

Workers' Power

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Profits, Prices Soar While Unions Retreat

EDITORIAL

1973 is proving to be "the kind of year we've been waiting for," gloated Donald Reichelderfer of Armco Steel Corporation while speaking to that company's annual stockholders' meeting. This sentiment expresses the sentiments of the businessmen, bankers, and industrialists of this country. They have found that the soaring inflation, led by the skyrocketing prices of food and industrial products, has not interrupted the carnival of profits which the corporations have racked up in the first quarter of the year.

Statistics for the first quarter of 1973 show that the profits of the largest companies are up an average of 27.8% over the similar period for 1972. Typical was the picture in the auto industry, where both Ford and General Motors recorded the highest profits and sales ever. GM reported that its mass of profits for 1972 reached the incredible figure of \$2.16 billion. This is the figure which GM's profits will exceed by some 25.5% this year if the current trends continue.

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Abel Robs Steel Ranks



Last December, the leading business journals reported continuing rank and file resistance to the "productivity" deals being jointly pushed on steelworkers by management and Steelworkers Union (USWA) President I.W. Abel. How is it then that Abel had so little trouble getting his no-strike, binding arbitration proposal through the special conference of local union presidents in the basic steel industry held on March 28 and 29?

This question is of the greatest importance not only to rank and file steelworkers, but to militants

in every industry in this country. The agreement reached by the USW is a giant step toward the corporations' and the government's eventual goal of removing the right to strike from workers in the major industries — including auto, transport, communication, and others. This agreement promises no national steel strike when the contract expires in 1974, and that all unresolved issues will be settled by binding arbitration.

The agreement also ensures that the contract to be negotiated by the USW bureaucracy, with

no threat of strike action, will be another disaster for the ranks. The repercussions of this will be felt in other industries as well. A rotten contract which leaves the workers in one industry subject to increased speedup and worsening conditions will inevitably act as a pace-setter for an accelerated corporate offensive against the entire working class.

Ever since 1967, when he first proposed the forced arbitration scheme and was forced by the ranks to back off, Abel has stated repeatedly that such a

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I.S. Conference Explores Tasks for Socialists

Approximately eighty people attended a two-day socialist educational conference sponsored by St. Louis members of the International Socialists during the weekend of April 28-29. Among the topics discussed were the current capitalist crisis, the role of revolutionary black workers, the women's liberation movement, and the participation of public service workers in the growing rank and file movement.

The conference began with a presentation by Kevin Bradley and a discussion of the current crisis in capitalism and the resulting rank and file militancy. Bradley discussed both Phase 3 and inflation in the US in the context of an international downturn of capitalism.

The power of the United States has declined internationally to the point that it is now impossible for the US to force other countries to bear the major brunt of capitalism's periodic crises.

This is the root of the new competition for markets between the US, Japan and other economically developed countries.

The following two presentations, by Nathaniel Mosley, a district committeeman in St. Louis UAW Local 25, and Ed Davis, a Chicago Teamster, explored the effects of the crisis on the working class in the shops and factories.

Mosley explained the way the productivity drive led by GMAD has led to massive layoffs in his plant. The resulting struggles of the workers against the speed-up and the lay-offs have only been contained with the active intervention of the union bureaucracy on the side of GM.

In the following session, Clarence Jones discussed the leading role revolutionary black workers will be called upon to play in organizing a workers' movement.

The discussion focused on the importance of raising demands of oppressed groups, and how to do that in a way that builds unity of the

movement while pushing it to its full revolutionary potential.

Saturday's session ended with a panel debate between members of Workers Unity, a revolutionary St. Louis organization, and the IS, over the role of rank and file struggle in the unions in organizing the future revolutionary workers' movement.

On Sunday, the conference reconvened with a panel on the women's movement. The two speakers for the IS, Lynn Jones and Barbara Thomas, discussed the need for an independent movement of women in conjunction with a workers' movement for revolutionary socialism.

Both stressed the necessity of a workers' revolution to lay the economic basis for the social, political, and economic liberation of women. Both also stressed the key importance of working class women to the organization and success of the independent women's movement.

The two other women on the panel, both active in the women's movement locally, felt the women's movement should be a "class-less" movement, organizing all women regardless of their economic or class background into the same organization.

They argued that the feminist revolution must come before the workers' revolution, and stressed the role of consciousness-raising groups in politicizing women.

The final panel discussed the role of public service workers in the growing rank and file movement and the rapid deterioration of the cities. George Lipsitz, an editorial associate of *Liberation*, gave an overview of the urban crisis and its effects on different sectors of city services in St. Louis.

Kay Stacy discussed her work in a hospital in Detroit, putting major emphasis on the necessity for public service workers to make alliances with the communities their institutions are supposed to serve.

The alliance for hospital workers must have a combined community-worker struggle for decent medical care and decent working conditions.

Linda Bradley, a Chicago teacher,

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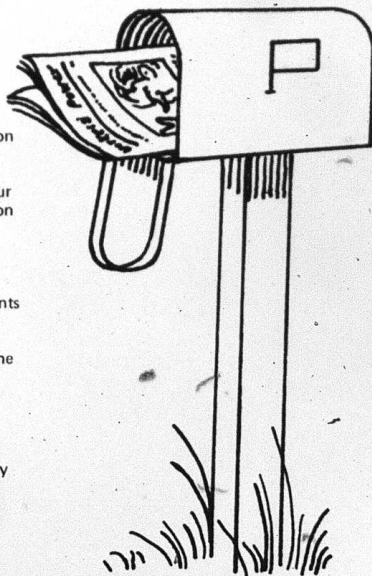


Editor's Note

With this issue, *Workers' Power* begins its summer monthly publication schedule. We will be publishing one issue in each of the months of June, July, and August. We apologize to our readers for the delay in the publication of the current issue.

In our next few issues we will be devoting special attention to aspects of the 1973-74 contract bargaining round now in progress, which confronts the ranks of organized labor with the gravest threat to their standards of living and working conditions since the wage freeze was imposed in 1971.

Frequently, especially during the summer, subscribers change their addresses without informing us in advance. The result is not only that they miss out on issues for which they have paid, but also that we have to pay return postage for copies sent back to us by the post office. We urgently request that any subscriber who is changing his or her address please let us know as soon as possible.



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BEHIND WATERGATE: POLITICS OF DECEIT

James Coleman

Watergate has been called "the biggest scandal in 50 years." In a literal sense this is true. The honor was previously held by the Teapot Dome oil scandal in 1923, but the implication of virtually the entire White House staff in the elaborate network of both the espionage and the cover-up has eclipsed any previous ventures. At the same time, there is an element of cynicism about the Watergate scandal.

If Republicans have now joined the critics of White House policy, for many months the chase was pursued by those seeking primarily to discredit the Nixon Administration. Is Watergate simply an election-year issue that peaked too late?

Watergate is different from most previous scandals, which involved money. Watergate involves spying by the government on its chief opponent — the Democratic Party. In the liberal outcry against this spying there is also much hypocrisy.

Many voters are more sophisticated about Watergate than some of the liberal politicians might wish. According to a May 5 Gallup poll, nearly two-thirds believe the Nixon Administration is not any more corrupt than those of Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, or Truman.

Nothing New

Bugging, fabrication of evidence, and the rest are nothing new. They have been used against radical opponents of the government and against workers and blacks for many decades.

Members of the Black Panther Party were framed, their headquarters shot up in police raids, their leaders murdered in bed — all without the government yet having been able to prove a single one of its major charges against the Panthers.

Right now, two Indian defenders of Wounded Knee have been killed in the government's two-month confrontation in South Dakota, with worse atrocities prevented only by the large degree of sympathy for the Indian cause.

What the good liberals in Congress now object to is that the mildest of these techniques has been turned against one of the two ruling class parties, the Democratic Party, by the other one.

Even this, however, is not new. Does anyone suppose Republicans never bugged Democrats before? Spying, lies, slander are part of every political campaign — always tacitly approved by those in charge, always denied if exposed. And always ridden hard by the opposition if exposed.

Watergate, however, has mushroomed into a scandal that is no longer quite controllable by either political party. The "nervousness" of the Democrats is in part a reflection of their inability to manipulate the Watergate dirt to gain the most political mileage for themselves.

The scope of the espionage continues to be exposed. Recent revelations of the CIA providing the arms and disguises for a raid on Daniel Ellsberg's

psychiatrist's office have begun to expose the so-called "neutral" character of governmental agencies.

Subtract all the cynicism, however, and something else remains. Nixon's inability to keep Watergate quiet underscores the profound uneasiness at the head of the political system.

For people in Washington — perhaps more than for many ordinary voters, who are less impressed — Watergate represents an uneasy sense that something is wrong.

Some liberal elements have seen Watergate as an attempt at "the systematic subversion of the American political order" (*New York Times*, April 20). Some elements of the left, which have long proclaimed Nixon as a "fascist," have echoed this view.

The Communist Party newspaper *Daily World* (April 21) called Watergate "a plot against the democratic process itself."

The truth is different. The "subversion of American bourgeois democracy" (unless by this the *Times* meant only breaking the rules of the two-party game) is threatened not by Watergate, but by deeper economic processes and political pressures. Watergate bears the same relation to these processes as a string of seaweed to the waves which lift it into view.

Watergate has brought a temporary crisis and resolution in Nixon's "war" with the press and with Congress. This undoubtedly explains much of the fervor with which leading figures in both places have chased the issue.

Not only had Nixon attacked the newspapers which continued poking into Watergate — in addition he had attacked press exposure and criticism of his administration in general. By pushing the Watergate issue to sensational exposures, the press forced Nixon to retreat and even to praise a "vigorous free press."

Similarly, Congress had been stung for years by Nixon's disregard of Congress's supposed "powers" — and by Johnson's disregard before.

Only in March, the now-disgraced Ehrlichman had said of Congress: "Their right hand doesn't know what the other fingers on the right hand are doing because of the hodgepodge organization."

For both Congress and the press, the Ehrlichman-Haldeman resignations appear to represent victories over Nixon's "war" against them. Now, they think, Nixon's "arrogance" will be humbled.

In reality, they have misunderstood the nature of the "war," which is not Nixon's war.

The tendency toward "greater Executive power" was visible in foreign affairs earlier than in domestic affairs. Such criticisms surfaced several years ago over the conduct of the Vietnam war.

In reality, war by nature is conducted pretty much single-handedly by the Executive. This was true of World War II, World War I, and even the Civil War.

Thus protests that the President was "usurping" the powers of Congress

began only when the Vietnam war began to look unwinnable. In effect, they expressed on a side issue the frustration of the Congressional liberals who were disappointed that the war could not be won — hence their failure to attack the politics of the war itself.

All through the '50's and early '60's, the liberals had accepted similar imperialist Presidential ventures. Their protests over "Presidential power" in Vietnam reflected the inability of United States imperialism to win, the doubts of sections of the ruling class about the war, and last, in distorted form, the increasing popular opposition to the war.

In domestic affairs, the tendencies to concentration of power in the Executive have been around for decades, but have only made liberals uneasy in recent years.

Underneath the cynical eagerness to embarrass Nixon today is a liberal sense that Watergate might be one straw too many. This sense reflects an underlying change in the mood of the American people which the liberals can only understand as a crisis of confidence in the "institution of the Presidency."

The greater and greater role of the Executive, and the enormous Federal bureaucracy, in the economy reflects the well-known "complexity" of modern government.

But what does this "complexity" consist of? A deep economic process has undermined the traditional form

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WHAT ARE YOU IN FOR, BUD? MASS MURDER IN INDOCHINA?

NO.

HOLDING DOWN WAGES WHILE LETTING PRICES AND PROFITS RUN WILD?

NO.

FOSTERING RACISM AND UNDERMINING THE BILL OF RIGHTS?

NOPE.

SLASHING WELFARE, OEO AND THE ECOLOGY PROGRAM?

NOPE.

HELPING ITT TRY TO OVERTHROW ALLENDE IN CHILE?

NO, NOT THAT EITHER.

WELL GEEZE, WHAT DID THEY GET YOU FOR?

BREAKING AND ENTERING. I GOT 30 DAYS.





Editorial

Wounded Knee: Struggle Will Go On

Another "settlement" of the Wounded Knee occupation has just been announced by the government and the press. This is the latest in a long series of "agreements" — all of which have proved to be fraudulent. In recent weeks, the possibility of a full-scale massacre of militant Indians by the federal government has become more ominous, with several Indians already killed in fire-fights with FBI forces.

The terms of the reported new settlement indicate one overriding fact: that the Nixon Administration has not retreated a single inch in its determination to suppress the Indian struggle and the leadership of the occupation, whether through outright violence or by legal means. According to this settlement, the Indians are not only to disarm but also to turn over the leading militants for prosecution by the state.

While popular sentiment has remained favorable to the Indians' struggle, and while a number of radical, Black and Third World organizations have been engaged in defense and support work for the occupation, the two-month occupation of Wounded Knee has failed to spark mass actions by the Indian population as a whole. This has been its most serious weakness and the underlying cause of the gradual isolation of the struggle and the diminishing coverage it has received in the press, except for the recent outbreaks of armed violence. This is also the most important factor that has encouraged the government to escalate the violence of its efforts to end and defeat the struggle.

The occupation of Wounded Knee can be best characterized as an armed civil rights demonstration. As such, it must be fully supported by all socialists and radicals. We reject the revulsion the government's efforts to portray the occupation as an act of "isolated extremists," and the attempts of the press to portray the action as being led and organized by "outside marauders" having no connection with the masses of the Indian community. The militants at Wounded Knee have raised demands for simple, elementary democratic rights and have armed to defend themselves against the inevitable government response.

Whatever the disposition of this latest "settlement," it is certain that the Indian struggle will continue. Those socialist and other organizations, especially Black and Third World groups, who organized support for the occupation must now turn to the task of building a massive political defense movement to protect the Indian movement from the legal and physical repression which is certain to follow. The imperative immediate demand must be complete, unconditional amnesty and freedom for all participants and supporters of the Wounded Knee occupation.

At the same time, the average wage increases through the first three months throughout American industry as a whole were held to the 5.5% which the Nixon Administration had set as its Phase 3 "guidelines." These figures point to one basic conclusion: the skyrocketing inflation, led by the largest wholesale industrial price increases since statistics were first compiled in 1951, has come totally at the expense of the American working class.

This situation provided the context for the last-minute one-year extension of Nixon's authority to impose wage and price controls which was passed by Congress at the beginning of May. Corporate leaders generally oppose even the mildest restrictions on prices. They fear, however, that inflation, if allowed to spread without even a token attempt to control it, could galvanize a "disastrous" round of demands by workers trying to regain the wages they have lost to rising prices and wage freezes.

Nixon's new "blow" against higher prices is a friendly pat on the back to the corporations, assuring them that no serious action will be taken. He ordered that the 600 companies in the U.S. notify the government 30 days in advance whenever they raise prices more than 1.5% over January 10 levels. Since most prices have already risen far more than this during January, this directive is practically empty on its face. The real teeth of the extension of the Economic Stabilization Act remain the same: wage gains will be suppressed and the major industrial unions shackled through their officials' acceptance of the guidelines.

Indeed, the first signs are that the entire 1973-74 national contract bargaining round will produce defeats for the workers in every industry. Along with the holding in of wage increases have gone agreements to accept productivity and speedup drives by the corporations in rubber, the railroads, the garment and oil industries.

One particularly alarming aspect of the current profit boom is that huge increases in production have been accomplished with very small additions to the work force. Auto companies, for example, have increased their output 18.6% during the first four months of this year over the same period in 1972 with virtually no increase in the work force.

At the same time, many leaders of business and finance foresee a probable recession in 1974. Partly because of the runaway inflation the capitalists have caused, the corporations will find it impossible to indefinitely maintain the current staggering profit margins. As this occurs, production will begin to cut back — once again at the expense of the workers, who will face massive layoff threats.

If real wages are not to be cut to pieces today and jobs lost in massive numbers tomorrow, a fight must be begun now by the rank and file of the unions for the duration of the 1973 contract round. Such a fight must confront head-on the government's wage control program and the co-operation of the union bureaucracies with the state.

A rank and file movement around the contracts can be organized around one basic principle: the workers must not be the victims of inflation! Within this context many key demands can be raised. These include wage increases without price increases, full cost of living protection in every contract, and no further collaboration with corporate schemes to increase profits through higher productivity. Such schemes only perpetuate the high unemployment which has become a permanent feature of the American capitalist economy.

Without a clear-cut working class response and counter-offensive, there can be no hope of any progress in fighting the continuing ravages of inflation.

Inflation Crisis: Unions Must Respond

NCLC Gangsters vs. Workers' Democracy

David Finkel

The last few weeks have seen a wave of violent physical attacks on radical and socialist organizations. These gangster assaults have been openly organized and carried out by a group known as the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) or "Labor Committee" — one of the more peculiar and unstable of the sects to emerge from the wreckage of the New Left.

A discussion of the politics of the NCLC, and the significance of its turn to terrorist violence — not against the capitalist state, but against left wing organizations — is important for the purposes of organizing political and physical defense against these attacks.

Such a discussion also sheds some useful light on the impact of the emerging crisis of capitalism on the American left as a whole.

"Operation Mop-Up"

The "Labor Committee" terror campaign began with a series of coordinated, armed attacks on meetings, rallies and bookstores run by supporters of the Communist Party and its youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League. This campaign was advertised in the NCLC newspaper *New Solidarity* as "Operation Mop-Up."

The NCLC proclaimed that the purpose of this campaign was to "destroy the Communist Party" — not through debating political issues, which the NCLC now denounces as "words without content," but by physically breaking up all C.P. meetings and political functions.

The most serious attacks on the C.P. occurred at Temple University, where several YWLL supporters were viciously beaten; at a New York mayoral candidates' debate, where a free-for-all initiated by armed NCLC thugs broke up the meeting before the Communist Party candidate Rasheed Storey could speak; and one week later at a class led by Storey at the New York Center for Marxist Education, where 50 NCLCers wielding jointed clubs attempted to break in, causing injuries to several members of the defense guard organized to protect the meeting as well as an innocent bystander who was walking past the building at the time.

While attacks on the C.P. are expected to continue, the scope of the attacks has broadened to include other organizations which have defended Communist Party meetings.

A number of organizations have organized defense guards for meetings threatened by NCLC attacks, although the C.P. itself has formally refused offers of support from anti-Stalinist revolutionary socialists.

In response, the NCLC seems determined to retaliate physically against the entire left. As this issue went to press, members of the International Socialists were involved in defense plans for a number of meetings around the country.

I.S. members have already participated in several such defense guards: in New York City, where a meeting at Columbia University on the Dominican revolution proceeded without

incident; in Cleveland, where I.S. members formed a joint defense guard with the local *Workers' Vanguard* Committee for a C.P. May Day rally after the C.P. and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) refused proposals for an organized united front defense; and in Detroit, where I.S. members helped to drive off a band of two dozen goons who attacked an SWP educational forum the weekend of May 5-6.

In an earlier and even more ominous incident in Detroit, armed Labor Committee supporters have reportedly harassed meetings of welfare mothers, presumably because the group failed to endorse the NCLC's latest "class-wide organizing" gimmick.

It has also been reported to the *Fifth Estate*, a local radical newspaper, that NCLC members threatened a meeting of nurses at a local hospital.

These attacks point, therefore, to the possibility that the NCLC — unless it disappears in the ashes of its own flameout — might in the foreseeable future expand its gangster assaults to attempting to break up trade union organizations, especially the rank and file caucuses whom the LC continually denounces as "swinish workers."

The latest issue of *New Solidarity* available to us at press time not only proclaimed the destruction of the Communist Party and the winning of "hegemony over the left" by the NCLC, but also announced that the NCLC in Philadelphia was beginning a campaign to "mobilize the ghetto against the teachers" and to use unemployed Black and working class youth as "shock troops" to "convince" teachers to support the NCLC's program.

Technocratic Schemes

This racist, elitist and anti-labor campaign is wrapped — for the time being — in pseudo-socialist pro-working class and anti-Nixon rhetoric. But the possibility of NCLC terrorism against the working-class forces they claim to be "organizing" is a real one.

Such a course, although it might well be catalyzed by the numerous police agents who undoubtedly inhabit the NCLC at this point, would also be a politically logical extension of many of the conceptions held by the NCLC from its inception.

This so-called "Labor Committee", while it claims to be socialist and to support "the interests of the working class," can in no way be characterized as a workers' organization — either by its social composition or by any commitment to workers' democracy.

For a period of time after its formation in 1968, the Labor Committee (which originated as a faction inside SDS) carried out educational campaigns which effectively exposed some aspects of the physical and political rot of American capitalism, particularly the destruction of essential social services and the victimizing of workers, unemployed, and welfare recipients by this deteriorating system.

The Labor Committee and its leadership, however, despite considerable rhetorical flourishes, have never grasped or accept the view of revolutionary socialism — that the overthrow of the capitalist system and the social rot it produces can only occur as the self-emancipation of a consciously revolu-

tionary working class, organized in its own mass democratic organizations.

For this reason, the NCLC has evolved a different "solution" to the crisis of capitalist society: a series of half-baked, theoretically bizarre and above all technocratic schemes for establishing "socialism."

These schemes all revolve around bringing to power the "Promethean intellectuals" of the Labor Committee, who are identified as the repository of true working class consciousness.

The act of re-defining the working class (and class consciousness) has led the NCLC to a long series of reactionary conclusions: from opposing as "fascist schemes" democratic demands and independent struggles of oppressed groups, such as the Black community control struggle in New York City in 1968, to denouncing workers' economic demands as "trade union chauvinism."

NCLC politics can be identified as a classic (despite its peculiarities) manifestation of petit-bourgeois "socialism," violently opposed to capitalism but having no working class basis either theoretically or in practice.

Historically, tendencies of this sort, especially in a period of sharpening crisis as is emerging in the U.S. today, have been amenable to adopting a wide variety of methods, ranging from Stalinism to liberalism to nationalism to fascism. Virtually all these tendencies co-exist within the NCLC and its program.

It is no accident then that the NCLC can adopt a strategy of a nearly fascist character — to organize unemployed workers and welfare victims against workers, although for the ostensible purpose of "uniting" them — while simultaneously adopting the methods of Stalinist gangsterism against other political tendencies.

In a real sense, this is the real tragedy and the gravest threat posed by the NCLC's new turn. Wrapping itself in pseudo-revolutionary and ostensibly "Trotskyist" rhetoric, the NCLC has in fact borrowed its gangster tactics from the arsenal of the Stalinist counterrevolution.

These tactics, turned against workers, revolutionaries and oppressed groups in the Soviet Union and around the

(Continued on page 18)

I.S. Statement on NCLC Gangsterism

(The following statement was issued by the International Socialists as an initial response to the gangster attacks by the "Labor Committee.")

The International Socialists condemn the campaign of physical attacks and intimidation launched by the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) against the Communist Party and other groups. These are the hysterical acts of a group in the process of political disintegration.

Free discussion of conflicting ideas and strategies are essential to the progress and indeed the survival of the radical movement.

Any group which uses violence to settle political disagreements with other radical organizations only shows that it is politically bankrupt and afraid to deal openly with opposing ideas.

Despite its efforts to wrap its hoodlum tactics in the mantle of Leon Trotsky's struggle against Stalin, the methods and politics of the NCLC's campaign are much closer to those of Stalinism itself. The openly proclaimed goal of the NCLC campaign is neither self-defense nor principled political struggle, but the physical destruction of opposing political tendencies.

Stalinist parties around the world and the Communist Party in the U.S. long ago ceased to be part of the revolutionary working class movement, in part because of just these kind of gangster tactics.

They repeatedly beat up Trotskyists, other socialists, and rank and file

union militants who opposed them.

The Communist Party attempted to physically prevent the Trotskyist movement in this country from having public meetings.

These attacks are not a thing of the past. The CP has recently attacked and threatened a number of left groups, including the NCLC. Various groups in the New Left have also adopted the Stalinist tactic of physical attacks on opponent groups and individuals.

We have actively opposed this by whatever means necessary. We have not in the past and will not now submit to this sort of intimidation.

We will actively defend the right of the CP and other organizations to hold public meetings and express their point of view.

The IS has always pointed out that attacks on free speech in the radical movement only strengthen the ruling class in this country.

The type of attacks launched by the NCLC gives the government a welcome excuse to discredit the entire left and to create an atmosphere which could eventually lead to a drive to suppress all working class organizations.

The ruling class has launched a concerted attack on the right of free speech. The working class and socialist movements, on the other hand, can only advance through the freest possible discussion of ideas and programs.

That is why the IS unconditionally condemns and repudiates these attacks and all others like them.

Settlement in Rubber: Speedup Drive Advances

M. Maloney

On April 25 representatives from 11 out of 15 United Rubber Workers locals voted to sign an agreement with Goodyear. The contract will not only determine the bargaining with the other Big Four rubber companies (Goodrich, Firestone, and Uniroyal), but it has set a dangerous trend in contract patterns for a year in which negotiations in auto and a number of other important industries are coming up.

The URW leadership has traded away working conditions and job security in return for an inadequate wage increase and an early retirement scheme.

The very day the contract was signed, the ranks made their opinion known through wildcat strikes at the Firestone plant at Decatur, Illinois, Bloomington, Illinois, and Salinas, California. The next day 1500 workers walked off their jobs at the Goodyear plant in Union City, Tennessee.

The officials of the URW have accepted the companies' right to pose

to the workers the alternative of submitting to increased productivity, worsening working conditions, and large scale layoffs — or watching the companies move away from areas of union strength or even shut down their US plants and move their operations overseas.

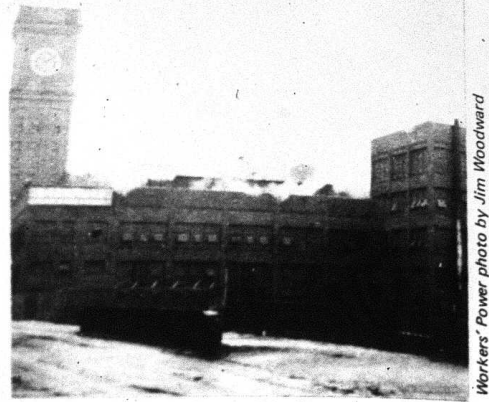
Although the union leadership initially took a militant verbal posture and promised to fight Nixon's wage controls, they quickly backed down when the company made the threat of run-away shops.

This shattered any hopes the rubber

workers in the shops may have pinned on the union leadership's ability or willingness to build an alliance with rubber workers in other countries through the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers Union.

Vigorous steps in the direction of building an international trade union alliance remain the only way to combat the run-away shop in the rubber industry.

Speed-up and layoffs will be the price of the URW's failure to accomplish this, a price the union membership



Goodyear plant no. 2 in Akron

Workers' Power photo by Jim Woodward

Bay Area Labor Demo Hits Phase 3 Policies

Tom Condit

Over 2500 people rallied in San Francisco's Civic Center on April 28 against the government's "Phase III" economic policies.

The rally was endorsed by the Central Labor Councils of six Bay Area counties, as well as longshore, Teamster and building trades bodies, and indicated the potential for significant working class resistance to rising prices and frozen wages.

The relatively small turnout, however, indicated the inability of a labor bureaucracy which has spent years keeping rank and file members at home to suddenly bring them into the streets in any significant numbers.

In fact much of the work of building the demonstration was done not by the union officials, but by the remnants of the anti-war Student Mobilization Committee. Most of the union work was done by ILWU (longshore) Local 34.

The demonstration revealed glaring political deficiencies as well. While attempts by the Communist Party and its allies to turn the protest into a Democratic Party rally by inviting a host of politicians to speak were rebuffed, the labor leaders who spoke showed that they have no clear political alternative of their own to offer.

At least half the speakers at the rally called for enactment of the reactionary Burke-Hartke tariff act (aimed at tightly restricting foreign imports) in the vain hope of somehow sloughing the crisis off onto the backs of Japanese and European workers.

The California economy is heavily oriented toward foreign trade. In the past, West Coast union leaders have generally opposed the protectionism of the national AFL-CIO, which they (with some justification) felt would touch off a trade war in which they could be the first casualties.

More shocking still was the open cowardice involved in making the rally a "united labor demonstration" with Teamster participation, with no men-

tion from the stand of the lettuce and grape strikes which the IBT is breaking (although the Shell and Farah boycotts were endorsed).

While they didn't have the nerve to put any IBT scabhardens on the speakers' platform before an audience of militants, monitors even attempted to prevent United Farmworkers members from collecting money at the rally.

The bankruptcy of labor's leadership was even more clearly expressed at the convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) two days later than at the rally itself.

ILWU president Harry Bridges admitted the futility of officialdom's policy of sleeping with capitalist politicians when he warned that the labor movement would have to rely on its own power to fight wage controls, since both parties supported them.

Louis Goldblatt, number two bureaucrat in the ILWU/called for "... broad-scale economic action to serve notice on the capitalist system that if it persists in this course, this will be met with the wrath of the working class," and warned against the drift into "highly controlled executive capitalism... where the major corporations and the government are considered as one."

When it came to specifics, however, Goldblatt called only for alliances with consumer groups to organize boycotts, petitions and demonstrations against higher prices.

ILWU leaders made it clear they would continue to support the reelection of the same Democrats who they admit to be enemies of the working class.

The April 28 demonstration was a timid step forward in breaking from business-unionism-as-usual, but it demonstrated that we've still got a long way to go toward building an adequate resistance to the wage freeze. It doesn't look like many piecards will be coming along for the whole trip, either. ■



Workers' Power photo by Carole Kay

will pay on the shop floor and in the unemployment lines over and over.

Far from smashing the wage controls, the union leadership meekly submitted to an increase of 81 cents over three years, a gain of less than 6% per year.

The membership has been sold for nickels and dimes at the beginning of a year which has already set records for the price of food and other necessities of life.

The Akron rubber manufacturers are not joking when they threaten to close down and move. The plants in the Akron area, the heart of the industry and the URW, are very old, technically outdated, and operate very inefficiently.

Goodyear Plant No. 2 in Akron is over forty years old, and rubber executives consider it a high-cost operation. Rather than renovate the existing plants, it is often cheaper to build new modern factories in parts of the world where labor can be had for a fraction of what it costs in the US.

Goodyear has been hitting this point home to the workers by showing films about foreign tire companies, particularly Japanese firms.

Under the capitalist system, profit rates are more important than decent jobs and incomes for working class families. If the profits are bigger overseas, that's where Goodyear will move.

The sentiment of the rubber workers in the factories is focussed upon working conditions and speed-up rather than big wage gains.

Not that the pay is that good. As one worker was quoted by the Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 30, 1973: "The job lets me have the extra pleasures of life — a few beers and something for my kids at the end of the week, that sort of thing."

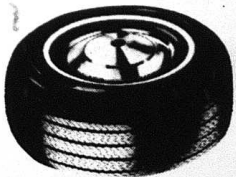
The working conditions are so bad, however, so intolerable that many rubber workers would be willing out of desperation to bear a borderline economic existence if they could get some improvement on the shop floor. The URW, however, has won neither better working conditions and job security, nor a decent wage increase.

The rank and file of the rubber workers have the power to respond to this betrayal — if the wildcat strikes that have occurred lead to a well-organized national opposition to the present URW leadership.

This opposition must include the thousands of rubber workers who are dissatisfied with the present contract. Its leadership must clearly recognize the necessity for taking the lead in building an international movement of rubber workers to fight run-away shops, and the sub-standard wages and impoverished standards of living which tempt the companies to re-locate overseas.

Such a movement must be prepared to fight for the nationalization of the rubber industry under workers' control as part of the strategy to stop runaway shops, if the rubber companies claim they are unable to provide jobs for American workers at a decent standard of living and with good working conditions. The threat of layoffs must be answered with no speedup and 30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

The urgency of this program for the rank and file of the United Rubber Workers will become even clearer as the effects of the April sell-out begin to set in. ■



[Continued from page 1]

plan would not be imposed without a vote of the rank and file.

No knowledgeable person in the industry believes the plan would have had a snowball's chance in hell in an honest rank and file vote.

So, rather than going to the trouble and expense of stealing the election (in the tradition of the Steelworkers' Union), Abel simply ignored his promise and left the decision to the Union's Basic Steel Conference of local presidents.

The vote of this body means nothing about the feeling of the ranks. A "bucket shop" local with 100 members gets the same vote as a local with 25,000 members. As we will see below many of the large locals were against the proposal.

The meeting itself was run like a steamroller. Amendments were barred and a roll call vote — by which the rank and file could have held their officials responsible — was denied.

The stooge local presidents who backed Abel were guaranteed full international support in their re-election campaigns in the nationwide USWA local union elections this June.

Abel's position was further buttressed by his successful effort last fall to prevent the nomination of a national rank and file opposition in the International Union elections.

Abel wasn't taking any chances, though. Over 100 District Directors and Staff Reps constantly lobbied, wined, dined and threatened the 400 or so local presidents.

Abel's machine even tried to ban discussion, but that was too much. Dino Papvero, of the 6,000 member Kaiser Local No. 2869 in Fontana, California, and Moe Brummitt, of the 12,000 member Jones and Laughlin local in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, led a fight which forced the meeting into an extra day to provide for discussion.

During the next day's debate, opposition which could have been powerful was expressed by the presidents of several key locals representing at least 50,000 members.

Along with Brummitt and Papvero, Ralph Kirby of the U.S. Steel South Works Local No. 65 (Chicago) opposed the plan, as did the Chicago Republic Local No. 1033 (9,000 members), the Gary U.S. Steel local (20,000) and L.A. American Bridge Local No. 2058.

Brummitt blasted the "import danger" as phony and called Abel's sell-out "a monkey on the back of steelworkers."

Ranks Must Organize

However, the past and present lack of effective rank and file organization made this opposition little more than an annoyance to Abel.

At the convention itself, little effort was made to organize a fight or to expose publicly the fraud of Abel's "representation" of steelworkers and the dictatorial methods used to maintain Abel and his program.

Any organized official opposition reflecting pressure from below might have forced Abel into a repeat of his 1967 retreat, particularly given the overwhelming "unofficial" opposition in the steel plants.

As it is, the barrage of company and union propaganda on "productivity" and "Buy American" will most likely begin to wear people down in Abel's war of attrition against the ranks.

A number of those who spoke against Abel's deal made clear they did so only because their rank and file would not let them back in the plant if they backed the sell-out. One West Coast local president even went so far as to apologize to Abel and the West Coast director-henchman — both of



The AFL-CIO News ran the above photograph (showing, from left, USW Sec. Treas. Walter J. Burke, President I.W. Abel, and R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of U.S. Steel and industry spokesman) under the heading "Steel Pact Cited as Model for New Bargaining Era." The AFL-CIO's weekly newspaper was very enthusiastic about Abel's no-strike deal. The story quoted George Meany, who has long sought a way to eliminate strikes in contract bargaining, as calling the agreement "a model for other industries." One business publication speculated that Abel's "historic agreement" could put him in line to succeed Meany as AFL-CIO President.

How Abel Gave Away Workers' Rights

Steve Carter

whom he'd backed for re-election just six weeks before while he expressed "distress" at having to oppose the plan under direct orders from his membership.

While a few important local officials stood up in genuine opposition, many more local presidents came to the convention already demoralized by Abel's uncontested return to office and already effectively defeated by the steamroller.

The lack of ongoing militant rank and file organization allowed Abel to propose this sell-out right after his re-election and to railroad it through before June's local elections.

As the Wall Street Journal jubilantly put it, "Things are different this year

(than 1967). Mr. Abel was re-elected without opposition... with a slate of like-minded (district) directors." (March 29, 1973).

An opposition slate with some rank and filers and some dissident staffers was put forward against Abel. However, the USWA constitution is highly restrictive and favors the incumbent.

A high level of rank and file organization and leadership will be necessary to overcome this. For the moment rank and file self-defense will be centered in the mills and in the local unions.

Organization of the rank and file — with leadership which knows what it wants and will fight and organize —

[Continued on page 18]

The following locals of the United Steelworkers have been among the first in voting to condemn I.W. Abel's give-away of the union's right to strike:

- Local 65, U.S. Steel South Works - South Chicago (8,000 members)
- Local 2058, U.S. Steel American Bridge - Los Angeles
- Local 6787, Bethlehem Steel - Gary, Indiana
- Local 1104, U.S. Steel - Lorain, Ohio (6,000 members)
- Local 1211, Jones & Laughlin - Aliquippa, Pa. (12,000 members)
- Local 1219, U.S. Steel Edgar Thompson Works - Braddock, Pa. (1,800 members)
- Local 1557, U.S. Steel Clairton Coke Works - Clairton, Pa. (3,400 members)
- Local 837, U.S. Metals Refining Co. - Carteret, N.J.

Immigration Crisis Threatens Struggle for Chicano Unity

Leland Ramie Kay Stacy



A new bill aimed at curtailing immigration of Mexican workers into the United States is becoming a major issue dividing the Chicano community and the labor movement in the Southwest. Known as the Rodino Bill, after its author Peter Rodino, Democratic Congressman from New Jersey, this new legislation would severely fine employers using illegal immigrant labor.

Migration of Mexican nationals back and forth across the American-Mexican border has been common for as long as there has been a border.

Before 1963, the traffic was controlled through the immigration laws (involving long waiting lists) and the Bracero Program. The Braceros were temporary agricultural workers who had short-term contracts with farm owners. The contracts and the Braceros' rights were usually violated, broken and unenforced.

In response to pressure from organized labor, Congress ended the program in 1963.

At the same time, the Immigration and Naturalization Service began requiring certificates of job offers from Mexican workers seeking entry into the United States, a highly discriminatory procedure.

The result of these two developments is that legal immigration to the US from Mexico has been severely curtailed. At the same time, the Immigration Department began issuing temporary visas by the handful.

These were used by Mexicans, fleeing poverty and a 48% unemployment rate, to enter the US and then stay after their legal documents had expired.

Various estimates place the number of illegal residents between one and five million. Many of these are Chicanos who have lived in the United States for years.

The "Illegals"

The situation faced by the so-called "illegal" Mexicans in America is not much better than the conditions they are leaving behind. Unemployment among Chicanos is officially around 12% but in Los Angeles, and other urban areas where there are concentrations of Mexican-Americans, the unemployment level is closer to 25%.

The low wages and rotten working conditions faced by all minority groups are even more severe for Chicanos.

The presence of the so-called "illegals" in large numbers allows the owners of industries that employ mainly Chicanos to keep wages and working conditions low, and to resist pressures to improve conditions.

Under constant danger of being discovered and deported, and desperate

for any job, the "illegals" are unable to organize, unable to fight their deteriorating wages and conditions, unable to play an active political role in the community.

Socialists condemn the employers' use of immigrants as scabs or as cheap labor. The effect is to victimize not only the immigrants, but also the rest of the labor force, especially Chicanos.

The result is that each section of the labor force sees the other as the cause of its problems: the "illegals" are blamed for depressing wages and working conditions, the rest of the Chicano community is blamed for wanting to get rid of the "illegals."

This kind of conflict has been a major roadblock to the growth of a militant working class movement, not only in America but in dozens of other countries as well.

Organized labor, one of the major forces lobbying for the passage of the Rodino Bill, is cutting its own throat by supporting the protectionism behind the bill and by supporting the immigration restrictions.

Rather than participating in a campaign that intensifies the division within the Chicano and Mexican community, the unions should be participating in an organizing drive aimed at bringing union protection to all workers.

The effect of the Rodino Bill would be to curtail job possibilities for the Chicano community as a whole. By requiring certification of legal status from all workers of Mexican origin, the Bill would give employers an excuse to refuse (or at the very least discourage) the hiring of all Chicanos.

Within the Chicano community itself,

it is the task of Chicano militants and revolutionaries to lead a struggle for a working class Chicano movement that can fight for the special needs of all Chicanos.

They must develop a strategy and program which can unite with Mexican workers, and cut away at the divisions that presently weaken the whole community.

The most immediate threat is the possibility of passage of the Rodino Bill. To defeat it Chicanos must begin to organize around demands that will begin to solve the problems, rather than just using the "illegals" as scapegoats.

Organize the unorganized; raise minimum wages to equal union wages. Chicanos are forced disproportionately into unorganized, scab shops. Organized labor must be forced to organize all shops on the basis of complete equality.

Organized labor must be forced to use its power to force the government to raise minimum wages to the same level as union wages. The shop owners must have no opportunity to use wage-depressing tactics to divide the entire Chicano community.

Organized Chicano workers should use their power to force the labor movement to meet these demands.

Jobs for all, preferential hiring for minorities. A struggle for full employment is necessary so that Chicanos and Mexican workers aren't fighting each other for the few jobs available.

Chicanos and other minority groups have been systematically discriminated against for decades. First access to new jobs and upgradings is

only a beginning to establishing the equality of oppressed groups.

Unrestricted right of immigration; no deportations. The major reason why "illegals" can be used to strengthen the divisions in the Chicano community is because they are under the constant danger of deportation.

Many "illegals" have lived in the US for many years. They have raised families here, and, regardless of their legal status, are members of the community.

It is not unusual for a family to include a legal immigrant, an illegal immigrant, and children who are US citizens, by virtue of their birthplace.

Deportation for an illegal immigrant in this situation means leaving behind home and family, often without any means of living.

The fear of this occurring effectively prevents "illegals" not only from being able to fight to protect themselves on the job, but also prevents them from playing an active political role in the community.

They must live in a way that attracts no attention. Even minor arrest could turn into a major disaster.

Victims, Not Problems

Many immigrants seeking entry to the US are leaving behind rock bottom poverty, usually maintained and intensified by American business interests in their home countries. They are the victims, not the problems.

Immigration should be open to anyone. All racist, sexist and discriminatory laws, quotas and procedures must be abolished. Any use of scab labor and strike breakers should be a felony punishable by a jail term for the employers.

The current campaign around the Rodino Bill again demonstrates that the Democratic Party has never been an ally for the Chicano community in its struggle for political equality and economic security.

The Democrats are throwing their weight behind a bill that will intensify and inflame the divisions in the Chicano community.

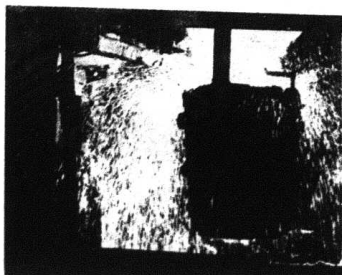
The Democratic Party is opposed to a program based on a militant struggle by the entire Chicano community around the demands discussed above, the demands necessary to overcome the divisions in the community.

Independent political organization is necessary to fight for those demands. It is also necessary to combat the power of the employers and the reactionary politics of the Rodino Bill and the Democratic Party. The immediate task of militants and revolutionaries in the Chicano community is to fight for an alliance between the Chicano working class, Mexican workers, and the organized labor movement, so that together they can fight for economic security and political equality for Chicanos and the common interests of all workers. ■



Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Hoffa begins campaign to oust Teamster President Fitzsimmons

Jimmy Hoffa, former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has announced that he will run for president of Teamster Local 299 in Detroit in November 1974.

Under the terms of his parole, Hoffa is barred from any union office until 1980, but says he hopes to get a pardon which would lift all restrictions.

It is highly doubtful that Nixon would be willing to pardon Hoffa. The consequence almost certainly would be that current Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, Nixon's closest collaborator in the labor movement, would be swept from office.

Hoffa served 58 months of an eight-year prison term for pension fraud and jury tampering.

Fitzsimmons, too, has apparently been interested in the Teamster pension and welfare fund. Several recent articles in the *New York Times* revealed that F.B.I. taps on the phones of West Coast Mafia figures were removed after information damaging to Fitzsimmons began turning up.

According to the *Times*, the F.B.I. taps turned up a plan to divert millions of dollars from the Teamster welfare fund to the Mafia through a medical plan. Fitzsimmons was reported to have been personally involved in approving part of the plan.

Attorney General Richard Kleindienst denied the F.B.I.'s request to continue the taps and ordered them removed after Fitzsimmons' involvement turned up. He said that the taps had not produced enough information to warrant continuing them.

United Mine Workers Journal: Contradictory messages

Several features in a recent issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* illustrate the contradictions in the methods by which the new UMW leadership hopes to achieve improvements in the lives of miners.

One article discusses the history of the struggle for the eight-hour day, and the involvement of the UMWA in this fight. The article stresses that it was only through developing the workers' own power and organization that the eight-hour day was won.

A general strike of 350,000 workers on May 1, 1886 led by the American Federation of Labor won certain reductions in working hours for many of those workers. The miners achieved the eight-hour day after a successful industry-wide strike in 1897.

The *Journal* article then goes on to compare the eight-hour day movement with the *Black Lung Movement*, noting that "Both these movements

pushed bills through Congress, only to find that their work was not finished, because they had to develop power to enforce progress. Most importantly, both movements taught working people to organize."

The second item is a cartoon feature entitled "Miners Must Lobby for Rights and Benefits." The cartoon shows several miners discussing how black lung payments can be raised.

In this feature the miners end up going to Washington to talk to their senator, threatening to vote against him in the next election if he doesn't vote for bills to improve workmen's compensation and black lung benefits.

A cartoon feature in another issue of the *Journal* urged miners to refrain from striking over grievances because "we have a new leadership in office now. Let's give them a chance to do the job."

The current leadership of the UMW is a big step forward and opens the way for rank and file miners to exert control over their union and improve their living and working conditions.

But the two cartoon features clearly point out the danger that is facing the

denounced by labor for creating a new division in the work force and giving employers an incentive to fire older workers in favor of younger, cheaper ones.

Brennan himself spoke out against the sub-minimum wage in January, saying that "if youth performed the same duties as adults I do not see why there should be any differences in the rate."

On the other hand, employers such as McDonald's hamburger stands, which hire large numbers of youth, were enthusiastic, claiming that the sub-minimum would reduce unemployment among young people.

The bill Nixon had Brennan present this year retains the sub-minimum wage feature for those under 18, but broadens it to include an 85% of minimum wage proposal for 18- and 19-year olds.

Twenty-year-olds would be included if they were full time students with part-time jobs.

In addition to establishing the sub-minimum wage, the bill would also raise the adult minimum wage to \$2.30 an hour by 1976. However, coverage would not be extended to the most

Black longshoremen wildcat against police repression

Six hundred black longshoremen walked off their jobs in Houston last month as a response to police brutality. The workers are members of Local 872, International Longshoremen's Association. The walkout, which lasted one day, occurred after police beat up four union members and arrested them for assault.

Rank and File Notes

Preliminary statistics show that letter carriers suffered a sharp increase in heart attacks in 1972.

Figures primarily from small towns show an increase of 75% among members of the National Association of Letter Carriers, but the union expects the story to be worse when locals in the bigger cities report.

In 1972 the Postal Service instituted a cost-cutting speedup by reducing the workforce, thus putting more work and pressure on each postal carrier.

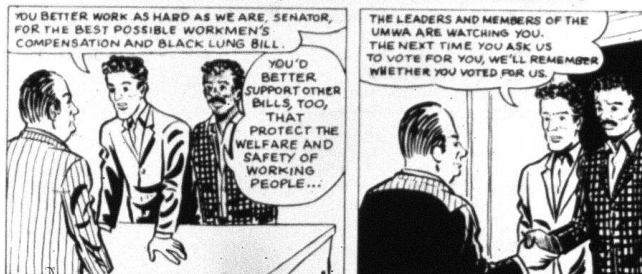
At Atlanta's Mead Packaging Corporation, scene of a hard-fought wildcat last fall by black workers, 32 of the 40 workers who were discharged have been rehired. The Mead Workers Rank & File Caucus is continuing the fight to get the jobs back for the other eight.

The Penn Central Railroad has set June 9 as a deadline for putting train crew reductions into effect. The action would cut the size of a freight train crew from three to two, and increase the safety problem for railroad workers. A similar announcement by Penn Central management in February set off a one-day strike which was ended by Congressional action delaying the crew reductions.

An official of the National Labor Relations Board has ruled that a recent Supreme Court decision, which allowed shopping center operators to exclude anti-war leafletters from their property, does not extend to a union picketing a particular store in the shopping center. The decision is subject to review in the courts.

The Miners for Democracy candidates in District 5 (Western Pennsylvania) of the United Mine Workers Union have won nominations for district offices in virtually all the locals in the district. Of the 31 locals making nominations, the MFD won in 29, lost in one local by one vote and lost in the other local by only six votes. The election will be held in late May.

MINERS MUST LOBBY FOR RIGHTS AND BENEFITS



Cartoon's hidden meaning: subordination of miners to capitalist Democratic Party

UMW membership. Unless continuing pressure is exerted by an organized rank and file movement, the new Miners for Democracy leadership will inevitably resort to lobbying with Senators, attempt to solve problems through "established procedures," and discourage or actively oppose direct action by the rank and file.

Nixon's Labor Toad, Brennan, joins attack on minimum wage

Labor Secretary Peter J. Brennan, former construction union leader, has come up with such a sell-out on the minimum wage issue that even AFL-CIO President George Meany said he was shocked.

Brennan's Great Sell-Out, directed and produced by Richard Nixon, involves a bill before Congress to raise the minimum wage. Last year minimum wage legislation died in Congress over the issue of a sub-minimum wage for youth.

The idea was that employers could pay youth under 18 only 80% of the adult minimum wage, and was rightly

poorly paid workers, including domestic household workers and state, local, and federal employees.

Farmworkers are covered under separate legislation which specifies a current minimum wage of only \$1.30 an hour. The proposal would raise this to a generous \$2.00 by 1976.

In defending himself, Brennan noted that he was a "team player," and "You don't quit the team the first time you have a disagreement." Meany said Brennan's position was "the discredited line of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce."

"If Pete is a team player," Meany went on, "he will have to admit he can't be on two competing teams." Meany did not indicate which team he was on as a former member of the Pay Board, and a current member of the Cost of Living Council's Labor-Management Advisory Council, the U.S. Productivity Commission, and the newly established Commission for Industrial Peace.

In a related development, Nixon has proposed that Congress increase unemployment benefits for some workers, while denying such benefits to all workers out of work due to a strike.

Liberalism No Answer: Black Needs Demand Working Class Party

Clarence Jones

Several recent events within the black movement, the most prominent the Oakland mayoralty campaign of the Black Panther Party, concerning the advancement and the strengthening of the movement have posed the importance of the socialist perspective on the fight for a labor party. Most importantly, the events provide an opportunity to demonstrate the importance of this issue to the black struggle.

In the context of increasing attacks on the working class standard of living (the food price increases, the sell-out of the steelworkers) the question of political action by the working class becomes central to any defense against these attacks.

This is so because the capitalist government is integrally tied to these attacks, with its wage controls and refusal to take action to halt price increases.

The issue of independent political action strikes home even more sharply in light of the fact that the Democratic Party, the liberal opposition party, has posed no clear or decisive strategy to fulfill the needs of working people.

With the insurgence of working-class housewives' anti-inflation struggles (with trade union support of the May 5 anti-inflation demonstrations), for example, the labor party is the only concrete answer to government-corporate complicity and the unreliable character of the capitalist parties.

For black people these general attacks on working people hit in double portions. The black community is of predominantly working class character. This is why these attacks affect them.

But because of their unique oppressive relationship with racist American capitalism, black people are hit in double portions and more.

For example, the budget cuts and the mass unemployment of black youth are directly tied to the capitalist economy and are part-and-parcel of Nixon's schemes to save his system at the expense of working people.

In fact, the rotting conditions of Black life are the sharpest example of the decline in all workers' lives, the ugly face of profits above all.

These conditions point to the future—not only in terms of what's in store, but also what must be done to change them.

In this light the Black Panther Party campaign in Oakland for public office, along with the recent announcement of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) that they will cease being a "black interest" group to become a "legislative" group, hits on the importance of the labor party question for black people.

In a recent issue of the *Black Panther* (April 21, 1973), its regular column "Oakland — A Base of Operation" commented on Bobby Seale's mayoral Democratic primary victory. Elaine Grown lost her councilwoman race.

The Black Panther reported: "Bobby Seale and John Reading received the two highest vote counts among the nine candidates.

"Bobby's solutions to the problems

that plague Oakland's citizenry were the most attractive solutions, such as the development of the Bobby Seale / Elaine Brown 14 Point Program to Rebuild Oakland, the 7 Point Plan for Revenue Raising, the Economic Development Project (an international cultural and trade center), a program for job creation and implementation of major community social services.

"This program includes such services as housing rehabilitation, child care, preventative medical care, public and senior citizens safety, environmental-consumer protection and educational improvements.

"These are the issues that affect the daily lives of the people. The voters put their faith in Bobby Seale to do something about them."

Running as a Democratic Party candidate, a party that promises much but delivers little, Seale calls upon all the "people's forces" to unite around him to defeat Reading, the incumbent.

Enmeshed in rhetoric, the editorial of this same issue comments on the barriers to a "people's victory":

"... there are forces loose in Oakland — the old 'bosses'; those who have grown fat in pocket and girth off the people's suffering, the people's deprivation.

"These forces will resort to any means to bar Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown from access to the reins of government in Oakland. Their survival as beneficiaries of the people's poverty is at stake, and they know it."

As for these old "bosses" source of power, the editorial states, "They are few in number and are extremely vulnerable. Their power is made possible because they are largely invisible and carry out their maneuvers secretly, using their money to buy will."

In this reference to the "old bosses", the *Panther* paper is alluding to a basic reality of black life — that is, that black oppression is rooted in a system that is stacked against the working population, especially blacks.

This is not based simply on "secret meetings," corruption or graft; nor is it based on the given form the administration takes, be it Democrat, Republican, or "People's Government."

It is based upon the control of the economy by the capitalist ruling class.

Discussing the economic control of

the "bosses" over the state, the latest I.S. pamphlet on the state by Bruce Landau hits the nail square on the head: "Whichever group, party, or coalition obtains formal control in the apparatus must recognize this fact and tailor its actions accordingly.

"And that means that whatever else the government may wish to do, there is one thing it must do if the society is to continue simply to function — to live — at all. It must safeguard the production processes and the apparatus into which it is organized. More than that, it must see to it that the economic system prospers."

The right wing turn of the Panthers, as manifested in the Seale campaign, ignores this central fact. Seale accepts the rules and boundaries of the same bosses he derides.

For what the above quote says is that it is impossible to organize a government in working people's interests without attacking the economic power of the capitalist bosses.

Illusory Program

Running within the framework of the racist Democratic Party, Seale ignores the central questions facing workers — wage controls, worsening working conditions, etc.

Furthermore, Seale focuses in on the deterioration of social services with an illusory program of promises. He accepts "revenue sharing" as a key element of his program. This is Nixon's scheme to rationalize the federal budget at the expense of black and poor people!

Jesse Jackson put some light on the question when he said, "Revenue sharing funds are not meant to be an augmentation of existing federal aid to states and local governments. They are instead to replace numerous categorical grants to state and local governments... clearly a retreat by our leaders in Washington."

Unlike the Panthers' strategy, the fight for black liberation must be based on recognition of what we are fighting, and also what's needed to win. Attacking the source of black oppression — capitalism — requires a movement that recognizes (1) that black interests and rank-and-file labor interests are inseparably tied and (2) that the ultimate victory of any section of the working class hinges on unity with all others.



The New Bobby Seale: Dressed in a white shirt and tie, urging Oakland blacks to back the racist Democratic Party

The Road Forward

The fight for a labor party within both the black movement and the labor movement is the concretization of this understanding. Because of the continuing devastation of the Black community, these tasks are of utmost importance.

Even though the rest of the working class may not be ready (but rapidly getting there) black people should play the vanguard role, because their life conditions demand it, the nature of their oppression under American capitalism demands it.

Nor will the galvanization and politicalization of sluggish and confused white workers, for example, drop out of the blue.

Therefore, the phony programs of the Panther campaign (like the "radical" Hatcher administration in Gary) must be avoided. Black revolutionaries, militant workers and community people must point the way with black independent political action in opposition to the capitalist parties — Democrat and Republican — and their ideological framework.

In other words, this action must be based on a program of transitional demands. Only such a program can encompass the absolute defense of black interests coupled with a central rock-hard championing of all working and poor people's interests.

Congressional Black Caucus

Finally, the policy change of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) demonstrates the importance of the labor party orientation from another angle.

The CBC was one of the main architects of the '72 Gary Black Political Convention. The fruits of this convention, its "Black unity" talk, hot rhetoric about a "Black party" and defending "Black interests" have been proven to be deceptive devices leading to a retreat by the "leaders" and empty hands for the masses.

The CBC's "new" turn is the logical continuation of these events. The leaders saw the course of Black liberation within the Democratic Party (primarily because of their own ties) — that is, within the framework of capitalist politics. This meant the dissolving of their hot rhetoric into a bootlicking relationship with McGovern.

But the fundamental methodology of this situation can best be seen in this quotation from the New York Times on the reasons for the CBC's turn: "Last year the majority of the caucus members voted against legislation to provide funds for renovating a wing of the Capitol, partly on the grounds that the money could be better used for social programs for the needy. But last month most of the caucus members voted in favor of identical legislation.

"Many of those supporting the bill, like Speaker of the House Carl Albert, have supported us in many of our efforts and we realize that if we are to continue to expect their support we must be willing to make compromises," Mr. Stokes said. "It's the nature of business."

Indeed, it is! That is why black people must create a force that doesn't tie its hands with the "nature of business."

That force is independent political action aimed at encompassing ever broader sections of the working class, on the basis of a fight for Black interests, inseparably linked to the interests of all workers. ■

Launch Drives To Fight Police Terror, Frameups in Chicago, Detroit

Andy Bonifacio

Police repression of blacks and the response of the black community to police crime in Chicago and Detroit was the theme of an International Socialists forum held in Chicago on April 8.

Yvonne King of the Black Panther Party and the De Mau Mau Defense Committee described the 1972 pre-election frameup of Michael Clark, Reuben Taylor, Donald F. Taylor, Nathaniel W. Burse, Robert Wilson, Edward Moran, and Darrell Peatry.

These seven brothers and three others were members of the De Mau Mau Organization, a militant black GIs and veterans group.

The De Mau Mau brothers were arrested in Chicago last fall and charged with a series of notorious murders in the State of Illinois.

King's presentation focussed on Chicago's political climate in late 1972. In a bench trial before a crony of Mayor Daley, Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan and thirteen of his special cops had been acquitted of "obstructing justice" after the December 4, 1969, political murders of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Hanrahan, in King's words, "was fighting for his political life" in an uphill (and unsuccessful) electoral battle against Republican Bernard Carey, also a "law-and-order" politician.

[For further analysis of the 1972 election scene in Chicago, see "Jackson, Daley & McGovern," Workers' Power No. 66.]

Thus, ten black militants were arrested (charges were later dropped against three of them) and indicted on multiple-felony charges.

The charges were sensationalized in Chicago's racist, capitalist newspapers. In her presentation, King pointed out the resultant hysteria has made it almost impossible for the De Mau Mau brothers to receive a fair trial. That trial may begin late this spring.

Several organizations, including the International Socialists, are participating in the De Mau Mau Defense Committee.

As Yvonne King indicated, it has been difficult thus far to organize broad-based support for the seven incarcerated black militants.

For one thing, the case does not have the "attractiveness" of the defense campaigns conducted for Angela Davis and certain other well-known political prisoners.

In trying to build broad-based support for the De Mau Mau defense campaign, King listed a number of objectives and obstacles that will have to be met by the Defense Committee.

"Funds are needed; five attorneys are working on the case "with little support." [Donations may be sent to: De Mau Mau Defense Committee, 4233 South Indiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60653.]

"More "working support" will have to be built up.

"The masses of people should be educated on how the De Mau Mau case is "symbolic of the repression going down in this country."

To this end, the Defense Committee plans a newsletter which would appear monthly until the trial starts — and more often once the trial begins.

Don Cane, the I.S. National Black and Latino Work Co-ordinator, gave the second presentation at the public forum and described the response of the black community in Detroit to STRESS ("Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets"), a racist police undercover unit in Detroit.

STRESS divides its activities between surveillance and decoy work in Detroit's black community.

Since 1971, STRESS's decoy operations have resulted in eighteen killings (seventeen of the victims were black, and fifteen of them under 17 years old). [For earlier discussions of STRESS, see Workers' Power Nos. 71, 73, 74, and 75.]

Don Cane's presentation made it clear that police crimes committed by STRESS are the first issue in a long time to spark a massive response by Detroit's black community.

In the main part of his presentation, Don Cane argued that "STRESS is not an accident." STRESS should be under-

stood in the context of Nixon's consciously rightward strategy, particularly in the context of the 1972 Presidential Election.

Nixon has denounced "permissiveness, advocated "tightening up," of penal codes and welfare requirements, and called for an end to "special privileges" for blacks and poor people.

Thus, we are approaching a period when blacks and other super-exploited sections of the working class will bear the brunt of the attack on the class as a whole.

"Last hired / first fired" continues to be the rule for black workers today, Cane maintained.

Detailing Nixon's strategy, Cane also pointed out "that the last vestiges of black militancy and resistance must be stamped out." This is one of the roles of repression.

Repression "provides a cover for the budget cuts and the continuing deprivation of black people." The budget cuts are part of Nixon's general attack on the working class; simultaneously, Nixon doubled funds to repressive police agencies.

STRESS, for example, is indirectly funded by the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Agency.

Rightward Drift

Repression also provides a cover for the rightward drift of black political leadership. This leadership has not yet come to grips with the fact that both Republicans and Democrats saw to it that, in the 1972 Elections, "black interests were frozen out."

Cane analyzed the role of black leaders, such as Chicago's Jesse Jackson as dissolving the most organized sections of the black community into the Democratic Party.

This, in turn, has "set the basis for repression against blacks and for opportunist leadership by black politicians."

Jesse Jackson's support for Democratic Presidential candidate George McGovern last fall was cited by Cane as an example of this rightward bankruptcy.

Jackson's support for McGovern meant that "Jesse Jackson back handedly supported Daley" and his political machine, and that "therefore Jesse Jackson supported Hanrahan and that this was in fact backhand support for the frameup of the De Mau Mau."

Returning to his discussion of anti-STRESS work in Detroit, Cane emphasized the central importance of involving workers' organizations in anti-STRESS work.

He said that demands should be made on the United Auto Workers to fight STRESS by circulating anti-STRESS statements and petitions among auto workers and by actually organizing the ranks to fight STRESS.

In this process, anti-STRESS organizations must expose the police slanders against the STRESS victims and unemployed black youth, by placing the police actions squarely in the context of the attacks on all working people.

Demands should be made, Cane said, that the UAW's Community Action Program cease endorsement of Republican and Democratic politicians, who by their political ties cannot help but be supporters of STRESS and the capitalist system. ■

I.S. Books: New Titles

Reform or Revolution?

THE CAPITALIST STATE: REFORM OR REVOLUTION by Bruce Landau. Published by the research and educational division of WORKERS' POWER. 32 pp. 50 cents.

The subject of Bruce Landau's pamphlet is the nature of the capitalist state: that is, the way in which power is exercised in capitalist society. The importance of this question is well-known to all Marxists: in fact, the relationship of the working class to the struggle for political power and to the state has been the central question facing the international workers' movement in this century.

As Landau explains, the capitalist state represents the means for "the preservation, defense, and expansion of capitalism - and of the... economic-social power of the bourgeoisie that really ensures their ultimate (if at times indirect) political supremacy."

In discussing the socialist analysis of the institutions of the bourgeois state and the class forces behind it, Landau draws upon two primary sources which sharply illustrate the role of the state and its class character.

The first source of information about the bourgeois state is the bourgeois theory of the state. In particular, Landau takes up the contemporary sociological theories of "pluralism" - the view that in modern industrial society, a society in which classes in the Marxist sense have supposedly disappeared, the state becomes an institution which peacefully balances the interests of competing "interest groups."

This theory, supported by all the leading schools of contemporary bourgeois social science, particularly in the United States, cannot be understood without analyzing the real social relations behind it.

The fact is that the mechanisms of state power have become more centralized, more bureaucratic, more independent of popular or even parliamentary pressure, than in any previous period in the history of bourgeois "democracy."

The complete impotence and unwillingness of Congress to force an end to Nixon's terror bombings in Vietnam, his budget cuts and impounding of funds appropriated by Congress, and his use of an all-powerful staff to virtually dictate the affairs of government (which has been partially exposed by the current Watergate scandal), illustrate this trend in the United States.

Pluralism, the social "science" elaborated by the intellectuals of bourgeois society who consciously serve its ideological needs, is designed to justify the absence of democracy by presenting theoretical "models" which "prove" that an elitist political system is necessary, because the masses of people cannot rule society democratically for themselves.

At the same time, pluralism masks the class relations of capitalist society and the fact that increasing centralization of state power and authority corresponds to the increasing centralization and contradictions facing capital itself.

The second source on which Landau's discussion draws is the experience of working class revolutionary movements in recent history, especially since the Russian Revolution. In Britain, Germany, Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, the struggles of the workers for power have exploded the myth of a classless society in which fundamental conflicts have ceased to exist.

These struggles, however, have also proven something else - that working class political power cannot be won by permeating, reforming, or changing the structure of the capitalist state apparatus. Dozens of reformist workers' parties and leaders have attempted to do so. Every single one has led the working class to defeat, demoralization or physical destruction.

The value of such an historical discussion is that it not only restates the fundamental concepts of revolutionary Marxism - the necessity that the working class smash the apparatus of the capitalist state power and establish its own rule, based on mass organizations of workers' democracy - but brings these concepts to life by drawing

specific lessons from the attempts of the workers' movement to solve this problem in practice.

The best and most powerful exposition of the Marxist theory of the state in relation to the practical tasks of the workers' movement remains Lenin's pamphlet *The State and Revolution*. Socialists and militants will find in Landau's pamphlet a specific application of this theory to the contemporary reality of U.S. politics, as well as a concise analysis of the bankruptcy of reformist politics in the labor movement internationally.

war boom in the 1950's, is certain to be a topic of controversy among Marxist economists and revolutionary socialists in general.

The major object of Fox's attention in these essays is, stated simply, the nature and the implications of the prolonged post-war stabilization and apparent expansion of the capitalist economic system.

Following the period of the Great Depression, which not only Marxists but also many bourgeois scholars expected to end in the collapse and destruction of capitalism, this massive post-war boom and prosperity presented Marxism as a science with a tremendous challenge to its own existence.

Most Marxist and radical economists adapted to the existing political and economic reality by accepting in one or another form the assumptions of bourgeois (especially Keynesian) economists that capitalism had resolved its basic contradictions and could continue to thrive indefinitely.

A small minority, however, of whom Fox was one, maintained both their revolutionary convictions and their view that the contradictions of the system, apparently "resolved" through the mechanism of state intervention, continued to operate and would burst forth in new and more intense forms.

For Fox, the perspectives of the socialist revolution and the inherent inability of capitalism to maintain permanent stability and prosperity are inextricably linked.

The core of his argument is that only the revolutionary action of the working class - not the capitalist state nor the Stalimist bureaucracy - can end the anarchy of capitalism, establish rational planning and raise the level of the productive forces to the point where abundance and socialism can be realized.

Partly for this reason, many readers will find Fox's approach to be virtually unique in contemporary Marxism. Unlike Ernest Mandel, who posits a "new industrial revolution" for capitalism - a view which Fox refutes simply by pointing to the sophisticated bourgeois economic statisticians who know better - or Paul Sweezy, who argues for a theory of "monopoly capitalism" which is able to produce a virtually unlimited surplus product, Fox attempts to place the post-war capitalist boom in a strict historical context and thereby to reveal its limitations.

Stated briefly, Fox's thesis is that the expansion and continuation of capitalism can be achieved today only through long-term secular inflation produced by government intervention, arms spending and waste production.

He argues that this tendency toward permanent inflation, which has operated throughout the twentieth century, is a product of the classical contradiction of capitalism - the tendency of the falling rate of profit, which can only be propped up "artificially" through various statist measures - as well as the pressure of the working class struggle for better wages and shorter hours of work.

Fox argues that capitalism, which in the 19th century was able to raise wages, shorten the work day, and lower prices all at the same time through massive increases in labor

Deep Roots of Inflation

THE DEEP ROOTS OF INFLATION, by Art Fox. Published by Action Press, 43-05 215th Place, Bayside, N.Y. 11361. With an introduction by Steve Zeluck. 76 pages. \$1.00.

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[Continued on page 18]

REPRESSION & RESISTANCE: STALINIST RULE IN THE UKRAINE



Introduction: The following items were contributed by the Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 1294, Woodhaven Station, Woodhaven, N.Y. 11421. They provide background information on the new wave of political repression being carried out by the bureaucratic ruling class of the Soviet Union against the struggle for national freedom in the Ukraine.

The next issue of Workers' Power will include an analysis of the social, political and economic context in which this repression is taking place. While the Russian bureaucracy covers up its policies of exploitation and oppression with socialist phrases and references to "the Leninist principles on the national question," the periodic outbreak of national struggles within the Soviet Union is one of the symptoms of the continuing crisis of the Stalinist social system.

The policies of the ruling bureaucracy have nothing in common with the ideas of Leninism, which supports the democratic rights of all nations to self-determination.

On the contrary, the bureaucracy tramples on the political and economic rights of the nationalities of the Soviet Union in its attempts to maximize its own power through the construction of a centralized economic apparatus. In this context one of the instruments of bureaucratic rule is the same "Great-Russian" national domination over smaller nations that Lenin and the Bolsheviks denounced under Tsarism.

The working class socialist revolution that will be needed to overthrow the bureaucratic ruling class will also restore national freedom and the right of self-determination to the oppressed nationalities of the Soviet Union.]

Ukrainian journalist sentenced to 7 years hard labor, 5 years exile

Vyacheslav Chornovil, a 35-year-old Ukrainian journalist who had first exposed the KGB witch hunts and trials in Ukraine in 1965-66 has been sentenced to 7 years at hard labor and 5 years exile by a court in Lviv.

Chornovil was tried under Article 62 of the Ukrainian SSR Penal Code

which makes it a crime to "spread anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." According to reliable sources, the trial took place in February 1973 and one of the witnesses at the trial was Valentin Moroz, a 36-year-old historian who is presently serving a nine-year term of imprisonment.

Moroz refused to testify claiming that the trial, which was held behind closed doors, was invalid since the accused was kept under investigation for more than one year.

Chornovil was born in the Cherkasy region of Ukraine in 1928, graduated from Kiev State University and worked in the editorial board of the newspaper *Kiev Komsomolets*, was secretary of the Komsomol committee during the construction of the Kiev hydro-electric station and worked in the editorial staff of the *Komsomol* newspaper "Moloda Gvardia."

In April 1966 Chornovil was dismissed from his job for refusing to testify at a political trial and on July 8, 1966 was sentenced to 3 months forced labor for this offense.

On August 3, 1967 he was arrested for the second time for "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda" and was sentenced to three years in jail. This sentence was reduced to 18 months due to an amnesty.

In 1967 Chornovil sent a letter and copies of documents to P. Yu. Shelest, then first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, protesting closed trials of Ukrainian intellectuals.

This collection was eventually published in the West as "Misfortune of Intellect."

Chornovil was also the author of numerous petitions and letters to Soviet authorities in Ukraine where he constantly brought up the fact that he was not in any way anti-socialist.

This is illustrated by the following quotation:

"I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions... that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so.

"But not of that socialism which tries to regiment not merely the actions but also the thoughts of individuals.

"I cannot imagine true socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political

and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee - and not merely a paper one - of the rights of all nations within a multi-national state."

In January 1972 Chornovil was arrested along with hundreds of other Ukrainian oppositionists, some of whom were already sentenced to harsh terms of imprisonment and exile. Some are still awaiting trial, among them Ivan Dzuba (see article elsewhere on this page), Ivan Svitlychniz, Yevhen Svertyusk and others.

Literary critic gets 5 years for defending Lenin's policies

According to reliable sources, Ivan Mykhaylovych Dzyuba, a prominent Ukrainian dissident, was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment at a trial held in Kiev during mid March 1973.

Dzyuba, a 42-year-old literary critic, had been arrested in January 1972, released and placed under house arrest and in July/August 1972 arrested again.

Born in 1931 in Donetsk Oblast in the Ukrainian SSR, Dzyuba graduated from the Donetsk Pedagogical Institute and subsequently did graduate research at the Shevchenko Institute of Literature at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

He began his career in 1950 in a series of editorial posts with publishing houses and periodicals, at the same time publishing numerous articles on literary criticism.

His views brought him respect and popularity with the younger generation of writers and in 1963 a threat of expulsion from the Ukrainian Writers' Union for allegedly presenting "a distorted view" of the real state of Ukrainian literature.

Following the 1965 arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals, Dzyuba wrote a memorandum to P. Yu. Shelest, first Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine entitled *Internationalism or Russification? In which he showed from a Marxist viewpoint, the distortions in Soviet nationalities policies and the abandonment of Leninist*

policies in favor of forceful russification on the non-Russian nationalities.

In 1969, after Dzyuba's treatise appeared in the West, the authorities published an official refutation in both Ukrainian and English, which was sold abroad but never released in Ukraine.

Since then Dzyuba had been the target of an extensive campaign, and on March 2, 1972 was officially expelled from the Ukrainian Writers Union.

Secret trial confines cyberneticist to a mental institution

Leonid Plyushch, a 38-year-old Ukrainian mathematician and cyberneticist was confined to a mental institution for an indefinite period of time by a court in Kiev.

Plyushch, his wife and sister were barred from the five-day trial which was also held behind closed doors. The presiding judge told Plyushch's wife that although her husband's case does not entail any "secret matters," the trial itself may involve such matters and will therefore be closed to the public.

The wife and sister were allowed into the courtroom only to hear the verdict at the end of the trial on January 30.

The Judge, by the name of Dyshel, said the Plyushch was found to be "irresponsible" by a panel of psychiatrists, which made his "presence at the trial unnecessary."

Only government witnesses were called, and they supported the presiding judge's contention that having known Plyushch "for the past five to ten years" they "considered him irresponsible."

Plyushch was tried under article 62 of the Ukrainian SSR Penal Code. He was accused of signing petitions to the United Nations in defense of Soviet political prisoners and for being a member of the group which initiated this letter-writing action.

His 1968 article, titled "Lackeys and Perjurers of Our Times" and published in *Konsumoska Pravda*, as well as other manuscripts of other articles allegedly found to be suffering from a "slow onset of schizophrenia with messianic delusions and reformist ideas."

DANISH MASS STRIKE TURNS INTO FARCE

R. Pedersen

The following article, written by a comrade active in the revolutionary socialist movement in Denmark, discusses the recent general strike which ended in defeat for the Danish workers.

In Denmark, wage contracts for the entire work force are renegotiated every two years. The current contract expired on March 1, and negotiations for a new one had been going on since mid-October.

The unions went into the negotiations with seven key demands. These were: (1) Equal pay for women, (2) a cut in the work week from 41 1/2 to forty hours, with a thirty-six hour week for shift workers, (3) a raise in the minimum wage to slightly more than a dollar an hour, (4) substantial increases in holiday pay, (5) a guaranteed sum as compensation for lay-offs, (6) a raise in the hourly cost of living instalment (pegged to the consumer price index), (7) a living wage for apprentices.

These demands are not particularly radical, given the cut in workers' living standards due to inflation and entry into the Common Market. They were rejected by the Danish Employers Federation.

The government mediator presented a "compromise" proposal which Premier Anker Joergensen had pressured the Trade Union Confederation into accepting. No definite date was given for equal pay, and women were granted a raise of only about 6% cents an hour.

The demands about lay-off pay and apprentice salaries were given up entirely. The cost of living increase and holiday pay were lowered. Thousands of Danish workers protested against this sell-out, demanding that negotiations be renewed on the basis of the original demands.

The bosses turned down this proposal too. It is clear that their strategy was to provoke a strike after bringing the willingness of the labor "leaders" to sell out into the open.

Once the unions' retreat was public knowledge the chances of the Danish working class rallying in support of their "leaders" was slight, and the bosses knew it.

The final agreement was despicable. It calls for a monthly wage increase of about \$4.50, which will come nowhere near offsetting rising inflation. The 1% increase in holiday pay was eliminated.

Moreover, the unions made key political concessions. A protocol on cooperation to eliminate the cost of living adjustment after 1975 also contains a section to the effect that agreement shall be reached between unions and employers prior to any political resolutions in the Danish parliament that would affect conditions in the labor market.

This clause politically shackles the Danish trade union movement. It could also prevent Denmark's so-called "socialist" Social Democratic government from implementing any laws affecting the conditions of the workers, without first getting the employers' federation and the bosses to agree to the proposals.

The size of the recent general strike in Denmark — 150,000 workers on strike and another 100,000 or so locked-out — might give the impression that a tremendous struggle was taking place. Unfortunately nothing could be further from the truth. Most of industry, shipping and transport (except the state sector, where strikes are illegal) came to a standstill, but the atmosphere was more that of a holiday, with many workers taking advantage of the fine weather to get away from it all.

It came as a hell of a shock to the unions that the employers turned down the original compromise agreement, and they were unwillingly and unprepared pushed into calling this strike.

The reason was that contrary to normal procedure hitherto, the small firms (a great deal of Danish industry is still small scale) were dead against settling with the unions, while the big firms were all for it.

The resulting lockouts were a determined example of ruling class solidarity, (which the unions would do well to copy) to moderate the unions demands even more, and they succeeded.

This new situation came about because the small firms, tied closely to the home market are very worried about their future, about their ability to survive in a widened Common Market economy (European Economic Community or EEC).

Denmark will be fully integrated into the new market in the next month or so and the resulting falling of tariff barriers will put the small firms to the test.

The big firms, usually confident about their ability to win in a competitive struggle and so usually the most aggressive, were very anxious to settle, knowing that the widened market of the EEC offers them great possibilities while they are still assured success on the home market.

Another threat to the small firms is the social-democratic government and its plans for "Economic Democracy," which they rightly see as a threat to their existence.

Economic Democracy means that the workers will "help to run industry" and buy their way into part ownership with money donated by all firms into a central investment fund (paid as a percentage of the total wage bill of each firm, starting at 0.5% and increasing yearly) to be administered by the Trade Unions.

The catch is that although all firms must contribute, there is no guarantee that firms with 50 or less employed will have any of the fund invested in them.

This scheme is nothing more than a clever way to rationalize industry and economy by shifting investments to the more profitable and "go-ahead" concerns from the unprofitable, while at the same time trying to reduce workers' resistance — and indeed to eliminate workers' organizations altogether.

Indeed, there has been talk of the unions and employers' organizations being one and the same in a decade or so — by kidding the workers that they will be co-owners and partners.

At the moment it is not only the small firms that are hostile to the proposal for Economic Democracy, but the big firms also. They do not see the need for any state or union interference with the running of their business.

These firms see themselves being on the edge of a big profit bonanza, and will only accept such a scheme as that proposed by social democracy when there is such a severe crisis that not only government but also union intervention is necessary to pacify the workers and channel away their militancy.

In response to the hostile reaction from the capitalists, the government has for the time being shelved its proposal for 12 months.

The strike and lock-out has been the most passive that I have ever seen. The union bureaucrats, seeing the mass of workers as a stage army they can march to and fro to back up their empty threats (which the bosses see only too clearly, as the bureaucrats bend over backwards to avoid a struggle), had made no preparations at all for a struggle.

They were caught with their trousers down, and so just told the

workers to go home and wait. No instructions at all were given as to the conducting of a fight.

Consequently many militants are cynical about the whole thing. They were on official strike (or locked out) in order to win a compromise agreement which they correctly see as being a sell-out in the first place.

The only mass mobilizations have been small demonstrations of about six or seven thousand people in industrial centres called by the Communist Party. But the C.P. has made no attempt to activate a real struggle, as it made no attempt to prepare for the strike in the months leading up to the break in negotiations.

The demonstrations can hardly be called a success with only six or seven thousand participants out of a total of over 250,000. During a similar situation in 1956, 250,000 workers demonstrated in Copenhagen.

Certain militant sectors of workers have not left things to their "leaders." Seamen, dockers and slaughterhouse workers have been involved in picketing activity to stop strike-breaking which has brought them into conflict with the police, and arrests were made.

The unions made so many "exemptions" from the strike that the whole thing had an air of farce about it.

The alien struggle and its methods are so class to the official union leaders that they not only make exemptions, but left key groups of workers — including electricity supply — working and only threatened to bring them out as a "last resort."

Left Impotent

The tragedy is that no revolutionary group has even a minute basis in the working class, which could be used to show by example the way forward.

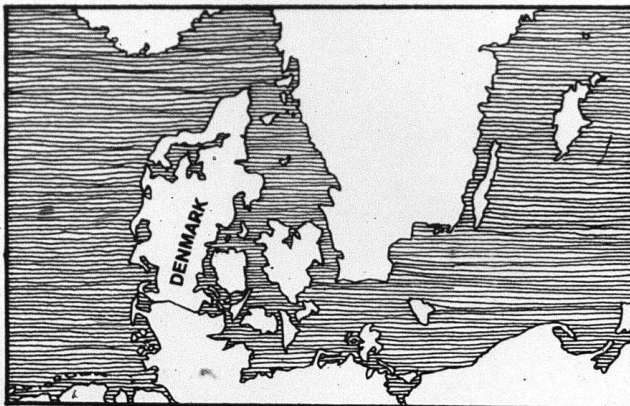
Neither does there exist any rank and file organizations to lead the struggle beyond the boundaries imposed by the bureaucracy.

To wage a serious struggle on behalf of the working class would also require a fight against all the various organs of class collaborationism — such as the labour-court, tribunals, factory "co-operation committees" with management, and the present system whereby the workers' elected representative also has to keep the peace for the management.

If the C.P. were to do this its leaders would be cold-shouldered and looked upon as "disloyal" or even trying to overturn the established order of things — an impression these "left" bureaucrats seek to avoid at all costs.

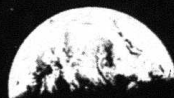
The C.P.'s concern is to become a part of the "labor movement" establishment and to come to power via parliament, alone or in a "workers coalition" with the reformist social democrat parties. A militant alternative to the official union leadership must come from outside, and to the left of the C.P.

No event has so clearly shown the complete impotence of the Danish revolutionary left. With serious activity in the near future, however, the next time such a situation comes up the revolutionaries might be able to play a part from inside, instead of merely trying to intervene — from the outside. ■



international report

Paul Benjamin



[The following International Report deals entirely with the unfolding of the class struggle in Western Europe. This emphasis will continue to be a major focus in future issues of Workers' Power, both in this column and in our general international coverage.]

One reason for this is the changing nature of U.S.-European relations. Issues like the Common Market, the future of NATO, trade and monetary relationships are taking on an increased importance in American diplomacy.

The reason for this is that the U.S., while remaining the most powerful capitalist nation on earth, no longer has the resources to act on its own as the shield of Western capitalism, nor the clout to simply summon the various ruling classes in Europe to do its bidding.

The coming year will see, to some extent, a re-negotiation of the Atlantic Alliance built after World War II. In this sense 1973 is indeed the "year of Europe."

The American working class is hardly alone in dealing with problems of inflation, speed-up, and declining standard of living. The same problems exist in even more acute form in Europe.

The European working classes are fighting back, both on the shop floor and through their own economic and political organizations, to defend their standard of living and working conditions.

The degree to which they succeed will have its own effect on the American movement, as it will be an important factor in the discussions Nixon will have with his European counterparts.

In addition, the successes and failures of the European working class will act as a laboratory for the American working class movement as it develops its own methods of struggle.]

France: State-owned auto giant paralyzed by wildcats

France's giant state-owned Renault auto company was paralyzed last month by a series of wildcat strikes. Some 40,000 workers, nearly half the total workforce, were either wildcatting or locked out by the company.

Workers in other plants, including three Peugeot auto plants, also struck in support of the Renault workers.

The immediate issue concerned the wages and status of immigrant workers at the Renault plant. Immigrants, who comprise nearly one fourth of the industrial workforce, are generally relegated to the worst jobs with little chance for advancement or aid from the trade union bureaucracy.

The recent wave of militancy among immigrants reflects not only their desire for better pay but also a revolt against the dehumanizing conditions they face on the job.

The strike ended after management promised to re-open negotiations about the factories grading system. This was far from meeting the demands of the unskilled workers, who had

demanding the regrading of all assembly-line workers into higher job categories.

The union leaders at Renault — chiefly the Communist Party leaders who dominate the CGT — gave verbal support to the strike. But they did little to organize auto workers in support of the immigrants' demands.

Instead, the CGT simply told locked-out workers that the union would "do its best" to get Renault to give them full pay for the time they were out of work. They now have been led back to work without any guarantee of lay-off pay at all.

The real effect of the strike has been on the government. French workers voted in massive numbers for the Communist Party - Socialist Party coalition in the recent French national elections.

Because of the campaign, the workers followed party leaders' instructions not to strike and endanger the possibility of a parliamentary victory. Now that the election is over, they are in a fighting mood.

As a result, the government has quickly announced a "program of social reforms." These include raising the minimum wage by 20%, and revising the retirement program to ultimately allow retirement at fifty on the same terms presently offered at sixty-five.

These concessions can only add fuel to the workers' self-confidence and militancy. They are discovering that they can win more on the shop floor — and in the streets — than they could hope for from the ballot box.

Britain: Labor bureaucrats give up on resistance to Heath's Phase 2

British labor bureaucrats have abandoned even the pretense of resistance to Prime Minister Heath's Phase Two. Victor Feather, head of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), called the general strike scheduled for May 1 a "spontaneous expression of what one might call resentful and reluctant acquiescence in Phase 2 of the pay policy."

The truth, however, is that labor bureaucrats all along have been "resentful and reluctant" — about fighting the government, not about giving in to it.

Feather also indicated that the TUC might be willing to cooperate with the government in drafting Phase Three, which is scheduled to begin in November.

Previously the TUC, under pressure from below, had followed a policy of non-cooperation with the government. Feather had predicted that Phase 2 would collapse in a wave of resentment among workers.

The resentment was there. Last February nearly a million workers were on strike against the government's wage freeze and projected wage guidelines.

But the labor bureaucrats supported these strikes only when they were forced to by the pressure of the rank and file. Even then, they declared that every union was on its own in fighting the government's wage policy.

The TUC was eventually forced to call a one-day general strike for May 1 to demonstrate its "militancy" to the rank and file.

The TUC leadership did nothing to build the strike. Feather, who opposed it, proudly stated, "We have not badgered any particular union to do anything." His announcement of defeat came just one week before May 1, and was scarcely calculated to build the strike.

Preliminary indications are that the May 1 strike was more or less of a bust as a show of political strength, although transportation and some industries were crippled. This is not surprising; in the context of the TUC's surrender, it was a meaningless demonstration, and the workers knew it.

The real question is what the workers will do in the future. Despite the present boom, the British economy remains in deep trouble.

Britain will soon face another balance of payments crisis, which could force the government to cool down the economy at the expense of British workers.

In the coming months, British workers will have to prepare their defense against Phase 3, without and in spite of their "leaders" in the TUC.



TUC "leader" Vic Feather

Germany: Wage controls threaten workers' fight against inflation

Germany may be the next country to impose some form of wage-price controls. The cost of living in Germany has gone up 7% in the past year, a staggering rise by German standards.

German economists have urged credit curbs to cool down the economy, new taxes, a cut-down in public spending, and even an independent float of the German mark as necessary steps in government strategy against inflation.

German workers have responded to the increased inflation by demanding higher wages in their contract negotiations this year. Recently, printers went on strike for the first time in twenty years, shutting down eighty newspapers.

The printers were angered not only by inflation but also by well-publicized statistics demonstrating that tax and social security deductions would leave only 56% of any wage increase in the hands of the wage-earner. They won an 11% increase.

Chemical, textile and insurance workers, who are currently negotiating contracts, will almost certainly insist on the same.

The massive engineering union (four million workers strong) has indicated it may demand renegotiation of its current contract. Last winter, the engineers settled for an 8½% increase.

Spain: Strikes and demonstrations protest police murder of militant

Large-scale strikes and demonstrations broke out in Barcelona, Spain after a building worker was shot and killed by police early last month.

The dead man was one of 2,000 building workers participating in a sit-in strike for wage increases, a 40-hour work week, full sickness pay and thirty days' paid vacation a year.

The day after the killing, tens of thousands of workers in and around Barcelona struck in protest, including those of the SEAT nationalized auto factory, the Olivetti works and a big chemical factory.

A demonstration of 4,000 people, called by the Workers' Commissions — the illegal Spanish trade union organization — and student committees, took place in the center of Barcelona.

The student protest spread to Compostella, where a student was killed by police last winter, and Madrid, where students fought with police.

Eleven leaders of the Workers' Commissions are in prison awaiting trial. The commission's program of wage claims is similar to the one for which the Barcelona building workers are striking.

Italy: Workers seize factory to prevent closure

The workers at the Crouzet factory in Milan, Italy — most of them — are continuing their struggle to prevent the factory being closed down and machinery moved away.

They first occupied the factory last year when threatened with layoffs, and won a legal decision in their favor. Last month the decision was reversed, and the right of the bosses to dispose of the factory reasserted.

Police expelled the occupying workers, but the factory was reoccupied at the end of the same week with help from other Milan factories, including the Alfa Romeo auto plant.

A statement issued by the Crouzet workers after a mass meeting states: "By fighting back, it was possible to reinstate the laid-off workers, keep the machinery on the site, get the first favorable legal decision, and prevent the factory being moved."

"This second legal decision is not final either, if we continue to maintain our struggle and our links with neighboring factories."



Revolutionary Leadership

The article by Joe Fine on the conference convoked by the United National Caucus in the UAW (*Workers' Power* No. 73) can best be characterized for what it doesn't say, for what it isn't clear about, and for what its author doesn't understand.

The failure of the article to understand the role of revolutionaries in the trade unions can be seen from what it omits about the conference.

The actual description of what went on at this conference by Fine is at best a fairy tale, at worst a conscious distortion of what happened. One glaring example of this is Fine's failure to even mention the fight over the labor party.

The major portion of the last day of the conference was taken up over a resolution calling for a labor party and an amendment to this resolution, fought for by the IS, advocating the boycott of both capitalist parties.

The IS took on and decisively defeated the combined forces of Fox, Kelly, and the Communist Party, all of whom bitterly opposed the amendment.

Apparently because Fine has no desire to further alienate the Fox-Kelly UNC leadership, he makes no mention of this fight in *Workers' Power*.

Also conspicuously absent from the article was the fight over literature tables that were set up outside the conference by various groups participating.

When Fox and Kelly demanded that they be taken down because they would alienate the rank and file, the IS once again found themselves pitted against the UNC leadership, and once again nothing was mentioned of this matter.

The article almost goes so far as to apologize for Fox's continuous red-baiting of the left groups at this conference.

The article, by not even mentioning the points on which the IS fought Fox and Kelly, in effect gives our uncritical support.

Fine's article aligns the IS with Fox and Kelly, instead of advancing a clearly defined political attitude toward the UNC which differentiates ourselves on the basis of a revolutionary program and strategy for the trade unions.

This would be based upon a transitional program — one which presents the real measures needed to meet the real needs of the working class, measures which can only be carried out by the working class itself through socialist revolution.

The IS line at this conference was in many ways fundamentally the same as that of Fox and Kelly. The difference is that the UNC leadership refuses to take its own program seriously and prefers to maneuver into combinations with some of the most opportunist elements of the secondary level of the bureaucracy (such as the League of Caucuses for Democracy and the infamous red-baiter Paul Schrade) or fasten onto get-rich-quick schemes in the form of one or another union

structure panaceas (referendum vote, suing the union bureaucracy in court to disfranchise retirees on the basis of a reactionary decision of the Supreme Court).

Such schemes point to mere structural reforms as the solution to the bureaucratic regime in the union and raise dangerous illusions concerning the capitalist state among rank-and-file workers.

The opposition in the UAW lacks credibility, not only because of its weakness as Fine says, but also because of the opportunist maneuvering of the UNC leadership.

Fine on the other hand implies that things like blue-button stewards, recall rights, etc., coupled with a good militant fight in and of themselves provide the answer.

From his article it would appear that the IS was willing to teach the auto workers what conditions in the plant are (about which the auto workers

beyond this program, in effect dropping all the "controversial" parts of a real transitional program.

This approach in effect means renouncing the method behind a transitional program — and ultimately the need for such a program itself.

The results will be just as Fine describes them: "Those who take such an approach are either setting themselves up to be beheaded by the company and the International Union, or setting the rank-and-file up to be sold out one more time." There is no middle road.

From Fine's article one would assume that the job of revolutionaries in the UNC and in auto in general is little more than rousing the ranks on to greater and greater militancy.

It would appear from the article that this trade-union militancy alone is enough to win "good working conditions." To quote Fine: "Personal accounts of UAW history by John Anderson, retired past president of Local 15, and Ben Kuzuski, Local 212, proved that good working conditions can only be brought about by a strong union, organized on the shop floor by an active membership."

What the author fails to mention is what happened in the UAW that caused us to lose those good working conditions, that let the UAW degenerate into a bureaucratic apparatus, shackled grievance procedure and arbitrator to the capitalist state in which it serves the role of policeman over the rank and file.

The article appears to think that

their struggles.

In summary, good working conditions cannot be won and maintained in the long run by any leadership which accepts the limits imposed by capitalist society.

Such a breakthrough requires a revolutionary leadership which could help workers bridge the chasm between the current level of consciousness and the monumental tasks imposed on them by history.

That such a development has failed to take place is a tragic fact for which we still pay the price.

The fundamental tasks of revolutionaries in the trade unions remain the same: to win, train, and integrate the vanguard — the politically most advanced sections — of the working class into a revolutionary party.

We must accomplish this by participating where it is possible in every struggle, but never subordinating ourselves politically to the political levels of those struggles.

Always we continue to fight for our program and our strategy, but never put it forward in a sectarian or ultimatum-like fashion as the sole basis for a collaboration with other elements in the workers' movement.

Neal Brigham, UAW
Dan Potter, UAW

Rejoinder

Unfortunately, space does not permit a full discussion of the specific distortions of the nature of the UNC and the role of the I.S. members within it which are contained in Brigham and Potter's letter.

One or two particularly crude slanders, however, require correction. So anxious are Brigham and Potter to show the failure of the I.S. "to teach the auto workers the need for a labor party based on a transitional program," that they are unable to produce anything resembling a coherent account of the actual discussion of political action that occurred at the conference.

The UNC is already, and has been for some time, on record for the formation of a labor party — to which Brigham and Potter's slogan "based on a transitional program" fails to add the slightest political content.

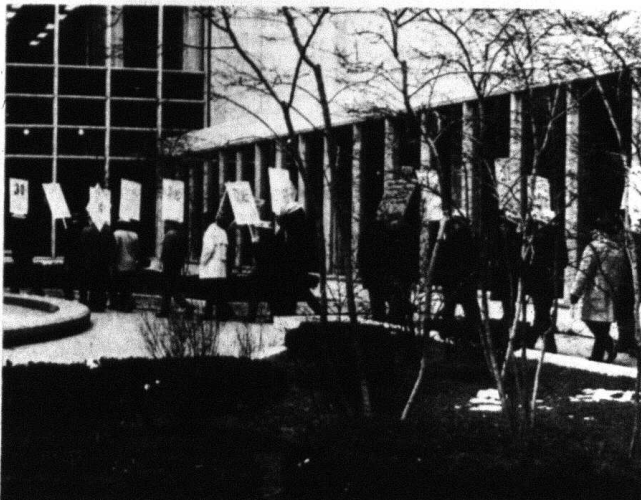
Both Art Fox and Pete Kelly, leading public representatives of the UNC, have written major articles for the UNC's newspaper calling for such a party.

What was at issue on the question of political action at the UNC conference, and where I.S. members did in fact argue against Fox and Kelly, was the need for the UNC to break here and now from all Democratic Party candidates (not, as Brigham and Potter state, the curious idea of a "boycott").

In particular, I.S. members fought against the charges made by supporters of the Communist Party, which opposes the demands for an independent labor party, that it would be "racist" for the UNC to oppose the Democratic Party and the "progressive" Black liberal politicians within it.

Unfortunately, because of the extremely weak political and organizational state of the UNC (reflected in the fact that only a handful of rank and file production workers attended), the actual impact of this political debate on the auto workers' struggle was very small. Not to understand this would be to delude ourselves.

It was for this reason that Joe Fine's article failed to mention this debate. In my opinion this omission was a deficiency in Fine's article and a political mistake. Brigham and Potter's account, however, distorts both the



Early morning picket line at the UAW Special Bargaining Convention in Detroit

Workers' Photo by Kit Lyons

need no teaching), but unwilling to teach them the need for a labor party based on a transitional program.

What is the common thread in the approaches of both the UNC leadership and of Joe Fine's article that would lead us to sacrifice a revolutionary strategy to win over the UAW ranks in favor of opportunist combinations, pie-in-the-sky structural reform campaigns (appealing to disgruntled secondary level bureaucrats), struggles that deliberately never go beyond democratic and partial demands and "trade-union consciousness"?

Strangely enough, it is the same approach which Fine accuses Mike Singer (representing the right-wing of the caucus) of holding: "Dropping or ignoring parts of the program that large sections of the UAW membership might at this time not yet fully understand or accept."

While Singer wants to drop the controversial parts of even the UNC program, Fine's article poses nothing

fighting harder on a trade union and rank and file basis is sufficient. In fact, trade-union struggles do not automatically lead to revolutionary struggles.

Revolutionaries themselves must pose their programs in distinction from reformist programs. The working class will not advance "spontaneously."

Aside from the fact that good working conditions will never be achieved by any major sections of the working class for any sustained period under capitalism, the program which the author puts forward for getting these good working conditions back is, in fact, the program which laid the basis for our past defeats.

In the past, even where workers on their own went beyond trade-union consciousness — for example, in the sit-down strikes of the 1930's — the experiences were never generalized and the necessary lessons were never drawn.

Revolutionaries must intervene in the struggles of their class and help other workers draw the necessary lessons from

role of I.S. members and the position of the UNC leadership.

Another particularly vicious misstatement also demands a reply; namely, the implication that Fox and Kelly demanded the removal of left-wing literature tables from the hall outside the conference room.

In fact Fox and Kelly, while attacking the politics of socialist groups including the I.S., defended our right to have literature tables despite their own objections.

It was the right wing forces, and the Communist Party supporters, who supported the removal of the tables by building guards. This truly third-rate incident deserves mention only because of the Brigham-Potter slander.

The important political content of Brigham and Potter's discussion, however, is a critique of the views of the I.S. on the role of socialists in the labor movement.

It is implied that the role of the I.S. in the UNC "consists of little more than rousing the ranks onto greater and greater militancy" by supporting rank and file demands for union democracy.

The authors claim that "Fine's article aligns the I.S. with Fox and Kelly" (against whom?) and that we "sacrifice a revolutionary strategy to win over the UAW ranks."

In fact, the purpose of this is to cover up their own lack of any strategy and the emptiness of their own approach.

Brigham and Potter, while denouncing "reformist programs," do not suggest a single demand, strategy, or tactic which in the slightest degree transcend reformism or advance consciousness or struggle to a higher level.

Their approach, rather, is to denounce as "trade union militancy" the demands of the existing rank and file movement in auto, and to call for a "revolutionary leadership."

As to how such a leadership will be created, or how the UNC could be turned into such an instrument, they do not offer us a clue.

The International Socialists hold the view that the revolutionary workers' movement in the U.S., and the revolutionary party that will lead that movement to victory, will draw their central and most crucial cadre and leadership from the struggles of the rank and file movement in the unions.

To win rank and file militants toward socialist politics, and eventually to the revolutionary socialist organization, requires that socialists in the labor movement today put forward strategies, demands, and organizational tactics which have the potential to transcend reformist ideology in practice, by linking economic demands to a political struggle against the corporations' government and against the union bureaucracies which collaborate with the state against rank and file interests.

Without such a concrete strategy for building rank and file organizations, a call for "revolutionary leadership which could help the class bridge the chasm" between its consciousness and its historical tasks is absolutely devoid of content.

The role of transitional demands in the labor movement is not to be the "bridge" between revolutionaries and the working class. That bridge is built only through participation of revolutionaries in existing struggles.

The transitional demands put forward by revolutionaries are a bridge for the working class itself from its current consciousness to the consciousness needed to struggle for political power.

In no way does this idea of program make us worshippers of "spontaneity", as Brigham and Potter suggest. It is consciousness, not spontaneity, that

enables the working class to make a socialist revolution.

Nonetheless, we do hold that it is only in struggle — both day-to-day defensive struggles and broader political struggle — that the working class develops this consciousness.

At bottom, Brigham and Potter's "failure to understand the role of revolutionaries in the trade unions" reduces to the fact that they don't understand either trade unionism or revolutionary politics.

David Finkel

[Editor's note: A second reply to Brigham and Potter, by Joe Fine, will be included in our next issue. It could not be completed before this issue went to press.]

Inaccurate and Incomplete Facts

As a member of the Editorial Board of the only Detroit area "local women's newspaper" I was particularly dismayed by your article titled "New Tragedy Shows that Abortion Fight Must Continue."

I find it incredible that you would allow so many "conclusions" regarding the abortion struggle to rest on such an inaccurate and incomplete set of facts.

To set the record straight:

— The woman who died in Chicago as the result of a butcher abortion was not, as implied in your article, from Detroit but from Benton Harbor, Michigan. This was significant because it was the unavailability of abortions elsewhere in the state that forced her to seek the "now legal" operation in Detroit.

— She never did get to the "right place at the right time." It was only after she threatened to abort herself that her doctor referred her to a clinic in Detroit for an abortion. And by that time, it was too late.

— THE WOMAN WAS NOT COUNSELLED BY A "LOCAL WOMEN'S LIBERATION NEWSPAPER."

The ♀ Newspaper, which is the only Detroit area local women's liberation newspaper, does not provide that type of counselling.

She was counselled regarding her medical and financial alternatives by a counselor at the abortion clinic. We are confident, furthermore, that the counselling was both realistic and compassionate.

We appreciate the support that your organization has given us in the publication of our independent local women's newspaper. It is unfortunate, however, that you cannot see us as an information resource for local women's news.

We have a large number of contacts in institutions and organizations around the city and we are willing now as in the past to share any information that may prove helpful.

Elizabeth Truly for the Editorial Board of the ♀ Newspaper

Rejoinder

Workers' Power apologizes for the inaccuracies in the article, but believes the political conclusions remain valid. We regret any implication that the local newspaper was involved in abortion counselling.

The correct statement, as noted in the above letter, is that the woman was counselled at an abortion clinic. Our experience, too, shows that the specific clinic involved is excellent, both in

medical care and in counselling and follow-up care.

It was not the lack of good counselling, but the bureaucratic red-tape, the callous attitude of the medical profession in general, and the woman's financial limitations, partially caused by her race, that led to the woman's death.

What also remains true is that months after abortion rights have supposedly been won, the actual procurement of an abortion remains at best a hassle and at worst (and commonly) an impossibility.

In addition, given the lack of a mass women's movement to continue the fight, the ability of the reactionary "Right-to-Life" organizations discussed in the original article to win recruits and to eliminate the legal right to an abortion is a greater possibility.

We believe the women's liberation movement must be rebuilt and that it must consciously reject the politics and program of the reformist movement (exemplified by NOW and the NWPC). We believe the key to the success of that movement is the organized strength of working-class women fighting both their oppression as women their super-exploitation as workers.

Kay Stacy

Technicians and Workers

Your article on the Staten Island explosion (Workers' Power No. 73) was a very fine social-technical analysis. It's the type of writing that makes reading Workers' Power educational.

However, there is a question I must ask. From the article I note 40 construction workers and 3 safety technicians died.

But the title noted that 40 workers died. Why did you not include safety technicians as workers?

Dan Adkins

Rejoinder

We are grateful to Dan Adkins for his comments.

The forty workers killed included three safety inspectors. Adkins is perhaps thinking of the original reports after the explosion, which listed 43 killed; but it turned out that three workers were out of the tank on a break during the explosion.

As to the question of whether safety technicians are "workers," in our opinion they are. Although they are often college educated engineers, safety inspectors and other technicians — like all working people — face job insecurity, hazardous working conditions, inflation, and a thoroughly oppressive social system.

To fight these conditions successfully, they need to join in collective action with the entire working class.

Alice Watts & Arthur Rymer

More on Rarback

In your article about Peter J. Brennan (March 30 - April 12), you write about Martin Rarback, of the Painters Union.

You do not say he was a Trotskyite. You remind me of the Daily World which says that Joe Curran was only a "fellow traveller."

An NMU Member

Prison Letters

I am currently incarcerated in a Narcotic Addiction Control Commission facility. I am writing in the hope that you will be able to alleviate a major problem I have encountered, which concerns the receipt of relevant literature.

There are a few books being distributed by your firm, entitled:

- * 1. Marxism and Philosophy, by Karl Korsch.
 - * 2. Puerto Rican Independence, by E. Langdon and L. Larkin.
 - * 3. The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels.
 - * 4. State and Revolution, by Lenin.
 - * 5. What is to Be Done, by Lenin.
- which I deem to be of great literary importance.

Books of this nature are scarce in this institution. Because of this fact I humbly request complimentary copies, as we are not allowed to possess U.S. currency which places our financial status on an indigent basis:

Please be assured that any assistance rendered in the above mentioned would be greatly appreciated.

H. M.

Please be advised that I wish to inquire about the bi-weekly newspaper "Workers' Power" which you send free to prisoners.

I am currently incarcerated in the Ridge Hill Rehabilitation Center in Yonkers, N.Y. I was sentenced here after being convicted for possession of drugs.

Since I've been here, I have been dissatisfied with the ways of democracy and am seeking a new and better way of life.

I would appreciate it if you give this matter your attention. Power.

E. T.

Being confined, poor, and oppressed, I turn to you for help hoping you are able to fulfill my need. I've been told that you give prisoners free literature and so I take this opportunity to ask you could you send me the following books: Puerto Rican Independence by E. Langdon and L. Larkin; Principles of Communism by Marx & Engels; Anti-Duhring by Marx & Engels.

Comrades, your assistance regarding this matter will be greatly and highly appreciated by us who struggle for awareness.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I endlessly say Power to the People.

G. N. ("Che")

[The International Socialists maintain a special fund to furnish Workers' Power free to prisoners on request. We support the struggles of prisoners to free themselves from the brutality and oppression of the capitalist penal system. Any donations sent to help us reach prisoners will be set aside and used to send literature inside the prison walls.]

Correction

Byline credit should have been given to Maria Mabini as co-author of "Health Care Crisis Hits Chicago Hospital Workers' Power No. 76, p. 6.

Andy Bonifacio

Watergate

[Continued from page 3]

of economic government in the United States.

This is reflected in a growing mood of cynicism, bitterness, anger by the public. It has been reinforced by Watergate but was not produced by Watergate. *Everything that has happened in the United States in the last decade has produced this "loss of confidence."*

The "welfare state" is cracking up and people know it. In particular the crisis in the economy has much to do with the general mood.

State Intervention

Traditionally, different powerful economic interests competed, and when necessary, sought favors in Congress or from the Executive. Some Congressmen and Senators were directly in the pay of or dependent on various industries.

But in general, the capitalist economy consisted of a multiplicity of different interests which juggled their conflicts through the medium of Congress.

Periodically this led to crisis and depression, but the economy recovered through its own mechanisms and went on much as before.

Since the 1930's this system has changed. The private capitalist economy could not by itself pull out of the Great Depression. Private capitalism was becoming moribund: it could not renew itself. For the next 30 years prosperity was induced through increasing state intervention.

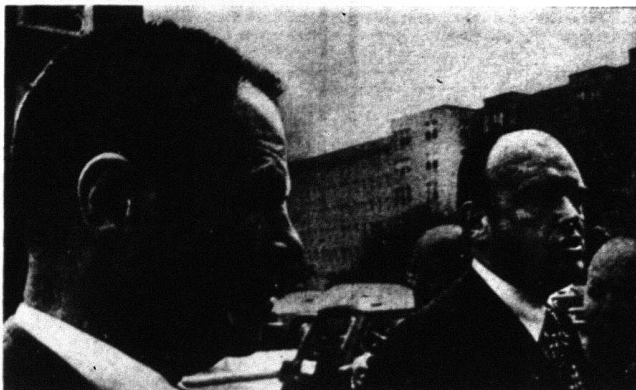
Fiscal policy manipulations and especially the huge Federal arms budget stimulated the economy here, restricted it there.

This economic situation — the

lift the Executive "above politics" politically. The Executive becomes "less responsive" to Congress and tries more to pose itself in semi-mystical ways as the "voice of all the people".

In reality, it seeks a position in which it can intervene in the economy in the interest of the largest corporations without responsibility to Congress, press, or people.

This is only an underlying process — not an accomplished fact. For the present, Nixon's problems have no easy solution.



Haldeman and Ehrlichman

Private capitalism must continue, but the economy must be regulated; other social forces — the labor movement — must be kept in line but not crushed, for the bourgeoisie does not have the social power yet to accomplish this.

The result is a stop-and-start, back-and-manuever process in which one policy after another is tried with none bringing success. This gives rise to a feeling of frustration on the party of Congressional liberals: something must be done, but nothing seems to work.

In particular, these liberals — along

with the increasing inability of capitalism to create prosperity through "market" mechanisms — was reflected in the enormous growth of a Federal bureaucracy to manage the manipulations that were necessary. The growth of the power of the Executive Branch followed.

There were few protests while this system *did* produce prosperity. In fact, liberals proclaimed in chorus that the basic problems of capitalism had been solved. But since the middle '60's, this system has been less and less able

to maintain prosperity and growth.

To deal with this situation, an even further concentration of economic power appeared as the only course. Beginning with the "New Economic Policy" of August 1971, controls of some type on prices, wages, and the rights of unions have become permanent. Yet even these have not turned the tide.

Ehrlichman was right: the traditional methods by which economic interests are juggled in Congress are too chaotic for capitalism itself today.

Along with the concentration of economic power comes a tendency to

with the labor leaders — favor economic controls, but chafe at the centralization of power which the controls require.

Now, more quickly than anyone expected, Nixon is in deep trouble. The major cause is the increasing inflation and the realization that no economic problems have been solved, that things will get worse. This has produced the frustration and anger of the people.

"Crisis of Confidence"

In spite of the liberals' uneasiness at Nixon's manipulations, and the general liberal joy at the downfall of Haldeman and Ehrlichman, the underlying process will continue. Those who think the dismissal of the two hatchmen will make Nixon "more responsive" are whistling in the dark.

Nixon's attempt to outflank the press has backfired; Nixon has been forced to retreat and apologize. But the economic processes will continue to pile up "Executive power," with the liberals going along on the big questions of economic controls, while squeaking at some of the manifestations.

Last summer during the Presidential campaign cries of "corruption" over Watergate did not get a major response. Precisely because uncertainty and helplessness prevailed, the apparent upswing of the economy, together with peace rumors, produced the general reaction of going along with Nixon for "four more years."

The liberals in Congress see *only* Watergate, and Nixon's "arrogance," as producing the "crisis of confidence." They would dearly love it if the sacrifice of Haldeman and Ehrlichman — or of Nixon, though they would like to see this done through the election process and not through impeachment or other "disruptive" processes — could restore "confidence."

But the underlying cause of the "crisis of confidence" is the failure of the capitalist economy. The "crisis of confidence" will continue to grow until its roots are realized by wider and wider sections of the working class. ■

St. Louis

[Continued from page 2]

finished the panel with a discussion of the two teachers' unions, the NEA and the AFT, and the political maneuverings that have been going on in the bureaucracies for the last few years.

The maneuvers at the top could possibly open up the union for a fight by the rank and file to gain control of their union.

The final presentation, given by Steve Carter, summarized the conference and discussed the tasks before socialists in the growing rank and file revolt.

Carter discussed the effects of McCarthyism in wiping out the presence of revolutionaries in the working class, stating that a primary task of socialists is to re-establish those links.

Through organizing at the work place and in the unions, building national opposition caucuses and a left-wing in the labor movement, giving a political character to on-going struggles and providing political leadership, the major task of socialists today is to begin the building of a revolutionary workers' movement. ■

NCLC

[Continued from page 5]

world by the Communist Parties from the late 1920's onward, destroyed the workers' state in the Soviet Union and helped to virtually wipe out an international revolutionary workers' movement that numbered in the tens of millions in Europe alone.

These tactics continue to be central to the methods of Stalinism today, and have been used not only by Maoist New Left groups but also by the American Communist Party itself against Trotskyists and other revolutionaries who oppose the C.P. within the radical movement. Their revival under the false guise of revolutionary socialism will only further strengthen the reactionary politics of the Stalinists themselves.

In actively intervening to defend the rights of all groups, including the C.P., to meet and carry out free political debate, the I.S. is guided first and foremost by the *political* necessity of exposing both the real politics of the NCLC actions and their dangerous implications for the future. ■

Steel

[Continued from page 7]

is an urgent necessity for the steelworkers.

This June the rank and file will be reviewing the actions of those local presidents who collapsed before Abel's steamroller. The political responsibility of local militants is to take up the fight for steelworkers' rights which even the best of the local presidents could not carry through. The first task is to dump all local officers who voted for Abel's sell-out plan.

Beyond this, the ranks must organize their own movement to overthrow the forced-arbitration agreement and to fight for a program that clearly rejects the whole productivity scheme, that demands the immediate withdrawal of the USW leadership from their collaboration with government control boards.

A powerful national opposition movement, based on the power of the steelworkers themselves, is the only road forward. No other strategy can succeed in ousting one of Nixon's most important props within the labor movement. ■

Inflation

[Continued from page 12]

productivity, has lost the capacity to perform this progressive function.

Today, the continuation of this system offers nothing but increased misery, poverty and the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

Fox's analysis is open to challenge on a number of counts. In particular, it can be argued that he gives entirely insufficient attention to the post-war emergence of a Permanent Arms Economy — which he regards as only the continuation of the long-term process of state intervention — in enabling capitalism to carry through its recent 25-year period of growth and prosperity.

This controversy will be the subject of a separate and lengthier discussion in a future issue of *Workers' Power*.

In any case, however, these essays are both an important contribution to the current revival of Marxist economic theory and a tribute to those who fought to sustain that theory during the long period of post-war reaction which is now coming to an end. ■

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

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

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

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

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

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