

# Workers' Power

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## Nixon's New Prosperity: Food Costs Spiral

Every day, the headlines bring news of fresh disasters to American consumers — workers, housewives, the unemployed and the poor. Prices of vital consumer goods, especially the price of food, have spiralled wildly upward with no end in sight.

The chickens of Phase 3, the dollar devaluation and the government's program to boost corporate profits, are coming home to roost. A study of the causes and effects of the recent developments sheds some light on the state of American capitalism and what it promises working people for the future.

Both wholesale and retail prices have been soaring, particularly since early December. For the third month in a row, the February wholesale price index rose at an annual rate of about 19%. The annual rate of increase for the category of farm products, processed food and animal feeds was an incredible 56%.

On the retail side, grocery prices went up 2.3% in January — the largest monthly increase since the Consumer Price Index was begun in 1952. Meat prices have been in the lead, but are getting stiff competition from many other products.

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## Woodcock Plans Defeat



The Special Collective Bargaining Convention of the United Auto Workers, held in Detroit March 21-22 for the purpose of determining contract goals and priorities, set only vague goals and no priorities at all. The real goals and priorities will not be determined by UAW President Leonard Woodcock and his top cronies. The bargaining convention must be regarded only as an elaborate game designed to preserve the fiction that democracy still exists in the UAW.

But the fact that the UAW leadership exercises an iron grip

on the union is only half the problem. Of equal importance is the candid admission made by Woodcock that he has no solution to the most serious problems facing auto workers.

On the question of working conditions, Woodcock, in his opening address, had this to say: "The question of how to perform work should not be a matter of confrontation in collective bargaining, because you can only have a confrontation in collective bargaining if you have in sight a solution to the problem which has produced the confrontation.

And as matters stand, we do not have — no one has — the ready answers to the question of how best the work can be done in a humane way." Woodcock said the question of work speed would get the UAW's "watchful attention." What this means is that the UAW will ignore speed-up.

If Woodcock does not know how to humanize working conditions and plans to do no more than "watch attentively" while the Big Three continue their inhuman speed-up, he should resign

*[Continued on page 4]*



# Wounded Knee Defense Grows in Southwest

Steve Carter



Despite the government's virtual blockade around Wounded Knee and the virtual blackout by the press, it is clear that both the movement to defend the Wounded Knee struggle and the government's efforts to suppress it reach far beyond South Dakota.

On March 14, 400 people rallied in Los Angeles on two days' notice in a demonstration organized by United People for Wounded Knee (UPWK). The UPWK, a hastily organized defense coalition, is comprised of community and political groups including Native Americans, Chicanos, Asians, Blacks and whites. The International Socialists are among the participating groups.

During the same week 2,000 people rallied in Denver, Colorado. On Wednesday, March 21, rallies were held in at least eight more cities and American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders called for mass expressions of support for March 24. On that date demonstrations are scheduled for New York, L.A., and elsewhere.

The government's desperate effort to isolate and crush the militant Oglala Sioux has ranged from riot-type news suppression to murder. Chicano supporters of the Oglala struggle have been killed — in Denver while fleeing police, and in Rapid City, South Dakota, while resisting the blanket of harassment which covers all minority people in the area.

On Saturday, March 17, the FBI arrested 16 people as they crossed the California-Nevada border for "interstate travel to aid and abet an Insurrection" (the infamous "H. Rap Brown Act"). The 16 were part of a caravan carrying food and medicine for Wounded Knee from Los Angeles.

Nixon's Attorney General Kleindienst has called for similar interception of all interstate travels by supporters of the Oglala. This use of the "law" poses an absolutely clear threat to all social movements and could easily be used to suppress strike support and other working class solidarity actions.

On the propaganda front, the government and a cooperative press have fed an unbroken string of lies to the U.S. public. They have sought to picture a "settlement" as being near. In fact, however, they are demanding surrender of the Indians.

The Indians are determined. On Wednesday, March 21, they issued a statement that they would not disarm, submit to arrest, or leave Wounded Knee under threat.

The publicity about "negotiations" is a fraud, designed to hide the government's intransigent demand for surrender and to shift blame for any military assault onto the Indians.

The U.S. government has also tried to picture the action as that of a few "militants and outsiders," despite the fact that AIM was invited to Wounded

Knee by its residents and despite obvious and growing support both in the Native American community and in general.

Why has the state gone to such lengths to suppress the modest demands raised by the Wounded Knee occupation, for investigations of the bureaucratic racist practices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and for basic democratic rights for the Indian people?


Part of the explanation no doubt lies in the fact that the already scandal-ridden Nixon Administration can hardly afford new exposures of its corruption and profiteering behavior.

More fundamental is the capitalist politicians' knowledge that the system

they serve is in deep trouble. At a time when attacks against all oppressed minority groups are sharpening, they fear the lessons that workers and oppressed peoples will see in any concessions — no matter how reasonable — to the militant actions of the Oglala Sioux.

The Wounded Knee struggle is becoming a front-line test of the repressive political and military repressive apparatus of Nixon and the U.S. government.

This makes the defense of the struggle by all working class organizations, in alliance with the oppressed people themselves, an increasingly urgent necessity. ■



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# HEALTH & SAFETY

# STRIKE HITS SHELL OIL

Yvonne Valery  
Tom Condit

Here in the San Francisco Bay Area we are seeing part of something that can be an important step in changing the history of this country. An alliance is being formed between environmental groups, striking refinery workers, doctors and other health workers, students and consumers — many of whom have never spoken to each other before. In the course of struggle, they are learning that they have many hopes in common and much potential power that can be shared.

The event is a nationwide strike and boycott by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers against Shell Oil. It is not over wages at all, but crucial issues of job safety, health, and dignity. The strike reflects a growing consciousness of the American worker that no amount of money can make up for on-the-job pollution which can cause cancer, emphysema, asbestosis, or leukemia.

The environmental groups supporting the strike say, "We have increasingly come to recognize that working people are among the hardest hit by hazards of pollution in the workplace. If toxic substances are present in the oil refineries, they most assuredly are spreading outside plant walls to neighboring communities."

A company like Shell, which runs an increasingly unsafe plant with fewer and fewer people, cannot, even if it would, compensate its workers for blindness, cancer, or death.

In addition to health and safety, Shell workers are striking over a decent pension plan, so that people who have spent their working lives with Shell can retire with financial freedom and independence.

The Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers' International Union (OCAW) is a highly democratic union as unions go these days. Almost all national convention delegates and most local officers are workers in the industries rather than paid staff.

However, mainly because American refineries are dispersed over rural areas in 39 states, OCAW has organized only 25% of its jurisdiction.

OCAW has, however, organized 5 out of Shell's 8 refineries, with 3,258 of the 5,108 employees. The Shell local in Martinez, California, is the most solid — 97% union with union membership voluntary (open shop).

The environmental and consumer movements are very strong here in the Bay Area, also, and there has been student activism for a long time. So we expect the strike and boycott to win the greatest support here.

Royal Dutch/Shell is one of the largest multinational corporations in the world, and the 7th largest oil company in the U.S. But compared to other American oil companies it is "crude short" — that is, Shell does not have much access to cheap Texas and California oil fields, and must get a greater percentage of its profits from refining than more balanced oil companies.

In fact, Shell is the leader in Ameri-

can petrochemical production and the largest manufacturer of pesticides, including aldrin, dieldrin, and the infamous Shell No-Pest Strip.

Shell's greater dependence on labor productivity may account for its refusal to accept the current contract proposals.

Other major American oil companies, including ARCO, Mobile, Texaco, Gulf, American, Union, Exxon, Conoco, Phillips, and City Service have agreed to the conditions. Shell and Standard of California are the only major oil companies that have not.

The on-the-job health proposals of the OCAW were enumerated in *Workers' Power* No. 74 and include



(1) Establishment of a joint Labor-Management Health and Safety Committee in each plant, with union members given pay for their time spent attending committee meetings and walking around on plant inspections.

(2) Periodic surveys by qualified industrial health consultants (who are to be approved by the union) to determine the existence of workplace health hazards.

(3) Complete results of these surveys to be provided to workers, including measurements of exposures.

(4) Periodic relevant physical examinations and medical tests at company expense.

(5) Workers' access to all company information on the sickness and death records of employees.

(6) Union agreement not to pass any "trade secrets" learned in inspections on to competitors.

Oil workers work in a dangerous environment. In refineries, highly flammable and explosive materials are processed at high heats and pressures in equipment which is kept running 24 hours a day, with few halts for maintenance.

In addition, some 1600 chemicals are present in the refining process, either as petroleum byproducts or as additives or catalysts.

The toxicity of most of these is unknown, but it is known that oil workers have a high incidence of chronic degenerative diseases like heart trouble and cancer.

Although the toxicity of most of the chemicals has either not been determined or not revealed, there is sufficient information on enough of them for the men to know they face ever present short- and long-range health hazards.

The responsibility for safety in a refinery lies with supervisors and foremen, who have the final say on whether to go ahead with a process.

Such supervisors need not be especially trained for the job they are supervising, let alone know anything

of refineries. These now take place at intervals as long as 2 years, and in some places not until a gross breakdown.

The companies claim that the new automated equipment makes turnarounds less necessary. Refinery workers say the opposite. The workers claim that the company drive for increased production (and thus less shutdown time) combines with the smaller work force brought about by automation (which leaves departments too shorthanded to carry out a proper turnaround) to militate against turnarounds even when they are clearly needed.

The results of this "run 'er till she blows" attitude are not only an increased rate of accidents, but more importantly an increased rate of leakage of toxic substances into the work environment.

Tetraethyl lead, jet fuel, benzene, sulfur dioxide, and chlorine are spilled on the ground or become part of the ambient atmosphere.

## Hidden Peril

Very disturbing to many oil workers is their lack of knowledge about the substances they work with and their toxicity.

Not only has no research been done on many of the chemicals used in refineries, but in many cases they are treated as "trade secrets," so that workers aren't allowed to know what they are, supposedly for fear they'll tell competing companies.

"Research Material 17," for example, was a secret substance that workers were told was perfectly safe, and they handled it for a year in the Martinez plant.

Suddenly, literally overnight, they were told to use maximum safety precautions: special uniforms and masks and shoes, which were to be buried on contamination, were ordered.

Everything in the area was to be painted white so any drop of the substance could be wiped up. People entering and leaving the area had to change clothes.

But they still were not told what "Material 17" was, except the company said it can't be detected in the body by any known medical tests!

The strike has won the support of over a dozen environmental groups, including the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, Friends of the Earth, and Environmental Action. The Shell Strike Support Committee has urged a nationwide boycott of Shell products.

Because the plants are so highly automated, they can run at 90% output with only a handful of management people. Without trained maintenance workers, you can be sure pollution levels are increasing.

*Workers' Power* is investigating at this time the scandalous assertion by the Environmental Protection Agency that Shell's pollution levels won't be monitored during the strike!

A consumer boycott can materially affect the outcome of this strike. As Tony Mazzocchi, OCAW Washington representative, says, "We can't lose this one. This is the first time workers have gone out on what are essentially occupational health and safety issues. We're involved in a pioneer effort." ■

about health or safety. Their primary responsibility is production.

Some time ago in the Martinez plant, a supervisor threatened 3 men with suspension if they refused an unsafe job involving a hydrogen gas leak where the detectors had been removed. When they then attempted the job there was an explosion and one of the men was killed. Last year alone 60 men chose suspension over such dangerous jobs.

## Produce Now, Die Later

When the question is health rather than safety, the pressure is even more extreme. For foremen and supervisors, responsible for enforcing company standards, the chance of cancer in 20 years weighs little against the certainty of production loss now.

Foremen frequently plunge eagerly into work with toxic substances to set an example for their men. (In many respects the position of foremen in industries like oil and chemical is comparable to that of second lieutenants in the Army — including the casualty rate.)

With the increased automation in the refineries, these problems have grown worse. "Turnarounds," meaning the complete shutdown and overhaul of a unit, used to take place every 3 months in most departments



## Editorial

# Court Suits New Threat To Workers

The damage suit filed by Chrysler against the UAW in St. Louis is only one instance of the growing use of damage suits and high fines against rank and filers as well as local unions themselves. Though the power of the courts to fine unions has been used against strikes for a long time, the new intensification of this campaign marks the emergence of a dangerous trend.

Two more instances in the St. Louis area have come to light.

In 1970, a massive damage suit was filed against Teamster Local 600 which staged a wildcat at the same time as did Chicago Teamster truck drivers. The Chicago wildcat led to the re-opening and significant improvement of the national Master Freight Agreement.

The damage suit has been sustained in the courts up to now. It is currently on final appeal.

Also in St. Louis, Wagner Electric, an auto parts plant organized by the IUE, sued the union for \$300,000 following a wildcat. After letting the case sit in court for two years, a judge has just ruled in favor of the company and, with the contract expiring soon, added that the local must pay up before the strike deadline. If it doesn't, the judge will impound the local's entire strike fund.

In Detroit, Chrysler filed, and then withdrew, a damage suit against the local union and the workers it fired during the recent wildcat there. A San Antonio, Texas, air conditioning manufacturer has asked the courts for \$250,000 per day damages against the union and two workers involved in a wildcat.

Authorized strikes are also coming under attack with this weapon. Leaders of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers have asked for a \$40 dues increase to pay off massive fines against the PFT, levied during its January - February strike. Other teachers' and public employees' unions in particular have had similar experiences in recent years.

Attacks such as these have the potential to emasculate the labor movement if they are not fought. Up until now, the universal response of labor leaders has been to accept and pay the fines. None of them has called for the needed response — massive solidarity actions and material support by the whole labor movement to support unions under these court attacks.

But if this attitude is not reversed — if fines and damage suits are allowed to continue — they will first effectively outlaw any wildcat, and then move to crush any strike at all. There must be no compliance with court orders for fines or damages! ■

[Continued from page 1]

as president of the UAW and go to work for GM.

On the question of wages, Solidarity House presented a resolution that was so vague that it binds the negotiators to absolutely nothing. Woodcock promised only to "bargain sensibly" and look for "adequate solutions." Butter your bread with that!

Woodcock wants to keep his options open at this time on the question of wages. Phase 3 wage controls have not yet been seriously tested. Woodcock does not want to be the leader. With the contract expiring in September, he wants to see what happens to other unions, such as the Rubber Workers and the Teamsters, before he commits himself to anything specific.

Woodcock also wants to see how high inflation will go this summer before putting himself on a limb with a wage figure which may rapidly become unpopular with rank and filers.

Whatever wage figure the UAW bureaucracy decides to bargain for is certain to be grossly inadequate. Woodcock boasted that he kept the 1970 contract "anti-inflationary," and promised to do the same this year.

The convention resolution drawn up by the UAW leadership also indicated that company-union collaboration is becoming much more open. Woodcock was extremely defensive in his speech about charges that the UAW and General Motors have a "cozy relationship," but the "Harmony Clause" in his bargaining program gives the game away.

*"The UAW therefore proposes that the management and the union acknowledge in writing that their relationship is one of mutual respect and responsibility; that the growth and success of the company are of direct interests to the workers and their union, and the growth and success of the union are of direct interest to the company; that each party, therefore, pledges respect, understanding and cooperation with each other and covenants that it will not, in any way, impede the growth or success of the other."*

In the same way, the UAW proposed that the principle be applied that a worker charged with a company infraction should be innocent until proven guilty "with the possible exception of certain offenses of violence or concerted action."

Concerted action is how the UAW was built, and now Woodcock proposes to sanction the corporations' practice of making it a crime punishable without trial! Woodcock does this

precisely because it is "concerted action" by the rank and file that can threaten his "cozy relationship" with the auto companies.

On the sidelines of this convention was Paul Schrade, former Western Regional Director of the UAW. Schrade was a disciplined member of the union's International Executive Board until Woodcock engineered a coup against him last year.

Schrade is now testing the water to see whether he can make any sort of a comeback, riding atop a rank and file revolt.

For this reason, Schrade is beginning to adopt a more radical posture. At a meeting of the United National Caucus (Schrade says he is a "friend" of the UNC), Schrade attacked the profit system and called for workers' control of assembly line speed.

Several UNC members were hostile to Schrade. Demonstrating that Schrade's radical phrases are pure demagoguery, one asked, "Where the hell were you before Woodcock kicked you out of the bureaucracy? Why weren't you saying any of this then?"

Another demanded that Schrade, if he really wanted to democratize the UAW, "spill the beans" on several points: how the UAW International Executive Board helped destroy the League of Revolutionary Black Workers; its role in driving Jordan Sims, co-chairman of the UNC, out of the Eldon Avenue Chrysler plant; and the details of how the International sold out the 1970 strike.

A small handful of convention delegates — no more than 40 to 50 — voted against the bargaining package. The United National Caucus itself was, unfortunately, unable to organize any serious opposition to Woodcock's bargaining program. While advancing an excellent alternative program of contract demands, its leadership came unprepared and without a clear strategy for a fight against Woodcock.

On the second and last afternoon of the convention, the UNC distributed a leaflet strongly criticizing Woodcock's bargaining program and calling for its rejection.

The UNC leaflet effectively exposed the "Harmony Clause," and the lack of specific proposals on wages, production standards and speed-up, and racism and sexism.

Missing from the UNC was any clear political statement of no confidence in the UAW leadership to wage any fight over any demands whatever for the 1973 contract. Any movement to reject the International's bargaining program could only have meant a call to repudiate its leadership of the United Auto Workers. ■

# UAW Strategy For 1973: "Harmony" Means Surrender

Jim  
Woodward

# Governments Move To Cut Back NYC Day Care

Laura Gray

In New York, as in other major cities, a fight is going on to keep the city day-care centers open to working parents.

The government — federal, state, and city — is trying to close the centers to all working parents except those on welfare.

The government's attack on day care is part of its overall attack on the standard of living of working people, as well as part of a strategy to intensify division between workers and welfare recipients. Massive fund cuts are affecting all national and local health, housing and education programs which are vital to the working class.

Black parents in New York — especially black working mothers — are the most involved in the movement to keep the centers open as they are the most affected. Black women have the lowest paying jobs, and can barely afford the city day-care fees as it is.

The government's plans would force most of these women out of work and onto welfare, because they could no longer afford to pay for child care. This is what the protests are about.

The parents and day-care center workers have been fighting back by organizing a number of increasingly militant and widespread demonstrations against the threatened close-down.

In addition, many of the centers, which are largely staffed by community people and are community controlled, have been refusing to comply with the government regulations.

They have been refusing to charge

the full center fees or furnish the city with data on the parents' incomes.

2500 parents and day-care workers successfully marched on Albany in January to stop a plan to increase city fees, because of federal cutbacks, by approximately 40%. This increase would have effectively made day care inaccessible to working people in New York.

In February, the Federal government attacked again. It announced Federal day care regulations which would in effect cut off day-care for all working parents not on welfare.

The new regulations state that no Federal money will be provided for families earning more than 33% over the welfare grant. This means that a family of 4 making over \$5,400 will not be eligible for federally funded day care.

In addition, Federal money for Medicaid and health services in the centers will be withdrawn, as well as Federal funds for day-care training programs.

The new rules will also cut the ratio of adults to children in the centers, and standards for day care will lower drastically.

On March 6, and again on March 15, hundreds of angry parents and staff closed down their centers and brought the children downtown to protest the Federal cutbacks, and the city's harassment of the centers.

The city is using all forms of pressure and intimidation to try to force the staff to turn in information on the parents.

City-wide organization of more protests like this is expanding, and

soon most of the centers will be actively involved.

If the Federal regulations do go through, thousands of working mothers will have to give up their jobs and go on welfare, where the Welfare Department now forces its "clients" to work in special programs for slave wages.

Then and only then, the government is willing to provide childcare: in segregated and custodial centers where the parents have no say or control.

The government is waging a real war on working women, and on the right of women to work. Nixon has rationalized his stand on day care by claiming that he "isn't sure" if day care is "good for children." But everyone knows that welfare is lousy for children!

The government acts as if work were some sort of optional "luxury" for women. The truth is that millions of women workers are heads of households and must work to support themselves and their families.

In many 2-parent working class families too the woman must work; in order for the family to maintain a decent standard of living, and most often in order to just squeak-by.

The government shows a blatant disregard for the real-life situation of working people, especially women.

Working women have the right to decent jobs regardless of what Nixon considers their "proper role." They have a right to government-provided quality day care where they can confidently leave their children.

The existing day-care programs which the government is trying to destroy are inadequate. City day care is much too expensive, even without the proposed fee rise. The centers charge up to \$25 a week per child, or 1/4 of a \$5,500 income!

There aren't nearly enough centers, and thousands of small children must take care of themselves.

Thousands more working mothers can't get their children into centers, and must pay 1/3 to 1/2 of their wages for private day-care arrangements, which are usually haphazard and often unreliable.

If the government succeeds in destroying what little city-provided day care now exists, thousands more will have to resort to "private" solutions like these — or face the new horrors of the welfare system.

The parents and day-care workers are planning a real fight to save day care. To be successful they will have to join forces with similar fights against other government cut-backs: the budget cuts in the schools, in housing, and in health services. ■

# Behind Jackson's New Coalition

Clarence Jones

Clarence Jones' article "Nixon Attacks the Black Movement" (*Workers Power* No. 73) characterized the existing leadership of the Black movement as "cynical toward mass actions" and relying "heavily on bargaining sessions with white power leaders brought to the bargaining table by sweet and/or hot words."

That characterization was put forward to explain the impotence and accommodation to the rightward moving capitalist political parties of these leaders, and also as part of the basis for the recent confusion and decline in militancy of the Black struggle.

Recent calls by prominent Black leaders, particularly Jesse Jackson and Ralph Abernathy, for protest actions against Nixon's budget cuts, require us to clarify and elaborate on these statements.

Jesse Jackson's March 10 "Country Preacher" column (printed in the *Chicago Defender*), stated

*"This spring black people and poor people of other races must prepare for a massive offensive against the beknown (not benign) neglect of 'King Richard's Court' at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.*

*"First, because this cannot be an all-black fight and we must be wise enough to provide sound leadership for the dispossessed whether they are from 47th St. in Chicago, or 58th St. in Los Angeles, or whether are from Broadway and north 4400 in Chicago, or from Wounded Knee, S.D.*

*"We are saying that the Federal Government must be accountable to America's poor and America's black populations.*

*"We plan to make this real also in terms of our confrontations of major corporations in this nation since they are just another unofficial branch of the Federal Government."*

The key to understanding the shifting policies of leaders such as Jackson and Abernathy is that although their tactics may change at any point, their fundamental concepts of social change remain constant.

Their elitist political tactics encompass both wheeling and dealing at the top, combined with periodic "mass action" tactics filled with rhetoric but largely devoid of content.

In reference to this, *Workers Power* No. 55 stated, "Even though these battles have brought marginal returns, the troops (the participants) cannot assess the mistakes, and launch better, more militant campaigns, because Jackson holds all organizational controls. The troops are maneuvered here and there."

The joint SCLC-PUSH actions set for the spring appear to be a step toward the reunification of the two

[Continued on page 15]



Janey Stone speaking

# Int'l Women's Day Down Under

The second annual International Women's Day demonstrations in Australia were a definite success. The marches were not markedly larger than last year, but there was a new air of confidence among the marchers.

Perhaps 2,000 marched in Melbourne, and more in Sydney.

The demonstrations, held Saturday, March 10, were preceded by a "Speak Out" meeting in Melbourne's Assembly Hall on Thursday, at which women were encouraged to speak from the floor on their own feelings of oppression.

Speakers on Saturday addressed a variety of women's questions such as abortion and child-care.

Janey Stone, speaking for the Melbourne Working Women's Group, recalled the working class and revolutionary origins of International Women's Day and spoke of growing discontent and militancy among Australian women workers. ■

# BRENNAN EXPOSED: A FAKER'S RECORD

Harold  
Robins

*[The author of the following expose has been for over 20 years a rank and file member of the Painters Union, with first-hand knowledge of the incidents he recounts. As Comrade Robins notes, it is not only the politics of Peter Brennan's appointment to Nixon's Cabinet, but the whole history of the craft union bureaucracies, which throws light on the workings of capitalist "democracy."]*

The class character of capitalist democracy constantly reveals itself in the practices of American government in its alliance with trade union and corporation officials. A few pages from the record of the new U.S. Secretary of Labor, Peter J. Brennan, focuses a spotlight on economic and related practices of this exploitive, privileged combination.

When, early in 1948, Peter Brennan, sought my support for his ambition in life, he stated that he had no future as financial-secretary and business agent of Painters Local Union 1456, a New York local of some 60 maintenance painters.

Said Brennan, "I want to become a Democratic Party district leader in my home neighborhood" (in the West 50's in New York City).

Brennan first came to national prominence some 20 years later when President Nixon, the notable, self-anointed champion of "democracy," of "law and order," and of "safety in the streets," read press reports of the gangsterism of organized squads from some construction craft unions. These thugs — with complete immunity from any prosecution for their violations of "the law" — slugged anti-war demonstrators and onlookers in a Wall Street area demonstration during the May 1970 Cambodia invasion.

President Nixon, who jubilantly approved this thuggery, sent a special invitation to Brennan and the others responsible for the violence to attend a special White House reception in their "honor."

Brennan and the others went to the White House. President Nixon greeted them with the same cordiality he publicly displays to "honor" the gangs of South Vietnamese "generals." It was a crystal-clear exhibition of the "ethics" of the President.

Anyone who knows Pete Brennan is aware that Pete, like Nixon, is not the creature to participate in thuggery. His ambitions and associations take him into other areas.

Brennan is distinguished by rigid commitment to back up his associates, and like other members of his family primarily by a thick head of prematurely white hair.

Pete Brennan, as in Horatio Alger scenarios, is now the U.S. Secretary of Labor! Bevy of trade union officials flutter around him in swarms, to have their photos taken with this latest "success!"

These pictures appear in the "house organs" controlled by large numbers

of union bureaucrats and are prominently displayed for the edification of union members everywhere.

Accompanying stories praise Brennan as "a fighter for the rights of minorities" in the New York City building trades unions.

Sometimes a top union official permits his "minority representative" to get into the photo and take credit for the doctored, favorable report praising the new Secretary of Labor.

All such reports are a case of mistaken identity, in a notable series of "mistakes" about Brennan's role.

To understand the eagerness of these officials to surround Brennan with adulation and congratulations, it should first of all be recognized that the U.S. Secretary of Labor has been given the sole and exclusive right under U.S. law (Title IV of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, passed late in 1959) to challenge a crooked union election in the courts.

Previously that doubtful "right" was "enjoyed" by every member of a trade union. That law took away that right to go to court — equally taken away from every trade union member in these "democratic United States of America."

When a union election is crooked, an appeal must first be taken to higher union authorities (according to the law, and the constitution of the union) and further appeal is then made to the U.S. Secretary of Labor. Almost invariably such appeals are turned down.

The trade union officials are usually given the choice of nominating the Secretary of Labor, the National Association of Manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce choose the U.S. Secretary of Commerce.

This is the manner in which capitalist democracy expresses "equality."

Every crooked union official invariably proclaims himself a defender of "the American way of life," etc. Then he continues to "sell-out" the workers he "represents," concludes "sweetheart" deals with the employers, gets rid of troublesome militants and the most

persisting challengers to the established setup, and so on.

But — if such union leaders are out of favor with the Secretary of Labor — the law can be honestly enforced, just to prove that not everything can be fixed in the good old U.S.A.!

What can the organized workers really expect from Peter J. Brennan, the new U.S. Secretary of Labor?

His record as a leading union official shows that he has never done anything to get rid of a single exposed racketeer or sellout official. Not one.

It would therefore appear that Mr. Nixon, despite mistakes he undoubtedly committed in evaluating Brennan's activities, made no mistake in picking Brennan to carry out policies similar to those for which President Nixon himself is justly noted, from the Watergate caper to arranging price rises for the milk industry capitalists who contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to Nixon's re-election.

When Harry Van Arsdale, self-appointed head of the New York Taxi Drivers Union and leader of the electrical workers union in NYC, put together a combination of trade union officials in his bid to take over leadership of the Central Labor Council in New York City, Brennan was an insignificant business agent in the camp of Martin Rarback of the Painters Union, one of the major allies in Van Arsdale's combination.

When Van Arsdale won the leadership post in the Central Labor Council, Brennan was picked to become (in 1957) the head of the Building Trades Council (which is not a delegated body but an association of construction trades business agents).

Rarback himself, a red-baiter, is also a Horatio-Alger-type creature. With his first election to union office he began a well-marked rise from rags to riches.

It is worthy of note that, in 1947, Rarback was first elected head of Painters District Council No. 9 (in N.Y.C.), he was a poor but honest lad who lived with his small family in a government subsidized, public housing project in Jackson Heights.

Twenty quite profitable-years later, Rarback was established in an expensive co-operative apartment on Central Park West and 72nd Street, where one of his fellow co-operators was the very successful Mafia big-shot, Frank Costello.

In order to get jobs, that is, to be favored for and not discriminated against in selection for jobs, union painters were asked by Rarback and his agents to "volunteer" their professional services in painting two of Rarback's houses and then his present apartment — all without any wages whatsoever.

Thus, in Peter Brennan's own union, workers were pressed by a well-paid union leader to donate their labor time without any wages whatsoever. Brennan chose to ignore these and other anti-union shenanigans by Rarback, Brennan's sponsor.

In another noteworthy incident, a painting union contractor was badly beaten up by two thugs allegedly associated with the "Gallo mob."

Refusing to take the beating in silence, the contractor "sang" to the district-attorney charging that the beating was inflicted because he refused to continue paying off Rarback & Company on public housing repainting contracts.

Involved in such testimony were other contractors who testified to similar payoffs. According to the charges to the Grand Jury, and to the jury in the subsequent trial, Rarback reportedly collected \$840,000 in this minor area of union painting work, and the Authority inspectors an additional \$400,000.

By the vote of one juror Rarback escaped conviction but he was forced to resign his elected union post due to public pressure of a reform caucus in the union.

The district attorney never brought Rarback to trial again, preferring instead to bring to trial members of radical Black and Puerto Rican organizations charged with various "conspiracies."

As everyone can recognize, this is the method by which Democracy works in the United States.

For his part, Peter Brennan remained loyal to his powerful sponsor, Rarback, and was never known to utter a word of criticism.

It is not publicly known if Brennan, like other painters' union agents, also contributed the "assessment" of \$2000 a head to hire the local top lawyer of the Mafia.

The Painters Union has had an open door policy for Blacks and Puerto Rican painters since the mid-1930's. As Van Arsdale began his public relations and power expansion drive, he began to open the door to apprentices from the Black and Puerto Rican communities — and in increasing number.

What happened next was that apprentices got a wage freeze while the electrical mechanics got a whopping \$3 an hour — plus a raise in their 1969 agreement with the employers.

Brennan never made any statement concerning this monstrous discrimina-



Cronies Three: Meany, Nixon and Brennan leaving a plush hotel in Florida

[Continued on page 9]

# Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward

## Anti-speedup wildcats hit Chrysler Corporation

Major wildcat strikes have hit two Chrysler Corporation auto plants in Detroit and St. Louis.

The Detroit walkout, lasting four days, occurred at the giant Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant. The issue which sparked and sustained the strike was the firing of one, and later eight more workers.

The anger behind the walkout, however, was caused by the intense speed-up Chrysler, along with other auto-makers, has been instituting.

The first worker was fired over a speed-up grievance. After a quickie walkout, he was rehired but another worker fired and many disciplined for participating in the walkout.

Eight more were subsequently fired when the entire motor line walked out over this disciplinary action, forcing the plant to close.

Jefferson remained closed for three afternoon shifts and two day shifts. On the fourth day, the power of the UAW International was brought to bear — against the strikers.

The leadership of Local 7, which had continuously opposed the walkout, received help from Solidarity House down the street in crushing the strike.

Most workers were angry at the role of the union leadership, but since no group among the workers was able to provide an effective alternative leadership, most workers felt they had no choice but to return to work.

In St. Louis, workers at the suburban Fenton, Mo., passenger car plant walked out for two days. The dispute began when a worker was fired for hitting a foreman. The next day, when a supervisor slugged a steward, the workers stormed out.

As a result of this strike, Chrysler is using the local union for \$400,000 in damages.

## Rail unions give in without a fight

Months before their contract was to expire, railroad unions have agreed to a new, 18-month contract which provides for wage and fringe increases approximating Phase 2 guidelines.

The new contract, which covers all major railroads except the bankrupt Penn Central, allows for one 4% wage increase, plus about 4½% formerly deducted for pensions.

Pension payments will now be made by the railroads rather than the workers. This then amounts to an effective wage increase of about 8.5% — or very close to the old 5.5% figure on an annual basis.

The increase in wages and fringe benefits combined of 10.7% is almost exactly 7.2% annually — just what the old Pay Board allowed.

There have been a few peeps of protest from leaders of two or three

of the fifteen unions involved, but most of them expect to be able to push the contract through without serious trouble.

Labor Secretary Peter J. Brennan expressed the Administration's pleasure, noting that the contract "will fall within reasonable guidelines."

## Alabama woodcutters launch offensive against Gulf States Paper

Woodcutters in Alabama have launched an attack against the Gulf States Paper Company, one of that state's most powerful corporations.

The Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA), representing the woodcutters, is demanding that the company instead of the woodcutters pay a 10¢/cord tax on the wood they buy from GPA members.

The GPA won an important strike against Mississippi paper companies last year, thanks largely to the united action of black and white woodcutters.

At Gulf States, two black woodcutters have in effect been fired for filing a lawsuit aimed at forcing the company to stop deducting the tax from woodcutters' pay. GPA members in Alabama and Mississippi have scheduled meetings to plan their future action against Gulf States.

## Chicago Teamsters demand 3-month contract extension

Negotiators for 35,000 Chicago-area trucking-industry workers presented demands March 12 for a 3-month contract extension together with a 29¢ an hour raise in wages and vacation pay.

The demand for an interim agreement with trucking industry associations is significant, as it would result in common contract expiration dates with workers covered by the Master Freight Agreement, the basic national contract in trucking.

The Chicago unions (the independent Chicago Truck Drivers Union and IBT locals 705 and 710) were left in a relatively weak negotiating position in the aftermath of the 1970 strike/lock-out when they settled for a 36-month contract and the national agreement was re-negotiated to last 39 months.

This meant that a strike of the Chicago locals, like that which occurred in 1970, would be isolated from support from around the country, like the wildcat strikes which occurred in Ohio, Missouri, Los Angeles, and elsewhere in support of the official Chicago strike.

The Chicago negotiations, occurring in isolation before the expiration of the national contract, would likely set a relatively weak "pattern" for the rest of the industry.

The Chicago bureaucrats seem to be afraid that they would be made the scapegoats for a low wage settlement nationally. The only alternative to a weak, isolated strike in these circum-

stances would be a real mobilization of the rank and file to spread the strike by sympathy actions around the mid-west.

The bureaucrats know that if this happened things might be taken out of their hands completely. Anything might happen in such circumstances, as witnessed by the militancy of the 1970 wildcats.

So far it's not clear what the reaction of the companies will be, although newspaper reports state that "most" employer associations in Chicago are inclined to go along with the plan.

The companies may be inclined to go along with the plan because they know Teamster president Fitzsimmons is taking part in the Chicago negotiations and the employers trust him to discourage a strike come July 1.

The raise and contract extension are certainly necessary demands to create the possibility of united action by Teamsters all over the country.

But a real rank and file victory can only be made possible by the election of negotiating teams from the rank and file and the rejection of the Phase III cooperation with the government in the new talks. The Chicago negotiators are far from taking such steps.

## NLRB rules sex discrimination not unfair

The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that a company which pays women workers less for the same work than it pays men is *not* guilty of an unfair labor practice.

Although the case involved only sex discrimination, the Board indicated that it felt the same way about "discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, . . . or national origin."

The NLRB maintained that discrimination is an unfair labor practice only if either party refuses to bargain in good faith about it.

In the case under review, involving a Steelworkers local and a Nebraska auto horn manufacturer, the NLRB said that it was the union — not the employer — which "by its intransigence from the beginning of negotiations prevented any meaningful bargaining about this subject."

*In this way, the NLRB would make a union which is "intransigently" opposed to sexual or racial discrimination — rather than the employer who practices the discrimination — guilty of an unfair labor practice.*

## Report reveals sex discrimination in New York Civil Service

A recent report on New York City civil service employees entitled "A Study on Women in New York City Government: Clerical Workers" has revealed a pattern of discrimination against women in the civil service system.

According to the study, women earn less than men for comparable work, need more education and experience for comparable work, are restricted in promotion opportunities, and have benefited least from collective bargaining.

The report was published by the Women's Advisory Committee, a group of liberal women city employees including Democratic Party councilwoman Carol Greitzer, and does not cover uniformed services or teachers.

The most striking fact about women in civil service is that they are overwhelmingly concentrated in the clerical categories, which tend to be the most poorly paid, even when clerical jobs require more skill than "male" jobs.

In 1972, for example, a clerk or typist started at \$5200 while an elevator operator began at \$6200 and a motor vehicle operator at \$7300.

The "female" position of administrative aide needs a college degree, or high school with 4 years experience, and starts at \$7600. Also starting at \$7600, by comparison, are "male" jobs such as ferry agent, assistant building custodian and storekeeper which require no education beyond elementary school and little or no work experience.

A senior key punch operator, a woman with a high school diploma and 2 to 4 years experience, earns about half of a male gardener who needs little experience and no education.

There are even examples of outright discrimination against women in exactly the same jobs as men; a female custodial assistant is paid from \$100 to \$700 a year less than a man.

Furthermore, the situation is worsening. Clerical titles have been receiving the smallest average yearly increase in pay of the female jobs paying under \$10,000.

This means that the pay gap between men and women has widened since 1967. 87% of women city employees now earn less than \$10,000 while only 58% of the men are at these levels.

-Diana Olivieri

## Rank and File Notes

The Hoffa-Fitzsimmons squabble in the Teamsters goes on. Fitzsimmons has forced Nicholas Morrissey to retire as chief Teamster organizer for New England. Morrissey, a Hoffa supporter, is a conservative labor bureaucrat who urged Teamsters to vote for Nixon last year.

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A confessed participant in the murder of Jock Yablonski has spilled the beans on Tony Boyle, former president of the United Mine Workers. Paul E. Gilly, testifying in the murder trial of William Prater, a former UMW official, said Prater told him it was Boyle who wanted Yablonski killed.

# Prices

Paul Benjamin

David Katz

(Continued from page 1)

Fish, pushed by Nixon as an alternative to meat, is expected to rise as much as 6% as a result of the dollar devaluation. Imported fish, much of which has been relatively cheap, will go up even more — about 10% according to the National Marine Fisheries Service.

Prices for meat, poultry, and fish combined soared 5% (adjusted seasonally) last month, following a sharp 3.3% rise in January. Prices for cereal and bakery products, fruits, vegetables and dairy items also showed sizable advances. Among key food items only eggs showed a decline.

More increases are on the way. Food prices will continue to rise at a rapid rate at least through the summer. Consequently, the already strained budgets of working and poor families will be pressed to the limit.

Naturally Nixon and his spokesmen have had to come up with explanations for all this. The efforts of Don Paarlberg, agricultural economics expert for the Department of Agriculture, show some interesting variations.

Paarlberg had one set of interpretations for the Detroit *Free Press's* Women's Page. While mentioning foreign crop failures and the dollar devaluations, the Paarlberg article emphasized

- (1) Expanded food consumption by workers whose personal income is rising.
- (2) Poor families living "high-on-the-hog" on expanded food stamp budgets.
- (3) Welfare recipients spending their "improved budgets" on more food.

While the *Free Press* says "no one in particular" is responsible for rising prices, it clearly wants its readers to blame the poor, minorities, welfare recipients, and workers who eat too much!

At a time when welfare and other government programs are being cut rather than expanded, such an explanation is not only especially absurd, but

is consciously reactionary and designed only to play upon racist attitudes and divert attention from reality.

Paarlberg didn't bother with this kind of nonsense when talking with more sophisticated ruling class organs such as *Business Week* or the *New York Times*. Neither one so much as mentions the problem of welfare recipients whose fat budgets are creating such a demand for food!

These publications emphasize a variety of problems. First, on the international scene, poor crops all over the world, especially in the USSR, China, India, Australia, and Eastern Europe created a huge demand for the export of U.S. foodstuffs.

The big U.S. wheat deal with the Russians, for example, came close to cutting U.S. wheat reserves in half.

Added to this was the dollar devaluation, which made U.S. products cheaper abroad. Wheat and hog and cattle products are especially in demand. During the week of February 15-23, for example, the following wholesale price rises were recorded:

Pork bellies	8.5%
Whole hogs	4.4%
Cattle carcasses	2.3%
Broilers	10%
Flour	6.5%
Wheat	12.1%

The rise in grain prices forced up the cost of other products. It boosts meat prices because wheat is used for feed when prices are low.

When they're not, other feed grains are used. Their prices have also been skyrocketing in the last six months:

Soybean meal — up from \$81 per ton to \$210.
Corn — up from \$1.41 per bushel to \$1.91.
Meat scrap — up from \$74 per ton to \$174.

The Nixon administration's policy has deliberately aggravated the problem. Nixon made no attempt to compensate for the effects of the huge Russian wheat purchase by raising wheat production — until January, after winter wheat planting (which amounts to 75% of U.S. production) was finished.

One factor in this failure was the desire to keep farmers happy with high prices until the election was over. As late as October, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz set the corn crop target at a "conservative" 5.4 billion bushels. In December, a "restrictive" program was announced for feed grains which was not changed until January.

On the domestic scene, weather

conditions are blamed for shortages in beef, fruit and vegetables, Maine potatoes, California lettuce, and Midwest soybeans.

Finally, there is the case of artificially inflated prices. The Agriculture Department advised turkey farmers to keep their prices up by cutting down flocks, at least not increasing them too rapidly.

Cattlemen and hog farmers also held back stock from the market in order to beef up their herds.

All of these factors have considerable influence on food prices. The main thing they point out, however, is the incredible anarchy of production in a capitalist society.

## Anarchy of Production

The United States has the ability to feed much of the world, but the government and agribusiness artificially keep supplies low.

Food production and food prices alike are determined by the greed for profits rather than by the needs of the people.

*Every producer is constantly jockeying to maximize his own profit, rather than operating according to a rational plan based on the actual needs of the society.*

That it is the workings of the capitalist system, together with policies designed to prop it up, which are basically at fault — rather than accidental crop failures or bad weather — is indicated by the rise of items other than food.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics' weekly index of industrial raw materials rose from 149.8 to 151.8 in the week of March 6-13. One month previously it had been 143.8, and a year ago 115.1.

These rises are virtually as sharp as those of food, and will soon show up in soaring retail prices. Food prices are only the first to rise!

(The consumer price index for February indicates that this process is already underway. Non-food goods, which had been the relatively stable element of the consumer price picture, showed a sharp climb.)

Government policy in relation to prices has constantly taken into consideration the needs of the capitalists rather than the consumers. The most obvious example is "wage-price" controls.

The price control aspect is a complete fraud. Nixon's idea is to make a big show of clamping price controls on one industry, in order to convince the public that he is doing something about prices.

His big show was on the oil industry, but the loopholes will allow gasoline price increases this summer large enough to match current food price rises.

You won't even be able to buy gas to drive to the supermarket to look at the food you can't afford!

Agriculture Secretary Butz claims the reason the Administration won't put price controls on agricultural products is that it would dry up supplies. "It's better to have the price at \$1.59 per pound with rib roast there," he says, "than at \$1.19 with the rib roast not there."

Presumably, if rib roast were \$1.19, there wouldn't be enough for everyone who wants it, and the government, says Butz, doesn't want to impose rationing.

Butz's reasoning "ignores" the fact that raising the price to \$1.59 is imposing a *de facto* rationing system. The rich can buy rib roast but the poor can't.

The government is now promising that prices will stop rising in five or six months! Or at least that they'll begin rising slower! Maybe — but don't bet the ranch on it. Grain supplies are so low that unless the

1973 crop is good, a new feed price spiral could be set off.

Such promises from Nixon are intended only to dampen demands for a price freeze and for wage increases. Nixon's major worry is that inflation on the current scale could cause workers to demand wage raises that would wreck his economic program.

Promises from Nixon should be regarded as so much hot air. If Nixon really wanted to stop the price increases, he could use the power he has to freeze prices.

As prices have risen, consumer unrest has grown. The most popular campaign against high food costs is taking the form of a "Meat Boycott." One group has called for a total boycott for the first week in April.

Others advocate meatless days once a week, and still others call for abstaining as much as you can.

As anger over high food prices has grown, a whole host of liberal politicians, including former Presidential Advisers, has come onto the scene, calling for a Meat Boycott as a means of channelling anger in a relatively safe direction.

Nixon himself, while officially opposing the Boycott, has put forward a series of similar schemes, such as "eat cheese," "eat fish," or "just don't eat as much at all."

While the Meat Boycott may well attract a good deal of national publicity and in scattered locations be successful enough to inconvenience a few supermarket operators, it does not have the potential to successfully challenge high prices on any serious scale.

To the ruling circles of this country, a Meat Boycott is a highly acceptable alternative to a mass movement demanding a freeze on all prices or to escalating wage demands by dissatisfied rank and file workers.

Runaway inflation is caused by the capitalist system itself, so any movement that seriously intends to get at the roots of the problem must, sooner or later, come face to face with capitalism.

This does not mean that any anti-inflation movement which is not anti-capitalist from the beginning is worthless. Socialists, radicals and militants should attempt to focus the demands and activity of such movements in such a way that it begins to get to the heart of the problem in a politically effective manner.

## Roll Back Prices!

The most basic point around which an effective movement against high prices could be built is the demand for a freeze on all consumer goods prices at their level before the most recent round of heavy inflation sets in.

A second task is to find out exactly who is profiting out of all this. Farmers, cattlemen, wholesalers and supermarkets alike claim they are "just getting by." But someone's making money.

The mystery surrounding food profits is intolerable. It can be solved by demanding that the food industry in all its forms open its books and make its real financial standing public.

Other demands that could provide a focus for this type of movement would include an end to government subsidies to agribusiness, an immediate doubling of food stamp allocations, and full cost-of-living protection for the unemployed and welfare and social security recipients.

The role of organized workers, however, will be the key to a successful attack on prices. The working class has the social power to force the government to act on prices, and it is the action of the working class that is the chief stumbling block to the successful imposition of Nixon's Phase

## A Program to Meet The Price Crisis

Roll back prices — Freeze all consumer goods prices at November 1972 levels!

Break the Phase 3 wage guidelines — Demand full cost-of-living clauses in every contract!

Full cost-of-living protection for unemployed and welfare recipients — For a 30-hour week with no wage cuts to end unemployment!

Smash Nixon's campaign to raise food prices: Immediate doubling of all food stamp allocations — End government subsidies to agribusiness — Open the food industry's books for workers' inspection to expose hidden profits!

For a labor party to fight for the enforcement of these demands and a workers' government!



# Workers Fight Layoffs At St. Louis GMAD

Jimmie Higgins

On March 9th the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) announced plans to lay off 650 workers from the assembly plant in St. Louis, Mo.

Their stated reason for this move was that the medium-sized passenger cars are not selling too well and that they were going to have to cut down on production.

Yet at the same time workers on the Corvette and truck lines in the plant were being worked ten hours a day and often six days a week.

*This situation of layoffs by GMAD is not new. Since GMAD began its massive productivity drive over 18,000 workers have been put on the streets. This has been done at the same time that auto production and profits are at an all-time high.*

*What makes the situation especially serious for the workers is that the layoffs have come with the tacit, if not open, approval of the UAW leadership.*

Leonard Woodcock has done nothing to prevent the GMAD takeover of 18 plants, even when it was obvious from the beginning that massive layoffs were going to result.

It is significant to note that members of the UAW International leadership, including Irving Bluestone, have been down in St. Louis three times in the past five weeks to meet with plant officials.

Of all the GMAD plants the St. Louis plant is the only one which has not signed a contract with GMAD. Because of the militancy of the workers the plant is still operating under a "memorandum of understanding" between Woodcock and GMAD management.

In fact since the mini-strikes of last November and December, when supposedly 11,000 out of 12,000 grievances were settled, over 7,000 new grievances have been amassed.

It is clear that layoffs are not the

only problem, that working conditions are just as large a problem and that the ranks are not taking the speed-up without fighting back.

When the recent layoffs were first announced the response of the Local 25 Rank and File Caucus was to put out a leaflet which called for *no more layoffs and no forced overtime.*

Caucus members in the plant were talking about the fact that men with 3 1/2 years seniority were being put out of a job and that there was no end in sight to continued layoffs.

*The sentiment in the plant was that jobs and working conditions were being sacrificed for corporate profits.*

There was general agreement that the men had little enough time as it was to spend with their families and that few of them wanted to work overtime, especially when 650 of their union brothers were being put on the streets.

At the regular monthly union meeting, scheduled for March 8, attendance was well above normal. Hundreds of angry union members had come to talk about the layoffs and to see what they could do.

The ranks forced the local leadership to spend the entire meeting dealing with the current situation and with demands put forward by Nate Mosley, a District Committeeman and a leading member of the Rank and File Committee.

*The demands put forward by Mosley at the local meeting were publicized in advance by a Rank and File Committee leaflet, which read in part,*

*"All of us Local 25 members must stick together if we are going to protect our jobs and improve our working conditions. This is a contract year and we must begin now to organize ourselves and to come up with a program that will fight GMAD. Come to the union meeting where we can discuss the following demands, vote on them, and then begin to act.*

*\*No More Layoffs - a guaranteed job for all.*

*\*No Forced Overtime - make it*

*The fight for higher wages should be closely linked with the demand for a freeze on prices. But the linking of these two demands by the working class needs to have a political expression.*

*A price freeze is not something that can be won by the action of one union against one company - it means the working class as a whole against the ruling class.*

*The logic of the struggle shows the*

*voluntary:*

*\*35 for 40 - add a third shift to reduce unemployment.*

*\*\$1.12 the first year and 84 cents for the next two - break the Phase 3 guidelines.*

*\*\$750 at 25 years and out.*

*\*Return the cost of living clause.*

*\*A Labor Party based on the rank and file worker."*

Support from the ranks was overwhelming on all of these. Many workers were even demanding that Local 25 strike to prevent the layoffs.

The local leadership opposed this suggestion of striking because it was impossible under the UAW by-laws without the approval of the International leadership, and this they did not expect.

Mosley pointed out that a strike was necessary to defeat GMAD and prevent the layoffs, but only if it could be coordinated with all 18 GMAD plants.

Nate indicated that a single isolated strike, such as took place in Lordstown and Norwood, would be easily defeated by GMAD. He demanded that what was needed was "a nationwide strike similar to the general strikes going on in Britain now for the past three weeks."

As the meeting progressed it was clear that the Local 25 leadership would verbally accept all the demands that Mosley had put forward - all, that is except the call for a labor party.

The pressure from the ranks made it necessary that they accept these demands.

An additional reason is also the fact that these local bureaucrats are up for election next month, and have to maintain their image in front of the ranks.

*The question now is whether they can avoid exposing themselves even more clearly, now that they have accepted a set of demands which they have no plans to carry out.*

In denouncing the demand for a Labor party, the Local 25 leadership said that it was "communist." Mosley responded to this by saying that a labor party was "democracy for the workers."

*He pointed out that the American working man can't trust either of the Democratic or Republican parties to defend his or her interests.*

It was the Democratic Congress that approved Nixon's Wage Freeze and the "Guidelines."

*Mosley said that only a political party of the rank and file worker could put forward a program that would defend our interests in and out of the plant.*

Perhaps because of all of the pressure, the GMAD management has tentatively pushed back its deadline for layoffs from March 19 to the 26th.

While this does nothing to eliminate the layoffs, it does give the ranks the opportunity to mobilize additional support to fight the company.

At this time the Rank and File Caucus is pushing for a meeting of all 18 GMAD locals so that an effective strike strategy and program to combat GMAD can be built. ■

## Brennan

[Continued from page 6]

tion going on in the electrical workers union.

In Brennan's own union, the Painters, under the leadership of his sponsor Rarback, hundreds of young Black and Puerto Rican apprentices were suddenly "brought into the union" - to pay dues but denied voice or vote. Their wages began at half journeyman's pay scales.

This influx began in the years 1962 through 1967. The influx was so large that the NAACP held a special testimonial dinner to honor Rarback and present a plaque to him for his "good work."

Union rules governing employment proportions of apprentices to journeymen were widely ignored on all government construction projects and these jobs were often filled almost entirely by "apprentices" doing journeymen's work at half-wages.

When I complained about this swindle - so profitable to the painting contractors and the union officials they had "cut in" for a piece of the "take," the hearing officer at the New York City Office of the Anti-Discrimination Committee rejected my charge of discrimination. "The men were hired, weren't they?" "How can you call that discrimination?"

Capitalist democracy works in this "democratic" manner almost everywhere.

Brennan, the head of the organized labor forces in the construction trades, said and did absolutely nothing in behalf of the super-exploited apprentices.

And no government agency ever compelled the employers to pay mechanics' wages for mechanics' work as required by "law."

On every construction job in New York City the legally required toilet, sanitary, washing and towels required by the New York State Labor Code are violated, and have been violated without exception. Brennan never did anything to change that.

When I was appointed as a union steward by the reform administration in the Painters Union, I filed a grievance with the union over the exposure of workingmen to asbestos dust and to tapers compound dust arising from the sanding.

A state inspector came to the job along with the painting union heads. After a test, the inspector "white-washed" the clearly poisonous conditions, some of which had already been condemned as cancer-producing by the Mt. Sinai Hospital School of Industrial Medicine.

Later tests, taken at the request of the reform officials of the Painters Union on the job where I was steward at No. 1 New York Plaza, established by test the cancer-danger character of sanding dust from many taper's compounds widely used.

This was an outstanding example of capitalist democracy for workers. In this entire matter Brennan remained aloof and silent - himself the expression of this same capitalist democracy at work for the benefit of capitalists.

*With such associations, practices and record, there is some reason to believe that Peter J. Brennan may be expected to adhere strictly to the "law and order" principles and high ethical standards of President Nixon's administration. ■*

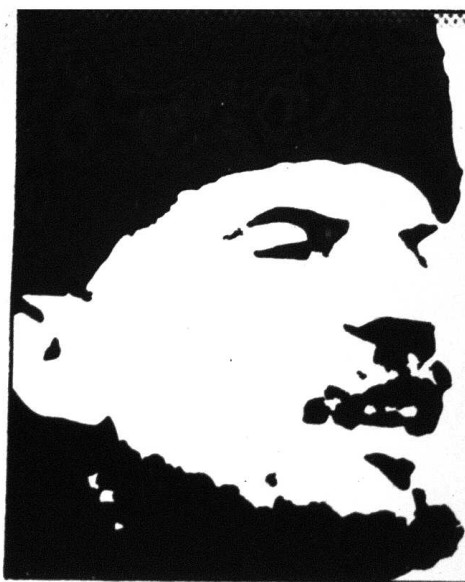
### 3 economic plans.

An attack on food prices must, at the same time, be an attack on Phase 3. Wage raises well beyond the 5.5% guidelines are clearly necessary just in order to defend past living standards.

In addition to wage increases in the upcoming round of contract bargaining, all contracts must have full cost-of-living protection. Any contract without a full COL clause should be voted down.

necessity for a political party of the working class which can fight for the needs of working and oppressed people.

Any serious struggle against high food prices must involve an attack on the capitalist system which is responsible. You cannot expect either the Democrats or Republicans, twin defenders of capitalism, to fight for its destruction. Nor can you expect them to mount a serious attack on high prices. ■



# LENIN'S MOSCOW: EARLY DAYS OF THE COMINTERN

Bruce Landau

World history is once again moving into a revolutionary stage. On every continent the struggle between the classes is sharpening.

The world's ruling classes — both capitalist and bureaucratic collectivist — are unable to keep their economies afloat without driving the working class to the wall.

Faced with this ruling-class attack, the workers cannot stand idle. They must fight to defend their living standards and their working conditions.

Strikes, demonstrations, and street battles sweep tens of millions into action all over the world. France in 1968, Italy in 1969, Poland in 1970, Great Britain throughout the last few years — these are only the road-signs telling us what lies ahead.

As the crisis deepens, East and West, the attack on the workers' living standards will be stepped up. In order to weaken the workers' ability to resist, the economic attacks will be coupled with an ever fiercer attack on the workers' organizations and political rights.

Nor is this all. At the same time that the world's rulers plunder the workers, they also try to plunder each other.

The current monetary struggle in the capitalist world represents the first stage in this international conflict.

Once again, as the crisis deepens, this conflict will intensify too. World War III becomes a serious possibility.

But the world crisis brings with it more than an attack on the working class and the danger of nuclear war. It also produces a new generation of revolutionary socialists in every country of the world.

The tasks facing this generation are tremendous. Today it is confused, scattered, and disorganized. It must become clear about its tasks and must forge itself into an international revolutionary leadership for the working class.

The revolutionaries must come to understand the nature of the world crisis. Then they must formulate a strategy — a program — with which the workers can repel their rulers' attack and take power in their own hands.

Finally, the revolutionaries must learn how to use this program, how to win the masses of workers over to it.

Only in this way can a revolutionary period produce a successful world revolution.

Fortunately, we do not start from scratch. We don't have to proceed by the method of trial and error.

The history of the international socialist movement is long and rich in lessons for the revolutionaries of today. It is especially instructive on the meaning of revolutionary leadership.

The best place to turn for these lessons is to the history of the Russian Bolshevik Party and to the early Communist International. That is where the basic theory and practice of socialist revolution is spelled out in the clearest terms.

But to learn from this history, we first have to dig it out. Today it is still half-buried under tons of lies and distortions heaped upon it by the apologists for capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism.

None of the world's ruling classes is very anxious for its slaves to discover the keys to their chains.

This is why Alfred Rosmer's book, *Lenin's Moscow*, is so important, so valuable. It helps us get at the facts about the early Communist International, helps us separate the real history from the lies.

## Capitalism on the Brink

*Lenin's Moscow* shows us the European revolutionary movement in the first years after the slaughter of World War I — years when world capitalism teetered on the brink of destruction.

Europe's workers, looking out over a continent ravaged by imperialist war and a capitalist economy literally collapsing under its own weight, surged leftward.

Russia was their beacon. There, in 1917, the workers and peasants smashed the power of the ruling classes and created their own state based on a network of democratically organized councils (*soviets*).

They took over the factories, the railroads, the offices, and the land and put them all to work for themselves.

In brief: they took the Old Russia of Czars, bankers, and misery and turned it into the world's first true workers' republic.

The Russian Revolution sent a shock wave through the rest of Europe. Workers' councils on the *soviet* model sprang up all over the continent.

Trade unions and reformist parties were flooded with revolutionary-

minded workers. Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain — they could have gone over to the revolution at any time.

In Hungary, a *soviet* republic held out for over four months against the assaults of European imperialism, despite the incredible blunders committed by the Hungarian revolutionaries.

In England, the shop stewards' movement was embroiled in full-scale combat with capitalists and trade-union bureaucrats alike. In France, a tremendous drive to the left among the workers forced even conservative "labor leaders" to pretend that they, too, were revolutionaries. One after another, mass strikes involving millions shook the continent.

## For a Revolutionary International

In this setting, Rosmer shows us the urgent need for solidly revolutionary parties in every country and for a revolutionary international to coordinate them.

Socialist revolutions, after all, are not "inevitable." *They do not make themselves.* The working class must make them happen.

In a revolutionary period, all kinds of ideas, suggestions, strategies, individuals, parties, present themselves before the working class, competing for the workers' support.

Depending on which of these ideas, strategies, parties the workers adopt as their own, the revolution itself will either fail or succeed.

In post-war Europe, the would-be leaders were many.

On the Right stood the old, "traditional" labor bureaucrats and their reformist political allies. These heroes were stampeding headlong into the tender embrace of the capitalists and tried to drag the workers along with them.

Trailing after them came the "Centrists" — those who were for the revolution on paper but were unable or unwilling to break from the opportunist leaders in real life.

On the "super-Left" fringe stood the sectarians. The sectarians expected to make the revolution without mass support from the working class.

Instead of such support they sought "purity" — purity which they guarded by keeping clear of the workers, their organizations, and their struggles!

A workers movement led by reformists, Centrists or "super-leftists" could never defeat capitalism. Such "leaders" could only prepare the way for the costliest defeats.

The Communist International (CI) was created in order to provide the workers' movement with the revolutionary leadership that was needed. The tragedy is that it failed.

The question is, Why did it fail? Some argue that the CI failed because it came too soon, because it was premature. Even Rosa Luxemburg — a thoroughly committed revolutionary who was for a new international — struggled against the Bolsheviks' determination to create the CI in 1918.

At the CI's first world congress, Luxemburg's delegate argued for "patience": "There are real communist parties in only a few countries; in most others, they have been created within the last few weeks, and in several countries Communists as yet have no organizations."

Much better, the delegate urged, to wait until big politically-firm, nationally based parties exist before creating an International!

It is impossible to read Rosmer's book without seeing that Luxemburg and her co-thinkers were wrong.

The CI's problem was not at all that it arose too early. On the contrary! Its problem — in fact, the fundamental cause for its ultimate failure — was that its preparation was postponed too long, until after the European revolution had already begun.

Those who tried to lead the revolutionary movement in Hungary, Germany, Italy, Austria, France, Britain, Bulgaria in the early 1920's — these people were untrained, totally unprepared for the tasks which faced them. Few of them even understood what those tasks were.

By the time that the Bolsheviks were able to explain to these people the nature and seriousness of their mistakes, the post-war revolutionary wave had subsided.

If the Bolsheviks (on the other hand) had begun discussions and practical work with these European revolutionaries earlier — before the war broke out — world history might have turned out very differently.

The major blunders could have been avoided. Soviet Hungary might have survived. The Italian workers could have seized power in 1920.

The workers' movement in Germany, France, and Britain would have had a trained and clear-sighted revolutionary leadership. And with such a leadership, anything was possible in those years.

But, as we know, this leadership was absent in the 1920's. The revolutionary period produced a successful revolution only in Russia.

And — as the Bolsheviks well understood — socialism in one country alone was impossible.

Russia remained isolated. Her land, industry, and the working class itself were decimated by civil war and foreign invasions. The combination of grinding poverty, isolation, and the power of Stalin's growing bureaucracy within Russia finally broke the back of the Russian proletariat.

The new bureaucratic ruling class in Russia took power on the ruins of the world's first workers' republic.

## Key Tasks

Revolutionaries today must learn and profit from both the successes and the mistakes made in the 1920's.

Above all, we must not repeat the cardinal error of that period — the failure to train an international core of socialist revolutionaries before the revolution breaks out.

The creation of revolutionary parties — here and around the world — and of a revolutionary international is a practical task. First steps must be taken now to make sure these tasks are accomplished. ■

# Peronist Party Captures Argentina Vote

Shelley Landau

On March 11 Argentine elections were held for the first time in eight years of military dictatorship. The Peronist Campora-Lima ticket emerged victorious, receiving almost half the total vote.

Juan Peron, dictator of Argentina from 1945-55, was not allowed to run for office. However his handpicked candidate, Dr. Hector Campora, was a safe choice for a stand-in.

Campora, a dentist turned politician, poses no threat to Peron's authority. He campaigned for the presidency on the slogan, "Campora in government, Peron in power."

Thus the overwhelming vote for the Peronist Justicialist Party is a clear mandate for Peron's own rule.

In *Workers' Power* numbers 67 and 68 we explained the reasons for Peron's popularity. While in power, demagogic nationalism, working-class rhetoric, and economic reforms during years of post-war prosperity won him a huge working class following while his success at crushing all independent workers' movements and the left pleased Argentina's capitalists as well.

Today Argentina is undergoing a severe economic crisis which has produced 70% inflation in the last year alone. The military government of General Lanusse is attempting to make workers pay the price of its economic troubles through imposing wage controls, price hikes, tax increases, and government intervention in the unions.

But the military's policies have backfired. Its full-scale attack on the working class is being met by massive and militant resistance, culminating in general strikes on at least four occasions since 1969.

The military's failure to defeat the working class has caused many capitalists to lose faith in the present government. Their economic situation is desperate enough to risk giving Peronism another try.

Although Peron's economic policies laid the basis for the present disaster, he was undeniably more skillful at manipulating the working class.

## Peron in Power

As evidenced by the election results, most workers still believe Peron is on their side. The Peronist politicians and labor bureaucrats popularize the image of Peron as "friend" and "father" of labor. They remind workers of the money wage increases, health and welfare benefits, unionization gains, and greater "prestige" they enjoyed under Peron.

Of course, Peron's PR men fail to mention that working-class "prestige" was an inexpensive substitute for real economic and political freedoms.

Peron's toady in power means only more efficient repression. The capitalists know this and welcome him back; the workers must learn this or suffer the consequences.

If the military allows Campora to take office, the Peronist movement will undergo internal crisis. Presently there are several wings of the Peronist movement which represent contradictory class interests.

The movement includes fascists,

revolutionary socialists — and every shade of political opinion that falls between the two. Each group sees Peron in its own image.

Already the left wing has had reason for worry. Peron's long awaited homecoming this fall was a major let-down.

The ex-dictator engaged in secret negotiations with the military, avoided public rallies, cautioned the left against excesses, and chose Campora rather than a more "revolutionary" Peronist for the presidential slot.

**With Peron in power the left wing of the movement will be forced to choose between their revolutionary aspirations and their loyalty to Peron — the two tendencies cannot co-exist much longer.**

As an observer of the Peronist movement commented in an Argentine weekly:

*"Peronism, a mass movement of singular longevity and force in the third world, is at a crossroads. It will either make a qualitative leap forward or go bust."*

*"This is because Peronism is a multi-class movement with a mass working-class base. It has both reformist and revolutionary tendencies, one in the bureaucratic leadership and another in the ranks. It is a movement involved in an innumerable series of growing mass struggles, with the tragic corollary of innumerable betrayals of the rank and file by the leadership."*

## Socialist & Workers' Front

Only the most politically advanced workers already recognize how Peronism serves Argentine capitalism. Among these workers many supported the candidates of the Socialist and Workers' Front, a coalition of socialist groups, trade unionists, students, and community organizations.

The program of the Front calls for "nationalization, under workers' control, of all foreign and national monopolies, foreign trade, banking, and financial and credit institutions — the expropriation of large landed estates and their distribution without cost to the peasants and agricultural workers — the establishment of a workers' and popular government as the first step toward a socialist Argentina."

The program also includes demands for the democratization of the unions, for economic reforms, equality for women, and freedom for all political prisoners.

Unlike the Peronist parties which ran notorious right-wingers for several political offices, the Socialist and Workers' Front put forward a slate of candidates which included many well-known revolutionaries and working-class militants.

Its candidate for governor in Cordoba, Jose Paez, is known for the prominent role he played in the famous Cordobazo (general strike in Cordoba).

There were also a number of women on the Front's slate including Nora Ciapponi, an ex-textile worker who ran for vice-president and emphasized the Front's commitment to women's liberation.

From all reports the Socialist and Workers' Front was the only poli-

tical party to intervene in the recent pre-election strike wave. In a number of places Front candidates led strikes, such as the SOMISA steel strike, and in other places the Front conducted strike support work from the outside.

The Front's candidates received close to 100,000 votes, and claim that ballot irregularities in key working class districts cost them additional votes.

**Although we have only sketchy information concerning the Socialist and Workers' Front, there do seem to be certain political weaknesses which could represent more serious problems.**

At present there are two bureaucratic "roads to socialism" being travelled in Latin America today. The Stalinist Cuban road has produced a new bureaucratic ruling class at the expense of the Cuban working class.

The reformist road of the Allende Popular Front has disarmed the Chilean working class in the face of the capitalists and the army.

These are the two strongest currents within the Latin American working class movement. These are the tendencies which must be defeated in order to make a socialist revolution in Latin America.

**What does the Socialist and Workers' Front have to say about these twin dangers? Its political leadership, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) only lauds its "sister countries" of Chile and Cuba "who are struggling against imperialist exploitation."**

What about the exploitation of the Chilean and Cuban workers? The PST is silent.

It is essential for socialist revolutionaries to differentiate themselves from all elitist brands of "socialism" which deny workers their right to rule.

Real revolutionary internationalism means to defend the interests of the working class in every country.

The PST must make its stand clear, or else it will fail to give the Socialist and Workers' Front, as well as the entire Argentine working class, the kind of leadership it needs.

**The rest of the Argentine left failed to provide any revolutionary**

alternative to the Peronists in the elections. The Communist Party is illegal and therefore was unable to run its own candidates.

But rather than accept an invitation to participate in the Workers' Front, the Communists threw their support behind the Popular Alliance, a coalition of so-called "progressive" capitalists.

With the deepening economic crisis and the increasing class conflict, the Communist Party's strategy of building alliances between workers and capitalists is tantamount to building a united front of victims and executioners.

A taste of things to come is shown by the response of the capitalists' Popular Alliance to the Communist Party's support by forbidding CP participation in its campaign and by repeating its intention to keep the CP illegal!

The other major section of the Argentine left consists of guerilla groups. Some of these groups supported the Peronist parties, while others abstained in the elections.

There is still reason to doubt whether the military will allow the Peronists to come to power. It may simply ignore the election results and continue its rule.

But for Argentine workers — whether faced with the military or Peron — the tasks are the same. A class showdown is on the agenda. The victory of the working class is not at all certain.

**A revolutionary leadership is needed which can expose the real nature of Peronism and win the working class to a strategy which leads to their own class rule.**

Among its tasks this leadership must wage a fight in the unions against the corrupt Peronist bureaucracy and build rank-and-file organs of struggle.

It must fight to defend and extend the working-class standard of life in the face of the government/employer offensive, and champion the fight for political freedoms in order to carry on its work.

The program of the Socialist and Workers' Front recognizes these tasks. Time will tell whether it can provide this kind of leadership. ■



Hector Campora with a portrait of Peron's first wife, Evita

# THE RAPE OF BRAZIL: NEW ROAD TO RUIN

Derek  
Briscoe

[Editor's note: The first part of this article, which appeared in our last issue, discussed the enormous profits made by U.S. imperialism and Brazilian capitalism on the basis of the super-exploitation of the workers under military rule.]

All of this is profitable, but not very pleasant for most Brazilians, and not very grand. The government needed a project to give it an air of dynamism, to tie itself up to the nationalistic feelings of most Brazilians. Like the government of Juscelino Kubitschek (1955-61) (which built Brasilia, the new national capital, in the virtually empty Center-West of the country), the generals needed a gimmick.

The gimmick they picked was the Trans-Amazonian Highway, to be cut through the largely intact Amazonian tropical forest that covers half the area of the country.

This project enables the government to project an image of being the "dynamic center" of the new economic strategy, when in fact it is handing the country over to foreign capital.

At the same time this project, far from being competitive with private interests, represents a direct subsidy to the construction and equipment companies who are doing the building, as well as an indirect subsidy to the multinational corporations that hope to remove minerals and lumber from the hitherto inaccessible inland areas of the forest region.

Besides that, like all public works, the project offers abundant opportunities for personal enrichment of government officials through bribery, kickbacks and land speculation.

Furthermore, the Transamazon project is touted as the government's alternative to the agrarian reform that is so urgently needed by Brazil's small farmers and farm workers.

Small plots of land are being offered to migrants from the miserably poor Northeast — in the Amazon region, which is still an undeveloped frontier, without public services, distant from markets and full of tropical disease foci.

The big landholdings of the regime's reactionary supporters in the Northeast remain intact, while the frontier will, as the regime intends, draw off the most discontented people from the rural areas.

## Socio-ecological Disaster

The result is likely to be a human and environmental disaster. Contrary to popular belief, the tropical forest is a very fragile environment. Most forest soils cannot stand to be farmed in large stretches, or for more than two or three years out of every twenty.

Colonization, in the form it is taking place, will create a wasteland of hardened mineral surfaces and unproductive grassland, suitable only for cattle raising, within a few years.

The tropical forest, home to half

the world's species of plants and animals, will be gone forever. The remaining Indian groups will be dead or their cultures destroyed.

Cattle barons will move in and set up ranching operations, and the malaria-ridden farmers will be forced out to begin the cycle anew elsewhere — after having cleared the land for the landlords free of charge.

Or else the farmers will migrate to join the unemployed and underemployed residents of big city shantytowns.

Such human and ecological disasters have devastated Brazilian regions before. Notably, the coffee boom which started in the last century left large areas of the South of the country denuded and environmentally degraded.

The result is that by now the "hollow frontier" of coffee-growing — hollow because it leaves emptiness behind — has reached the freeze zone in the South.

The boom in natural rubber in the Amazon, which led to a brief boom based on the debt-slavery of Indians and Northeastern migrants, collapsed when the British opened plantations in Malay around 1910. Its demise left pockets of diseased marginal farmers isolated in decaying Amazon backwaters for generations.

**"Capitalist growth cannot occur without destruction..."**

At this stage of history, capitalist growth cannot bring about development at all, and it cannot even occur without destroying the basis for continuing society at the same productive level.

No individual capitalist could make money from schemes such as the Transamazon if he had to pay the costs of maintaining the environment for future generations — let alone the costs of raising and educating the new generations of workers to a level where they could rationally develop their country.

Capitalist growth cannot occur without destruction — destruction of the land and destruction of human beings.

The Brazilian dictatorship appears to be quite strong for the moment, but in fact can only put off the day when Brazil must face the questions of the standard of living of the workers, of land reform, of breaking its dependency on imperialism — and of planned scientific reconstruction and development of its environment.

Inseparable from these problems is the question of restoring democratic rights to the Brazilian people. In different ways, the failure to solve each of these problems lays the basis for crisis in the future.

As long as landholdings remain concentrated and workers are in misery, the internal market for Brazilian goods remains small.

Brazil's exports are gravely threatened by growing competition and the monetary crisis, as well as by the entry of Britain, a major customer, into the high-tariff Common Market.

As long as foreign firms control Brazilian development priorities, and

extract profits from the country, growth will remain at best distorted and episodic.

As long as development is keyed to private profit and ignores the needs for scientific regional planning and the costs of human and environmental upkeep, regional and national crisis will threaten.

Sustained development will be impossible. As long as freedom is denied and workers and farmers exploited, continued struggles will break out in the society.

Aside from the tame liberal "opposition," which is quite useless, the largest opposition group continues to be the pro-Moscow Brazilian Communist Party (CP), headed by the aging figurehead Luis Carlos Prestes.

This party, like most of its counterparts in this period, refuses to initiate militant mass struggles.

Rather the C.P. hopes to ally itself with the more "progressive" sections of the capitalist political forces and obtain government offices through some sort of coalition, as in Chile's ruling Popular Front.

In Brazil the "progressive" forces courted by the CP have included old-line politicians and even "nationalist" or "Nasserist" currents in the Armed Forces.

None of these deals has panned out. But the CP funnels popular discontent away from serious resistance. It is able to succeed in this effort because of its size and what remains of its revolutionary image.

The CP failed to lead effective resistance to the 1964 coup then or to organize seriously against the dictatorship afterwards. This failure convinced some of its supporters that the CP was bankrupt and that more militant tactics were needed.

At that time, many Catholic and ex-Catholic leftists, mostly students but some workers, were moving toward a revolutionary outlook. They were organized in a group called Popular Action (AP).

Many in both of these currents tended to analyze the problem simply as one of lack of militancy. They were drawn to the strategy of guerrilla warfare, mostly urban.

## Dead-end Strategy

Kidnappings and bank robberies were undertaken in the hope of creating political polarization and setting in motion a process of "resistance-repression-heightened resistance" that could topple the government.

This strategy proved to be a dead-end, in spite of the valor and sacrifice of numbers of fighters. The most noted of these was Carlos Marighela, whose *Mini-Manual of the Urban Guerrilla* was popular among pro-guerrilla New Leftists in the US.

Marighela was betrayed and killed by the police. The guerrilla groups ignored the need for involving large numbers of people, especially workers and the rural poor, in struggles against the government.

They chose to substitute tiny circles for mass organization, became isolated, and easy marks for propaganda against "terrorism" and the well-trained repressive forces of the state.

In 1968, university and high school

students took part in waves of demonstrations against official attempts to destroy their organizations and to limit access to the universities.

Later, they protested the murder of a student, Edson Souto, by the Rio de Janeiro police. As these demonstrations grew, metallurgical workers in Osasco, Sao Paulo, staged a militant strike and factory occupation.

During this period, the CP maneuvered to make a deal with ex-President Kubitschek, who was still enormously popular, and ex-Governor Carlos Lacerda (a rightist and violent anti-Communist when in power) for a "Broad Front" to oppose the government — ever so delicately.

At the same time, the guerrilla-ists deprecated the importance of these mass demonstrations on the ground that they were not bent upon immediate violent confrontations.

At one point, when the police were about to break up the Osasco sit-in, for example, Jose Campos Barreto, a leader of the guerrilla-ist VPR, a revolver in one hand and a torch in the other, threatened to set fire to some gasoline tanks and blow up the entire factory — and its occupants! For obvious reasons, he lost his audience in a hurry.

The outcome of the 1968 struggles was a shift toward still more repression by the dictatorship, in the form of the Fifth Institutional Act which stripped away the remnants of democratic rights and set the state for further mass arrests and torture.

## Toward Workers' Power

Today much of the Brazilian left, at least among the numerous political exiles in Chile, France and elsewhere, has rejected the guerrilla strategy in the face of its obvious failure.

Some have turned back to the "Big Party" as the Communists are called. Others are flirting with Maoism — even in spite of China's increasingly reactionary line in world affairs.

Small groups have formed which appear to be moving in the direction of revolutionary socialism and the Trotskyist political tradition.

These groups call for a strategy of attempting to create working-class organizations, of struggle against the government "cork" on wages, against the officially-supported leadership of the unions, for initiating mass struggles for democratic rights and for a serious land reform.

One such group publishes a magazine called "October" in Paris, while others appear to have clandestine trade-union publications inside of Brazil.

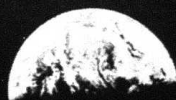
Like others on the left, these groups have been the victims of fierce repression, and at this point they are not large.

However, the general approach they appear to be following is the only serious alternative for the Brazilian workers, students, and small farmers.

Neither the collaborationism of the Communists nor the isolated violence of a guerrilla elite can generate a mass revolutionary movement.

The building of these revolutionary nuclei, and their work to create a revolutionary party of advanced workers is the hope for the exploited and oppressed people of Brazil. ■

# international report



## France: Revolutionaries Analyze Election Results

The "Union of the Left" failed to gain control of the legislature in France's recent national elections.

The Union, a coalition of the French Communist and Socialist parties, had hoped to gain a majority, thus forcing President George Pompidou to bring them into the government or face a constitutional crisis.

In fact, although the left doubled its representation, Pompidou's Gaullist coalition and its allies retain a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly. (See *Workers Power*, No. 73)

But the CP-SP coalition contained the seeds of its own defeat. By appealing in its program and campaign to petty-bourgeois reformist sentiment — CP secretary-general George Marchais did not even pretend he was running on a Socialist program — the coalition failed to mobilize the working class behind it.

Two French Trotskyist groups, *Lutte Ouvriere* and *Ligue Communiste*, ran a protest campaign against the CP-SP coalition on the first round of the balloting, and picked up 300,000 votes.

[The following editorial appeared in the French revolutionary socialist newspaper *Lutte Ouvriere* following the second round of the recent French national elections. For a background analysis of the issues in this election, see *Workers' Power* No. 72.]

For months, the parties of the Left fostered working-class illusions about the elections. It wouldn't be worth the trouble to engage in strikes of any sort, since the elections would bring us not only the satisfaction of our demands, but a veritable change in life. So they would have us believe.

But in the electoral arena, the left has won a majority only twice in seventy years! To break this pattern, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party put forward a Common Program sufficiently moderate to attract rightist votes (for the so-called "reform" parties are actually of the right) to the Union of the Left.

Even so, they did not succeed. On the first round, the Left, including all the groups who ran candidates, received only 46% of the vote. And on the second round, as the electoral laws took their effect, the right obtained two-thirds of the deputies, while the Gaullist alliance itself retained a majority.

The bosses, the bourgeoisie, the right wing have thus gained months of social peace while the working class put its hopes in the perspective of seeing a change take place through the elections.

We blame the Communist and Socialist Parties for this: for making believe, every five years for almost thirty years, that no matter what the workers must wait for the elections.

The workers are the most numerous and economically important social category in the country. If they stop work, as we saw in May 1968, everything stops, nothing can function.

But in a parliamentary strategy, the working class is hog-tied. A great number of workers do not vote. Some do not because they are foreigners, some, more simply, because they are dispersed in the interior of France.

And above all, some do not vote because the parasites who live on their backs are more numerous than they are. It is as if dogs and fleas voted in an election in which each dog had one vote, and each flea had the same.

This is the kind of system the leaders of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, as well as the leaders of the major union federations, want the workers to believe in.

This is why, after the results were in, so many socialist and communist militants felt frightfully deceived, frightfully discouraged.

This is the result of the strategy of the leaders of the Union of the Left. They have caused the workers to give up the prize in return for a shadow, and today the shadow itself has vanished.

But the working class remains powerful. If it uses its power, its weight in society, its economic role, it is sure to win victories and change its future.

Let us remember that the law, the representatives and the ministers, whoever they may be, give to the workers only what the workers themselves have already succeeded in winning in the struggle against the bosses.

The Left has been defeated in the parliamentary arena. So be it. But the workers have not been defeated in the class struggle.

Communist and socialist comrades, union militants, will you continue to say that we must wait five years and convince the centrist and reformist voters? No, of course not.

For nothing is lost. The reduction of the work week, salaries of 1,000 francs, indeed 1,500 francs for all, workers' control of industry, all this we can and will achieve, in organizing out of the struggles of the working class.

That which the bosses would have refused to two hundred fifty Left deputies, had they been elected, that which they refuse to eleven million leftist voters, they could not refuse to one or two million workers on strike.

The sooner more of us understand this, the less the right will profit from its electoral victory.

## Northern Ireland: New package for British imperialism

Britain's new plan for Northern Ireland is a slickly packaged design to preserve British domination over the war-torn province.

Elections for a "proportional national assembly," to be held under British auspices, will specifically ex-

clude from participation anti-imperialist groups — in particular, the Irish Republican Army.

The repressive apparatus of direct British rule is to be maintained until "lasting peace" — meaning the crushing of Catholic working class resistance — can be gained.

The plan includes "a delicate attempt to insure the interests of the Catholic minority" by means of a formal charter to guarantee freedom from religious or political discrimination. Such a charter will be effectively meaningless.

The roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland are not religious, but social. The oppression of the Catholic minority is not the result of religious intolerance, as liberal apologists for Britain's "peace-keeping" role maintain, but rather the maintenance of social and economic privileges of the Protestant majority.

The Protestant workers themselves live in poverty, but at a better level than the Catholics.

As for political freedom, the British have already shown this to be a hollow phrase by the plan to exclude the IRA from elections!

Only a class struggle by Catholic and Protestant workers against imperialism and capitalism offers a road to peace and equality in Ireland.

## Israel: Political trials cover growing cracks in Zionist rule

Last December four Israeli Arabs and two Sabras (Jews born and raised in Israel) were arrested on charges of espionage. They were accused of "membership in a hostile organization, contacts with enemy agents, giving them information, and aiding the enemy in the war against Israel." Some 40 persons will ultimately face charges.

The government's case is full of contradictions. The government first announced the existence of a network plotting to assassinate Israel's top militarist, Moshe Dayan.

The next day this was "corrected" to say that it was really a question of kidnapping the general. Then followed an announcement that Dayan's name hadn't figured in the plot at all.

The government published a list of arms found at one of the defendant's homes. The following day the story was retracted — there were no arms.

But the real question is not the guilt or innocence of the defendants. It is rather the political purpose to which the trial is directed. Government supporters are using the trial to attack not only the left, but all who oppose the militarism of the Israeli government.

Thus the report of *Jerusalem Post* (aimed largely at pro-Zionists in the United States) states, "Not on trial but figuring prominently in the charges is the extreme left-wing Matzpen group, which the prosecution calls the 'recruiting ground' for the alleged spy ring. Also mentioned is the even more extreme splinter group, the Red Front."

Israeli right-wingers have requested investigations of the "spiritual sources

of treason" saying that "treason" is "nourished and encouraged by criticism of the Israeli occupation and speaking of returning the Arab territories.

Why is so much attention being lavished on the trial? For one thing, there is an election coming up in Israel, and the trial provides useful ammunition for the right wing.

Again, a well-publicized spy case could take some heat off the government which has been faced with a series of militant strikes in the past three months.

Finally, there is increasing dissension within Israel itself over the Palestinian question. The particular circumstances of this case only bring out the contradictions within the present Israeli state.

First of all there is the fact that Jews, and native-born Jews at that, are collaborating with Israeli Arabs in struggle against the present Israeli regime. Second, at least one of the Jews involved was of Middle Eastern origin.

Israel is dominated by Jews of European origin, while Middle Eastern Jews (Sephardim) face discrimination in jobs, education and housing. They have always been told that their needs could not be met when Israel was "fighting for its survival." Lately they have begun to question this explanation.

These combinations of forces — Jews working with Arabs against Israeli militarism, and oppressed Jews working with other oppressed sectors of the Israeli population — represent the only future for the Israeli people: a future in which economic and social oppression are not hidden under the illusions maintained by religious and ethnic demagogery.

## Awami League Wins Rigged Bangladesh Vote

The riling Awami League has won an overwhelming electoral victory in the recent Bangladesh elections. The thoroughly rigged election was marked by widespread violence against all opposition candidates.

The newspaper *Holiday* of Dacca, sympathetic to the opposition tendencies but not aligned with any of them directly, poses the question:

"Now that the story of the 'massive victory' through the massive operation of electoral malpractice, right from the preparation of electoral rolls and electioneering campaigns down to the casting of votes is known, it is being widely asked: what made the Awami League dismantle even the pale show of parliamentary democracy which it avows it is politically wed to?"

The answer which is hinted at by *Holiday's* editors is that the ineffective, feeble and opportunist character of the opposition parties gave the Awami League the confidence to institute a complete crackdown and establish a one-party dictatorship in virtually naked form.



# feedback

## Greetings from KKKlinton

[The following special Feedback feature is an excerpt from a letter sent to us by a political prisoner in the New York prison system. It analyzes the revolutionary direction of the political consciousness developing within the capitalist prison system. Of special importance is the growing interest in the ideas of Trotskyism and the history of the world revolutionary movement.]

"Our orientation proved to be more correct, more farsighted and deeper-going than the orientation of the mightiest imperialist powers who have sought individually and collectively to bring us down, but who burned their fingers in the attempt.

"Our superiority lies in possessing the irreplaceable scientific method of orientation — MARXISM. It is the most powerful and at the same time subtle instrument — to use it is not as easy as shelling peas. One must learn how to operate it.

"Our party's past has taught us through long and hard experience just how to apply the methods of Marxism to the most complex combination of factors and forces during the historical epoch of sharpest breaks. . . .

— Leon Trotsky,  
Military Writings

We must likewise employ the instrument of Marxism in order to combat the bourgeoisie's efforts to keep the class divided by racism, sexism, chauvinism, revisionism and bourgeois narrow nationalism.

We have emerged out of the real contradictions of American life. Historical conditions are such — San Quentin and the Soledad Brothers, Alderston, Attica, Dannemora, Auburn, etc. — that we quickly came to see that revolutionary socialism, from a Marxist-Leninist ideology, was the only answer.

Marxism offers the most intelligible explanation for what we have experienced and discovered.

However, there is the very real danger that we will allow ourselves to meander: to adopt policies and ideologies, even Marxist ones, which are not based upon the historical reality of contemporary America.

We must innovate; we must not emulate, nor must we deviate to revisionism — to opportunism or to liberalism.

Racism is the cornerstone of monopoly capitalism and imperialism — it is inseparable from imperialism when dealing with the concrete realities of today throughout the world.

To separate racism from capitalism is no less difficult than the situation wherein we stand by and watch a baker mix ingredients for a cake, or sweet bread.

After the bread has been baked and taken out of the oven, we are given the order to "remove the yeast

and the sugar" from the finished loaf of bread.

HOW IS THAT POSSIBLE???

The yeast and the sugar may be allegorically linked to racism on a national and on an international level.

And the finished loaf of bread is likened to monopoly capitalism and imperialism, national and international.

Get a new baker, get new and tested ingredients, following a socially proven formula, and let's bake some new bread!!! It's just that simple!!!

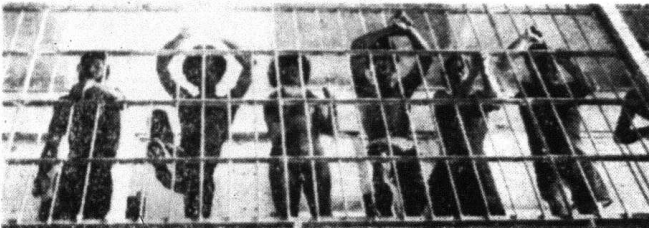
On this second time around we'll all pitch in and collectively bake the bread and just as collectively we'll all eat the bread.

Marxism is not a dogma: it does not demand specific form of organization and struggle: it is a way of looking at one's own experience and life and of understanding it.

There is no one revolutionary strategy: each movement must create its own, based upon the specific relationships of power, the specific institutions and culture of their country.

It is of the utmost urgency that we make a concerted, all-out, systematic study of the history of the Marxist movement — particularly the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism.

This is most imperative for pre-



paring revolutionaries of all classes for the new situation.

We must also be motivated and concerned to study, to investigate and analyze the split between China and Russia.

\* Support for the Vietnamese patriots even though a bogus peace deceptively acts as a veil to the covert continuation of imperialist genocide of Southeast Asians — support socialist revolutions everywhere.

\* Support for the African liberation struggles in Angola, Zimbabwe, Guinea Bissau, South West Africa, Southern Africa, and Seychelles.

\* Support for the national political prisoners' struggle.

Whisperin' ain't gonna get it!!!

We must study — investigate, analyze the Left split over questions of revolutionary organization and strategy — for what is unfortunately lost out of the whole process is a necessary vital concern for the American reality and experience that we can relate to.

It is time we returned our class focus to our own experience and situation. Dig! The lessons to be learned from the prison revolutionaries at AttiKKKa and KKKlinton, how they controlled the racism among the prisoners and died side by side.

We must create a new American movement and on to revolutionary

socialism of the Marxist-Leninist line.

No revisionism, no narrow chauvinism, no liberalism, no bureaucracy at the top and none at the bottom. We'll go from the bottom to the top.

Our ultimate aim after the revolution and necessary transition from capitalism to socialism is:

*The classless, stateless society under full communism — which as yet does not exist under any of the major powers.*

We humble lumpen Marxists fervently hope that the new society will produce the changes in people's practice which are necessary before full Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Socialism can become a reality.

Only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist International Socialism renders the state absolutely unnecessary.

Dig it!!!

For there is no one to be suppressed — "no one" in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population.

This is not Icara socialism. We are not utopians (believing that society can function on a sublime level of perfection), and we do not in the least deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses on the part of individual persons, nor need to suppress such excesses.

But in the first place, no special machinery, no special apparatus of repression is needed for this.

Secondly, we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses is the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty.

With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to "wither away." We do not know how quickly and in what succession, but we know that they will wither away.

With their withering away, the state will also wither away.

In closing, on behalf of all the Marxist-Leninists in our concentration

oppressed minorities for liberation.

To you comrades we offer our solidarity on all levels.

*Fraternally yours, in struggle,  
unity in workers' power,*

Razul Azrul

## Impressed

I have only seen *Workers' Power* No. 70 but was impressed by the article on Productivity.

As a scientific worker, I'm impressed that someone tries to relate productivity, investment and research in a paper aimed at workers.

I'd like to call attention to the "Italian IBM Workers' Strike" and the article in *Science* for the People on "Runaway Electronics." You might even want to reprint them.

There is a growing tendency among radical scientific workers to relate to their work areas and other workers.

D.A.

## Dialectical Typography

I cannot resist writing to congratulate you on your recent journalistic breakthrough. The hyphenated headline is obviously one of those ideas whose time has finally come, and we in New York are all justly proud that it is our newspaper that is leading the way.

In all frankness, however, it must be admitted that your first attempt in this regard was a little weak, in the sense that your first use of hyphenation was not totally necessary, and therefore appeared forced.

After all, the headline **BUDGET CUTS, UNEMPLOYMENT HIT BLACK WORKERS** could have been slightly rearranged in order to read **UNEMPLOYMENT, BUDGET CUTS HIT BLACK WORKERS**.

No doubt you chose to sacrifice a degree of elegance in order to introduce the new format with a minimum of delay.

Any lingering doubts we might have had concerning the new usage were dissipated by the double example in the current issue. Not only do we see

**WOMEN WORKERS: HISTORY OF STRUGGLE,**

but also **BRITISH WORKERS PRESS ANTI-TORY STRIKE WAVE.**

The subtlety of two different hyphenations of the same word is unsurpassed! Breaking "WORKERS" between syllables in the first article reflects not only a calm historical approach, but also the sex division within the working class that the article speaks of.

But shattering the syllable "WORK" itself in the second headline brilliantly depicts the disharmony that is rending the British social fabric.

Such a dialectical relationship between headline and article is rare indeed.

Walter Daum

## Dope and Repression

The unsigned article "Free Brown, Stop STRESS!" (*Workers' Power* No. 74) contains a serious political error. The central point of the article is

correct: STRESS represents a police attack on the black community and must be defeated by demanding Abolish STRESS - Free Hayward Brown - Hands Off the Black Community!

However, the treatment of the drug problem is in error. It is true that vigilante acts against pushers, which are ineffective, "will only strengthen the demands for increased police control." But more is involved.

The Nixon Administration has absolutely no intention of making the slightest real effort to destroy the crime syndicates. But the drug issue is one of the few where there is big support for "law and order" not only among middle-class persons, but among the working class and ghetto people who are most victimized by police.

The Nixon Administration is using the drug issue cynically to build support for greater police powers. Calls for a "war on dope" from whatever quarter and by whatever methods only play into Nixon's hands.

Build support for a "war on dope" and the police will demand: more prowler cars, "stop and frisk" laws, "no-knock" laws, wiretap authority, etc.

All these they already have, in part, but they lack one crucial element: full public support for using these tools in a vicious and unrestrained manner. The police will attempt to get this support by appealing for "community support in the war against dope."

Once they get it, will the police use their power only against pushers and not against the ghetto populations, working-class militants, radicals and revolutionaries? Guess again.

Socialists should give no backing to the idea of a "war on dope." Though this idea responds to a desperate problem, it responds in the wrong way.

The reform demand to legalize all drugs and control their distribution through free clinics will enormously reduce the problem of dope-related crime.

Some drugs are physically dangerous, some not. In no case can

you eliminate drug use by tougher laws. You have to (a) take addiction out of the criminal category, and (b) eliminate the causes of addiction.

Though today this is condemned as "weak-kneed" by the law-and-order boys, socialists shouldn't give in to this mood, but should point out that liberals have abandoned the fight for reforms. Socialists must fight for the reform, and also for the changes that the reform cannot accomplish.

Since legalization cannot solve the problems of unemployment, inhuman working conditions, vicious conditions of housing, etc., which cause epidemic dope addiction, the socialist movement must attack these conditions by fighting for full employment, the rebuilding of the cities with funds drawn from corporations, quality education for all, and the end of all forms of discrimination.

The indispensable tool for fighting for these changes is an independent party of labor and the oppressed committed to these and other demands.

Socialists should fight to have community organizations, union groups, etc., which are concerned about the dope problem call for legalization and commit themselves to a campaign for these changes.

Chris Winslow

### Rejoinder

As the author of a part of the article "Free Brown, Stop STRESS" - in particular, the part of the article on which Winslow comments - I am in agreement with the substance of his remarks, which I welcome, on the issue of drugs and police. What Winslow presents are the political conclusions that follow from the brief discussion in the article of the relation between drug addiction and the racist oppression of the black community.

The omission of these conclusions from the article was not because of disagreement with them on my part, nor in my opinion was it a "serious political error," as Winslow

racist support strikes. "There is a more valid contribution to be made. Whenever there is a store that discriminates against us because of racism, remember 'what is good for one of us is good for all of us.'

"You don't want me to cross your picket line because you are in the Union movement. Don't cross my picket line, because I'm in the Civil Rights movement."

The call for a contribution and participation by labor in the Black Liberation struggle is a positive one. The question remains as to the content and direction of the demonstrations in which the masses of Black and working people are being called upon to join. In this respect, the vague outlines for the April demonstrations are an injustice to all who wish to participate. To whom, and toward what solution, are the demands of the demonstrations to be addressed?

In his speech to the Meatcutters, Jackson made assorted references to the "Black-Labor Alliance" of the New Deal in the 1930's, the type of alliance he apparently hopes to revive.

"The beginning of that common bond of struggle between these two worlds of working people in America went through victories and success,

charges. The intent of the article was to emphasize the police attack on black people and the importance of fighting to Free Hayward Brown as a political prisoner. This, as Winslow correctly states, was the central point.

David Finkel

### Special Thanks

I saw the letter written by the Chicago surrealist group in issue no. 68. I thought the cartoon next to it was an appropriate reply.

Also I'd like to add that Jack Trautman's article "Permanent Revolution" in issue no. 68 was very good.

It gave a good background on the events in Trotsky's life and his writings.

I hope more articles appear on the same line as this one. Your paper is very good as a whole anyway but special thanks on "Permanent Revolution."

M.C.

### The Johnson Case

The "Labor in Brief" item in Workers' Power No. 74 on the Michigan Workmen's Compensation ruling that Chrysler Corp. must pay for James Johnson's psychiatric treatment contains an important factual mistake about the original murder trial.

Johnson was not found innocent by "the trial judge," as the item indicates, but by a jury. It is unlikely that a judge would have accepted the defense argument that youth as a Southern sharecropper and adulthood as an auto worker contributed to Johnson's mental instability.

The jury was composed of eight blacks and four whites; two were factory workers, three married to factory workers. It was the jury members' concrete knowledge of race discrimination, Southern conditions, and factory conditions which proved to them that the defense case had merit.

Further, the "Labor in Brief" item does not consider the overall significance of the Workmen's Compensation ruling. This ruling is an important victory, and can be used by militants elsewhere in their fight against inhuman working conditions. But it is important to realize that the Bureau of Workmen's Compensation is not about to become the workers' ally in this fight.

First, the Bureau's decision was in effect dictated by the jury finding - it was the jury's willingness to grant the defense case which pushed Workmen's Compensation to this ruling.

Second, and more important, the ruling in effect is a way of stating to the corporations, "We are drawing a line. You can't ride people so hard that they go mad. It is your job to keep things in line; if you fail, you will have to pay for your failure."

In other words, Workmen's Compensation - an agency whose function is to mediate some of the worst aspects of capitalist exploitation - is not striking a blow against increasingly vicious working conditions, but only warning that the corporations must not let things get out of hand.

It is ironic that if James Johnson had not gone crazy and grabbed a gun, but had painstakingly and carefully organized strike action against the same conditions, the courts and arbitration boards - those other agencies of the capitalist class - would almost certainly have made every effort to find Johnson "guilty."

James Coleman

### Correction

An editor's note in the review of the movie "Lady Sings the Blues" ("Lady Day: the Life They Wouldn't Film," Workers' Power No. 74) incorrectly identified black politician Fred Hubbard as the Chicago alderman who was murdered in his office some years ago. In fact, Hubbard was a Chicago alderman who was imprisoned for embezzlement of funds designed for hiring minority group construction workers under the "Chicago Plan."

## Jackson

[Continued from page 5]

organizations, which split last year when Jackson was expelled from SCLC by the Abernathy leadership.

Given the emphasis on "broad participation" in the demonstrations we can guess that one aspect - in itself a positive aspect - of Jackson's call will be for labor participation.

The basis for this was laid as early as August 1972, in a speech by Jackson to the Amalgamated Meatcutters Convention, when Jackson stated:

"All civil rights groups need money; all civil rights groups need nice resolutions; all of them need you on the days of big marches, to be in the front lines and to hold your banner high. That is one of the levels of contribution."

Jackson went on to call for anti-

strains and disruptions, but the bond remained. It was revitalized and strengthened in the years of the great Depression and President Roosevelt's New Deal."

Jackson refers to this as a "struggle for progress in our country."

Historically, the New Deal was a program of crumbs designed to pacify an angry and potentially revolutionary working class which was carrying out a tremendous struggle for industrial unionism.

The method of achieving this was a coalition, through the liberal ruling class Democratic Party, of bureaucratic "leaders" of labor and the Black community.

The result was to place these leaders in powerful positions within capitalist political circles.

Those whom they represented, however - both the rank and file of the labor movement and the masses of Black people - got a few jobs coupled with war, the continuation of racist oppression, and new sellouts of their rights and struggles.

The key to Jackson's change in tactics and his turn to "New Deal" rhetoric lies in the freeze on Black leaders' participation in the Federal Government's decision-making process.

The Presidential campaign of last year, when all the candidates openly

catered to white racism, not only froze out Black issues; it also virtually froze out the Black power figures, such as Jackson - depriving them of their traditional influence.

When Jackson calls for mass action to "let Richard Nixon know we are a people to be dealt with," one must ask whether such statements are an attempt to place Jackson himself back in a position where he is the one to make deals with.

The coming April demonstrations must separate friend from foe. In order to ensure this, we must break clearly from those forces who oppose or vacillate on Black interests. This includes the Democratic Party.

To get to the heart of the matter: the demonstrations must go beyond a fight against the present cuts. This means taking up the fight for jobs and a decent income for all, and concrete measures to protect Black rights. The message is simple - we want our freedom now!

We believe that like the militant upsurges of the 1960's, such a struggle will rapidly be abandoned by all the liberal forces of the political establishment and their Black spokesmen. The only forces that will fight consistently for Black and workers' rights and the organized ranks of the Black and white working class.

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