

WORKERS' POWER

No. 66

Oct. 27-Nov. 9, 1972

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UAW Musical Strikes Fail To Halt GMAD Rampage

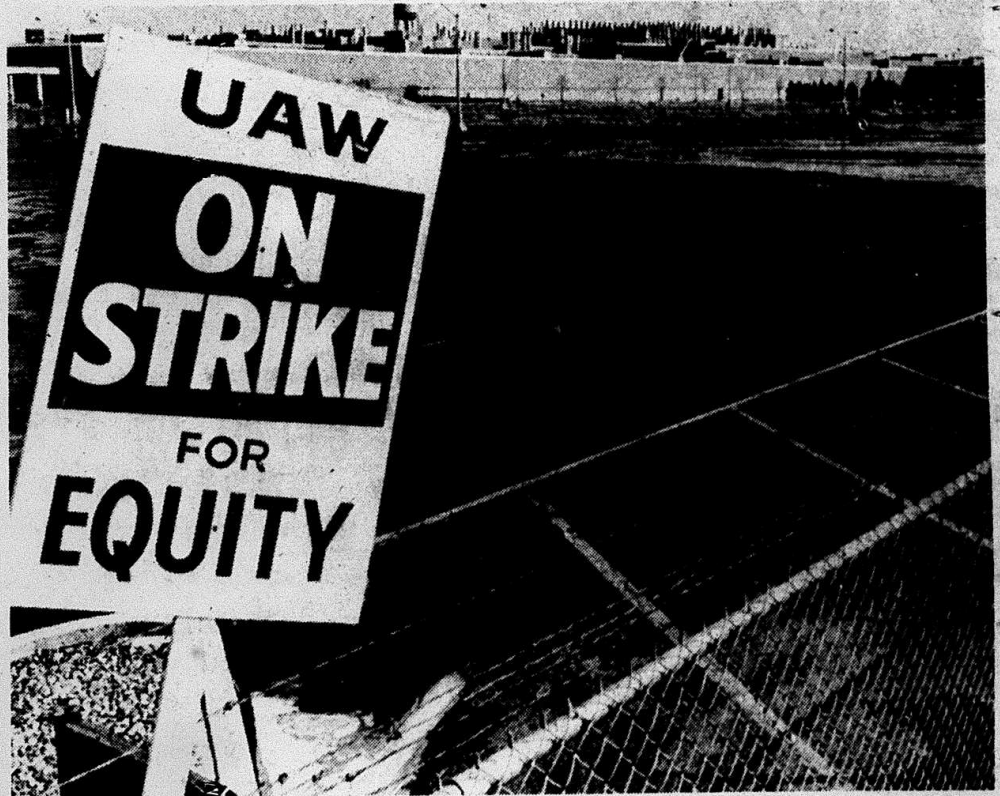
As we go to press, strikes have occurred at three General Motors plants with prospects of half a dozen more within a week. Although tightly controlled up to this point by the UAW International, these actions have the potential to reverse the trend of defeats suffered by US workers since Nixon announced his wage control policies over a year ago.

Whether this potential will be realized depends in the immediate future on the size of the flame the rank and file of the UAW can light under the flattened seats of the UAW International bureaucrats.

The weekend of October 13-16 saw strike action at Doraville, Ga., St. Louis, Mo., and Mansfield, Oh., where GM employs 2,800, 8,200 and 2,300 workers respectively. Originally scheduled to go out Friday was the 2,200-worker plant at Van Nuys, Ca., but a local settlement prevented a strike there.

At the huge Buick complex in Flint, Mi., a settlement made public five minutes before the strike deadline aborted a walk-out scheduled for Monday morning, October 16. Indications are that the Woodcock machine, a

[Continued on page 7]



30 For 40 - Jobs For All



The "economic recovery" is in full swing -- for some people. Production is up and profits have soared to over 15 percent more than last year. Nixon's re-election seems assured as the economy squeezes back to "normal."

But what sort of normality is it when unemployment remains just as high as during the recession? Over 5 million people are still out of work. If the number of those who are not in the labor force, but who want jobs, were to be included it would total

over 10 million people -- an unemployment rate of well over 10 percent.

These then are the good times, the prosperity, that capitalism now has for working people. And when this shallow recovery breaks, when recession returns, what will the number of unemployed be then?

American capitalism has now succeeded in creating a large pool of chronic unemployed, a permanent reserve army of the un-

[Continued on page 4]





NEWS

FUND DRIVE HITS \$5,700; 7 WEEKS TO GO

The International Socialists' fund drive approaches the end of its third week as we go to press with \$5,701 or 36 percent of our goal collected. Of the large branches Detroit still takes the lead with 73 percent of its quota already in.

Most of the larger branches are on or ahead of schedule and are taking up the slack for the smaller ones which are generally behind. One exception is Rochester which has raised 200 percent of its quota.

Most of the money collected in the drive will come from contributions

from IS members. The money raised will be used for improvements in *Workers' Power*, the publication of a theoretical journal and a series of pamphlets and extensive educational and organizing work.

Our goal is to rebuild a revolutionary socialist movement in this country. Readers of *Workers' Power* can help us now by sending a contribution to the fund drive.

[Make your check payable to Joel Geier or the International Socialists, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Austin		\$ 0	0%
San Antonio	\$ 75	\$ 15	15
Ann Arbor	100	0	0
Boston	400	0	0
Champaign	125	0	0
Chapel Hill	60	0	0
Chicago	1,200	223	18
Cincinnati	60	0	0
Detroit	2,500	1,819	73
East Bay	2,000	583	29
Knoxville	40	0	0
Lansing	60	0	0
Los Angeles	1,500	555	37
Madison	500	60	12
New York	3,500	1,340	38
Pittsburgh	45	5	11
Portland	200	50	25
Rochester	60	120	200
Riverside	40	40	100
San Francisco	600	0	0
Seattle	850	685	82
MAL's	150	175	117
Nat'l Office	1,500	30	1
TOTAL	\$15,565	\$ 5,701	36%

Detroit still leads with 73%

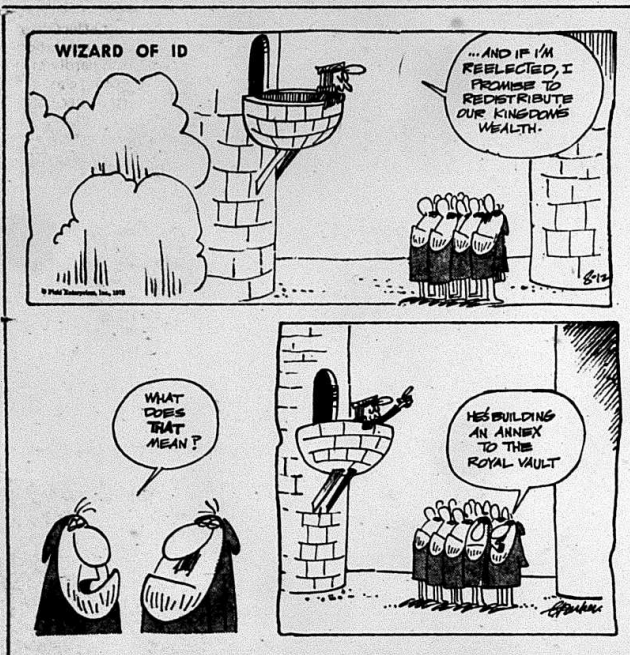


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Workers' Power 66

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RADICALS SINK INTO McGOVERN'S SWAMP

The 1972 elections have seen the virtual collapse of the organized American left into the camp of liberalism, in the form of either open or implicit support for the McGovern campaign. The disintegration of the New Left has destroyed the confidence of most radicals in their ability to create an independent political alternative to the capitalist political establishment.

It is ironic that at a time of rising working class militancy and political unrest, the American radical movement -- which once wrote off the workers as "bought off" and co-opted -- finds itself weaker than four years ago.

The left has drastically declined in terms of the strength and credibility of its ideas, its program, and its ability to provide answers to the crucial problems which determine the political consciousness of the masses of American people.

Leading the retreat have been the most widely-read and influential journals of the radical movement. The September issue of *Ramparts* magazine, in an article by one of its editors, states:

"The candidate is only as radical as his constituency forces him to be, but precisely in the fact he is so extraordinarily dependent on that constituency lies the responsibility and the opportunity to demand that he stick to the commitments that make his constituency strong."

Political Hibernation

The fact that McGovern long ago dropped his pseudo-radical stance on issues of abortion, taxation, and other issues appears to escape *Ramparts* -- as does the fact that the commitments he has consistently maintained are his support of American imperialist commitments in Latin America and the Middle East.

Ramparts also overlooked McGovern's recent statement that the main issues in the campaign are "welfare reform" and "crime," virtually open appeals to fear and racism.

An editorial in the radical weekly *The Guardian* refuses to endorse McGovern's candidacy, but goes on to say "we do not oppose the growing trend among the masses who intend to vote for McGovern (a trend not on except the *Guardian* and McGovern's staff claim to detect) --

just as we do not oppose any action which objectively assists the struggle of the Vietnamese people."

But the *Guardian* editors fail to explain why anyone who agrees with them that a vote for McGovern "objectively assists the struggle of the Vietnamese people" should not actively campaign for him.

The *Guardian* simply proposes in effect that radicals should go into political hibernation, for fear of telling the American people any truth about

Left as a whole, which in 1968 produced at least an independent Peace and Freedom Party campaign and a mass opposition movement in the streets, has completely dropped out of sight as far as the overwhelming majority of Americans are concerned.

For most Americans, the only opportunity to get a glimpse of those forces which do attempt or claim to provide a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties in 1972 was the October 8 edition of ABC-TV's weekly

portray them as the "fringe" or "kook" candidates, hopelessly outside the mainstream of political life and offering only comic relief to the serious business of electing America's next "chief executive."

Each of the candidates was asked: If you're more radical than "even" McGovern, who seems too radical for the voters, how can you expect to get any support for your program?

None of the candidates gave what would have been the most effective answer, which would have been to state that their real purpose was to carry on an educational campaign calling on the millions of American workers to break from the parties of business to form their own independent political party, a party of the working class and oppressed people.

Such a party would be the vehicle through which the two-party stranglehold on American politics would be broken, and the phony "radicalism" of McGovern exposed for the fraud that it is.

CP Facade

Most of the candidates did offer some correct arguments for opposing McGovern from the left, because of his positions on various issues or his support of capitalism.

The only exception was Gus Hall of the Communist Party, who gave qualified support to McGovern's "peace plan." The entire CP campaign itself is only a facade, since the real energies of the CP are directed toward supporting McGovern's election.

In some ways the least effective of the four was Jenness, the "revolutionary" SWP candidate, who hardly mentioned a socialist or working class alternative but spent most of her time on important but isolated reform issues like abortion and the right of third parties to get on the ballot.

In the 1972 elections, the International Socialists believe that socialists, radicals, and working people should cast a vote against the capitalist parties to register the demand for an independent party of the working class.

In this election the only way to do this is to vote for SWP or SLP candidates. The real task, however, is to build a political alternative to defend the interests of labor and the oppressed in the next period. ■



McGovern that might dissuade them from supporting him.

Slightly further to the left than this, the prestigious *Monthly Review* warns its readers "not to depend on George McGovern to end the war" and cautions that an anti-war movement will still be necessary to pressure McGovern even if he is elected.

Unlike the other two publications mentioned here, the *Monthly Review* editors carefully refrain from labelling McGovern openly as an "anti-war candidate." But even more carefully, they refrain from opposing him or calling for any kind of political alternative.

The net result of this is that the

interview program "Issues and Answers."

ABC's version of "equal time" to balance the millions of dollars in TV time bought by Nixon and McGovern, the Presidential candidates of big business, was to provide 15 minutes of interview time apiece to the four socialist or radical Presidential candidates.

ABC newsmen Greg Jackson and Sam Donaldson questioned in turn Benjamin Spock of the People's Party, Louis Fisher of the Socialist Labor Party, Gus Hall of the Communist Party, and Linda Jenness of the Socialist Workers Party.

Most of the questions asked of these candidates were designed to

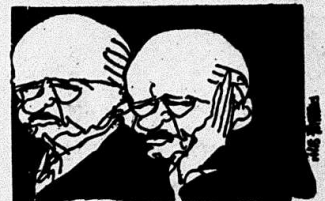
A federal judge in Denver has issued an order prohibiting AFL-CIO President George Meany from interfering with the activities of the Colorado Labor Council. Meany had moved to place the CLC under trusteeship after it endorsed George McGovern for president in violation of the AFL-CIO's official neutrality.

Judge Fred Winner ruled that the AFL-CIO had violated its own consti-

tution in the case. Meany said that the decision was "erroneous" and that he would appeal.

In this case, the court saw fit to intervene against the undemocratic nature of Meany's action. But where it is in the interest of the employers, the capitalist courts naturally look the other way when a militant local is placed under trusteeship by the AFL-CIO or an international union. ■

Which Side Are They On?





Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

played. This is a sure sign of the decay of capitalism as a social system. This system is incapable of providing jobs and a decent standard of living for all of its workers.

Unemployment is felt by the whole working class -- but unevenly. While it is 5.6 percent nationally, it is 15 percent for young people, and 28.5 percent for young blacks (and up to 50 percent in some ghettos).

Young people turn to escape -- to drugs and crime, adding to endless misery of a life without work or hope. Permanent unemployment is ruining a whole generation of young workers, destroying them -- unless they destroy this unhuman capitalist system first.

It is the whole working class that has to pay for unemployment. The employed are forced to pay higher taxes to support capitalism's mess, and to maintain this reserve army for capital. At the same time the victims, the pauperized unemployed forced onto the welfare rolls, are made out to be the cause of taxation, crime and social decay -- with race demagogery thrown in for smokescreen.

The fear of joblessness, of being laid off, of threats from those already unemployed is callously exploited and manipulated by establishment politicians to whip up support for repressive measures and new restrictions on labor's rights.

Republican, Democratic and Wallaceite candidates all play the vicious game of appealing to one group of workers against another. They are willing to blame black people, "welfare chiselers," youth, or anyone else for the problems of society -- except, of course, for the profiteers who bear the real responsibility.

Capitalism has no program for the unemployed except endless misery on welfare doles which are too small to live on, but just too much to die on. It is labor which must present a solution to unemployment.

We must fight to extend unemployment compensation for the full period of unemployment, and to have overtime banned in unions who have members on layoff. The immense productivity advances of American workers must go to advance the lives of the workers, not to greater profits and greater unemployment.

Most important, the work week must be cut to 30 hours with no loss in pay, with the same pay that is received for 40 hours work, establishing a 6-hour work day and creating new jobs to fight unemployment.

Labor's solution to unemployment must start from the proposition that every worker is entitled to a job and decent standard of living. The work week must be cut to provide jobs for the unemployed, paid for from the swollen billions that capitalism has soaked out of the working class.

The fight to get workers off the unemployed and welfare rolls is a crucial part of a rank and file program to defend labor's economic and political interests. To carry this fight forward will require both a sharpening of the current rank and file revolt and the construction of a labor party around such a program, in opposition to the corporations and their state.

WORKERS' POWER CONFERENCE: LABOR'S RANK AND FILE REVOLT

Speakers

Ron Tabor
National Industrial Secretary, International Socialists

Pete Kelly
Co-Chairman United National Caucus of the UAW

Edith Fox
UAW Committeewoman, Member UNC

Louis Smith
Chairman of Justice, Opportunity, and Betterment

Joe Naebeck
Leader United Action Caucus of the Communication Workers of America

Alfredo Pena
Teamster and Carpenter

Rose Vevia
Telephone Operator

Vivian Rivera
Workers' Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party

Steve Zeluck
United Action Caucus of the American Federation of Teachers

Time: Saturday - Sunday, November 11 and 12, 9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Place: Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th St., New York City

Sponsored by the New York Branch of the International Socialists, 17 East 17th St., New York, NY 10003. Phone (212) 989-1410.

Union listing for identification only.

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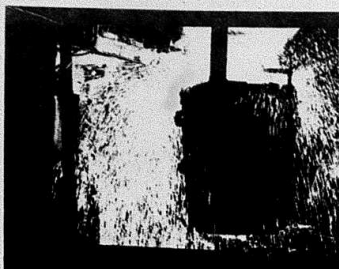
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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Kit Lyons

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Prisoners' revolt in D.C. wins concessions, court hearing

Prisoners in the Washington, D.C. city jail won a substantial victory in a rebellion there on October 11.

The District of Columbia jail houses only prisoners waiting for preliminary hearings, trials, or transfers to Lorton Reformatory, the city's major prison. The building is 100 years old and presently houses 1,000 prisoners although its "capacity" is 700.

The prisoners' major grievance is the length of time they are kept waiting in the city jail for a trial or hearing. Some have been there as long as two years.

This time represents their punishment by the capitalist courts for the crime of not having a few dollars for bail.



Concessions were granted after the inmates took ten hostages, including Kenneth Hardy, director of Washington's Department of Corrections. The prisoners made it clear that they were serious by placing Hardy at a window with a gun at his head.

Although they began by demanding immediate, unconditional freedom, the prisoners agreed to negotiate with a team consisting of Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, Board of Education President Marion Barry, and former inmate Petey Green.

They refused to talk with Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the District of Columbia's powerless observer in the House of Representatives.

After hours of "negotiations," the prisoners agreed to release their hostages after court hearings were conducted on their cases. The inmates also received written guarantees from Hardy and from the court that there would be no reprisals for participation in the rebellion.

After the 1971 massacre at Attica, it seems amazing that prisoners will still risk their lives in rebellions such as this. That they do so is a testament both to the courage of the men and

women in America's prisons, and to the inhumanity of prisons in a capitalist system. (You can't make a profit on prisons, so why spend money on them!)

Within 48 hours after the first uprising was settled, there was another rebellion, although a minor one, at the same prison. No matter what minor reforms are made, as long as the prison system remains intact it will continue to be faced with rebellions and uprisings, and as prisons have always done, it will produce new generations of revolutionaries.

New York teachers must fight "productivity" layoffs

The Professional Staff Congress, the union which represents teachers and staff at the huge City University of New York, has called for a poll of the membership to authorize a possible strike on November 1.

City University teachers have been working without a contract since September.

One basic issue in the dispute is an effort by the employer, the Board of Higher Education, to increase "productivity" — that is, to make fewer teachers teach more and larger classes.

This policy would mean worse education for students and layoffs of teachers, as has already occurred in New York City's elementary and high schools in the wake of the weak contract signed by the United Federation of Teachers.

Such a deal would also mean that more students in the "Open Admissions" program which includes large numbers of working class, black and Puerto Rican students, would be forced to drop out after a short time for lack of adequate instruction and guidance.

The Professional Staff Congress was formed last year out of the merger of the AFT-affiliated United Federation of College Teachers and the local National Education Association affiliate.

Only 6,000 of 16,000 CUNY teachers and staff are now PSC members. The strike vote seems to be more a means of pressuring the Board than real preparation for a strike.

The vote may be useful as a tactic and a means of mobilizing the membership, but the leadership has so far failed to mount an effective campaign to build enthusiasm for a strike and a political alliance with students, black and Puerto Rican groups, and the rest of the labor movement.

The PSC has recently said little, for instance, about the fight against the anti-working-class move to impose tuition at the currently tuition-free university.

Without more effective mobilization of teachers and staff, and without a political alliance with students and the community, PSC will remain in a weak bargaining position.

New low for Pa Bell: firings, speedup, and higher rates

The New York Telephone Company has officially announced what its employees have known for some time: that it is in the middle of a speedup campaign. On October 11, a company vice-president said that no new hiring will take place until its work force is cut by 8 percent to 90,000 employees.

Although the spokesman didn't mention it, the company is also pursuing this policy through large scale firings. Ninety thousand was the level of New York Telephone's employment in 1969. At that time phone service was so poor that the company was forced to hire thousands of additional employees.

Even though rumors of firings and speedup have been common for several months, the union, Communication Workers of America, has made no plans for fighting this offensive by the company.

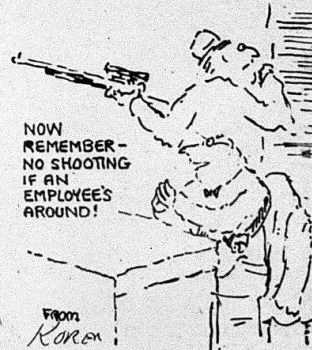
In addition to the speedup, New York Telephone hopes to increase its profits by charging its customers for directory assistance calls.



The United Auto Workers has filed charges with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission against Ford, General Motors and Chrysler charging sex discrimination. The charges result from the auto companies' practice of granting fewer benefits for disabilities resulting from pregnancy than for other non-occupational disabilities. The UAW contends that this practice is illegal under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

But the real test of the UAW's concern for women workers will come next year when contracts with the auto companies expire. That will give the UAW bureaucracy a chance to show whether it is willing to take some action of its own on the issue of pregnancy disabilities and other issues affecting women workers.

Eager Beaver Trucking to shoot union organizers only in private



Eager Beaver Trucking, a California firm, has promised the National Labor Relations Board to stop shooting at union organizers — at least while its employees are watching.

In a consent stipulation, settling unfair labor practice charges stemming out of a Teamsters organizing campaign, the company agreed to provide back pay to workers who were illegally fired. And it promised it would "not threaten employees with bodily harm if they support a union."

Furthermore the company pledged in the notice it posted in compliance with the NLRB order:

"We will not point firearms at and/or discharge firearms in the direction of union representatives in the presence of employees."

Meager minimum wage bill too rich for Congress

Congress has, in effect, defeated any possibility of raising the federal minimum wage this year.

The House and Senate passed different versions of a minimum wage bill, but the House refused to compromise. The House version was by far the worst, containing a provision to permanently set the minimum wage for youth 20 percent below the minimum for adults.

This would provide any incentive an employer would need to fire older workers and replace them with younger, cheaper ones.

The House plan would have raised the minimum (adult) wage to \$2.00 next year. The Senate bill would have raised it to \$2.00 immediately and to \$2.20 in 1974. In addition, it would have included maids and government employees under the minimum wage provisions.

Both House and Senate versions leave uncovered large, low-paid sections of the working class, particularly farm workers. And neither bill would raise minimum-wage workers above the poverty level.

Calif. Leads Attack On UFWOC-Vote No On 22!

Proposition 22 is an initiative measure which will be voted on by Californians this November. If passed, its effect would be to virtually destroy the rights of the thousands of farmworkers in California who are represented by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) AFL-CIO.

The initiative, if passed, would prohibit any boycott of agricultural products, when directed against an employer in a labor dispute. The secondary boycott has been one of the chief weapons used by UFWOC to force employers to bargain with the union.

The ban on secondary boycotts includes any "attempt to threaten, restrain, or coerce, any secondary employer . . . to make a management decision not to handle, transport, process, pack, sell, or distribute any agricultural commodity of an agricultural employer with whom a labor dispute exists."

Also prohibited is any attempt "to induce or encourage the ultimate consumer of any agricultural product to refrain from purchasing, consuming, or using such agricultural product by the misrepresentation of any fact or law, or by the use of dishonest, untruthful, and deceptive publicity." (Chapter 3, Section 1143.4)

The initiative also prohibits honest truthful and non-deceptive publicity "directed against any trademark, trade name, or generic name." Picketing retail establishments handling such products is prohibited.

The initiative also provides for an Agricultural Labor Relations Board to be set up by the State of California. The board would consist of five members, all of whom would be appointed by the governor.

Two of the members would be ap-



pointed as representatives of agriculture, two members as representatives of organized labor, and the fifth, who would be designated as chairman of the board, would be appointed as a representative of the "general public."

The board is given unlimited power of subpoena to investigate alleged violations of the "Unlawful Acts and Unfair Labor Practices" chapter of the initiative.

The board may also appeal to the superior court to issue a restraining order against individuals or groups alleged to be violating the provisions of the bill. Penalties for such acts may be punished by a fine of up to \$5,000 or imprisonment for up to one year, or both.

Readers of *Workers' Power* will recognize the similarity between the

ALRB and the national payboard set up by the Nixon administration to carry out his "wage and price freeze" proposals.

For example, it is left to the governor to decide just who represents the "general public." It is also left to the governor to decide who represents organized labor.

If the proposition passes, Reagan can appoint anyone to that board he chooses, with no veto from the state legislature.

By far, however, the most destructive aspect of the proposition is its effect on the eligibility of "temporary employees" to vote in union elections.

On most of the larger farms, harvesting is done by migrant workers. These workers, largely Chicanos along with other oppressed minority work-

ers, are subjected to the lowest wages and most oppressive conditions in the fields. They travel from farm to farm, working until the harvest crops are picked, and then moving to the next place of work.

The number of permanent, year round employees on many of these farms is small, compared to the number of employees at harvest time. In previous union elections, most of these temporary employees voted for UFWOC to represent them. If proposition 22 passes, most of these workers will be ineligible to vote in future union elections, thus providing a cheap pool of unorganized migrant labor for California agribusiness.

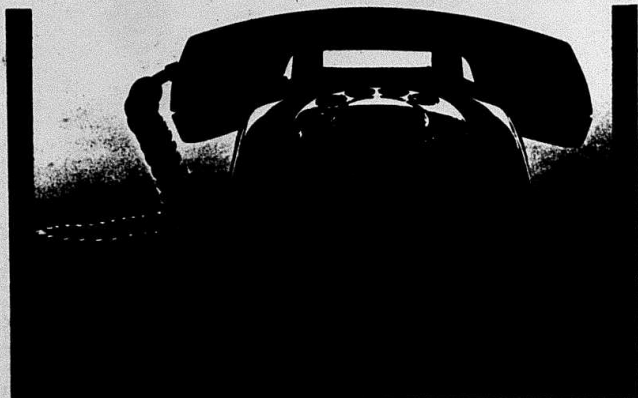
This provision of the initiative proves that the purpose of this bill is to destroy UFWOC as an effective force that can fight for the rights of farmworkers.

Blatant misrepresentation and outright fraud has been practiced by the sponsors of the initiative in order to place it on the ballot. Some petition bearers approached people in various areas, and told them that the initiative would lower food prices. Others claimed that the petition had the endorsement of Cesar Chavez, president of UFWOC, or that the initiative would "help the farmworkers."

The bill has received substantial backing from the California Farm Bureau, the Right to Work Committee (an organization that opposes the union shop), and almost all of the major corporations engaged in farm produce. Sunkist alone has contributed a quarter of a million dollars to help the initiative get passed by the voters.

It is absolutely crucial for organized labor, and the voting public, to defeat this bill. If it passes, it will destroy the efforts of UFWOC to organize farmworkers throughout the State of California into a union that represents their interests against the enormous power of agribusiness. ■

Bell's Crisis: Profits "Only" 6.5%



A rate hike hearing was held in Boston on September 27 to determine whether or not to give New England Telephone an "emergency" rate increase of 61 million dollars.

There was widespread opposition to the hike. In anticipation of a large crowd protesting the rate increase, the location was changed three times that day.

Whether the purpose was deliberate obfuscation or simply bureaucratic incompetence and confusion, the result was the same. Only a few people were at the hearing.

The Department of Public Utilities (DPU) did not grant the rate increase, but only because New England Tel did not show "sufficient emergency." In reality the put-off was nothing more than a smoke screen.

New England Tel had previously

requested an increase of 122 million dollars. That decision was put off until some undetermined time. If the DPU doesn't come to a decision within 10 months, New England Tel automatically gets the increase. How convenient!

The "emergency" that New England Tel faced as a "rate of return" of "only" 6.5 percent. The capitalist courts guarantee the telephone company an 8.6 percent "rate of return." The 61 million dollars was to bring the profits up to the guaranteed level.

New England Telephone is only a small part of the mammoth AT&T conglomerate, whose profits have soared to unprecedented levels. The DPU and all government agencies are the hirelings of big business, including the privately owned and profitable "public utilities." ■

St. Louis

Roger Cid

[Continued from page 1]

fraid of the tremendous power that a united strike movement would exert, threatened a strike at Flint with no intention of carrying it out.

The issues at these St. Louis, Doraville, Flint and Van Nuys plants can be summed up in one word -- GMAD. The General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) is GM's division of hot-shot engineers and labor relations experts, the front guard of GM's strategy to increase "productivity" through speedup and layoffs.

The current strikes, legal because they concern production standards over which auto workers may strike during the life of the contract, are the second round in the UAW's battle against GM's "productivity" drive.

Although there are different twists at each of the plants, the situation at the GMAD complex in St. Louis, Mo. is in many ways typical and for that reason is well worth looking at.

12,000 '78's"

The facility is comprised of three sections in which passenger cars, trucks and the Corvette/Stingrays are produced. Of the 18 GMAD plants, it is the least profitable for GM, which means that here the GMAD team had one of their biggest jobs.

Prior to October, 1971, the complex was divided between a Fisher Body unit and an assembly unit, covered by separate local agreements. On October 1 of last year, when GMAD took over the plants, the union local (UAW Local 25) was placed under an administratorship of the UAW International.

The two local agreements were junked, and management began its speedup offensive and wholesale disciplinary layoffs (DLO's) that have run rampant ever since.

In a year's time over 12,000 grievances, mostly over production standards (called "78's" after Paragraph 78 of the national contract that covers them) have piled up, while over 1,000 workers, about average for each of the 18 GMAD plants, have been laid off. After this summer's changeover, the situation became unbearable.

On the truck lines the "job changes", usually the addition of tasks to the jobs of the workers, were so great that production quotas were only made at the end of September. And if this weren't enough, management began charging "sabotage" of production on the night shift, sending the nightshift employees home early so that they were averaging 13 hours of work per week while the day shift worked a full schedule.

Since workers sent home for "sabotage" are not entitled to short work week supplementary pay, the net effect of management's game was to make the workers of the night shift resentful for their cut pay and hostile to those on "days," thus dividing the workers as the showdown neared.

In the past few weeks, as strike threats from the International have been forwarded and retracted, management has made a fraud of the negotiations, calling in the bargaining committee to watch management representatives shuffle papers.

When on October 6, the Interna-

tional sent 5 day strike notification letters to the managements of the Van Nuys, Doraville, and St. Louis plants, it appeared that the situation was coming to a head.

Now, with the strike at Mansfield, a key supplier of parts to the entire GM empire, and the threatened stoppage at Buick, a serious confrontation is possible.

Will these strikes just be a larger-scale repetition of the isolated Lordstown and Norwood walkouts? It's possible, but there are a number of factors that could make this round different.

For one thing, Lordstown and Norwood have not been in vain: the ranks of the UAW are now convinced that

Woodcock and Bluestone said "No."

When Nate Mosely, militant black leader of the UAW Rank and File Caucus in Local 25 suggested a strike of the Gear and Axle plant at Saginaw, Mi., which would effectively cripple GM's production, Woodcock asked him if he were a Communist.

After rejecting proposals that would have meant a real fight, the "leadership" came up with its new "Hit and Run" (more "run" than "hit") strategy.

Three or four GMAD plants are to be struck from Friday through Monday while locals at all the other plants continue to work -- then the following Friday another group of



GMAD cannot be beaten by one local at a time.

This general sentiment and the growing pressure on the UAW bureaucracy have forced UAW President Woodcock and head of the GM Department Bluestone to throw out their "one at a time" strategy and come up with something that at least looks more militant.

The defeats at the hands of GMAD are also furthering the crystallization of groupings of militants throughout the GM empire and are enhancing the prestige of those already existing opposition groupings, such as the United National Caucus and the UAW Rank and File Caucus at the St. Louis plants.

Whether these groups, both formal and informal, will be strong enough to organize enough pressure against the local bureaucrats and on the International to force a sustained and coordinated militant response to GMAD remains to be seen.

But the idea of such a response has been posed, the first steps have been taken by the ranks, and the vehicles for struggle are emerging.

The International's response, all along, has been to drag its feet. At an emergency meeting of representatives of UAW locals at 18 GMAD plants, held September 16-18 in Detroit, 12 out of the 18 locals proposed to strike all GMAD plants.

Woodcock and Bluestone's response was negative. Local 25 in St. Louis moved to strike the truck plants.

three or four locals are to strike, while all the others continue to work, and so on until after five weeks all the plants have been struck at least once.

The ingenuity of this plan is remarkable since no strike benefits will have to be paid by the International. GM's production will not be serious-

ly hurt, since only a handful of plants will be out at any one time and management can force as much overtime as necessary on those who are working.

The International can preserve its strike fund, the Company can continue production, and everybody is happy. Everybody but the rank and file, who have not spoken their last word.

The "strategy" proposed by the International is a losing one. This is not because Woodcock and his flunkies do not know how to fight, although their talents in this area may be limited, but because they do not wish to fight.

They are committed to capitalism, committed to making the wage controls work and willing to help the ruling class do what they think needs to be done to make the system work.

The bureaucrats' only desire is that this be done in such a way as to keep the heat off them and to leave them a place in the ruling class' scheme of things.

They are hoping that the growing economic crisis, which continues to eat away at capitalism despite the present upturn, will pass quickly and that after management has boosted "productivity" they can return to the cosy relationship to which they are accustomed.

Ranks Must Fight

It's nothing to them if a few thousand UAW members get axed and the most militant locals in the UAW are isolated and crippled. Although the ranks have deep illusions about the bureaucrats' willingness to struggle and at present all but a few of them share the bureaucrats' belief in the worth and stability of capitalism, they have increasingly no choice but to fight.

And they are beginning to see that they have the power to do so, through militant and united rank and file action.

Even the losing strategies of Woodcock & Co. at least open the door for an escalation of the struggle, since they appear to be steps in (and represent paper concessions to) the direction the militants are proposing.

But it will be the ranks themselves that will force the door open wide. A nationwide rank and file movement to take on all of GM, with the necessary communication and coordination, can spearhead the rank and file struggle throughout the UAW and the labor movement as a whole.

It will also serve as an example of what needs to be done to beat back the capitalist offensive and to prepare the working class for its turn to attack.

Douglas Fraser, UAW Vice-President, and two other union leaders have made clear what they think of class solidarity.

Business Week, the magazine intended exclusively for management of business and industry, describes the problem of increasing productivity as "perhaps the most serious threat American industry has ever faced." To help deal with the productivity problem, Business Week has organized a conference called "Improving Management Productivity: Key to Company Survival in the 70's."

Listed in Business Week's October 7 issue as "distinguished leaders" at this conference, doing their part to help management survive the productivity crisis, are, in addition to Fraser, Frank Bonadio, President of the AFL-CIO Construction Trades Division, and Martin Ward, President of the Plumbers and Pipefitters Union.

Doug Fraser Backs Speedup Drive

[Editor's Note: The following article, written by a long-time socialist and militant in the longshore union, discusses the background to the recent discussions of merger between the International Longshore Workers Union (ILWU) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). The author discusses the reason for opposition from below to this merger, from the rank and file of the longshore workers, and raises a number of issues involving relations between the rank and file of the two unions which have been involved in a jurisdictional dispute over handling of cargo. This article is a contribution to a discussion which we hope will continue. We would particularly welcome contributions from socialists and militants active in the rank and file movement in the Teamsters.]

Last month, Harry Bridges, international president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), sustained a temporary defeat at the hands of the rank and file longshoremen.

In mid-summer he announced that plans were being made to merge with the Teamsters union. He had not consulted with the membership, but he had the backing of a large section of the ILWU officials.

This included the long incumbent international secretary-treasurer Louis Goldblatt who in the last year has posed himself as Bridges' opposition.

But when the International Executive Board of the ILWU met in mid-September, instead of announcing a formal merger proposal it announced simply that it was not going to discuss merger or make any proposal.

No reason was given, but everyone knew that the leadership had given in to overwhelming pressure from the ranks.

The large Port of Los Angeles Local 13 had gone so far as to threaten splitaway to the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) of the East and Gulf Coasts.

The threat was not made idly, but its special rebellious quality comes clear with the knowledge that, when Harry Bridges pushed for merger with the ILA over a year ago, Local 13 gave him no support.

Out of my own experience in the maritime industry and from my friends in a number of ports, it is my view that the rank and file resistance to the Bridges merger plan was not formally organized by the ranks.

In Port Los Angeles (San Pedro, Wilmington and Long Beach) whose long history of opposition to Bridges can partly be traced to the militant tradition resulting from a concentration of IWW members there from the years prior to World War I until the outbreak of World War II, the official local leadership gave voice to the merger opposition in the ranks.

In the other ports along the coast the ranks had to use other methods.

These methods range from telling officials at "point blank" range that their merger is a phoney, to those hundreds of ways that the ranks everywhere have of communicating to those in power that "we the ranks are against this, you can go ahead and do it and get away with it for now, but don't forget, we are going to remember."

This sometimes gets said roundabout, at other times with a facial expression or a body movement, but it gets said to the officials themselves, and most strongly to regime supporters on the job who everyone knows will carry the message to their next higher contact official... "Gee, I don't know what's the matter with those guys down there. They seem

to be against everything Harry (George, Leonard, etc.) wants these days and they're hotter than hell against going into the Teamsters. And, the shit-disturbers are having a heyday."

Given the specific nature of the opposition to Bridges' latest move, it is impossible for anyone to claim possession of the precise answers why 15,000 longshoremen spread along a 2,000-mile coast wanted no unity between their union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).

Given the nature of the bureaucracy, few of us may ever learn the exact reasoning as to why the two leaderships favored merger.

The purpose of this article is to offer some ideas for those interested to consider, test out, and add to the process that can help provide answers to the questions.

There are probably few if any working longshoremen who believe that merger with the Teamsters would create unity between them and the ranks of that union.

In fact, it would be an obstacle in the way of a drive for unity initiated from below.

At this point there is only a small minority who fully trust the Bridges leadership. The trust that was once substantial was used to construct one of the most scandalous betrayals ever witnessed in American labor.

"M & M" Betrayal

In 1958, after years of pressuring, Bridges talked the membership into allowing the hire of Class B registered longshoremen who are non-union and who therefore automatically undercut union-won working conditions.

In 1960-1961 Bridges negotiated and sold, with false information and scare tactics, the first "automation" or Mechanization and Modernization Contract.

This contract gave back to the employers the majority of protective work rules won during the West Coast maritime strikes in the 1930's.

The sling load weight limit, the manning scales, work gang rights, all were eliminated.

Along with them the informal right to self-relief systems for hold workers was lost -- due to Bridges' public campaign against "witnesses" or those who supposedly watched but didn't work.

This elimination of work rules had nothing to do with work on unitized or containerized loads. Rather these rules no longer were to be practiced while working "manhandled," by-the-piece, "unautomated" (containerized) cargo.

With this advantage the employers got up to double tonnage (work) from the men for free.

It is an unchallenged matter of record that profits soared and only then did the employers begin to invest in containers on a large scale.

Thus, the longshoremen have paid and are paying for the containers that are destroying their union rights, work traditions, culture and their very occupation.

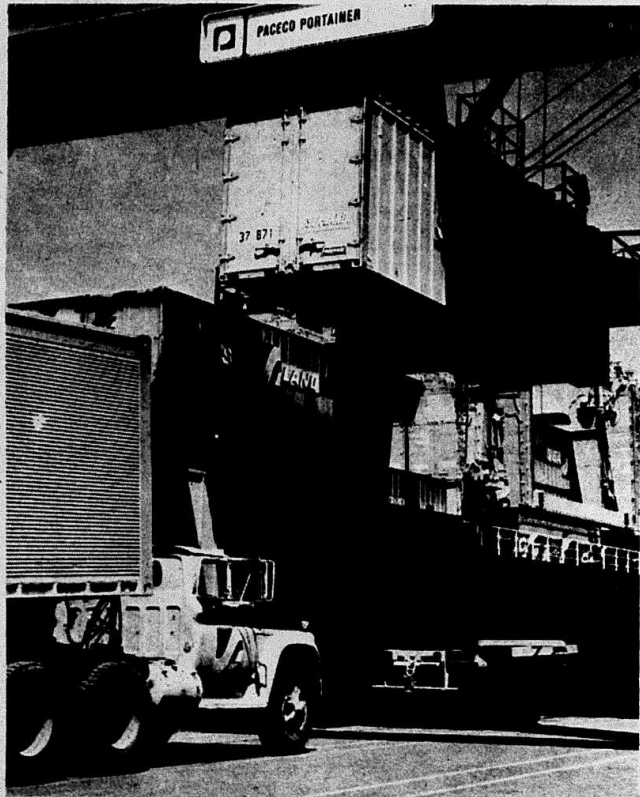
To this point the containers have eliminated the work done in peak shipping activity periods by non-registered casuals. The B men are "starving."

The "A" or union men still have work, but the bulk of their work is still on cargoes shipped by the piece.

The container ships supply a minority of the jobs, and even this minority is a substantial one only in the San Francisco Bay Port of Oakland, the second largest container port in the world. (New York has twice the container tonnage.)

One of Bridges' big arguments in selling the "automation" contracts was that "You can't stand in the way

HARRY BRIDGES VS. THE RANK



Containerized cargo being loaded in Oakland

of progress." Bridges' idea of "progress" carried to its logical end is based mainly in production efficiency and employer profits.

His idea doesn't give first or even major consideration to what is happening to the humans involved in the specific type and method of change made by the Mechanization and Modernization (M&M) contracts that he sold.

That the vast majority of working longshoremen are aware that they were betrayed by the M and M contracts is now apparent.

Reactionary "Advances"

What is now possible is growth of the idea that production or technological "advances" that do not improve the lives of all the producing humans are reactionary, a move backward.

Such moves have to be fought "all out" with every ounce of energy by the entire work force, sweeping aside all officials who are not wise or honest enough to put their full energies into the fight.

It is more than just suspicion that makes longshoremen fear that Bridges and the employers plan the annihilation of their occupation.

RY GES HE KS

John Single

According to Paul Hartman in *Collective Bargaining and Productivity* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1969) overall productivity of West Coast longshoremen jumped 80 percent during the first eight years (1960-1968) of the M and M agreements.

In 1968 Wayne Horvitz, house intellectual of Matson Navigation and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) told the December 29 Chicago meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association of potential "ideal" longshore technology made possible by containers which eliminates "the need for using longshore labor to stow the package in the hold of the ship."

This "ideal" means that truckers would drive containers in off the highways onto the piers and underneath the hook. Here it would be taken from them by a steady crane driver whose rig automatically hooks onto the container and unhooks it in the same fashion when it comes to rest in the container-slotted holds of the ships.

Gone are the longshoremen, whom the employers have begun to view as middlemen.

Under these circumstances the Teamsters union is in a position to gain automatic jurisdiction of the

bulk of the ship loading and unloading process.

The IBT has already grabbed a large part of the jobs that have opened up stuffing, unstuffing and sorting what goes into and comes out of the containers.

This is what sets the "time bomb" for ILWU longshoremen. If their union were to merge with the Teamsters, the Bridges leadership as part of the Teamsters leadership could negotiate the longshoremen out of existence without any crisis that would easily be visible or clear to the labor and general public.

The ILWU would already be a part of past history. It could be explained as a part of shifting occupations covered by Teamster contracts.

Bureaucratic Behemoth

The longshoremen's ranks within the Teamsters would be less able to hold a specific section of their official-dom responsible for its actions. The full pressure of the gigantic bureaucracy of the 2 million membered Teamsters union would be brought down on the longshoremen.

The functioning of that bureaucracy has a new and unknown quality to longshoremen. At present, they are at least somewhat familiar with the official functioning of the 15,000 longshore section of the 50,000 membered ILWU and how to exert an influence upon it.

There is a direct parallel here with the crisis seen in railroad labor and unions in the past decade. The ranks of the Brakemen's and the Switchmen's unions opposed unity of their two unions knowing that merger would hasten the annihilation of their jobs.

The issue was true in the crisis of the railroad fireman and their fear of merger with the engineers.

But why would Harry Bridges be willing to be the mortician of the ILWU and West Coast longshoring?

Space doesn't allow an analysis of that complex story here. It suffices to point out that Bridges feels a sense of personal ownership over the ILWU.

If he could eliminate the union in to the Teamsters, having failed to merge with the ILA in 1971, the life span of the ILWU would be exactly the length of his union career . . . and quite a unique career monument for one man.

More important, the full story of the corruption and employer collaboration symbolized by the M and M agreements is bound to come to public view if the longshore ranks can maintain the independence of the ILWU - just as John L. Lewis' legacy has been exposed in the miners' union.

If, however, the ILWU disappears before the ranks can expose Bridges and his scandal, the giant Teamsters union will hide and absorb the scandal.

A look back at Bridges' style of operation for forty years assures that he has not given up attempts at merging the ILWU out of existence.

He will try again unless he is faced with an organized and independent rank and file opposition.

Those who start such a movement he will accuse of being "shipowner stooges" or "FBI Spys" as he always has.

Then he will go straightaway to the employers and work with them to rig a frameup of his opponents on some alleged violation of rules.

Most commonly he will seek to get them suspended for supposed violations of the "low man out" rotational job dispatch system.

Thus, any opposition that forms has to beat Bridges to the punch and



Harry Bridges

expose his past record in this area.

In addition, an opposition had best have a program which includes a way for the ranks to exercise more control over the elected job dispatchers.

There are dozens of changes for the better that could be accomplished by an opposition that has guts and the imagination to break out of the patterns established by Bridges over the years.

The trick of course is to determine which proposed changes will gather the most support. Only longshoremen can make those determinations by test.

Has anyone ever considered electing four times the number of dispatchers as are presently needed and used each year and four groups of dispatchers serve three month terms?

It is certain that all longshoremen would support a serious fight to gain back for manhandled cargoes all the work rules Bridges sold to the employers.

It is equally certain that all would support a serious fight for permanent restrictions on the hiring of steady men.

But what about making a fight to make the job a decent job again? What about a serious fight for the contractual right to work "four on and four off" or "four on and two off," whichever is called for, when those longshoremen working man-handled cargo elect to do so and can do it safely?

The employers got and get plenty of tonnage under those relief practices. Would such a demand be too "far out"?

Perhaps one of the hardest problems for an independent opposition is going to be the container problem. Some have come to think that

there is no way to handle the matter but to let the employers have free fun.

At some point someone or group of longshoremen is going to take the attitude that the employers "can go screw with their containers" - unless and until it is agreed that the coast-wide manning scale for fully registered longshoremen be frozen at 15,000 and that everyone of them is guaranteed a full year's work if he wants it.

It would be interesting to see the support such an attitude would get. To put up a real fight wouldn't be easy. It would take the support of the ranks of the offshore maritime unions, and the Teamsters in particular.

If there was an opposition in the ILWU there would be little to stop it from sitting down and talking with the rank and file oppositions in the Teamsters.

There are well-known Teamster opposition groups including Teamster United Rank and File (TURF) groups in almost every major West Coast port and particularly in the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles ports.

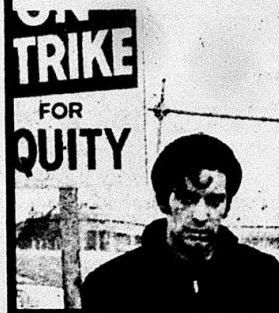
How would rank and file longshoremen, truck drivers, merchant seamen and warehousemen handle the container problem if they had the power to sit down and decide policy for the fight against the employers?

If an opposition group sought that kind of unity with the truck drivers and seamen, Bridges would oppose it.

A united rank and file would be too "unreasonable" in its attitudes toward the employers. It wouldn't be under his control or the control of at least "responsible elements" like Louis Goldblatt.

Such a movement would threaten the "one-party system" that Bridges has carefully maintained throughout his long-time rule over the ILWU. ■

I.S. Conference on Labor Revolt



The New York branch of the International Socialists will sponsor a conference on "Labor's Rank and File Revolt" on Saturday and Sunday, November 11-12. A number of speakers and panels will take up the activities of rank and file caucuses in the unions today, black workers' and women workers' struggles will also be discussed. The place will be the Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 W. 4th St., New York City. For further information contact the New York I.S., 17 East 17th St., New York, NY 10003.

Jackson, Daley & McGovern

Andy Bonifacio



Operation PUSH's Jesse Jackson, almost as if in a duet with Chicago's Mayor Daley, has once again revealed the bankruptcy of his strategy for "reforming" the two capitalist political parties.

When Daley began openly warming up to McGovern, the Democratic Presidential candidate, to return the favor, emphasized publicly that he was supporting the "entire Democratic ticket" in Illinois. The ticket includes Edward Hanrahan, the mastermind behind the murder of the Black Panthers in Chicago three years ago. (See "The McGovern Fraud, Workers Power No. 63")

Jackson is now offended by the way in which McGovern is playing up to Daley and has announced that he is "no longer actively supporting" the South Dakota senator.

McGovern does not seem too worried by this, since he realizes that Jackson has presented no clear alternative to the Democratic Party for blacks and that, as a result, Jackson's political base has been weakened.

Jackson has been in Chicago since late 1965. During the past seven years, his notion of "independent" political action has generally been limited to endorsing Republican candidates (Ogilvie for Governor in 1968 and Friedman for Mayor of Chicago in 1971) or to backing "independents" (i.e., Democrats) for aldermanic seats in the Chicago City Council in 1967 and 1971.

In the first week of October this year, Jackson endorsed former Bell &

Howell president Charles Percy for reelection to the United States Senate.

McGovern's strategists are keenly aware that the so-called "apathy" of black voters in the big cities probably blocked the election of Hubert Humphrey in 1968. That election saw massive non-voting by blacks who correctly saw no reason to get excited about the differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties. A repeat of this pattern will spell defeat for McGovern if the November 7 election is a close one.

As McGovern himself suggested late this summer, Jackson might have received a cabinet-level appointment in a Democratic administration in 1973. But this kind of tokenism would not advance the cause of black liberation in America. It is designed only to strengthen the Democrats' stranglehold on the black vote.

Abstaining from elections, however, is not a satisfying strategy for the long term. For there is another kind of independent political action which Jesse Jackson should advocate.

Jackson and other black leaders should call for an independent political party; that is, independent of the two capitalist political parties.

To be effective, this political party will have to be a political party of the working class. Black workers, who have already given leadership in rank and file insurgencies, should take the lead in calling for this workers' party. ■

[Special thanks to Clarence Jones for help with this article.]

Review: Labor's Giant Step

A. Peña

[Labor's Giant Step by Art Preis, Pioneer Publishers, \$7.50]

In a period when the struggle between the productive forces in society and the capitalist rulers has re-emerged, the political education of young workers and revolutionaries is imperative.

The erosion of capitalism has not only brought an economic change in the state of affairs of present day society, but has brought a political change to many of the organizations on the left.

One of the great demands by many young militants is for books on the labor movement. Unfortunately the book shelves of many organizations hardly provide the Marxist student with an insight of the ongoing struggles of the labor movement since the 1930's.

One book, though, that has the rare quality of revealing the continuity of the labor movement is *Labor's Giant Step*. Preis' work on the labor movement falls far short of a theoretical analysis but is rather a series of authentic accounts of the growth of the CIO.

The book describes the battles between the workers and their slave masters, the bloody massacres perpetrated on the workers by the agents of the bourgeoisie, and descriptions of militant heroism by strikers that brought about the creation of the CIO.

Preis' book takes the young work-

er on a trip through a period in American history which was in a pre-revolutionary stage. His accounts of the Minneapolis strike of 1934, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the San Francisco general strike are classic.

Throughout the book the militant will find in many strikes the revolutionary tactics of workers who were generally not politically conscious, although many were in a period of individual political transition.

These tactics, such as taking over the means of production in many of the factories through sit-down strikes, contained a revolutionary potential.

Also exposed in the pages of the book are the class-collaboration of the Stalinists and the day to day treachery of the labor-lords and their stooges, the social-democrats.

The accounts that Preis brings to life in his book should be considered lessons for the coming clashes between the proletariat and the money-masters.

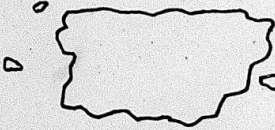
Preis himself was a trade union militant, a member of an AFL teachers local in Toledo and a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He died of cancer shortly after his book was published in 1964.

Unfortunately, during the SWP's political degeneration, Preis was never able to conceive of the Party's abandonment of working class politics and stood to the side in its downfall. ■



REVIEW

Dispelling the Lies: The Real History of Puerto Rico



Eric Langdon

The impact of the growing movement for Puerto Rican independence has given rise to a number of radical young Puerto Rican scholars. These historians are attempting to rescue the history of their nation's people from the lies, slanders, ignorance and silence of colonial apologists.

Not only are these scholars trying to understand history, many are actively engaged in the fight to win independence and transform colonial society.

These histories of Puerto Rico from an anti-colonialist perspective serve an important function. They have helped dispel the web of lies spun by official US government sources about Puerto Rico as an "economic miracle, showcase of democracy, and Caribbean paradise."

They have helped young Puerto Ricans, both on the island and in the US, realize the rich history of anti-colonialism and cultural heritage of their homeland.

Not least importantly, they have helped to educate the US radical movement, which has long neglected the anti-colonial struggle nearest to home.

As is inevitable when breaking new ground, the quality of these radical Puerto Rican histories has varied widely. For example, Juan Angel Silen's *We the Puerto Rican People* is a valuable contribution.

Despite the lack of strategy in its political conclusions, the book develops the history of Puerto Rico through the relations between social forces in Puerto Rico and the Spanish and US colonialist economies.

On the other hand Frederico Ribes Tovar's (a Spaniard) biography of the nationalist leader Don Pedro Albizu Campos is a travesty. Written in the "history is the lives of great men" school, Don Pedro appears in a social vacuum.

Tovar brushes off in two paragraphs the momentous general strike of sugar cane workers in 1934, which the nationalists led. Dr. Maldonado-Denis' book *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation* falls somewhere in between these two examples.

For those who doubt that *Puerto Rico is a colony, who have swallowed the US government's fiction of a democratically chosen "commonwealth" status by Puerto Rico, this book is a strong antidote. Maldonado-Denis lays bare the workings of US economic and military imperialism.*

The conquest of Puerto Rico was part and parcel of US imperial strategy of converting the Caribbean into its private preserve and Puerto Rico into its "factory and strategic port."

Dr. Maldonado-Denis marshals an impressive array of facts showing how US big business, through military occupation, control of industry and agriculture, the "free market mechanism," and the use of the island as a cheap labor source, has devastated Puerto Rico.

He rightly concludes that "It is not a matter, then, of an insulting epithet, but of an economic and social reality. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and the United States practices an imperialist policy with reference to our island."

The strongest parts of the book are those dealing with cultural imperialism. "From the beginning of North American occupation of Puerto Rico,

the goal of the colonial power to culturally assimilate Puerto Ricans and to make 'good North Americans' of them was clear."

US colonialism, hand in hand with the colonial elite, has used the whole weight of the "mind-fixing industry" -- the schools, the newspapers, etc. to eliminate Puerto Rican culture and build annexationist and assimilationist support.

Dr. Maldonado-Denis sees the present situation, polarized between the alternatives of statehood and independence supporters, as a crossroad. The question remained as Don Pedro put it, "Yankees or Puerto Ricans?"

The weakness of the book lies in its lack of concrete social analysis and therefore its tendency to see the roots of Puerto Rican history in terms of personal and political conflicts, rather than in the underlying social conflicts.

The central theme is the three-cornered struggle between independence supporters, autonomy supporters, and annexationists.

The failure of the independence movement at the time of the famous El Grito de Lares revolt in 1868 is explained largely in military terms, not in social ones. The social structure under Spanish rule is only hastily sketched -- a little on the Creole elite, a little on the slaves, and a little on agricultural day laborers.

The failure of the 1800's was rooted in the backwardness of economic development caused by the Spanish use of the island as a military fortress. By comparison with other Spanish colonies, the development of a native capitalism was tremendously weak.

The radical intellectuals like Betances thus could never find a mass-based support. It was this, and not the lack of black generals, military skill, or greater land area that accounted for the Lares defeat.

When Maldonado-Denis carries this kind of analysis into the US colonial period, he ends up begging all the important questions. Why was the Nationalist Party unable to formulate a social program that could mobilize the masses of Puerto Rican workers and agricultural laborers?

What were the class interests that propelled politicians, like the reform "Socialist" Santiago Iglesias or the Popular Democrat Munoz Marin to abandon independence? To say that they were opportunists explains little.

The history of the Puerto Rican working class is hardly touched. Maldonado-Denis fails to see that the colonialist industrialization of the island has also created the gravediggers of colonialism -- an industrial working class possessing both the power and the long-term interest to fight for an independent workers republic.

Thus the actual force which can achieve independence is left, despite Dr. Maldonado's burning desire to achieve it, as very vague. The struggle is "irresistible" and will be carried out by "genuine Puerto Ricans," but who are these genuine Puerto Ricans if not the mass of laborers who have created the wealth of the island?

Thus Maldonado-Denis, while knocking the "elitism" of the old Nationalist Party, can support terrorist strategies. The theory that leads one to believe that by bombing a few industries rather than mass action US colonialism will be displaced is quite contradictory to his own analysis.

The epilogue contains valuable accounts of recent struggles by the *independistas* at the University of Puerto Rico and on the island of Culebra and developments within the independence movement. An appendix includes a speech by the author on the sector of the Puerto Rican nation forced by the economic pressures of colonialism to migrate to the US.

For those who need persuading that Puerto Rico is a US colony or for those who want a quick overview of Puerto Rican history and society from a radical nationalist viewpoint, this is the book. Those who wish a historical materialist approach coupled to a revolutionary strategy must pursue this study beyond the limits of the nationalist analysis. ■

[Eric Langdon is co-author with Lori Larkin of *Puerto Rican Independence, an International Socialists pamphlet* available for \$.75 from I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, MI 48203.]

FELICIANO FRAMEUP, PART 2

On October 16, Puerto Rican Nationalist militant Carlos Feliciano will begin the second installment of his ongoing frameup, this time in Manhattan.

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano in conjunction with Puerto Rican independence groups has planned a mass rally for that day.

Carlos was acquitted of all charges, including attempted arson and possession of explosives, in the Bronx earlier this year.

On the basis of the evidence of a police conspiracy, including planting explosives, illegal searches, etc. that emerged in the Bronx trial, attorney William Kunstler is moving for dismissal.

A juror, interviewed by the *New*

York Post after the Bronx trial, described it as a "put-up job."

Despite the Bronx victory, defense committee spokespeople predict a tough fight in Manhattan. The prosecuting attorney, John Fine, who has tried numerous political cases, including the Tombs Brothers, is noted for racist appeals and attempting to label leftists as "terrorists."

Fine was largely responsible for Carlos' initial bail of \$275,000, the highest in New York state history, and has tried to link Carlos to terrorism and the Cuban government with lies, slander, and innuendo.

Carlos, who was initially charged with 36 bombings, now stands accused of a couple of counts of attempted ar-

son, exposing the D.A.'s lack of evidence.

Carlos' case was the first in what has now become a wave of repression by the New York police directed against Puerto Rican independence supporters. Almost every group has had major frame-up cases.

Carlos Feliciano, who has been a supporter of the militant pro-independence Nationalist Party since 1940, has come to symbolize the gathering movement for independence. ■

[Support is still needed to beat back this blatant frameup. Write: Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10003.]



OCCUPIED

Eyewitness Report



[This article was written in Andersonstown, a Catholic area in Belfast, Ireland, during the summer.

Since that time William Whitelaw, British administrator of Northern Ireland since the local parliament was suspended, held political talks with the political parties that were represented in that parliament.

The Catholic parties refused to attend because of internment. Ian Paisley's Protestant party, the Democratic Unionists, refused to attend because of the British paratroopers attack on Protestants mentioned in the article.

Whitelaw has announced his intention to end internment and introduce special courts to charge the men who are still in Long Kesh. These courts, long demanded by Paisley, will be held in secret, without juries, and will probably have no right of appeal.

The Provisional bombing campaign has continued and the Protestant Ulster Liberation Front has begun its own bombing campaign, concentrating on Catholic pubs and hotels.]

"Operation Motorman" is the name of the operation in which the British Army moved into the Catholic areas in Belfast and Derry. For the people living here, the occupation has meant increased repression and harassment. For the army, it has meant a complete failure in proving that it could maintain "law and order" in Northern Ireland.

During the past few weeks hundreds of Catholics have been picked up by the Army and held for questioning for at least a few hours, many are kept overnight. Men are so relieved to be released that they don't even bother reporting their arrest.

Contrary to the news reports, men are still being interned. Whitelaw sim-

ply signs detention orders, which can be renewed every month. Many more people are also charged by the courts and refused bail, but their trials are constantly put off while they are kept in Long Kesh. This is internment under a different name.

Recently 18-year-old Ann Walsh was detained for questioning for five days. It had been understood that after 48 hours charges had to be made against those detained, or they had to be released. Cases like this are not unusual except that this one involved a woman.

The people of these Catholic areas now feel that they are all interned since the troops are constantly in their gardens, on their streets, and even in their children's schools. The constant patrols of soldiers with blackened faces are a contradiction to the pretty gardens on this street.

The unexpected sight of a rifle sticking out of a hedge, or the soldier lying in wait behind a wall, or the sharp British voice demanding to search you all add to the feeling of imprisonment in your own neighborhood.

Older working class areas like the Markets are particularly vulnerable. The streets are very narrow, the houses very tiny, with only one front window. Every time you glance out of your window, a soldier is looking in to see what you are up to.

Whenever it's raining or the soldiers feel threatened they duck into the hallways so the women all have to keep their doors locked. No one sleeps well at night. They came to search our house at 5:00 a.m. They were extremely polite as they told us to get dressed. But they could afford to be as they had their guns and a big sarsen tank outside.

They only stayed for two hours, going through all our belongings. I was informed that a thorough search would have taken four hours.

Often as the foot patrol comes by you notice one of the soldiers carrying an unusually large gun. It's a General Purpose Machine Gun and can be fired

from the hip. This gun was banned for use in civilian areas by the Geneva Convention. Yet the soldiers use them here while women push their prams and children play games in and around the patrols.

Resentment of the British Army has increased tremendously. There is little any army can do against a sniper who waits for hours for his target, shoots only once, and then vanishes into a nearby house.

During the day the children take over. Soldiers on foot patrols and in open land rovers are stoned by boys about 8 to 10 years old. The soldiers in the land rovers have begun to carry rocks and bottles which they now throw whenever they see a group of children.

There has been a renewed militancy among the Catholic people, particularly in Andersonstown where the army is occupying the schools. People are determined to continue their rent and rates strike. "We'll never pay rent again," they say.

Demonstrations and marches have been held almost every Sunday to demand that the soldiers be removed from the schools. Official Republicans in the Lenadoon area organized a protest against the archbishop who had

allowed the troops into the schools. There is good reason why the nationalist population wants to stone the troops and supports the bombing campaign of the Provos. They see no alternative to get themselves out of what seems to be a hopeless situation.

Sectional assassinations occur nightly. The victims, Catholic and Protestant, are innocent men, not involved politically, usually just caught walking to or from work. The army and police refuse to do anything about them.

The Catholics see the Ulster Defense Association (the Protestant vigilantes) marching openly on the main streets of Belfast with no fear of being arrested. They see the UDA setting up barricades and intimidating Catholics out of their homes. They also see the UDA forming joint patrols with the British Army, which supposedly came to protect the Catholics.

(These joint patrols worked well all summer until the Paratroopers "did their thing" on the Shankill Road, killing two Protestants. As a result, the UDA broke "diplomatic relations" with that particular unit of the Paratroopers and Rev. Paisley is refusing to take part in Whitelaw's conference of political parties.)

Both Protestant and Catholic working people feel that they have been sold out by their political representatives. The least trusted group in the Catholic areas is the "moderate" Social Democratic Labor Party (SDLP) who have engaged in discussions with the British while 241 men are still interned in Long Kesh.

The Unionist Party, which was the majority party of the Protestant population, is constantly attacked by Loyalist groups. The middle class leadership of the Ulster Vanguard has been criticized by the working class leadership of the UDA.

These middle class politicians are attempting to put forward proposals that will get themselves back into office again — proposals having nothing to do with the reality of the situation here. There is no discussion of the basic issues which have brought Ireland close to civil war.

However, there are some groups in Northern Ireland who are trying to deal with the serious divisions of the working class and to build a move-



CHILDREN NEAR BELFAST BARRICADES

BELFAST

Joan McKiernan

ment of the working people of Ireland as a force that will be able to control their own society.

Derry Official Republicans in their newspaper, *Starry Plough*, argue that stone throwing at the British Army is not the answer. Instead of stones, the main weapon for the working class "must be constant contact as fellow workers and the regiment we must all belong to is the Trade Union Movement. For this movement is the only platform on which the Protestant and Catholic working classes can come together, to fight on a common working class front . . . This is the time to see the way forward and not to allow the presence of thousands of British troops with their SLF rifles and Saracen tanks to distract us from the real issue."

The *Starry Plough* advises workers to stop their stoning and think about "how we should launch the first attack on what after all is the common enemy, the system that needs armies to keep the workers in check. The shop floor of the factory must be declared a battlefield, the building site another battlefield, and all the places where the workers sell their only commodity (their labour). It is only on these terms that we can defeat the British Army, the British establishment and the exploiting native capitalists."

Republican Clubs

Republican clubs throughout the North have grown tremendously since internment began in 1971. They are now organizing to contest local government elections.

The clubs met recently and discussed demands for their election platform, among which were a suggestion to demand nationalization of the building industry under workers' control.

In Derry, the Republican clubs are organizing to support 500 workers in their effort to prevent the closing of their factory, one of the largest sources of jobs in the area of 40 percent unemployment.

In Belfast, the Republicans are attempting to build housing action groups and protests over lack of industry in working class areas. They particularly hope to be able to approach Protestant workers to jointly support these actions. It is not a pipe dream to try to reach Protestant workers as other members of the Officials have claimed.

A Protestant writing in a recent article in the *Woodvale Defense Association News* asked "Can Poverty Discriminate?" and questioned the meaning of the civil rights movement which claimed that only Catholics were lacking houses and jobs.

The author argued that the Civil Rights Movement did not recognize that in the areas in which it organized protests, there were Protestants who also needed houses. "If the CRA had been non-sectarian they would not have disclosed the religion of the family for whom they squatted, or they would have squatted for two families -- one Protestant and one Roman Catholic."

"The Unionist working class people now recognize that the big party bosses did little for them, but only used them as election fodder on voting day. However, we are also even more aware

that the Civil Rights Movement had such a narrow bigoted outlook that it would not see and admit that poverty as it afflicted our society, did not discriminate between Protestant and Roman Catholics."

"The ugly scars of poverty are seen on both Protestant and Roman Catholic ghettos . . . We can show how many of our members have to live in squalor that is obscene.

"We read in the press of fat ladies, smothered in furs, and dripping with jewelry, who are scandalized by some obscenities on walls, yet these same ladies, who are invariably fully paid up members of the Alliance Party (moderate Unionist party) are seldom scandalized by the obscene living conditions of the same areas. The time has come for some honest thinking on these issues."

The crucial significance of such a statement from a Protestant is that Protestant workers are now rethinking their own political leadership and the proposals that are being put forward to solve the problems of Northern Ireland.

Indeed, the time has come for a serious re-evaluation of political strategy for socialists in Northern Ireland. While socialists recognize the real dis-

crimination against which the civil rights demands are directed, working class Protestants cannot be reached through the civil rights movement as the *United Irishman* claims.

They must be supported as workers in their struggle against the British and Irish bosses. As the *Starry Plough* points out, "This seems a long-term struggle and it is, but we must not put it off for one more day."

The difficulty of building a workers' movement in Northern Ireland cannot be overemphasized. The attacks by the British troops, the Provo bombing campaign and the fear of UDA attacks all make it extremely frustrating to be a socialist in Northern Ireland. But it is more important than ever for socialists to begin now to build a workers' movement to finally achieve freedom in Ireland.

Workers in the North cannot win the struggle by themselves. It must be a struggle with the workers of the South as they fight to overthrow their bosses and the Lynch regime that supports the bosses.

The Socialist Workers Movement is taking the lead in attempting to organize that struggle in the South. Such a struggle could show the Protestant workers that workers in the South are



serious in attempting to build a non-sectarian workers' movement.

Socialists should join with the SWM in their effort to build this movement through which workers of Ireland will finally win an Irish Workers Republic.

It is only when the workers of Ireland win such a struggle that they will be able to overcome the problems of poverty, discrimination and defeat British imperialism which thrives on these problems today as it has done for centuries in Ireland. ■

"Irish Blood On Nixon's Hands"

"Irish Blood on Nixon's Hands" shouted 300 Irish Americans when Mrs. Richard Nixon came to New York to be awarded the gold medal of the Irish Historical Society for her "humanitarianism and service to her country."

The Anti-Internment Coalition, Irish Republican Clubs and the National Association for Irish Freedom organized the demonstration as a protest against American support of Britain's oppressive policy in Northern Ireland.

The protest demanded the withdrawal of American troops from NATO and the closing of the American military base in Derry, Northern Ireland.

British officers in Northern Ireland have been trained in the American Marine Base in Quantico, Virginia. Rubber bullets used to maim and kill people in Northern Ireland are manufactured in Ohio.

The protesters also attacked the government policy toward Irish Americans. Nixon has now shown that it is considered a crime to support the struggle for Irish freedom.

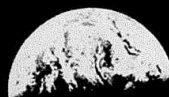
Five Irish Americans from New York were jailed in Texas for over two months without bail because they refused to cooperate with a grand jury investigation on arms allegedly being sent from the United States for use in Northern Ireland by the IRA.

Sandy Boyer, spokesman for the Anti-Internment Coalition, stated that the Coalition was not endorsing McGovern either as no major party has a policy that supports Ireland.

He stated that the American government should condemn Britain and stay out of Irish affairs, but agreed that no American government would willingly do this. "They must be forced to do this." ■



international report



5,000 troops hunt guerrillas in North Central Brazil

Five thousand government troops are making a drive against a guerrilla force in Northern Goias state in North Central Brazil, according to press reports.

Five thousand troops in this sparsely populated region is a sizeable force, an indication of alarm on the part of Brazil's military dictatorship.

The region is a frontier area, where land is opened up by squatters, mostly from the impoverished and densely populated Northeast. This land is later taken by fraud and force by large landowners, some of them North Americans, to be used for cattle ranching.

While guerrilla activity in a sparsely settled outlying region can hardly threaten the generals, the outbreak is a sign that widespread torture and repression have failed to destroy the left opposition, even in a period of economic growth.

The medical supplies and gifts which government counter-insurgency teams have brought into the region cannot make up for the neglect and brutality that are the lot of peasants and rural workers throughout the Brazilian interior.

Their situation makes them potential allies for any revolutionary movement — although in the long run the industrially developed Paraíba Valley region in the South, which includes the city of Sao Paulo, is the key to any revolutionary strategy in Brazil.

[Thanks to D. Briscoe for this item.]

More South African strikers to be deported

Fourteen workers who struck work (illegally) at Paarl Council electricity department in South Africa for more pay and better conditions are to be deported to the Transkei Bantustan.

When brought before the Paarl chief magistrate they refused to go back to work. He ordered their deportation within two days.

The 14 follow the 1,000 copper workers who were deported to the Transkei last November after refusing to break their strike at Prieska. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of workers are deported to their so-called homelands every month. It is a convenient way of getting rid of worker militants.

There is no work for them in the Transkei. Many will have to become illegal migrant workers in order to earn the cash necessary to keep their families alive.

Meanwhile, US Ambassador Hurd visited Robben Island, a notorious camp for political prisoners — to go pheasant hunting. Hurd and his friends used black prisoners as retrievers to pick up the dead birds they had shot.

Marcos' martial law aimed at safeguarding U.S. investments

President Ferdinand Marcos's justification for imposing martial law in the Philippines has no evidence to back it up. He supposedly acted against the threat of the Communist "New People's Army" and its "unmitigated forays, raids, ambushes" and what-not.

In fact, just three days before martial law was declared the army had informed the National Security Council that the internal security situation was between "normal" and "Internal Defense Condition" (local threats requiring some help from the national police).

This situation has been going on for years. Sources inside the government say that the much-publicized assassination attempt on Defense Secretary Enrile was being discussed in government offices several days before it took place.



Ferdinand Marcos

Marcos has actually said very little about Communism since declaring martial law, while promising a great number of social reforms. But the "best martial law in the whole world" as one Marcos supporter describes it, will have its hands full.

Unemployment in the Philippines is officially put at 12 percent and in reality is much higher. The government has neither the money nor the organizational capacity to mount a serious public works program. Land reform programs have been on the books for years with little effect.

Throwing out some bureaucrats and planting roadside shrubbery — the cover for Marcos' real purpose, protecting billions in American investments — will not go far towards a "new society" or satisfying the needs of the Philippine people, as they will discover.

Brazil: Campaign of genocide waged against Indians

Brasilia, Brazil was the site of the seventh annual Inter-American Congress on Indigenous Populations. It was an event of great irony.

Brazil has been under attack for its continuing genocidal campaign against native peoples. Only Chile included an Indian in its official delegation. The US and Canada did not.

An ex-official of Brazil's government agency for Indians, FUNAI, Antonio Cotrim, recently charged that FUNAI had become "the gravedigger of the Indians."

Cotrim resigned after spending the last ten years with the Indians. He charged that agency employees who try to protect the Indians are shunted aside.

Four years ago, the foundation for Indian Affairs was completely reorganized after accusations that it has become actively involved in Indian oppression. A convenient fire had destroyed most of its records in Brasilia.

Although officials have been accused of crimes ranging from mass murder to theft, none have yet been tried, in spite of the fact that Brazil's military regime has extraordinary legal powers.

North American Indians have called for action by the US government on the issue. Been Atencio, chairman of the All-Indian Pueblo of New Mexico said that the US government can "only be held to approve of the policies . . . unless measures are taken to force a change in the actions of the governments involved."

But the interests involved in the actions against Brazil's native people read like New York's Yellow Pages: Swift Meats, Rockefeller Cattle, Georgia Pacific Lumber, Alcoa Corporation, US Steel, Bethlehem Steel.

The latest threat to Brazil's remaining Indians is the Trans-Amazonian Highway, largely financed by the US Agency for International Development. The highway leads to widespread environmental damage and the driving of Indians away from their traditional lands in the region, frequently by violent means.

Even some politicians are unhappy. Senator Ermirio Moraes charged that concerns such as Bethlehem Steel own anywhere from one to two-and-a-half million acres in mineral-rich regions. "We are building a highway for US Steel," he says.

Even if the Indians do not die, there is a fate worse. The Terena Tribe, for example, transferred from the inland state of Mato Grosso to Sao Paulo in 1930, are now reduced to misery.

In 30 years, the culture seems completely gone. To entertain visiting officials, they pathetically dress up in paper hats and chicken feathers, pretending to be the Indians their fathers were.

Socialists oppose all of the rapacious and violent measures capitalism takes to destroy the way of life of in-

igenous peoples. We defend the right to cultural autonomy and self-defense of all the oppressed, including the indigenous peoples who are among the most hapless victims of capitalist expansion.

[Thanks to Akwesasne Notes, a Native-American newspaper, for the information in this item. The address of this newspaper is: Via Roosevelt, New York 13683. Adapted by Derek Briscoe.]



South American Indian children

Britain: Black militants organize against racism, capitalism

Black people in England are beginning to organize themselves to fight back against racist attacks and to involve themselves in the industrial struggle of the labor movement.

The Black People's Freedom Movement (BPFM) in Nottingham was set up because there was no local organization representing black people and such an organization was necessary because of the racism black people encounter.

The group believes that the basic problem that black people in England face is capitalism, stating: "We cannot achieve our goals under the present social system. Only under socialism will we reach our goal."

Members stress that the BPFM encourages members to be active in trade unions and to form pressure groups when necessary, mentioning the recent dock strike as an example of a workers' struggle being sold out by the trade union bureaucracy.

They place a priority on getting all workers to fight together, but realize this is not always possible at present.

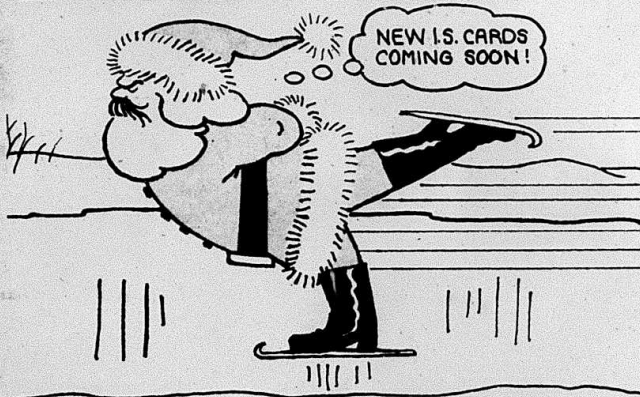
In discussing the necessity for a separate black organization, members emphasized that the first stage in any group's development is to gain self-identity.

"We have found that this cannot be done by first joining a white group. We consider that we have a particular job to do and in any case some white groups are unconsciously racist in their attitudes towards the problems and struggles of black people.

"We work for unity of black people. At the same time we are looking for a working relationship with white groups where this is possible."

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

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

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

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

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

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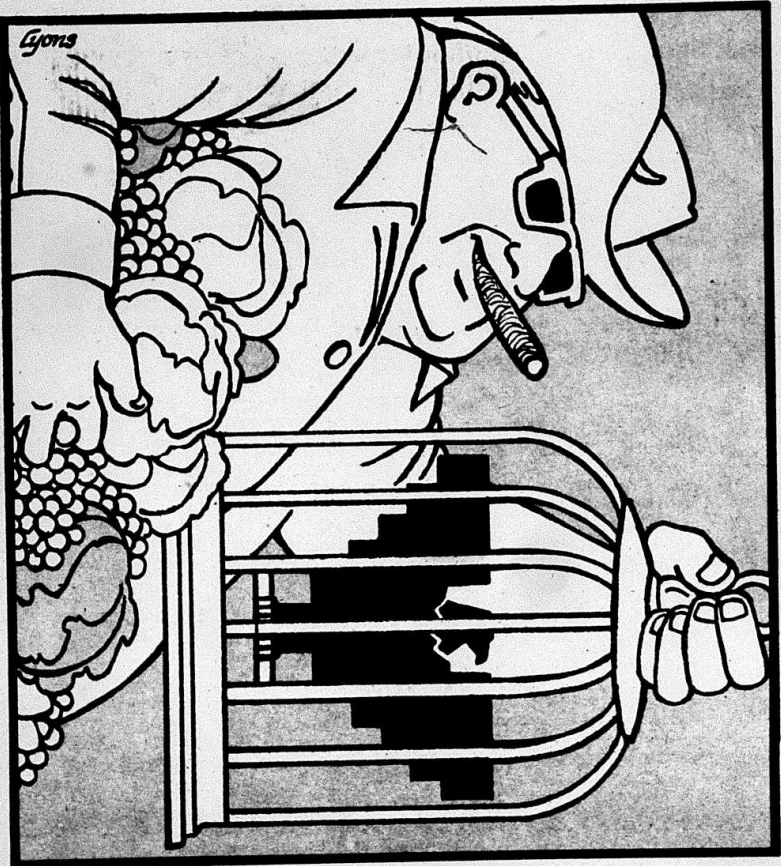
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