana. Then, around 1967, young workers back from Vietnam and from the rebellions in the cities began bringing into the shop all the problems from the war and from the misery and poverty of black neighborhoods.

Today in the shop many young workers' minds, homes, ties with other workers are being destroyed by drugs.

But management doesn't care. The whiskey drinkers (who have always been in the shop) are the ones who receive the most penalties from management. This is because it is easier to detect someone who is high on whiskey. The drug user can only be detected when he begins to sweat and grimace with pain because he can't get the drug. Most drug users can still do their work as long as they can get their drugs.

So the company looks the other way -- even as far as the pusher is concerned. We can't depend on manage-

ment to stop the drug speedup! All they care about is production. They don't care about our health, our young people, or the standards we need among us to live like human beings.

Some workers just shrug it all off, saying "That's the way it is." But we must, we can change "the way it is" or "the way it is" will keep getting worse.

What can we do to rid ourselves of this plague? We need some standards for which we can hold each other accountable. Everyone -- user or non-user of drugs -- should pledge to each other that in order to have solidarity among us:

1. We will talk to every young worker who comes into the shop and explain to him why he shouldn't get caught up in drugs;
2. Everyone who is a non-user will pledge not to get on the stuff;
3. We will refuse to talk to any worker who gets on the stuff, or with any loan shark or pusher, because we know they are assets to the company and liabilities to us;
4. Finally, we will encourage all those presently on drugs to take the hard step of kicking the habit. We do not believe in methadone; it is just piling drugs on drugs.

Everyone who is concerned about health, humanity and brotherhood should support this position! The time to act is now! ■

Jackie Robinson

1919-1972

Kay Stacey
David Finkel

Before 1945 baseball's "major leagues" were one of the most blatant examples of racist America. Outstanding black athletes such as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige were relegated to the black baseball leagues, where they performed for dirt wages under miserable conditions. Meanwhile white players played for the "big leagues," whose best teams were regularly trounced in exhibition games by black teams.

Baseball's color barrier was broken in 1945 when the Brooklyn Dodgers signed Jackie Robinson to a professional contract. His first year in the major leagues was 1947.

He was named Rookie of the Year, the Dodgers won the National League pennant, and Robinson began a brilliant 10-year career.

Jackie Robinson's career marked the beginning of the greatest transformation in the history of American sports. The rise to prominence of black athletes in almost all major professional sports has changed the entire image of American sports.

The impact on the sports world of the struggle of black people in the US can also be seen in the militancy of many black athletes, which has played a large role in ending the passive submission of athletes to the exploitative practices of the owners.

Racism still plays an important role in American sports. As Jackie Robinson often pointed out in recent years, there has never been a black baseball manager in the big leagues despite the large number of black players and ex-players qualified for the job.

Nor has there ever been a black pro football quarterback, mainly because any black player with quarterback skills is shifted to flanker or cornerback positions. (Like the manager in baseball, the football quarterback gives orders to other players. White owners and coaches believe that blacks are not "capable" of providing such leadership.)

In addition many black athletes are grossly underpaid relative to white athletes with equal or inferior skills.

Jackie Robinson and other black athletes who followed, however, smashed to bits the major underpinning of the racist color line in sports -- the myth that black people could not compete at the same level with whites. In so doing, Jackie Robinson became to black people an outstanding symbol of their struggle in American society as a whole.

Robinson faced the brutal racism and social pressure he met with dignity and pride, staying in tight control and playing good ball.

Within a few months other teams followed the Dodgers' lead. By the end of the 1948 season Robinson was one of a handful of professional black baseball players.

With his first few games Robinson became a national hero to millions of



Jackie Robinson sliding home in 1952

blacks, adored and emulated by every kid with a bat and ball, and a symbol of hope and reassurance to their parents.

He was the American Dream made real to large numbers of black people.

Robinson's style of play brought to baseball a flash and speed which had rarely been seen before. His base-running, more than anything else, drove pitchers up the wall and destroyed the morale and concentration of opposing teams. Stealing home a total of 11 times, he set a modern major league record in that category.

Robinson displayed a combination of spontaneity and individual brilliance with team play, a combination which has become the characteristic feature of many of the greatest black athletes in major league sports, such as Willie Mays in baseball and Earl Monroe and Bill Russell in basketball.

Their flashy, individualistic, but carefully self-disciplined performances represent the style of play developed in ghetto sandlot games, and this was partly why masses of black youth saw in Jackie Robinson someone who stood for them.

In and of itself the opening up of

baseball to black athletes has had little effect on the lives of most black people.

That, however, is not the significance of Robinson's career. He became a symbol of the ability of blacks to make it in America.

Robinson himself came from the black middle class, had acquired a college education, and shared the aspirations of this middle class to "make it" in America through individual aggressiveness and talent.

He was chosen to be the first black man in the big leagues not only because of his talent, but because of his "respectable" background and his willingness to promise "good behavior."

Dodgers owner Branch Rickey demanded this promise when he said "I want a man with the guts not to fight back" against racist slurs and provocation, on and off the field. Robinson had to deal with liberal paternalism as well as open racism.

Robinson soon proved, however, to be a militant in defense of his rights and those of his people. Within a year of becoming an established star, he served notice that he would no longer tolerate racist harassment by opposing

players -- and proved it by his actions.

He broke the color line at the fancy hotel where the Dodgers stayed in St. Louis when playing the Cardinals, refusing to go to a hotel in the ghetto along with other black players.

In 1955 he publicly supported the Birmingham bus boycott against segregated seating, the first black athlete to take such a stand.

There was, however, a tragic side to Jackie Robinson's life and his achievement of fame and fortune -- a tragedy which illustrates what it means to "make it" as an individual in this racist, capitalist society.

The white establishment and the black middle class set up Robinson to "prove" that black people can "make it" within this system and to give legitimacy to American society.

In 1954, when black singer and Communist Paul Robeson stated publicly that black Americans should not and would not fight in a war for the United States because of its vicious racist policies, the House Un-American Activities Committee called Robinson to testify that most black people were patriotic Americans and would loyally die for "their" country.

In later years, when the black movement became more militant and less concerned with whether a few blacks could assimilate and integrate into white society, Robinson's conservative politics isolated him from the black masses. Robinson became a supporter of Richard Nixon and the Republican Party.

In the 1960's Muhammad Ali became the outstanding example of a black athlete resisting the racist American war in Vietnam. This was exactly what Robeson had predicted and Robinson had denounced to Congress.

Despite the image of Jackie Robinson, black people remain overwhelmingly part of the American working class. They work every day at boring, low-paying, often dangerous jobs -- like all working people -- but bearing the special burdens of racial oppression and super-exploitation.

No one worker alone can change our jobs or the other rotten conditions we have to put up with. We have to organize, to work and struggle together in order to change society.

Jackie Robinson tragically isolated himself from this struggle. He became the personnel manager of the racist, sexist "Chock Full O'Nuts" corporation and became a strikebreaker against his own people when black women workers went on strike against his company.

But even Jackie Robinson, who "made it" as an individual, did not escape the brutal effects of capitalism.

His son, who fought in Vietnam, became a drug addict as a result of the war. (He was cured of this addiction, but later died in a car accident.)

Severely hampered by ill health and shaken by personal tragedy since 1968, Jackie Robinson died October 24 of a heart attack at his home in Connecticut. He was 53 years old. ■

RIGHT STRIKES IN CHILE

Paul Benjamin

Shopkeepers in Chile have successfully pulled off a "general strike" against the Allende government. The strike was only the latest in a series of right-wing attacks against the regime. Its success is a serious defeat for Allende and a threat to the working class movement in Chile.

The crisis began October 11 with a nationwide strike by the Confederation of Truck Owners. They were protesting the government's plan to create a federal trucking authority in the southern part of Chile.

Two days later the Confederation of Business and Small Industry called a sympathy strike "in defense of private enterprise" against the government. They were soon joined by other elements of the small bourgeoisie; bank clerks, engineers, students, and doctors.

This was a political strike, a strike of the bourgeoisie against Allende's government. The Confederation of Truck Owners and the Confederation of Business and Small Industry are controlled by the Christian Democratic Party, which leads the opposition to the government.

All the opposition parties came out in support of the strike. The ruling class was openly challenging the credibility of the Allende regime, its ability to assert control over the country. They have gone over to the offensive.

The new confidence of the right-wing reflects the bankruptcy of Allende's policies. His pretensions as a working-class leader crumble in the face of his government's anti-revolutionary strategy.

The Allende government's attack on revolutionary forces in Chile accelerated last May when riot police, authorized by the Communist Party, broke up a workers' demonstration in Con-



cepcion, leaving one dead and forty wounded.

Organizers of the demonstration later formed a People's Assembly to mobilize the people against the right. Allende called this a "divisionist maneuver by people using political romanticism to create a lyrical mirage, out of touch with all reality."

This "mirage" included several groups in Allende's own Popular Front Government, as well as 60 trade unions and other groups. Altogether, it included five political organizations and 139 mass organizations.

Allende's attack was simply a repetition of earlier attacks by the Chilean Communist Party. The Communists, praised by the *New York Times* for their moderate and conciliatory approach, are engaged in selling out the workers and peasants in Chile in search of an alliance with the leading bourgeois party, the Christian Democrats.

They are calling for "consolidation" rather than expansion of economic reforms while insisting on patience and productivity from the working class.

In practice this means price increases to win over the bourgeoisie, while condemning "illegal" seizures of land and factories by workers and peasants, and the hunting down of revolutionaries by the police.

In supporting this line, Allende has

split with the left-wing of his own Socialist Party, which supports mass extra-parliamentary struggles for economic and social reforms.

The government's response to the new bourgeois offensive was a continuation of this policy. Rather than mobilize the working class, Allende declared a "state of emergency" which was gradually extended over the entire country. The army declared a ban on all public demonstrations.

As the right-wing obviously prepared to ignore the order, this amounted to a ban on working-class mobilization. The government fears a militant working class more than a rightist counter-revolution.

Workers and unemployed, who suffered most from the strike, were restrained by the "left" from forcibly opening stores and supermarkets. The Communist Party supported these government tactics, stressing the "patriotic duty of the people" to keep the country going by remaining passive and trusting Allende.

General Carlos Prats, Commander in Chief of the Army, held private talks with the Christian Democratic Party on how far they could go in defying the government. The level of the crisis was thus being negotiated by the army and the opposition, scarcely a healthy sign for Allende's future.

In the end, Allende was reduced to begging for aid from business in ending the shopkeepers' strike, which is still going on.

The atmosphere in Chile is one of constant crisis. The US is waging an economic war against the Chilean people (see box). Internally the rate of inflation has gone up 99.8 percent in the first nine months of 1972. Allende and his Communist Party supporters cannot be trusted to defend the country against a right-wing takeover.

The workers and peasants of Chile must organize their own defense against the right. To begin with, they must demand arms from the government, as the Bolivian workers did when a "leftist" government was faced with a right-wing coup.

But Chilean workers should also remember that the Bolivian workers didn't get them. The Allende government in fact tried to prevent the sale of arms in Chile. The right-wing has already organized its own private armies; workers must also arm themselves.

Working-class revolutionaries must break away from the Allende government (while continuing to defend it against a coup d'etat) and form a revolutionary working class party. At present the revolutionary forces in Chile are scattered among the left-wing of the Socialist Party, the Movement for a Revolutionary Left (MIR), the Peasants' Associations and a number of smaller groups.

These forces have been unable to develop a coherent program of class struggle in opposition to the Popular Front tactics of Allende and the Communist Party. Without such a program the confusion and demoralization of the working class will continue to increase.

Only a revolutionary party, backed by an armed and self-conscious working class, can reverse the disintegrating situation in Chile. The alternative is a bloody civil war or the destruction of the workers' movement. ■

The Kennecott Copper Corporation has declared economic war on Chile. Kennecott formerly owned the rich "El Teniente" copper mines in Chile, which were nationalized in July, 1971.

The Chilean government announced it would pay no compensation for the mines because of Kennecott's excessive profits during its years of ownership. Kennecott fought this decision in the Chilean courts, and lost.

In September, Kennecott announced that it would take "all necessary measures" to protect its "rights" in Chile. Shortly afterwards the company went to court in France, demanding a shipment of Chilean copper be seized by the court until the company was "properly compensated" for its holdings.

A Swedish copper importer was told to expect similar legal action. Kennecott's strategy is to blackmail Chile into surrendering its right to nationalize foreign investments, using

the international capitalist courts' respect for "private property" as a club.

These suits present a real threat to the Chilean economy. Copper sales provide most of Chile's foreign exchange. Prospective buyers could easily go elsewhere rather than risk court actions.

Previously, Chile had been able to get 60 - 80 percent of the prices of its copper sales in advance from the banks which handled the transactions. Now, with the threat of seizures, these banks have an excuse to refuse payment in advance without guarantees of delivery.

The Kennecott caper is only the most recent and blatant example of the capitalist attack on the Chilean economy. Chile has been cut off from the international credit pool. Although promised \$270 million in credits from American banks, the government has received only \$32 million. ■



Miners at the El Teniente mine in Chile

Copper Bosses Declare War on Allende

The Assassination Of Trotsky

Harold Robins

Trotsky's bodyguard reviews the movie

[Editor's Introduction: Workers' Power is proud to present the following article by Comrade Harold Robins, who was the chief bodyguard of the great revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky during the last period of Trotsky's life.

In the late 1930's Trotsky, marked for murder by Stalin's secret police (the GPU) and refused asylum by all the "democratic" European powers, was forced to take up residence in Mexico.

During this period Trotsky's son Leon Sedov and many of his closest comrades, including many of the greatest leaders of the working class socialist Russian Revolution of 1917, were murdered by Stalin's police.

Until his own assassination, however, Trotsky continued his struggle to rebuild a revolutionary workers' movement to liberate humanity from the deepening barbarism of capitalism and the Stalinist counter-revolution.

Comrade Robins was a founding member of the Communist League of America (the original organization of the Trotskyist movement in the US beginning in 1928), and before that a member of the Communist Party.

He has participated in the revolutionary struggle and the workers' movement for over four decades, and is today a member of the International Socialists.

In this review of the new movie *The Assassination of Trotsky*, Robins tells the real story of the events of Trotsky's murder and exposes the movie's version as a deliberate fraud, concocted for reactionary political purposes. He goes on to discuss the political circumstances surrounding the murder and their historical significance.]

1. Death of a Revolutionary

When Trotsky raised the alarm -- he was mortally wounded by one of Stalin's assassins -- his wife, Natalia Trotsky, was the first member of the household to reach his side. As I barged into the office, Comrade Trotsky was standing close to the doorway, head bowed, and blood trickling down his forehead. He was near the entrance from the library and his hands were pressed to his temples.

Natalia, a tiny woman of about 80 pounds, was weakly hammering both

her fists on the chest of the murderer. She sobbed uncontrollably. Her back was towards me and the assassin was facing in my direction about four feet from the doorway, a 45 calibre "Star" pistol in his right hand.

I was able to quickly grab the wrist of the gun hand, and swinging the butt of my revolver to his left temple, knocked him to the floor. Again with the gun butt I beat the gun from his hand and knocked it across the floor, out of his reach.

For more than a half hour he was vigorously interrogated. The results were meager, but they were all he volunteered to say according to the records. He said nothing to the police, according to their report.

"Why did you do it?" I asked. He chose to remain silent. After a few minutes of vigorous urgings he cried out:

"They made me do it!"

"Who made you do it?" Again he chose silence for some minutes. I warned him that I would not kill him -- but I expected to cripple him permanently if he would not talk. I would break every rib in his chest. "Talk -- or else . . ."

For a while he remained silent. After some urging he spoke. He said he had \$600 in a trouser pocket. He asked me to take it and see that it was given to Sylvia.

Otherwise the police would steal it, he said. The police later reported that he had \$600 in his pocket.

I continued to prod him, asking the same question: "Who made you do it?"

Then one of the secretary-guards came in. He had a message from Trotsky asking us not to kill the assassin but to try to get him to talk.

After a while he talked a bit, saying, "They've got my mother."

"Who has your mother? Where?" "I can't tell you," he said. He then cried out, "Kill me! Kill me!"

I told him I would not oblige him in that matter, but I wanted him to tell me who gave him his orders. He would not answer for some time.

Meanwhile, seated astride him, holding his wrists and prodding him to speak, I charged that Stalin and his murder squads had picked him to carry out the assassination of Trotsky. He remained silent.

Finally, he said that he only knew his chief as -- "Mr. Paris."

"Where is Mr. Paris now? Where could he be reached?"

After a shorter pause he mentioned a restaurant situated near the Palace of Fine Arts (Palacio De Bellas Artes) in the center of Mexico City. He did not sound convincing, but my interrogation ended at that point.

An ambulance had come for Comrade Trotsky. The Chief of Mexican Police, General Nunez, and his retinue were then allowed into the house.

I turned the murderer over to the authorities. They shipped him off in another ambulance with a police guard. Natalia and Joe Hansen (another of Trotsky's bodyguards) went with Trotsky.

A guard was assigned to stay at the house, the others joined Trotsky and I joined them later after first go-

ing on a futile errand to see if a "Mr. Paris" could be located.

(The movie has nothing resembling this post-climax event, the playwright and director chose to substitute their own version instead. As Mark Twain often said, "They only improved the truth, slightly.")

2. Truth and Fiction

When I first learned that a movie dealing with the assassination of Trotsky was going into production, I wrote the following letter dated Monday, August 23, 1971:

"Joseph Shaftel Productions, Ltd. (etc.)

"Gentlemen: re: cinema on death of Leon Trotsky.

"My attention was called to a radio announcement of a forthcoming cinema dealing with the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

"The announcement reported that Richard Burton was connected with this production. My inquiries in the New York theatrical industry led me to you as the probable producer of the film.

"If this is the case, you may be interested in my cooperation since I was in charge of the guard at the Trotsky residence for most of the year preceding his death.

"Only Leon Trotsky and four guards participated in the plans to deal with the anticipated attempts on Trotsky's life. The record of these discussions and preparations have never been published.

"Included in these unpublished accounts were the preparations to ward off the May 1940 attempt on Trotsky's life by a gang of GPU agents headed by a prominent Mexican painter, and a supporting troop of Mexican and Spanish Stalinist assassins.

"There was the death of a new addition to our guard at the hands of these professional killers. There was the incarceration and attempted frame-up of two of the guards acting under the orders of the then head of the Servicio Secreto, the then Col. Sanchez (later General) Salazar.

"There was an attempt made to arrest me and to thereby reduce the guard to two men, a precondition for another effort at killing that incorruptible revolutionary, Trotsky.

"There was a denouement in which the President of Mexico, General Cardenas, intervened and ordered the head of the Mexican police force to put an end to the frameup by Col. Salazar (who later wrote a book on the murder of Trotsky in collaboration with Julian Gorkin.)

"And there were other intensely dramatic events and some comical situations as well which only one or two of the guards were privy to, including my disarming of the murderer.

"If your production of a film on the murder of Trotsky is intended to be a tolerably truthful one, I may be of considerable assistance.

Yours,
Harold Robins"
As a result of this letter finding its way into the hands of the production

company, the scriptwriter decided (1) not to contact me since *this was not intended to be "a tolerably truthful" production*, and (2) the script was to be changed so that Trotsky was to be *accused of organizing the assassination attempt of May 24, 1940, -- against himself -- nothing less!*

When the scriptwriter, Nicholas Moseley, began changing the script he notified Trotsky's grandson, Seva, telling him it was due to information supplied by my letter.

I then had a phone call from Trotsky's literary representative, George Weisman, telling me about the matter and asking for a copy of the letter I had sent.

After explaining -- by reading the letter -- I sent him a copy and sent one to Seva offering to sue the Stalinist literary gang for attributing to me their projected change of script.

The historical records show that it was precisely this charge that was leveled against Trotsky by the venal newspapers in Mexico, who picked up the police and Stalinist frameup charge that Trotsky had organized an attempt to assassinate himself!

Now it seemed the neo-Stalinists were going to echo the frameup of the old-gang Stalinists. But this projected change in the script was changed back again.

Another little-known but important historical fact is that one day prior to the expiration of his 20-year prison sentence, Mercador, Trotsky's assassin, who called himself "Jason," was secretly released from prison, placed on board a special airplane and flown to Cuba.

There he was royally welcomed by the Stalinist Ambassador from Czechoslovakia who bestowed upon the murderer, "honorary citizenship as a Czech."

The movie producers conveniently excluded this significant and revealing development confirming the Kremlin rulers as the source of the assassination attacks on Trotsky.

If this murdering agent were not treated royally what would other agents think about their own chances?

The fact that Castro, who was running Cuba at that time, collaborated in this affair caused a problem for the *Militant* (the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party, which supports Castro's Stalinist regime). So the editors put on blinders and thereby managed not to notice the Cuban news reports printed in the press and reported on the radio.

This is why the *Militant* said nothing regarding this obscene ceremony of "honorary citizenship."

3. Losey School of Falsification

The Assassination of Trotsky is apparently another of those products designed to present a twisted personal and political characterization of Leon Trotsky.

It appears to be a delayed follow-up to a Broadway play similarly motivated, authored by Paddy Chayevsky a few years ago.

That production folded up after

one performance. The critics had unanimously denounced its crude attempt to falsify history. It depicted Trotsky as a craven coward. The movie takes a more subtle approach to achieve the desired result.

Here Trotsky is introduced with shots of old photographs; as a youth, as he appeared when first sentenced to Siberia by a tsarist court; as a leader of the Bolshevik Revolution standing with Lenin; and then a very short excerpt from a newsreel of Trotsky marching with the Red Army.

Then, in the course of the movie, Trotsky is depicted as a philistine and somewhat like a dumb bull fighting to the end in the bullring. This is known as "Lousy Art."

The director and co-producer of this film is Joseph Losey. He had been educated and influenced by the Stalinist School of Falsification, and was blacklisted as a Stalinist partisan by the witchhunters in the American movie industry in the 1950's. (The ungrateful American capitalists treated their former allies centered around the Communist Party in a shabby and ungrateful fashion, and this after the CP had performed yeoman service for American imperialism during World War II -- in the labor movement.)

Money for this production was plentiful enough -- Richard Burton was hired to play the concocted version of "Leon Trotsky." Burton clowns his way through 103 minutes of this Losey production.

His version of "Trotsky" consists of wearing a white, pointed beard that resembles Trotsky's. The resemblance ends there.

Burton's "Trotsky" always postures like a narcissistic adolescent. He expresses himself in maudlin and sentimental fashions. He is capricious and temperamental, oozing "intellectual" droppings.

In short, Burton's portrayal of the script provided for him was that of a dyed-in-the-wool philistine, a genuine, unmistakable version of a middle-class Britisher. On this tawdry performance of a "ham" -- Losey & Co. stuck their "kosher" label.

As the climax scene which ends in the act of assassination develops, with clowning by both Burton's "Trotsky" and the assassin, the audience guffaws loudly.

That was the reaction reported by French reviewers when the movie was shown in Paris some six months back. Nothing was changed.

The actual murder weapon used was a small alpinstock with a sawed-off handle that was easily hidden in a folded raincoat. The movie version sees the assassin remove an alpinstock (a sort of ice axe) that was twice the size of the murder weapon, with a handle at least three times as long -- all taken out of a folded raincoat -- no wonder the audience laughed at the scene!

By means of this studied device, what sympathy could there possibly be expressed for the murder of a devoted revolutionary fighter for the overthrow of exploitative property owners and oppressive rulers?

4. Rewriting History

Why did the producers -- those unnamed ones who put up the money for this movie -- why did they choose to finance this lousy propaganda spectacle?

There should be no doubt about it, this is a political production with a definite political aim. For almost a decade now, young rebels have become increasingly interested in Trotsky's writings and politics.

That creates a problem for those

whom Trotsky spent a lifetime fighting. It is in the interests of the rulers of every country to try to derail and sidetrack this movement.

In this objective the imperialist democrats and co-existence class collaborators share a common policy, as was the case with the murder of Leon Trotsky. While Nixon collaborates with Mao and the Kremlin bureaucrats, this movie seeks a forgive-and-forget approach towards the "liberals."

In effect these neo-Stalinists are saying, "See, we no longer hide the fact that Trotsky was a revolutionist. Now we show him as a former leader of the revolution along with Lenin. We are different from Stalin and that crowd, don't you see that -- you plump liberal geese!"

Their hope and desire is to once again become acceptable for the soft pickings from "liberal" society.

This movie production makes the following claim, despite its falsifica-

tion. Trotsky was buried in the patio of the house. Trotsky was cremated according to the instructions in his will, and he ordered that his ashes be scattered to the winds.

Here the character of the Bolshevik manifests itself clearly -- no tombstones to encourage worshippers, but revolutionary writings and records for the instruction of revolutionaries.

Another "consultant" hired by this company was the leader of one of Stalin's assassination squads, one David Alfaro Siqueiros who led a gang in an attempted assassination of Trotsky on May 24, 1940.

The entire gang was indicted for kidnaping and murdering the guard on duty, Robert Sheldon Harte, and for shooting up Trotsky's house, bed and bedroom.

They were never brought to trial because of the powerful influences backing them up in their assassination attempt. Among the members of that gang of assassins was a member of the Political Committee of the Commun-

ists, who has already been adequately demonstrated.

It is commonly asserted by impressionistic persons that the murder of Trotsky was due to hatred between Stalin and Trotsky.

But upon examination it should be clear that this does not explain why in 1940 Stalin had launched two assassination attempts against Trotsky in less than three months, as well as preparation for another attempt (described in the letter previously quoted) which was aborted because of the action of President Lazaro Cardenas. Why this frantic series of murder attempts? Why just then, at that time?

World War II was once again putting to the acid test the Marxian theory of the state, which tells us that the backbone of class oppression of any state is its army.

War, speeding up the normal processes of social conflict, results in armies being smashed, or demoralized. Then state powers topple.

Prior to the assassination of Trotsky the war, then in its early stages, had already wiped Poland off the map, her armies and vaunted cavalry crushed to atoms.

The peasantry moved into the vacuum of collapsed state power in the newly annexed areas controlled by the Soviet armies in White Russia, Ukraine, and in former tsarist Russian Poland.

The capitalists ran away; the workers, in order to find the means of life, took over the capitalist institutions.

The first faint signs of workers and peasants councils arose, and were promptly repressed by the Russian Armies. How could there be soviets permitted in the newly reconquered areas when soviets have been extirpated in Soviet Russia?

France had fallen, her armies crushed. The military forces of Petain (the French collaborator with fascism) and Generalissimo Weygand were saved by a separate peace with Hitler in order to prepare to repress a new Paris Commune.

That is the official record of the reasons motivating the Petain cabal to surrender to Hitler. For the imperialists, "the main enemy is at home," as was the case with the Paris Commune in 1870.

Belgium and Holland saw similar surrender policies put into effect. Prior to the war the imperialists, fascist and democratic imperialists alike saw the danger.

The Hitler-Coulondre talks on the eve of the outbreak of the war saw both sides agreeing that "Trotsky" was expected to be the only winner.

Trotsky, calling attention to these records, pointed out that to the imperialists he was the symbol of the coming working class revolutionary victory.

It was Marx' view that man makes history. Even though he has to make it out of the conditions he finds at hand -- he nevertheless makes history.

The problem facing the imperialists ever since the murders (by the social-democrats) of Liebknecht and Luxemburg (leaders of the German Revolution) early in 1919, was to kill off persons with revolutionary abilities.

In Trotsky's case the actual "contract" was turned over to Stalin & Company, who feared Trotsky's revolutionary role in the coming catastrophes of World War II even more than the capitalist imperialists hated him.

This, in fact, motivated the frantic series of assassination attempts directed against Trotsky in the last three months of Trotsky's life.

We must recognize the problems and lessons posed by these events for us as revolutionary socialists. ■



Leon Trotsky in his study in Mexico shortly before his assassination

tions of the details of Trotsky's defense setup and of all the persons the movie identifies by name -- without any exception -- and also of Trotsky's politics, as we shall see:

"The pre-production work covered not only the historical data available on Trotsky and his assassin, but talks with many of the people who were involved in the historic event. Chief among these was Trotsky's grandson Seva who still lives in the fortress-villa . . . where Trotsky is buried."

The falsehoods and deceptions in that bland publicity-blurb statement are universal with one exception, that Seva is Trotsky's grandson and was a consultant hired by this production company.

In 1940 Seva was thirteen years of age and attending school. He had joined the Trotsky household that year when the Rosmers, Trotsky's life-long friends, brought him from France.

Seva knew nothing about the guard setup, the discussions of the guard with Trotsky over defense arrangements, etc.

Unlike the boy-actor called Seva in the movie, the real Seva was sandy haired and pleasant, generally smiling, while the movie version is a dark, smaller boy with a chronic look of fear on his face all of the time.

Another falsehood tells us Trotsky

ist Party of Mexico, David Serrano Andonigui.

Not only was the connection of those two gangsters muffled or omitted from the movie, but a political position is attributed to Trotsky which states that the GPU never involves members of the local Communist Parties in its operations.

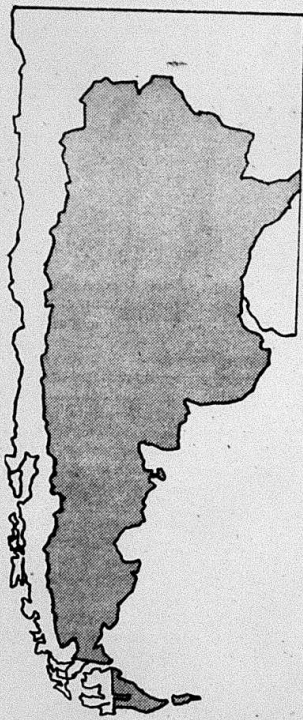
The truth is that in *The Gangsters of Stalin* Trotsky points out that the exact opposite is the norm, and he pointed to David Serrano Andonigui as an illustration.

David Serrano never appears in this movie. Only "Otto" appears as the name of a guard who absolutely bears not the slightest resemblance to Otto, who was also Trotsky's German language secretary. In the movie he is Trotsky's English language secretary, a position filled by two other regular guards, Charlie and Walter.

5. Clear and Present Danger

Trotsky once quoted a French police adage which states: "If you want to know who committed the crime -- find out who benefits."

That this applies not only to the murder of Trotsky but also throws light on the production of this movie



PART ONE OF TWO PARTS

The Perón Myth

Shelley Landau

To many Argentine capitalists the Peron years (1945-1955) represent the time when they finally rose to political and economic supremacy over the landed oligarchy, when the power of foreign imperialists was curtailed, and when the working class was "happy" and (more importantly) obedient.

Part of the capitalist class hopes that Peron can recreate this "Golden Age." So far they are encouraged by the secret negotiations between Lanusse and Peron. Following these talks Peron has issued statements cautioning leaders of Peronist unions against political strikes, and ordering "extremist" Peronist guerrillas to halt terrorism.

What may seem surprising at first glance is that much of the working class and the left also anxiously await Peron's return. They remember the same Peron regime as a "Golden Age" for workers -- an age of nationalism and economic reform.

Why should both the capitalists and the workers, who are at this moment engaged in bitter class conflict, welcome Peron's return? Whose class interest did the Peron regime really serve?

Peron's rule after World War II coincided with the most prosperous economic period the country has even known. Argentina's war-time neutrality stimulated the country's foreign commerce and encouraged the further development of domestic industry.

Traditionally Argentina had been chiefly an exporter of grain and cattle to the industrialized West. The health of its economy had been totally dependent on the state of the world market. The large-scale communication and transportation industries were foreign-owned.

Argentina's war-time prosperity opened up the opportunity of decreasing the country's dependency on the United States and Great Britain by developing and modernizing its own industry.

Juan Peron was a likely candidate to lead this "national revival." Peron rose to power as a member of an officer's club in the army which identified with the fascist Axis regimes during World War II for their nationalistic spirit and hostility to Allied "republicanism."

Dictatorship of Modernization

Peron's rhetoric called for a dictatorship "for the people" and for an "independent, powerful Argentina." Once in power, he began a modernization program paid for with the revenues built up during the war.

Attacking the unpopular landowners who had controlled both the export trade and the country's politics, as well as attacking United States imperialism, Peron won support among the small native capitalist class, the military, and the working class.

Peron strengthened the industrial sector of the economy at the expense of the agricultural sector; reduced foreign investment in Argentina and repurchased foreign-owned industries;

and gave the state a decisive role in regulating the economy. To secure the support of the volatile working class, he put through measures which raised its standard of living.

The capitalists supported Peron's limited nationalism. His policies stimulated and protected their industries, punished the privileged landed oligarchy, and assigned to businessmen a major role in the state apparatus.

The capitalists were willing to put up with Peron's social reforms -- as long as he could keep labor itself quiet and productive. They knew they had little to fear from Peron.

As he admitted himself about the nature of his regime: "We are not in the least the enemies of capital, and the future will show we have been its true defenders."

There were several reasons why Peron's nationalistic appeal also received an enthusiastic working class response. The organized working class movement had never resolved the deep national and ethnic divisions among the workers.

Massive European immigration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had transformed the country and all but buried national traditions and culture.

The immigrants settled in the cities, occupying management positions, running small businesses, practicing in the professions, and filling skilled working-class jobs.

"Native" Argentine workers were left with the worst jobs, either as rural laborers or unskilled workers in industry.

The economic disparity and the cultural differences between native and immigrant caused friction between the groups which the labor unions and parties, dominated by the privileged and mainly immigrant sectors of the class, did little to overcome.

The leadership of the Socialist Party and its unions, as well as the leadership of the syndicalist unions, were committed to peaceful reform and parliamentarism. They were content to protect the gains of skilled immigrant workers while trying to legislate

for themselves a place within the ruling establishment.

Acting like labor "aristocrats" and bureaucrats in the US whose base lies among the better-off workers, they refused to organize the unskilled "native" workers into unions, or political fight for native workers' special needs.

Neither would these social-democrats wage a serious attack on foreign imperialism. Fearful of mass action, subservient to the "rule of law," and envious of the imperialists' "superior" parliamentary systems, they could hardly be counted on to assume revolutionary leadership and expropriate imperialist holdings in the interests of the entire working class.

Failure of the Left

The Socialist Party was so adverse to the aspirations of "native" workers and their quest for national dignity that its leadership expelled members who denounced US imperialism and advocated Latin American unity.

The Communist Party during the 1930's appealed for a while to both "native" and immigrant workers, and raised anti-imperialist issues during the brief period when the Stalin-Hitler pact enabled the CP to adopt a left-wing line. But with the beginning of World War II, when all the Communist Parties lined up with the Allies in the imperialist war, it supported the bourgeois nationalism of the ruling class and lost much of its working class support.

The failure of the Argentine left to consistently fight in the interests of all workers and against imperialism paved the way for a demagogue like Peron. He skillfully exploited the divisions within the working class, and appealed to the nationalism of both the "native" workers and the sons and daughters of immigrants who were seeking an Argentine identity.

[The second part of this article will discuss Peron's suppression of the workers' movement and the causes behind his fall from power.]

[In 1955 General Juan Peron, dictator of Argentina, was overthrown by the landowning class and driven out of the country. Seventeen years later, his shadow still looms across the political scene.

Today, with a new stage opening up in Latin America following the defeat of guerrilla forces in the last few years and the deepening crisis of the Popular Unity government in Chile, the political situation in Argentina is a potential revolutionary tinderbox.

For the past six years the military has ruled in Argentina, unable either to solve the country's economic crisis or to ease social conflict. Even with the tools of force which dictatorships have at their disposal, the military has been unable to force the militant working class to pay for Argentina's inflation-recession economic troubles.

Attempts to impose wage controls, tax increases, price hikes, and brutal political repression have resulted in greater resistance. A workers' uprising in the city of Cordoba in 1970 highlighted this continuing struggle.

The deteriorating economic conditions have also provoked guerrilla activity among the student left, brought into headlines most recently by the government's bloody massacre of young revolutionaries at Trelew airport.

The military's failure to achieve economic and political stability has become obvious to sections of the military itself including General Alejandro Lanusse, the present dictator. (See Workers' Power No. 65, page 12.)

Together with important sections of the capitalist class, these officers have recognized the need for a "popular" government which can both stimulate the economy and at the same time "tame" the working class.

Possibly in the hope that Peron can help form such a government, General Lanusse has offered the ex-dictator the chance to return from exile and to lead his party in the elections this spring.

The following two-part article discusses the history and meaning of Peronism and the failures of the Argentine left to create a genuine anti-imperialist working class alternative.]



General Lanusse

Juan Peron

Vietnam

James Coleman

[Continued from page 1]

new fighting and bloodshed in the future.

The reported Vietnam truce terms—if they are real—are a compromise with US imperialism. The reported settlement stops short of Vietnamese self-determination.

It allows Thieu to remain in power—this balky pawn of US imperialism who could not survive a day without US money for his troops and US ammunition for his guns.

There was no powerful force in the United States to insist on the only principled terms for peace—*immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all US troops and aid, with no imperialist commissions or other deals.*

Isolated as they were, North Vietnam and the PRG are not to be blamed for accepting an unfavorable truce. But by praising its terms, they build up confidence in this imperialist peace.

Any cease-fire in Vietnam is to be welcomed as a halt, even temporarily, to the years of war which have destroyed Vietnam and spilled the blood of American working class youth. *But the political basis of the cease-fire cannot be supported. It offers only suffering to the Vietnamese people.*

The "National Council" called for by the settlement—which will inevitably function as a temporary government—is a coalition between the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) and these same puppets.

In other words, this is a coalition between the PRG and the imperialists themselves. A few ineffectual "neutrals," mostly pro-US puppets themselves, may be thrown in for flavoring.

This whole arrangement is to be under the "supervision" (an ominous word) of an international commission composed mainly of representatives of the imperialist powers with direct interests in the area.

According to the most recent reports, the commission will consist of Canada, Indonesia, Poland, and Hungary. Poland and Hungary are satellites of the Soviet Union, Canada a reliable ally of the United States—and Indonesia a butcher regime put in power with US backing in 1965 over the corpses of a million Indonesians.

The settlement does provide for the PRG (formerly known as the National Liberation Front, or NLF) to retain authority in the areas it controls, and for North Vietnamese troops to remain in South Vietnam while US troops are withdrawn. These terms are an absolute minimum, without which no settlement would have been possible.

That the North Vietnamese and PRG have been forced to accept the continued interference of the US imperialists is the responsibility of North Vietnam's treacherous "allies," Russia and China.

These states—as part of their own horse-trading with US imperialism—have repeatedly pressed North Vietnam and the PRG to accept a sell-out (see *Workers' Power* No. 58).

The responsibility is also shared by anti-war leaders in the US. By failing to build a strong anti-war movement based on the power of the working class—and in many cases, by endorsing George McGovern—they have led most of the movement's supporters to

turn to McGovern as the only "realistic" force for peace.

Special condemnation should be reserved for the so-called "revolutionary" Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, whose "single-issue" policies led the anti-war movement to collapse into the swamp of the McGovern campaign.

McGovern has now praised the peace settlement under which US imperialism continues to have the right to interfere in South Vietnam. In doing so, he reveals that his own principles are imperialist.

McGovern's only difference with Nixon was that since he considered the war to be lost, he was willing to accept less favorable terms for US imperialism.

"Free Elections"

The settlement will not end great-power interference in Vietnam—it will lead to a new period of behind-the-scenes manipulations by these powers.

The US, Russia, China, and possibly Japan will not limit themselves to arranging "free elections," as provided by the settlement. Each will seek its own advantage. This will have an effect on the struggle for power in South Vietnam.

Within South Vietnam, the settlement opens a period of armed truce. There will be no peace. The war between the Communists and the US puppets will continue in cities and villages all across Vietnam.

The Saigon regime now forces South Vietnamese civilians to carry flags to prove their "loyalty." Possession of an NLF or PRG flag is punished by death.

In retaliation, the NLF will continue to assassinate pro-Saigon officials and administrators. The elections, if they ever occur, will be thoroughly rigged on both sides.

The next months or years in Vietnam will see two kinds of maneuvering. First, there will be an open or hidden civil war between the US puppets and the PRG for control of South Vietnam. It is not certain that the US imperialists will be defeated.

The "Saigon government" controls the ARVN (South Vietnamese army) and secret police; unless its authority disintegrates, it will still have military control of the cities and the camps containing nearly two million "refugees," victims of US bombing.

This is a struggle against imperialism—a continuation of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination. In this struggle, the International Socialists support the defeat of the "Saigon government," which represents only US imperialism. Revolutionary socialists support the PRG in its military defense of land captured from Saigon and in any new armed clashes that break out against Saigon armies.

The second struggle in South Vietnam in the new period will be a struggle by the PRG to gain a position of power over the people themselves, that is, to solidify their authority and prepare to ease out or drive out their opponents.

Aiming to become the new rulers over the people of South Vietnam, they will not want independent forces of workers to form against the Thieu regime.

The South Vietnamese PRG wants power, but *not* the revolutionary power of the workers and peasants in Vietnam. Once their position is secure they will eliminate political rivals, prevent the emergence of independent trade unions, and suppress all political activity independent of themselves.

This is what Stalinist parties have done everywhere they have gained power in the past. A PRG regime will be no more democratic than the total-

itarian Thieu dictatorship, except that it will not be under the control of a foreign imperialist power.

The International Socialists give no support to this struggle by the PRG to make themselves the rulers in Vietnam. Beyond supporting every effort against the US imperialists, we politically oppose the "Provisional Revolutionary Government" and its Stalinist leadership. We stand for an anti-imperialist revolutionary working class alternative.

The cease-fire will bring a small breathing space in which new political forces may possibly take shape. It is possible that workers' organizations will emerge to oppose Thieu and defend working class rights; that peasants will begin to seize the land; that the workers and peasants will seek arms to defend themselves and their gains.

This would present an opening for the building of a revolutionary force which could lead these forces, based on a program of struggle against both imperialism and the NLF, for a workers and peasants' government.

At present there is no organized revolutionary nucleus or force in Vietnam. The Trotskyists, who at one time were the strongest working class political force in Saigon and other cities, were destroyed 25 years ago by the Stalinists under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

Ever since 1954, all genuine opposition movements have been brutally suppressed by the US-backed governments. These factors will make it ten times more difficult for the masses to create an independent revolutionary force today.

If no such revolutionary force emerges, the road ahead for Vietnam is not easy to predict. The struggle of the PRG for political power may break out soon, or may be delayed.

In the long term, the balance of forces is more favorable to the PRG than to the US puppets. Not only does Thieu lack political support—

there is no social base for his kind of regime. South Vietnam capitalism is a decaying, bloated corpse.

The entire economy is kept alive by US money, which has undermined the position of the small local capitalist class. Thieu's only base of support is the army. Thus in the long run, a Stalinist PRG victory is likely.

In the short term, the imperialist powers may maintain a non-Stalinist regime in the South. In the meantime they will jockey for position.

It is possible that the US, China, and Russia, rather than allowing an independent South Vietnam or a united Vietnam that could upset the balance of forces in the area, may attempt to prop up a coalition regime indefinitely.

It is even possible that the South and North Vietnamese Stalinists themselves may choose to maintain a non-Stalinist regime for a short period, for fear of US intervention or to gain economic aid.

Revolutionary Alternative

Which of these alternatives will actually occur cannot be predicted. One thing, however, is certain: *no elections, "free" or "unfree," will decide the fate of Vietnam.*

Unless a revolutionary alternative can be built, Vietnam's fate will be settled by the balance of forces between the rival ruling classes—US capitalism and its Vietnamese puppets, and the Stalinist ruling class represented by the leaders of the PRG.

The revolutionary alternative is the only progressive hope for Vietnam. The other alternatives are continued imperialist interference, or national independence under a Stalinist regime which would construct a new totalitarian class rule.

Both would be defeats for the Vietnamese people, and represent betrayals of the incomparable heroism with which they have fought for twenty-five years. ■

I.S. Statement on Vietnam

On October 26, the National Action Committee of the International Socialists adopted the following position on the reported Vietnam cease-fire terms:

The International Socialists welcome a cease-fire in Vietnam, but oppose the political terms of the cease-fire. American intervention in Vietnam is imperialist. The United States has no right to be in Vietnam, and no legitimate rights to negotiate for.

We demand the unconditional withdrawal of US troops and the end of all US interference in Vietnam. We oppose the settlement, which grants the United States the continued right to interfere in Vietnam through its puppets.

We oppose the imperialist "National Commission" and the imperialist coalition government which seems likely to follow. We also denounce Russia and China for pressuring the Vietnamese to accept this settlement.

We continue to support the military struggle of the PRG/NLF as opposed to the US imperialists. However, we call for full democratic rights for the Vietnamese people. We give no political support to the PRG/NLF which stands for Stalinist bureaucratic class rule.

The Vietnamese workers and pea-

sants must defend their organizations, their land, and their rights and fight for a workers' and peasants' government.

We call for:

Self-Determination for Vietnam!

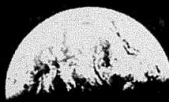
1. No imperialist deals—no imperialist commissions.
2. Complete, immediate, and unconditional withdrawal of US troops—disarm the ARVN.
3. For the military victory of the PRG/NLF insofar as it defends the Vietnamese people from imperialist forces.
4. For the immediate expulsion of the US puppets from the coalition authority.

Full Democratic Rights for the Vietnamese People!

5. Immediate release of all war and political prisoners.
6. Workers' control of production—land to the peasants.
7. Arm the workers and peasants—for workers' and peasants' defense guards to defend their organizations and their land.
8. No political support to the coalition authority or the PRG—for a workers' and peasants' government.

international report

Paul Benjamin



Britain: Leicester's racist policy protested by marchers

Over 2,000 people, including a contingent of 1,200 from the British International Socialists, held an anti-racist march and rally in Leicester, England.

Leicester has been in the news since the immigration of Ugandan Asians into England began. (East Asians living in Uganda hold British citizenship. They have been ordered to leave by the Ugandan government.)

The city has sent delegations to Parliament pleading that no more Asians be allowed to go there. It has even printed ads in a Ugandan paper pointing out to Asians before they even leave the country that they will not be welcomed in Leicester.

This is in stark contrast to the welcome given Expo 72, which has just finished and whose aim was to encourage tourists, industry and investment to move to Leicester. So keen are the city council to attract such visitors that they leave a half million square feet of office space empty for them, and are putting up several luxury hotels.

But there are no houses for Ugandan refugees, students or less well off sections of society.

Wally Preston, an electrical worker and member of British IS, spoke to a packed meeting at the rally. He tore into hypocritical newspapers and politicians who had suddenly discovered that there was a housing problem when a few thousand Ugandan Asians came to Britain.

He stressed that Britain had 11 million people in slums, unemployment and poverty and that these were products of the capitalist system, not of immigration.

Gurnham Singh, national secretary of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain, said that the Labor Party and the Tories were "sides of the same coin."

He called on Indian and Pakistani workers to fight alongside the white workers to smash the government and build a socialist society.

The march also included the Indian Workers' Association, Black People's Freedom Party, Trades Council banners, the Communist Party and the International Marxist Group.



British IS members in anti-racism march

Europe: Multinational strike defeats Dutch chemical giant

A multinational strike has defeated the Dutch chemical giant AKZO. The company had planned a retrenchment program which would have shut down 5 plants in four different countries.

Workers in Holland and Germany forced the company to give up its plans through a sit-in and strike. The sit-in in Holland was financed by four Dutch and two Belgian unions. The International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Unions says it intends to organize international works committees by year end to coordinate information about local practices of thirty multinational companies.

Denmark: Workers wooed for Common Market vote

The Danish government used a massive propaganda campaign to win a referendum on Denmark's entering the Common Market. Newspapers were full of articles predicting economic disaster if Denmark did not go in.

These included threats of mass unemployment, factory shutdowns and runaway plants. The government announced that rejection of the Common Market would force a devaluation of the currency.

Factory owners chipped in by announcing plans to move to Germany if entry was rejected. Some threatened to fire workers who voted against the Market. This provoked several strikes when anti-Common Market speakers were denied entry to factories.

Workers at the Ford assembly plant in Copenhagen walked out because management refused to allow any anti-Common Market material to be posted up.

Despite this campaign workers in general voted against entry. The large majority for joining the Market came from the rural areas. Farmers were afraid of losing their best customer if Britain entered the Market while Denmark turned it down.

The day after the referendum the Social-Democratic Prime Minister, Jens Otto Krag, announced his resignation. He claimed he was tired of politics. The truth is that the Social Democrats are facing an internal crisis over their role in getting Denmark into the Market.

The new Prime Minister, Anker Jorgensen, has the job of patching things up. He is the leader of Denmark's biggest trade union, the Danish General Workers' Union. Jorgensen supported entering the Market, although his union was opposed to it. His reputation as a "leftist" will supposedly unify the party.

Jorgensen will have a tough job. An estimated half-million party members voted against entry. Several unions have already told their members to leave the party.

China: Iranian monarch is met with jubilation and singing



"As the distinguished Iranian guests walked around to meet the welcoming crowds, the airport was a scene of jubilation, with people beating drums, singing and dancing, and shouting. A warm welcome to Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi, the Shabanou of Iran! and 'Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Iran!'"

This is how the Chinese government's official English language weekly described the welcome given to a representative of the Persian monarchy, whose absolute powers were restored by a CIA-sponsored coup in 1953.

In his welcoming speech, according to the September 21 issue of the Karachi daily Dawn, foreign minister Chou En-lai said:

"Under the leadership of his Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran, the Government and people of Iran have made continuous efforts and achieved successes in safeguarding state sovereignty, protecting national resources, developing national culture and building their country. The Chinese government and people sincerely wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance."

An item of related interest is that the French Maoist newspaper *La Cause du Peuple* has stopped displaying the picture of Chairman Mao on its front page. It claims this is its contribution to the fight against the "cult of personality" which it says has virtually disappeared in China since 1971.

Given China's support of counter-revolutionaries in Bangla Desh, Ceylon and the Sudan, Maoists have good reason to go "undercover."

Israel: Radical workers beaten for poster protest

Three men arrested by the Israeli authorities in September were kicked and beaten with revolvers. The three included two Jews -- Uzi Virni, an army lieutenant, and Mali Lerman, a computer worker -- and an Arab construction worker, Shauki Khatib.

They were accused of putting up a poster issued by a group called the "Revolutionary Communist Alliance."

This poster complained that workers in Israel have to work 10 or 12 hours a day, or take on two jobs, to earn enough to live on.

It recalls that 90 years ago American workers began the fight for the eight-hour day and comments:

"While the bosses' children are travelling around, here and abroad, sunbathing during the day and dancing at night, our lives are like the lives of donkeys, without any limit to the burdens put on us. We have neither education, nor culture, neither fun nor enjoyment. We work under the control of second-rate policemen -- the foremen."

And the poster concluded: "Let us stand up and fight. Everyday we go and return, work and sweat, get broken and give up -- until when?"

The three arrested men were held 10 days for questioning and efforts were made, by threats and bribes, to separate Khatib, the Arab, from the others and get him to collaborate with the authorities. They have been released on bail and are now awaiting trial.

Israeli workers have increased their militance over the past year. Over half the strikes in the past year were wildcat strikes. Gidon Ben-Israel, the government's chief labor relations officer, states that "We are faced with a spiralling situation that is out of control. The government has no choice but to crack down."

France: Trotskyist groups to run 300 election candidates

At a press conference at the end of September, the French revolutionary group Lutte Ouvriere announced that it was in process of negotiating an agreement for the coming elections, probably in March 1973, with two other Trotskyist groups, the Ligue Communiste and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

This will mean that there will be more than 300 Trotskyist candidates in the elections, covering every town of more than 30,000 people.

Czechoslovakia: T.V. film bought to identify dissenters

The Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia will go to any lengths to identify opponents of the government. Police recently bought copies of West German TV documentaries on the resistance to the Russian invasion in 1968. The word is that anyone who can be identified from the films will wind up on trial.

The item on workers' unrest in Tanzania which appeared in the "International Report" in *Workers' Power* No. 65 was contributed by James Coleman.



Procrusteism

The front page editorial in *Workers' Power* No. 65 urged a protest vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or Socialist Labor Party (SLP). The reason offered was that this would "register" a "demand" for a movement to "take up the demands for full employment, for thirty hours work for forty hours pay, and the total repeal of all anti-labor laws. It would also fight for the end of American imperialist foreign policy, and for the rights of all oppressed people in the US."

As such a party of labor does not exist, the urging (or is it "urge") to vote for the SWP or SLP is offered in its place.

The basis for that position is vitiated elsewhere in the editorial, which declares: "As political parties, neither the SWP nor the SLP offer a viable strategy for American workers." What the right hand giveth the left taketh away.

The editorial castigates McGovern and Nixon, mentions Wallace in passing, and then makes its endorsement. There is no mention of Benjamin Spock, the candidate of the People's Party (Peace and Freedom in California), nor, for that matter, of the various independent campaigns being waged by the Raza Unida Party.

Perhaps the printer dropped some paragraphs? Or does *Workers' Power* think that the PFP comes under the rubric of "other candidates of the capitalist parties?"

We do not have space here to go into the intricacies of what constitutes a "capitalist" party. Suffice it to say that in our estimation the PFP cannot fall into that category unless the IS has abandoned the theories of Marx for those of Procrustes.

Political parties are expressions of social forces and social movements. That's A-B-C. The attitude of socialists toward them are determined by that content, even as that content is determined by the historical period -- the objective necessities and possibilities that period presents.

What is the situation in the US today? The attack on labor, necessitated by America's competitive position on the world market, will continue regardless of the administration in Washington.

The AFL-CIO officialdom has endorsed Nixon in deed if not in word. The liberal bureaucrats of the labor movement are endorsing McGovern in defiance of Meany & Co.

None of this is a response to, or a reflection of, the needs of rank and file workers, or a result of pressure from the ranks on the bureaucrats.

The bulk of American union members probably reject or will reject the Nixon-Wallace alternative. What does that leave them? McGovern, the standard bearer of the Democratic Party, already calling for more "police on the street," refusing to offer the semblance of an anti-imperialist foreign

policy, with the possible exception of Vietnam.

Moreover, a person who has rarely, if ever, championed the cause of labor in any meaningful way.

The necessity of the period is a labor party that would have the political perspectives the *Workers' Power* editorial called for.

Needless to say, there could be many varieties of a labor party that would not have them. There is no possibility of a labor party of any sort at present, regardless of the necessity.

But there is the possibility of promoting consciousness of the need for independent political action. On the one hand, there is the necessity that such action must be anti-racist and anti-imperialist.

On the other, such a political movement must be honest in declaring that although there are such things as "lesser evils," they are "evils," nonetheless, and perpetuate the dead-end of American politics.

It must declare that independent political action, no matter the hardships it will impose in struggling for it at first, is an imperative historical necessity and must be built, regardless of short-range costs.

It is precisely such questions that the Spock campaign addresses. As such, it is the one viable political tool for building that consciousness and linking it to the anti-racist and anti-imperialist movements, or at least posing those demands as necessary parts of independent political action for the working class.

Against this, *Workers' Power* offers us what amounts to effective support of the SWP campaign. A campaign geared toward recruitment to that organization and nothing else.

Presumably then, we, as socialists, are to push forward that campaign within the labor movement, a campaign, *Workers' Power* tells us, geared totally toward "a middle class milieu."

The Spock campaign, for the reasons outlined above, offers the only possible vehicle for bringing crucial questions forward in our places of work in a transitional and non-sectarian manner.

As Marx observed: "The sect finds its reason for existence in its point of honor; it does not look for it in what it has in common with the labor movement, but in some particular sign which sets it off from this movement."

The *Workers' Power* editorial urges the substitution of a sect for the possibilities of building a movement. As such it betrays its socialist duty.

Walt Castle

Rejoinder

Castle fails to understand the meaning of the *Workers' Power* editorial which he criticizes. He also makes a pretty poor case, in our opinion, for his position that the Spock campaign represents a viable road for independent political action against the capitalist parties.

Castle claims that the editorial called for "effective support of the SWP campaign," for "pushing forward that campaign within the labor movement," etc. This is *not* the position of the International Socialists, nor was it the course advocated by the editorial.

The IS rejects the idea of giving active political support, even *critical* political support, to the SWP campaign. This means precisely that we do *not* advocate that socialists carry on an organized campaign in the labor movement for support of SWP candidates, nor that they devote their energies to winning votes for them.

The reason for this is simple: the politics of the SWP campaign are thoroughly divorced from the crucial political task facing the working class in this country. That task, as the editorial emphasized, is building an independent party of the working class, a labor party based on a program of transitional demands which rank and file militants are beginning to put forward in their struggles.

Although the SWP program calls -- on paper -- for a labor party, the fight for such a party in the working class plays no real role whatever in its campaign. This is not accidental, but reflects the SWP's failure to play any role in the growing rank and file movement and its general lack of interest in the pressing needs of the American working class.

The only sense in which we advocate a vote for candidates of the SWP or SLP, the candidates running on a formally socialist platform, is "to cast a vote of opposition to the capitalist parties and their system" -- a protest vote, as Castle correctly calls it.

We stated very precisely what such a vote means: "by voting for these candidates, working people can express their rejection of the meaningless 'choice' and the miserable prospects offered to us by this capitalist system." Nothing more than this was claimed.

Castle, however, is for active political support -- not of the socialist candidates, but rather for the even more pathetic campaign of Benjamin Spock. At this point his argument dissolves into a peculiar blend of fantasy and non-sequitur.

Without mentioning a word of Spock's program, Castle tells us that he "addresses" the crucial questions involved in a movement for independent political action. In particular Castle doesn't point out that Spock's projected vehicle for such action is a

middle-class party aimed at "achieving control of industry by consumers, workers, and government representatives" (Issues and Answers, ABC-TV, October 8).

This is nothing but a formula for a more radical brand of McGovern's liberalism. Indeed, the whole Spock campaign which Castle supports is no alternative to McGovern, but only a left-wing foil for him. One Spock-Hobson brochure says that the role of the People's Party is to establish a "new center in American politics" which would allow a "dialogue" between liberals and the left.

It's no wonder that Spock in no way favors building an independent party on a *working class* basis (or "a labor party of any sort," to use Castle's own curious phrase).

Castle also advertises the supposed "anti-racist and anti-imperialist" nature of Spock's campaign, without telling us what this anti-racism and anti-imperialism consist of. Spock's only stated program on racism is "integration achieved by enforcing existing legislation" -- better and more honest than establishment liberals to be sure, but hardly an adequate anti-racist or Black Liberation program.

On this issue, among others, Spock simply illustrates the collapse of the once-real Peace and Freedom Party movement, which in early 1968 built a meaningful alliance between radicals and the Black Liberation movement. At that time, when it represented a real movement rather than an empty shell, the PFP rejected Spock and put forward a black revolutionary as its candidate.

After all this Castle puts forward the Spock campaign as a "vehicle for bringing crucial questions forward in our places of work in a transitional and non-sectarian manner." Nothing in his argument, however, indicates in what sense this campaign or his support for it is "transitional."

In revolutionary politics, the term "transitional" means a program for a working class transformation of society. Castle's use of the term is meaningless, unless by "transitional" he simply means comfortable and non-revolutionary.

The basic task of socialists in the unions and elsewhere is not to push for support of a middle-class left-liberal Spock campaign nor even the SWP/SLP candidates, but to fight to build a rank and file movement and a movement for an independent working class party.

David Finkel

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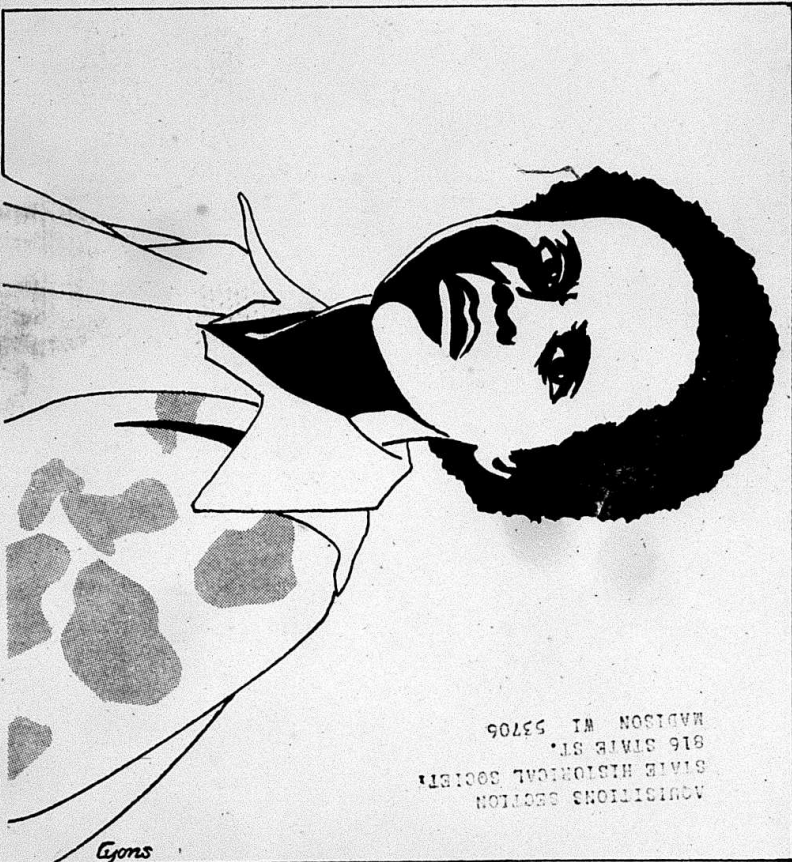
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