

Workers' Power

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Vietnam - The War Is Not Over

EDITORIAL

Prospects for "lasting peace" in Vietnam remain cloudy as the armed truce goes into effect. For the time being, most of the fighting has been halted and the "peace-keeping" machinery has slowly ground into action.

After ten years of military intervention in Vietnam, American imperialism has succeeded in "disengaging" on the most favorable possible terms. Although the U.S. has been completely defeated politically and stalemated militarily, its stranglehold over Vietnam is not broken.

The Vietnamese people have been forced to accept a truce which does not bring victory in their struggle for self-determination against imperialism.

This compromise, in its final form, leaves the Saigon regime of Thieu intact and in control of most of the territory and population of South Vietnam. Thieu's police are preparing for the "free" elections provided for in the cease-fire -- which may never be held anyway -- with a

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Nixon's Budget Victims



The crisis of capitalism may soon begin to hit home harder, bringing pain and suffering to the masses of American people -- not as dramatically and extensively as American bombs and bullets have done in Vietnam, but just as surely. President Nixon has proposed a budget for the fiscal year 1974 which, when implemented, will have a drastic effect on many poor and working Americans.

Nixon's 1974 budget includes the following items, aimed open-

ly against poor and oppressed minority people:

- * Medicare cuts will more than double the costs of hospitalization for elderly citizens. At the same time, the fund for hospital construction is to be eliminated entirely.

- * Subsidies for low-income rural and some urban housing will be stopped.

- * Additional "civil rights money" will go for loans and grants to small minority businessmen, while enforcement of civil rights

laws will be given a low priority. The staff of the only federal agency with a predominantly black and Latin work force, the Community Relations Service, will be cut by two-thirds.

- * The remains of the once vaunted poverty program will be buried, without ceremony, in an unmarked grave.

- * Hard-pressed school systems will end up getting less money but how much less is not yet clear.

- * There will be a drive to

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TEACHERS STRIKE WINS PARTIAL VICTORY

Joyce
Baum

As teachers are being forced out on strike across the country to defend what they've already got, Chicago teachers have won a small, limited victory in their recent confrontation with the Board of Education. The militancy of the teachers, combined with the support of the Black Community, contributed to a strike which the school board was unable to ignore.

Like the national American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the Chicago Teachers Union is run by the Progressive Caucus, a leadership group which gets the vote of 2/3 - 3/4 of the rank and file.

Last year the Progressive Caucus faced a small crisis. It had made a bad settlement in the 1971 strike and faced a loss of popularity.

This was solved by putting a new face at the head by the name of Robert Healy, and the formation of an alliance with the "left-leaning" Teacher Action Committee, until then the most prominent opposition caucus.

The TAC members who are still members of the national opposition called the United Action Caucus, have given the local leadership a newer "left" image while being solidly in support of the Progressive Caucus.

Half-Hearted Mobilization

In at least some ways the Progressive Caucus attempted to conduct a militant strike. It held 3 rallies, including one downtown at the negotiations and set up an apparatus which, if running smoothly, could have mobilized the membership. But they never really tried very hard.

The union never attempted in a serious way to mobilize all the membership and instead reduced some key demands early in the contract, for instance, the demand for a significant salary increase of 10% was quickly paired to 2% per cent (in fact, a wage cut when compared to inflation) to illustrate to the public that teachers aren't the greedy ogres that the Board would have them believe.

Most seriously, the union failed to take the offensive on the question that the Board kept carping on -- the lack of money.

The Board of Education's reported inability to finance those union demands that would cost money was not aggressively refuted or exposed by the union.

The fact that the Board owns valuable commercial land, obtained at the time of the Northwest Ordinance, which it rents to downtown merchants for very little in 99 year leases was not well publicized.

Nor did the union aggressively explain that the schools are losing money by tax breaks given to local business. The Citizens Action Program (CAP) released a study indicating that under-assessment in the steel mills alone loses \$10,000,000 in corporate taxes each year.

One of the interesting sides of the Negotiations was the "mediating" role of Mayor Richard Daley. Both parties

are beholden to him. Board of Education members are appointed by Daley and the union got its first contract from Chicago Federation of Labor pressure on Daley.

In this strike, it took a few days and a few threats for Daley to intervene. The union negotiating team, had the strongest teachers' strike in the city's history backing it up. It was clear that the union negotiators had better not back down, or there would be a revolt in the ranks.

Daley's intervention took place in an all night bargaining session where he attempted a compromise. The Board, however, refused to budge on the teachers' demands for more elementary teachers preparation time and the shortening of the school year.

The demand to shorten the year from 40 to 38 weeks without a loss of pay was strategically important. Chicago schools have had the longest school year in the state, many more days than necessary for state aid, which meant that the Board could always afford to either shut the schools down or tolerate a 2 week strike in order to balance its budget.

This is exactly the Board's strategy this year. Making nearly 2 million dollars a day in salaries not paid, it was only when the strike lasted long enough to interfere with state funding that the pressure was on the Board to settle.

The final settlement wasn't much different from what Daley had tried to ram down everyone's throat two days before. The Union sold out the elementary prep period time with a compromise worth nothing.

The length of the school year was dropped one week. A 2 1/2% pay raise was agreed upon, and provisions were made for maximum class size reductions. The question of enforcing this come September remains unresolved, however.

A week after the strike was over, the superintendent announced that schools would be closing in November because that was as far as the budget goes.

P.U.S.H. Support

While well over half of Chicago Public School students are Black, only about 1/3 of the teachers are Black. The most prominent organization in Chicago's black community is People United to Save Humanity



Mrs. W. Lydon Wild, chief negotiator for the Chicago Board of Education, waving goodbye at the end of a news session on the tentative agreement, ending strike begun on Jan. 10, with the Chicago Teachers Union. At left is Robert M. Healey, union president.

(PUSH), led by the Reverend Jessie Jackson.

Jackson did not support previous strikes, and as recently as last year called upon Black teachers to form a separate union.

This year, however, the mood was very different. Black teachers are affected by the deteriorating conditions in the schools even more than whites, since they are disproportionately concentrated in the inner-city where students and teachers have been squelched even in better days.

It was the pressure from these teachers, plus the fact that the union was deliberately concentrating its demands on issues which affect the learning environment like class size and preparation periods, that forced PUSH to support the strike.

PUSH played an important role in helping build the strike by sponsoring alternative schools to demonstrate that teachers weren't striking against the students.

Jackson also demonstrated that he is politically astute by transporting students, parents and teachers from these schools downtown to "tour" Marshall Fields and other large department stores.

A committee has been formed to defend a shop steward fired February 2nd while gathering information on grievances from his job at American Ship Dismantlers in Portland, Oregon.

After the steward was fired, the company called the cops and had him arrested for trespassing. The man who fired the steward and called the cops is a former business agent for the union (International Union of Operating Engineers Local 87).

A week later, the steward was again arrested when he attended a negotiating session on the grievances he had been

While these demonstrations were really only threats -- as they weren't organized on a mass and sustained basis over many days -- they were designed to help expose the fact that these merchants pay ridiculously low rents in 99 year leases to the "bankrupt" Board of Education which owns this valuable land.

This strike demonstrated what a valuable ally the black community can be. But there's got to be a political basis for an alliance between the teachers and the community.

The CTU must move forward to make this alliance a permanent and stable one, and to sink its own roots into the black community. Black teachers can play the leading role in this process.

The CTU must consistently champion the demands of black people against racist oppression and for decent education, in order to create a lasting alliance based on the teachers' and community's mutual interests. ■

[Joyce Baum is an active member of the Chicago Teacher Union and the International Socialists.]

Militant Shop Steward Fired

processing and on his own grievance.

Other employees forced the union to call a special meeting on all these grievances. The union representatives discouraged a walkout and proposed handling the firing of the steward like any other grievance.

Because of this dubious support from the union bureaucrats, the defense committee, consisting of workers at American Ship and other people, was formed.

The committee will publicize this struggle at other shops in Local 87 and at other industries in Portland. Funds are also being raised for legal defense. ■



Editorial

Workers' Action Hits Atrocities

The international working class response to the atrocities committed by the United States during the terror bombing of North Vietnam illustrated two important lessons for the international anti-war movement.

The first lesson is the power of working class action as a crucial force in any struggle against imperialist war. Australian dock workers took the lead with a boycott of U.S. flagships. The boycott threatened to spread to a general union boycott of all American goods and services in Australia until the newly elected Labor government intervened to head it off.

At the same time, or shortly afterward, similar actions were taken by dock workers in many ports in Italy and Denmark. These actions were all initiated by the rank and file, independent of the official trade union leaderships.

These actions, if they had occurred on a co-ordinated scale several years ago, could have crippled large segments of American foreign trade and made the long-term continuation of the war impossible. The trade union bureaucracies performed an invaluable service for American imperialism by holding back such actions until the last possible moment.

The second and most important lesson of these events is the failure of the American anti-war movement, which at times mobilized millions in the streets but failed to force either Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon to accept defeat in Vietnam. The most important cause of this failure was the isolation of the anti-war movement from the American working class, the one force which could have forced the U.S. out of Vietnam.

The January 15 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, published by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), contains a lengthy report on international anti-war protests which mentions the actions by Australian and Italian dockers. The report concludes with a suitable rhetorical flourish: "The Australian and Italian workers have shown the way to end the Indochina aggression. . . next time their example may well spread to the western side of the Atlantic."

This rhetoric, however, only hides the reality that the SWP, which dominated the major anti-war organizations during most of the movement's life, consistently opposed any political strategy for the anti-war movement that could have begun to mobilize the power of American workers on the job against the war. By means of a "broad, single-issue" strategy, and by parading liberal labor bureaucrats at its conventions instead of appealing to workers to force their leaders to organize anti-war action, the SWP played a key role in leading the whole anti-war movement to defeat.

These lessons -- the power of the working class to fight imperialist aggression and the bankruptcy of the leadership of the American anti-war movement -- will be important for the struggles yet to come. ■

Vietnam: Armed Truce, No Peace

[Continued from page 1]

new crackdown on any signs of political dissent in the countryside.

In recent issues of *Workers' Power*, we have explained the reasons for this compromise, particularly the role played by Russia and China in forcing the Vietnamese to accept it. By refusing to make any response to Nixon's final series of military escalations, from the mining of North Vietnamese harbors last April to the full-scale terror bombing of North Vietnam in December, Moscow and Peking gave Nixon the leverage he needed to force Hanoi to grant concessions he had never obtained before.

On a world scale, the Vietnam cease-fire is part of the new "detente" between the U.S. and the Stalinist imperialist powers (Russia and China).

As such, the agreement in Vietnam is a major victory for Nixon. The war in Vietnam itself, however, is a long way from over, and the advantage won by imperialist forces is likely to be temporary.

What must be understood is that although the fighting has temporarily stopped, none of the major issues involved in this war have been solved. The Saigon regime remains, as before, a front for the U.S. The masses of workers and peasants in South Vietnam have no loyalty to this regime.

As the open military struggle gives way to political maneuvering, the demands of the masses of people for democratic rights, a decent standard of living and the right to return to their homes will begin to surface.

None of these demands can be met by the Thieu regime. This regime can remain in power only by means of a permanent campaign of terror against the whole population. Thieu requires

maintaining of an "intelligence" apparatus by US civilian "advisors."

The Communist forces (the 150,000 North Vietnamese troops in the South, plus forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government) are presently stalemated militarily and isolated from the centers of population.

The map of South Vietnam remains, however, a checkerboard of areas under imperialist and Communist control. The real picture is even more confused: in some villages, the traditional pattern of Saigon's flag flying by day and the PRG flag by night is re-emerging.

A breakdown of the truce machinery, or a simply decision by either side that the time is right for a new offensive, could shatter the cease-fire at any time.

We cannot predict now whether, or how long, the "peace" will last. For socialists, however, the issues remain the same.

We support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialism. We defend the right of the North Vietnamese and PRG to break the truce which has been forced upon them. We demand the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from all of Southeast Asia.

We demand full democratic rights for the Vietnamese people. We support the military victory of the Stalinist PRG over imperialist forces, but we give no political support to its policies or its leadership. We call for an independent struggle of Vietnamese workers and peasants -- for the final expulsion of imperialism, and for a workers' and peasants' government in Vietnam. ■



Working Women Face New Govt Onslaught

Kay Stacy

This year, for the first time, a President's Economic Report to the Nation will include a separate section entitled the "Economic Role of Women."

This section goes hand in glove with the rest of Nixon's policies toward all oppressed people in American society (a brief analysis of Nixon's overall budget can be found elsewhere in this issue of *Workers' Power*, beginning on page one). The report ignores or tramples on all the basic needs of the great majority of women, both as women and as workers.

The chapter, according to Nixon's "advisory committee on women," focuses almost entirely on women who do not need to work for money.

65% of all working women, and 85% of all minority (mainly Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican) women who work, either are heads of households or have husbands who make less than \$7,000 a year.

Major government and media attention, however, always emphasizes women who are working for pleasure and independence rather than to pay the bills.

The report contains absolutely no mention of the words "black," "minority," or "poverty."

When challenged, Nixon's representative stated, "We will say something about the minority problem, although a chapter on women is not the same as a chapter on minorities or poverty."

This racist approach towards black and other minority women results in an entire section that supposedly discusses the economic status of women, with no mention whatsoever of the special problems minority women encounter in the work force.

Any treatment of the status of

women of necessity should include a great deal of material on minority oppression and poverty -- unless it consciously chooses to ignore the massive numbers of women who work at rotten, low paying, back-breaking jobs because they have no other choice except to see their children starve and go ragged.

The report contains essentially no discussion of childcare. That problem, along with others, is shunted aside or glossed over.

A woman member of Nixon's staff defended the lack of discussion on childcare by saying that "more studies were needed" in order to determine whether or not childcare is "good for children."

This approach is often used to "prove" that not being cared for by a mother at home is inhibiting to a child's development, and allows continuing defeat of childcare bills.

Obviously, the opportunity to make a choice based on this "scientific" evidence is simply not there for many women. In addition, if women without sources of income choose to stay home and raise their families, Nixon is sure to denounce them as "welfare chiselers" in his next speech.

In many cases women who are forced to go to work have no choice but to leave their children alone (40% of all children under five years old with working mothers take care of themselves), or pay over a half to a third for day care that may be good, rotten, or indifferent.

Neither Nixon or any other government figure is going to respond to the problems women face when they seek work.

We are a hindrance on the market, raise unemployment figures, and to them are just a lot of extra baggage at



a time when they are having enough trouble with a shrinking job market.

As long as women are forced to work under a system that considers them cheap labor at best, as long as there is a limited number of jobs and therefore a fight over who is going to get them, as long as the family unit is dependent upon a woman to slave for it, women will be forced to scramble and compete to get along and to raise their families decently.

The degraded position of women in this society can never be changed by government studies or government bureaucrats. Only women themselves can force real change; women who are conscious of their oppression engaging in a common struggle for the liberation

of all women.

Working women must be the heart of that movement because of their unique position in society as both women and workers.

Those women, in order to win that struggle, will have to forge alliances with workers -- and all oppressed people. A women's movement based in the working class can wage the fight we must wage to make life more than a time clock and a kitchen clock.

At the present time many working women are hostile to the ideas of women's liberation. Revolutionary socialism must explain, educate and provide leadership for women to build organizations that can fight for the real needs of women workers.

Parents Fight Attempts to Raise Day Care Fees

Clara Mits

For the second time in two years, day-care workers and parents in New York City have organized to keep down the price of city-funded day-care.

Parents and staff have been meeting at individual centers and on a city-wide level. 2500 people marched and rallied in Albany in mid-January in a successful fight to prevent rate increases.

The proposed fee increases would have resulted in day-care more expensive than most working people could afford.

As government funds on all levels -- federal, state, and local -- become tighter, vital services like day-care and education, are cut back.

New York State tried to make up the losses caused by government cut-backs in the day-care program by raising its cost for working parents.

The threat of a growing movement averted the rate rise. This victory is

a real one. Because the major problems remain, however, its fruits will last only as long as the day-care fight continues. In addition, day care is still unavailable to the great majority of working people because the program is much too small and because the cost is too high.

Working mothers thus face a terrible choice: having to work, they must either spend a large part of their wages on day-care or risk leaving their children alone for a long time.

Welfare mothers can get day-care if they are looking for work but they are caught in the work-fare system -- having to work for "slave wages" where they are told to or lose welfare.

A look at city day-care as it exists today reveals a grim picture. For a family of one adult and one child with an income of \$5500 a year, the proposed new fees would have totalled \$2262 a year -- or 41% of the family income

The old fees of \$25 a week take away almost a quarter of that income. The victory merely maintained an already high rate.

However, even this problem only arises for the lucky few who get their children off the waiting lists and into the day-care centers.

Thousands of children wait for space in centers. One center, which cares for 17 children, has a waiting list of over 100.

Even children already in day-care may suffer. Budget cuts threaten the quality of day-care. Possible staff cuts and enlarged classes are real dangers confronting parents and workers.

How can the problem be dealt with? A number of centers maintain a constant battle for low cost day care.

Workers in about 100 of the 360-odd city funded day-care centers here refused to charge the full city

fees, or to tell the city how much parents who use the centers earn.

Free, quality day care provided by the state is the only solution. How can we build a movement to fight for this?

Organized workers can begin to fight to use the power of their unions for free day care provided by the companies. Provisions for such day care in union contracts would be a major step forward in breaking down the massive resistance by the capitalists to providing day care on any level.

This would be only the beginning, however, since the majority of workers (especially working women) in New York and elsewhere are unorganized and have no power to win such concessions from their own employers. The unions must spearhead a mass movement of all working people to raise the political demand for day care at state expense for all who need it.

Teamster Tops Uneasy

Former president Jimmy Hoffa may soon make a comeback in the Teamsters Union. After spending four years in Lewisburg Prison, Hoffa was released on parole through executive clemency.

Hoffa's release was secured by Frank Fitzsimmons, his hand-picked stand-in Teamster President. Fitzsimmons paid Nixon for releasing Hoffa by staying on the Phase 2 Pay Board after the other labor bureaucrats, George Meany, Leonard Woodcock, I.W. Abel, and Fred Smith, had left.

The anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act forbids anyone convicted of certain serious criminal offenses from holding union office for several years after being released. When Hoffa's parole expires this March, however, his lawyers hope to demonstrate that the crime Hoffa was jailed for -- tampering with a Federal jury -- is not specifically listed in the Landrum-

Griffin Act as an offense barring a person from holding union office.

By next month, Hoffa may be free to fight to regain the Teamsters' Presidency. Meanwhile, unfortunately, his stand-in Fitzsimmons has grown to like the job and has made it plain that he will go to considerable lengths to keep his former patron from replacing him.

Battle of the Banquets

The rivalry between the two men surfaced in public last week. John P. Greeley of Local 676 (Camden, New Jersey) organized a testimonial dinner in honor of Hoffa's 60th birthday, and invited all of the important Teamster bureaucrats to attend.

President Fitzsimmons made a point of having a prior engagement and let it be known that any Teamster official who attended would be doing so against his wishes.

The dinner held at the Latin Casino, across from the Garden State Racetrack on Route 70, became an acid test for the Teamster officialdom, sorting them out into Hoffa loyalists and Fitzsimmons supporters.

The choice was probably a painful one for many, since those who sided with the eventual loser have probably sacrificed their future careers.

Harold Gibbons of St. Louis -- recently removed by Fitzsimmons from the directorship of the Central States Conference, because he supported McGovern and was too close to Hoffa -- was the only Teamster Vice-President to attend the dinner.

While Greeley was organizing the New Jersey dinner for Hoffa, Fitzsimmons served as co-chairman for a Chicago dinner in honor of Alan Dorfman, the money manager of the Teamster pension fund.

Dorfman is very important in the Teamster hierarchy, and over 300 Teamster leaders and officials attended his 50th birthday party.

Last April, Dorfman was convicted of fraud and conspiracy involving a loan of \$1,500,000 from the pension fund. It has been shown that Dorfman is the man who introduced



Jimmy Hoffa

Hoffa to the Chicago underworld, and Hoffa apparently funneled off three million dollars of Teamster funds to the syndicate bosses through Dorfman's auspices.

Funerals, weddings and birthday parties are very important events in the world of the Teamster officialdom and related milieu. Fitzsimmons' failure to attend the Hoffa dinner has aroused the anger of many Hoffa loyalists against a man they see as an illegitimate usurper of the Teamster throne.

Nixon to the Rescue

The White House has done its best to fortify Fitzsimmons against a Hoffa comeback. When Nixon commuted Hoffa's sentence he stipulated that Hoffa not involve himself in union activity until 1980.

High administration officials have indicated that any involvement in union affairs on the part of Hoffa will be viewed as a violation of his parole and lead to his being sent back to prison.

The White House may well have disliked being forced to choose between Fitzsimmons and Hoffa. Fitzsimmons has been a loyal friend of the Nixon administration.

Fitzsimmons stayed on the Pay Board when the other labor leaders left, lending a certain shred of legitimacy to that anti-union instrument. He has skillfully adapted to every change in White House policy.

Right now Fitzsimmons is busy praising Phase 3 as the only way to control inflation, promising to keep 1973 Teamster contract demands

well within the bounds of Nixon guidelines. He has put the union's political apparatus at the disposal of the White House, working to make labor support of Nixon respectable.

On the other hand, Hoffa still has the allegiance of many ordinary Teamsters, who are convinced that only he can deliver what the membership wants, can stand up to the corporations and maintain the relatively high wage levels in the trucking industry.

Fitzsimmons has a well-deserved reputation as an incompetent, who could hardly stand on his own two feet without White House support.

Both administration and union officials admit that Hoffa's popularity is so great that Fitzsimmons will have to step down if Hoffa does win the right to run again.

In the end, Nixon decided to stick with Fitzsimmons, who is a proven and time-tested ally. So all the power of the state stands behind Fitzsimmons in his struggle to keep Hoffa out of power.

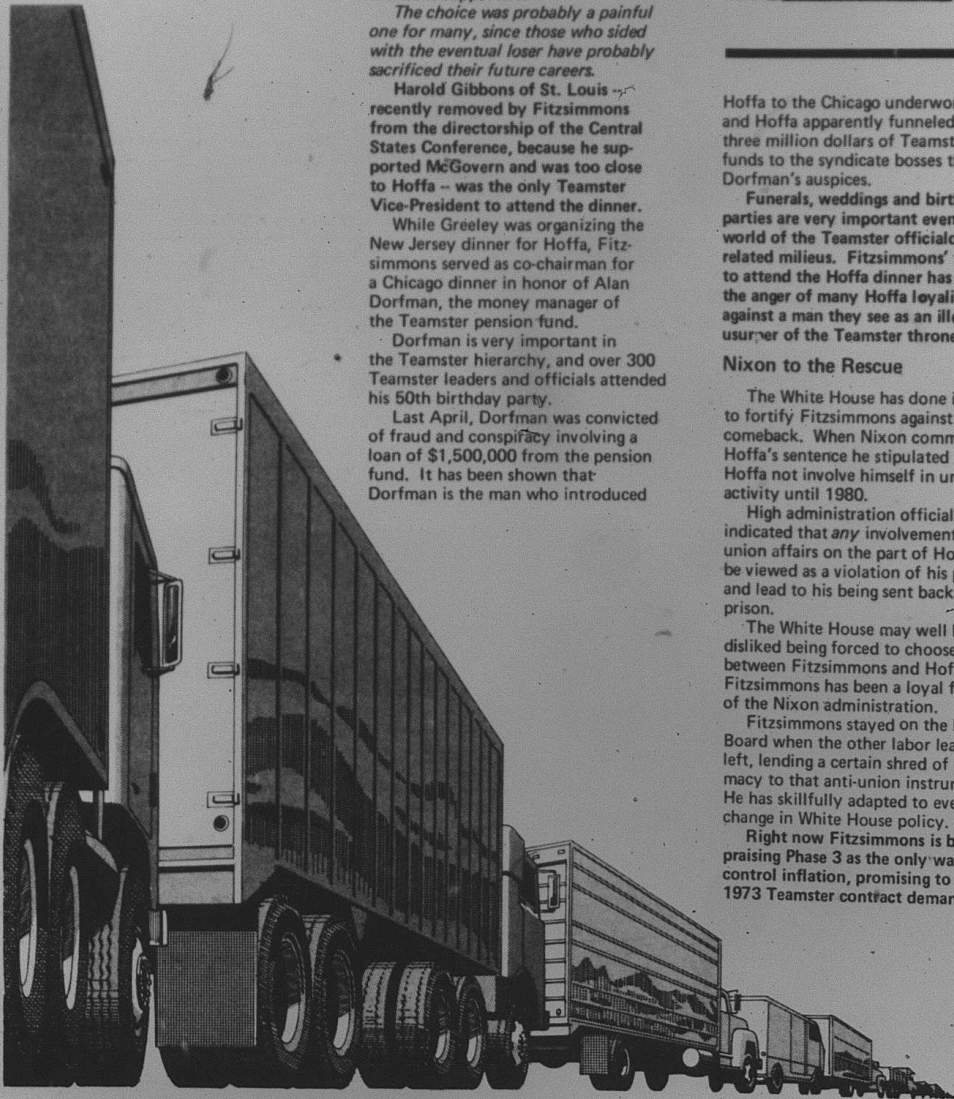
Fitzsimmons' love affair with the Nixon administration is only the latest example of the growing collaboration between the union bureaucracy and the state, a trend that has continued regardless of whether the Republicans or the Democrats were in power.

From the minute he took office, Fitzsimmons has done everything in his power to keep down the Teamster rank and file.

Not long ago, for example, while Fitzsimmons was serving on the Pay Board, there was a bitter strike of Teamster-organized soft-drink workers in the San Francisco Bay Area.

The companies brought in scabs and announced that they would only let strikers crawl back to work under the most humiliating conditions.

Fitzsimmons refused to sanction the strike or allow benefits to be paid out of the Teamster strike fund. He let it be known that any Teamster



Over Hoffa Return

Kevin Bradley

strike demanding over 5.5% would be denied the sanction of the International.

More recently, Fitzsimmons has even offered his help in putting down the members of other unions. On December 13, he proposed an "alliance" between the Teamsters Union and the conservative American Farm Bureau Federation.

To the great delight of California Governor Ronald Reagan, he has opened up a new Teamster onslaught against the United Farm Workers Union of Cesar Chavez. [See *Workers' Power* No. 70.]

Fitzsimmons' craven support of Nixon's reactionary anti-labor policies is really no different from similar behavior on the part of other well-known labor "leaders."

It is out of the ordinary only because Fitzsimmons is backing a Republican, while most union bureaucrats have favored capitulation to Democrats.

Kennedy Vendetta

Fitzsimmons' ties to Nixon instead of the Democratic Party are not the result of some personal idiosyncrasy on his part. They have their roots in the history of the Teamster bureaucracy.

Hoffa too supported Nixon in the last election, but that might be seen as a simple bribe to help ensure his release from prison.

In fact, however, Hoffa supported Nixon way back in 1960. From Hoffa's point of view, Nixon was a "lesser evil" to Kennedy, because the Kennedy's had waged a relentless cam-

paign against Hoffa and the whole Teamsters Union.

During the 1950's, when Hoffa rose to power in the Teamsters Union, he came under the continuous scrutiny of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor Racketeering, chaired by Southern Democrat John McClellan.

The chief legislative investigator for the McClellan Committee was Robert Kennedy, fresh from his work of "fighting communists" with Joe McCarthy.

McClellan and Kennedy used every method at the government's disposal to dig up dirt on the Teamsters bureaucracy. There was plenty of dirt to dig up.

The crime syndicate was firmly entrenched in many locals. Rank and filers who criticized a contract were warned once and then answered with a beating or death.

Pension funds were invested in all kinds of high-risk loans to syndicate characters developing real estate in Los Vegas and Florida.

Other Teamster loans were extended to trucking companies -- even to outfits that were being struck by the union at the time.

There can be no question that Hoffa himself was involved in three nefarious activities. He invested in a trucking company in his wife's name. He was implicated in several beatings.

Hoffa personally told authors Ralph and Estelle James that he had ordered a man killed. He was quite willing to join with the employers to crush a strike for higher pay in San Francisco-Oakland in 1959.

At that time, the Bay Area Teamsters were trying to catch up



FITZSIMMONS WITH HOFFA'S SON

with the higher cost of living on the West Coast. Hoffa was afraid that if they were successful, Teamster rank and filers in other areas would become dissatisfied with the settlement Hoffa had negotiated.

McClellan and Kennedy, however, were not trying to end corruption in the Teamsters Union to improve things for the rank and file. If anything, they were even more hostile to the interests of the ranks than Hoffa was.

McClellan and Kennedy simply wanted to use the evidence of corruption to secure passage of an anti-strike law covering the transportation industry.

Their attack on Hoffa was a pretext for an attack upon the Teamsters Union as a whole. They sought to hobble the Teamsters and discredit the labor movement in general.

When John Kennedy became President, Robert Kennedy was appointed Attorney General, and he used his powerful position to continue this vendetta against Hoffa and the Teamsters Union.

Kennedy didn't hesitate to use illegal methods such as stealing files and wiretapping to get the information he wanted for his anti-labor crusade.

By way of contrast, the Nixon Administration hasn't made a peep about continuing ties between the Teamsters and the Mafia under Fitzsimmons.

Fitzsimmons is the best friend the Administration has, and they are for the time being pretty confident he can keep the lid on the Teamsters.

Neither Hoffa nor Fitz!

Because we understood that the government's attack on Hoffa was really an attack on the Teamsters Union and the labor movement, members of the International Socialists -- in common with other union militants and socialists -- fought against the frameup and jailing of Jimmy Hoffa.

At that time we raised the demand, *Hands off the Teamsters!* Today we demand that Nixon's restrictions upon Hoffa's activities be lifted and that he be given the right to run for union office, up to and including the presidency of the Teamsters Union.

At the same time, opposition to the government's harassment should not lead anyone to support for Jimmy Hoffa. The government must be forced to let Hoffa alone. *But then the rank and file should get rid of him themselves.*

There is no doubt that Hoffa brought discredit on the Teamsters Union -- and has the blood of many rank and filers on his hands. Frank Fitzsimmons, the labor toad of the Nixon administration, deserves no support from the rank and file either.

In the fight between Hoffa and Fitzsimmons, rank and file militants must clearly be independent of and against both sides.

Opening for the Ranks

The split in the Teamsters bureaucracy may open up new opportunities for rank and file motion and opposition. But no one presently in the Teamsters apparatus is going to lead that opposition.

When Harold Gibbons was removed as head of the Central States Conference, he was replaced by the head of the Chicago brewery workers. The headquarters of the Conference was moved to Chicago.

This move may bring certain very large locals in Chicago into a closer relationship with the International. In the process it may also weaken the hold of some Chicago bureaucrats that have run their locals like independent baronies, with an iron hand.

But Gibbons himself, now back to being head of the large St. Louis Local 688 and the St. Louis joint council, will lead no leftward movement.

Though Gibbons styled himself as a socialist in the '30's, he has simply used liberal rhetoric as a means to his greater glorification and the enhancement of his power at the expense of the ranks.

If any opportunities are opened by the cracks in the Teamster apparatus, it is rank and file Teamsters, organized in groups like TURF, that will have to take advantage of them. It is working Teamsters, men and women, who are going to have to rebuild their union. ■



Hoffa confronts Kennedy in 1957

Tories' Phase Two Hits British Workers

Norah Carlin

Following the 90-day wage freeze, the Tory government has produced plans for a Phase Two which will go much further than anything Harold Wilson's Labor Government ever dreamed up to cut the standard of living of British workers.

Howls of protest from the far right will not stop Heath's plans. The British Tory right is actually far more dedicated to the creed of free enterprise than almost anyone in the United States nowadays.

The Monday Club, an extreme right-wing Tory group, described the new proposals as "pure undiluted textbook socialism." But the success of the plan is assured: it has the support of the Labour Party in Parliament.

The Labour Party leaders openly recognize that Heath's new measures are an extension of their own policies. Indeed, they are congratulating themselves all over the press that the Tories are following their example. They have announced that they will not oppose the Bill in Parliament.

Compared with the freeze -- now incidentally extended to 150 days -- the new proposals are far more businesslike. The Tories had dismantled the Labour Prices and Incomes Board on coming to office, but now there is to be a Pay Board and a Price Commission.

During the freeze, the facade of price control was kept up by a couple of dozen telephonists and a few minor civil servants at the Department of

Trade and Industry.

The new setup is more professional; and Heath has taken a leaf out of Nixon's book -- as advised by the National Institute of Social and Economic Research -- and indicated control of profit margins.

The Tory leopard has not, in fact, changed its spots. The Heath government has always had an incomes policy, starting with the notorious "norm minus one per cent" tactic in which each group of workers in the public sector was to be forced to accept a settlement lower than the last.

And despite the flourishing of shiny new Statutory instruments, Heath is still angling for a "voluntary" policy with the co-operation of the trade union leaders.

The Industrial Relations Act has failed to bludgeon the mass of workers into submission, but it has had a measure of success in getting the Trade Union Council (TUC) leaders grovelling at Heath's feet on every possible occasion.

The reason the TUC leaders broke off negotiations with the Prime Minister back in the fall was not the meanness of Heath's offer -- a flat rate increase of about \$4.70 -- but his refusal to give guarantees that prices would not rise by over 5% a year. The TUC leaders, though they reject the present deal, are desperate to get back to their cozy negotiating table.

The Phase Two proposals -- as the first installment of a three-year incomes policy -- include a maximum

yearly increase of \$2.35 a week plus four per cent of the total wage bill of the group concerned.

In this complicated but meagre carve-up the government "attaches importance" to weighting in favor of lower paid workers.

There could be no greater hypocrisy than this Tory breast-beating over the low paid. The very first groups to suffer from the 90-day freeze were agricultural laborers, shop assistants, hospital manual workers and gasworkers -- all among the lowest paid of British workers.

Even apart from the freeze, the Tories' whole taxation policy has been at redistributing income in the direction of the rich, while its "welfare trap," by taking away benefits greater than the gains whenever low paid workers succeed in getting a pay raise, hits out at the low paid.

But the real bite of Tory policies lies in rising prices. The new Prices Commission will have as little effect as the freeze on the prices that really matter to the working class.

The freeze left so many loopholes that the Department of Trade and Industry declared: "Most of the people who telephone us are retailers and manufacturers, and many of them find on ringing us that the price increase they have in mind falls within the exceptions outlined in the Counter-Inflation Bill." The price rise in December, the first month of the freeze, was, translated into annual terms, 6%.

The exceptions to price control in Phase Two include imported foods, raw

materials and industrial components. Rents are also excepted -- the government has no intention whatsoever of abandoning its "economic rents" policy for council housing.

It is not just a matter of exceptions, however. Tory policies are explicitly designed to raise the price of food and other essential items. Common Market-style Value Added Tax comes in on April 1st, and while it is immensely complicated and no one even knows the rate yet, one thing is certain: food prices will go up.

Higher food prices have been Tory policy -- and before that, Labour policy -- for years. The past few weeks have seen the most spectacular rise of all, in the price of beef. The traditional Sunday joint is now outside the reach of most working-class families, and a government enquiry came up in all seriousness with the advice: "If you can't afford beef, do try to eat something else."

Already during the 90 days, teachers, hospital workers, and shop assistants fought back with short strikes, and the gasworkers started a go-slow which was unfortunately called off as the leaders promised all would be well in Phase Two.

Well, now we know what Phase Two, and roughly what the next three years, will be like. It will be three years of fighting back if the working class of Britain is to preserve even the standard of living it has at present.

[Norah Carlin is a member of the British International Socialists.]

U.S. Halts Rail Strike

Jim Woodward

The federal government has intervened to end a strike by Penn Central Railroad workers which threatened to paralyze industry throughout the Northeast and Midwest.

The strike, which lasted only one day, was caused by the railroad's attempt to solve its financial difficulties at the expense of its workers. It was also forced in part by the desire of the bankrupt railroad's trustees to create a crisis in hope that the government would intervene and take some

responsibility for the future of the railroad.

The Penn Central recently announced that it would unilaterally reduce the size of train crews as it saw fit. It plans to eliminate one of the two brakemen from each crew.

The railroad claims that the second brakeman is no longer necessary, but recent accidents, such as the October 31 Chicago train collision which killed almost 50 passengers, show that safety will be reduced along with manpower.

Legal delaying tactics had postponed the crew reductions and the strike several times. In the interim, the leadership of the United Transportation Union (UTU) made repeated concessions including allowing the railroad to recede the size of 285 of the crews. The strike finally began when the railroad posted notices of new cuts, which it estimated would eventually eliminate 5800 jobs.

When the railroad workers walked out, alarm spread through the entire employing class. The auto industry announced it would have to shut down completely within several days if the strike continued.

Even with a one-day strike, work at some plants was curtailed. Other industries, including steel and coal, would have been severely hurt.

Richard Gerstenberg, head of General Motors, sent a telegram to Nixon urging him "to use all the

powers of your office to avert an economic catastrophe." Once again, the enormous potential power that working people have against their employers was clearly demonstrated.

In record speed, Congress responded with a new law ordering the strikers back to work for 90 days. The bill was written by "friend of labor" Democrat Senator Harrison Williams, and passed with bi-partisan support.

Until the 90 days are up, the railroad is prohibited from making any crew reductions. However, Congress has laid the basis for forcing the cuts. It did this by requiring a report from the President within 45 days on what can be done to maintain railroad service in the Northeast.

Nixon has already ruled out massive government subsidies to keep the Penn Central in business. Although he may change his mind, this would damage his highly publicized efforts to hold down the federal budget. His alternatives must be to take steps to put the railroad back on a solvent basis.

Besides cuts in the train crew size and other forms of speedup, this will likely include discontinuing many less profitable freight lines. Railroad workers must be prepared to resist Congress and the President if they order crew reductions 90 days from now.

The railroad crisis is one of the most advanced examples of the over-all crisis of U.S. capitalism. All industries

are being forced to cut costs, and they are doing this through speedup and layoffs, with help from the government's wage control program.

All workers have a stake in the outcome of the Penn Central struggle, since the same crisis will inevitably hit everyone sooner or later. Other workers must support the railroad workers with whatever sort of action is necessary 90 days from now to prevent the crew reductions.

The only solution to the Penn Central's crisis which wouldn't come at the expense of the working class is to nationalize the railroad under workers' control.

The Penn Central is vital to the nation's economy and under no circumstances will the government allow it to fold. The only questions is, who will pay to solve the railroad's crisis?

Any solution imposed by the Congress, the President, or the courts which oversee the bankrupt railroad's affairs will put that burden on the workers.

Crew cuts would make railroad workers pay through speedup, unsafe working conditions, and unemployment. Massive governmental subsidies would come largely from working people through taxation.

Nationalization under workers' control is the only way to solve the Penn Central crisis without hurting working class interests in the process.

Labor In Brief

Jim Woodward



Longshore ranks force end to IBT-ILWU merger talks

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, representing west coast dock workers, has broken off merger talks with the Teamsters.

This action, taken by the union's executive board, is a victory for rank and file longshoremen who have been adamantly opposed to such a merger. The dockers rightly feared that they would be swallowed up in the giant Teamsters Union. [For background, see John Single's article in *Workers' Power* No. 66.]

The Teamsters' leadership is well known for its undemocratic practices and sweetheart agreements with the employers, and dockers feared that the Teamster bosses would not fight very hard to preserve longshore jobs against the pressures of speedup and automation.

Harry Bridges, ILWU president, has also made his share of outrageous deals with the employers. Dock workers feel, however, that they have more leverage against Bridges in their 50,000-member union than they would fighting Fitzsimmons or Hoffa in the IBT.

The fact that the Bridges leadership had to call off the merger talks tends to prove them right.

When faced with intense rank and file pressure, Bridges earlier was forced to retreat a bit from his original merger position and asked for a separate Longshore division within the Teamsters. The IBT leadership would not agree to this and so Bridges had to stop the negotiations.

Bridges' record, however, is one of persistence, and it is unlikely that he has seriously given up his attempts to merge the ILWU into oblivion. He will try again unless confronted with an organized and independent rank and file opposition.

OCAW strikes Shell over Health and Safety

Four thousand members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) are on strike against the Shell Oil Company in a dispute primarily over health and safety questions.

The OCAW had previously reached agreements with most other oil companies. Those contracts contained minimal 6% pay raises but made plant health and safety conditions subject to grievance and arbitration procedures.

Oil workers often work around highly dangerous fumes and gases, and it is a step forward that the union now will have some say in determining working conditions.

But the agreement stops far short of what could guarantee a decent work environment -- workers' right to demand changes in unsafe practices and to refuse to work in unsafe or

unhealthy situations.

The Shell management has refused to agree to the minimal health and safety concessions made by the other oil companies. As a result of the strike, eleven environmental protection and ecology groups have issued a statement of support for the Shell workers.

Management of other industries is reported to be watching the oil situation carefully. Rubber bosses, in particular, are worried that health and safety demands raised by the OCAW could spread, with rubber workers demanding an end to dangerous and unhealthy practices also.

The rubber companies are apparently much more concerned about the cost of making their plants safe than about the cost of new wage increases when the current contracts expire April 20.



Business Week guide to executive tax evasion

You may have noticed that there are certain benefits available to your boss that you don't have. Maybe it's that he has a chauffeured limousine with a phone and TV, an exclusive estate in the country, or just the fact that he lunches on steak in the executive dining room while you dine on cold chili out of a vending machine.

Well, your money-grubbing employer has yet another benefit when it comes to taxes: foreign tax havens. An article in the February 3rd issue of *Business Week* tells your boss all about tax havens and how to use them.

Business Week outlines various methods of saving on taxes by setting up dummy companies and trusts abroad -- all perfectly legally. The Cayman Islands is recommended for certain purposes because it has no income tax. Over 100 U.S. companies specialize in helping your boss with the intricacies of foreign tax havens.

The magazine gives one word of warning to the eager, but inexperienced, young executive: "Make sure you pick a country that is politically and economically stable. In the eyes of some experts, for example, the Bahamas are now a bit shaky."

Philadelphia jails leaders of striking Teachers Union

Two leaders of the striking Philadelphia Federation of Teachers have been sentenced to jail terms of six months to four years for refusing to end their month-old strike against the Board of Education. Twenty-one additional members of the union's executive board are now on trial facing similar jail terms.

In addition, the Board of Education is attempting to reopen as many schools as it can. About 4500 scabs have been recruited, including substitutes and newly hired "teachers" to fill the jobs of the 13,000 regular teachers.

The Philadelphia AFL-CIO has pledged timid support for the teachers, sending its members to join teachers on the picket lines. AFL-CIO President Edward Toohy has also dropped hints that stronger action, possibly a general strike, "is being considered."

Such hints are intended only to put pressure on the Board of Education. But a general strike is precisely what is needed in this situation to win the strike. Otherwise, the Board of Education is prepared to let the teachers walk the picket lines until that are ready to give up and creep back into the classrooms.

The power to win this strike lies with the leadership of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO. Their refusal to use that power is a criminal betrayal of the teachers.

Profits reach record levels in 1972; wages falter

More statistics have been released which confirms what *Workers' Power* has always maintained was the real goal of the government's economic policies. During 1972, company profits soared to new heights, while wage increases slowed sharply.

The profit figures are from the fourth quarter of last year. The *Wall Street Journal* survey shows that in that period, the 418 most important U.S. corporations averaged profit increases of 23.7% over the similar period for 1971. None of the industries reported losses for the quarter.

Wages, on the other hand, while continuing to rise, did so at a much slower pace. Labor Department figures show that in settlements covering 5000 or more workers, first year wage and benefit increases declined to 8.4% from 13.1% in 1971.

These figures would be much lower if contracts covering smaller, less well organized industries were included.

Needless to say, management is a bit worried that booming corporate profits will make wage demands harder to resist. Business hopes that the government will be able to keep things under control.

"Labor is going to try to get all it can, and I don't blame them," says Clifford Sivord, chairman of American Cyanamid Company. "I just hope the government doesn't allow wages to start inching up..."

Union boycott eats away Farah's sweatshop profits

The boycott of slacks made by the Farah Manufacturing Company has had a significant effect on that scab outfit's profit picture.

Farah's annual report discloses that it lost \$8.3 million during the fiscal year ended last October 31.

Three thousand workers in Texas and New Mexico, most of them Chicanos, struck last May over demands including union recognition and the reinstatement of workers fired for union activities.

Faced with Farah's militant anti-union attitude, a boycott of Farah pants was called by the amalgamated Clothing Workers and endorsed by the AFL-CIO.

Farah's financial picture is striking when this loss is compared with profits of \$6 million for the preceding year. Sales at the end of this fiscal year were down 9.8%.

Pay gap between men and women still getting worse

An official of the U.S. Department of Labor has released statistics showing that the difference between men and women's pay is increasing.

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, head of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau said that women in 1970 earned, on the average, 57% of what men made. In 1955, that figure was 64%. Statistics are not yet available for the most recent years.

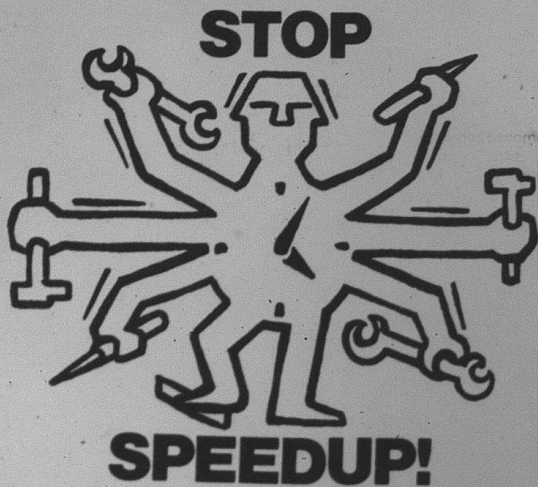
In 1971, men with only eight years of school made more than women who had some college education. Forty-five percent of all women workers earned under \$5000 in 1970, as compared with 14% of men.

Men's full-time wages were reported as \$9,373 per year for whites followed by \$6,598 for minority men. White women earned \$5,490, and minority women were at the bottom with only \$4,674 per year.

Meanwhile, a county judge in Michigan has ruled unconstitutional provisions of a state law which denied unemployment benefits to pregnant women who were still able and willing to work.

Previously, if an employer had laid off such a woman, she could not collect unemployment insurance.

Under the new, "enlightened" policy, pregnant women who are unemployed but still able to work will receive unemployment benefits. Now their compensation will continue until their pregnancy reaches the stage where they are unable to work. Only then will it be cut off.



Productivity: The Employers' Attack And How To Fight It

Lori Larkin

Part Three: Labor's Response to Productivity Deals

Trade union officials are echoing the rhetoric of the Government's "Productivity Campaign." They now speak of union "responsibility" to the corporations, the need to make companies more competitive, and the obligation of the union members to "pull in their belt" and work harder!

Business Week, a favorite magazine of businessmen, recently printed the following quote:

"We must stop lengthy lunch hours and the lengthy afternoon so-called coffee breaks (many times involving a six-pack instead of coffee). We must come to grips with realities."

"Who said that, a crusty corporation president or a desperate plant manager?" asks *Business Week*.

"Neither!" is the gleeful reply, "They are excerpts from a letter sent by the president of a large building trades local to all its own members!"

The union leadership, by accepting "productivity bargaining" is trading off both jobs and work-rules, which make the shop floor bearable, for a pittance - wage gains that are soon gnawed away by inflation.

"Productivity bargaining," discussed in our previous article (see *Workers' Power* #71) will accelerate

the loss of jobs in manufacturing already taking place on a dramatic scale during the last decade.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen, as a union official put it, "paid for their wage increase through boosts in productivity." Union membership dropped from 163,000 workers in 1969 to 145,000 the next year!

These are the statistics which should be giving the union leadership nightmares - not the company's earning record!

Yet the very answer they are embracing, "productivity bargaining," as every experience has shown, will only make the situation worse and strengthen the employers' hand.

Lewis Deals Cost Jobs, Lives

For two large international unions, "productivity dealing" is old hat. Both the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast engaged in "productivity bargaining" for over a decade.

At the end of World War II, John L. Lewis made a conscious decision to trade away jobs for wages. He gave mining companies the go-ahead to mechanize mines and reorganize pro-

duction. Lewis' dictatorial control of the UMW meant he had a free hand in negotiating with employers, and even tying miners' pensions to productivity increases, without rank and file interference.

Wages increased, but hundreds of thousands of workers lost their jobs as a result of the trade-off. Employment dropped from 450,000 to 100,000 in twenty years.

At the same time, the output of the mines increased in startling proportions. In 1969 output had reached 19 tons per man-hour, compared with 3 tons twenty years earlier.

Mechanization, however, has not lightened the miners' burden. The mines are still notorious hell-holes. Hundreds still die each year from mining accidents, cave-ins and fires.

And thousands more are killed indirectly from black lung, tuberculosis and cancer. Lewis' trade-off, a boost to mine companies, has been a curse for his members.

Since Lewis' death, a rank and file upsurge has been building. Near the top of miners' grievances is Lewis' strategy of giving the companies complete freedom to mechanize.

Since 1964 rank and file pressure has forced the UMW leadership to call a halt to further mine mechanization that takes place at the expense of jobs.

It is not mechanization *per se* which the miners object to, but its misuse by the employers who see it as a way to eliminate jobs instead of improving work conditions.

Output per man-day has actually dropped in recent years over 20% from the peak reached in the late 1960's. Mine operators blame this decline on stricter union interpretation of work-rules and the loss of 1.9 million man-days in "wildcat strikes."

Today it is not uncommon for miners to stop work and close sections of the mine when safety questions arise. The recent victory of the Miners for Democracy slate, headed by Arnold Miller, in the UMW elections reflects the desire of rank and file miners for a real counter-offensive to regain control of working conditions. Whether the new UMW leadership can carry out this struggle will be the main test of its ability to rebuild the union as a militant, powerful force.

The UMW is one union where workers are saying NO to "productivity bargaining" after twenty years' experience. Miners will no longer trade decent work-conditions for more money!

Bridges' "Yellow Dog" Contract

Another union that has had over a decade of experience with "productivity bargaining" is the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. In the late 1950's, Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, decided "productivity bargaining" was the way to keep companies from leaving the ports, as they had been threatening to do.

Bridges, like Lewis, held tight rein over his membership; opposition members were intimidated and often beaten up by union thugs. The absence of internal democracy gave Bridges the power he needed to engage in "productivity bargaining."

Through militant action in the thirties the ILWU had won a series of work-rule concessions from employers to ease the strenuous conditions of dock work.

Bridges negotiated away these work-rules and gave employers complete flexibility to mechanize in exchange for financial benefits.

As readers will remember from

John Single's recent article in *Workers' Power*, "Harry Bridges vs. The Rank and File" (No. 66, p. 8), many of the provisions the dockers lost involved safety regulations.

Bridges "productivity bargaining" led to spectacular results for dock employers. From 1960-68 productivity of West Coast dockers bounded up by 80%!

In the last five years, dock productivity has risen over 39%, while management's bill for freight loading dropped 14% despite wage boosts.

Many jobs have disappeared; 15,000 workers handle a volume of cargo that would have required 21,000 in 1966.

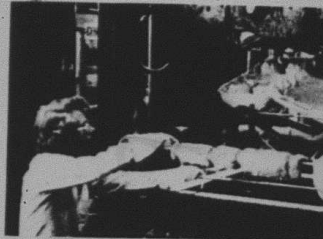
Today, however, as in the UMW, there is strong rank and file sentiment to ditch the Bridges "productivity" approach, called by many a "Yellow Dog" contract.

A long strike last year was the upshot of rank and file pressure upon Bridges to do away with "productivity bargaining."

Struggle Key to Saving Jobs

The protective work-rules that employers are now trying so hard to eliminate were won through years of militant struggle by the union movement.

A high correlation exists between protective work-rules and strong unionization. Years ago, employers attempted to gain control over shop-



floor production by smashing the unions.

Today, wiser and more experienced, they are trying to co-opt the union leadership through the "productivity bargaining" approach, which makes the union a partner of the "productivity team."

The union officials can play this game for two reasons. The first is unions in the U.S. have gotten out of their members' control.

As trade unions have become bureaucratic and undemocratic, labor officials have gained more and more independence from their rank and file. The ease with which both John L. Lewis and Harry Bridges negotiated "productivity deals" with the employers flowed from their position as virtual dictators of their respective unions.

The second factor that makes "productivity bargaining" possible is that American capitalism is still wealthy enough to offer a sugar coating for the productivity pill. This takes the form of healthy-looking short-term wage increases. In some cases even *real* wages, can increase for a short time.

This enables the union leadership to win acceptance from the ranks for the package as a whole. As the squeeze tightens, however, the sugar coating will become thinner and the pill more bitter to swallow.

Abel and the rest of the trade union leadership who embrace "productivity bargaining" are ignoring one vital fact. Just because the well is full doesn't

mean the workers are going to get more to drink!

In 1965, the steel industry needed 584,000 workers to produce 131 million tons. Three years later only 552,000 were needed for the same tonnage, and by 1970 the number was down to 531,000 employees.

The 1972 production was lower still - 520,000 employees needed to produce the same 131 million tons!

Construction unions have been cooperating with government wage guidelines for some time. Recently, threatened by the increasing use of non-union labor, they gave up work rules without even getting wage increases in return.

At the national convention in April 1972 of one large construction union, the Operating Engineers, a triumvirate of Union President Hunter Wharton, James McClary (President of the Contractors Association) and Labor Secretary James Hodgson, urged union members to cooperate in "eliminating waste" and freezing wages.

Union President Wharton spoke for Government and Management when he told his members:

"Productivity gains are one answer to the problems... labor must re-dedicate itself to a pride of workmanship -- a fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

Specifically, Operating Engineers were urged to work harder on the job, drop requirements for standby crews and modify other "job creating" regulations.

They were further urged to minimize pay demands and even "freeze" wages for a period. And, in fact, in

"Featherbedding" and Jobs

What the employers disparagingly call "featherbedding" has been the union movement's answer to a society which cannot provide jobs for all its members, a society in which mechanization has become synonymous with unemployment.

Employers will take no responsibility for job security nor for providing employment for all who need to work. Consequently, the trade union movement has been forced by employers to oppose labor-saving machinery because it takes away union jobs.

Acceptance of "productivity bargaining" means that union officials have given up the fight to protect their members' jobs. This was the explicit decision that both Lewis and Bridges made when they gave the employers a free hand to mechanize in mining and longshoring years ago.

The contradiction between jobs and mechanization is unresolvable for the trade union bureaucracy. Because this bureaucracy system, it will not engage in any struggle which directly challenges the underlying needs of capitalism and its profit drive.

Rank and file militants need not choose between jobs or mechanization, which both management and their own union leaders set up as the only possible choice.

There is another way, a fight right now for JOBS FOR ALL and other crucial needs. It is this program and not "productivity bargaining" which will save jobs.

Rank and File Upsurge

Although most top union officials are willing to cooperate with the employers in a "productivity campaign," they are running into the problem of a not-so-cooperative rank and file.

The leadership of the UMW and the ILWU, the unions with the longest history of "productivity bargaining" are being forced by rank and file pressure to stop giving work-rule concessions.

Strikes today are increasingly over working conditions as well as wages. Absenteeism runs high and morale is low. This new spirit among rank and file even rates its own "expression" in business journals: "the deterioration of the work ethic." It is worrying the Government, it is worrying the employers and it is worrying the union bosses.

This so-called "deterioration of the work ethic" is, in reality, an unorganized and spontaneous revolt against unbearable, inhuman conditions on the shop floor. It is the workers' defense against conditions which threaten to destroy their minds, bodies and lives.

The next step is to make this revolt an organized, militant and politically conscious movement. The rank and file will have to build a united movement with a fighting program and leadership to carry forward the fight against the union leaders' collaboration with the corporations and the government.

Only by putting pressure on our so-called union leadership to fight, not capitulate, can we again begin to make our trade unions instruments for our protection and successfully stem the drive toward "productivity bargaining."

[This series will conclude in our next issue with a case study of the effects of productivity bargaining on one major industrial union.]

Budget

Jim Woodward

[Continued from page 1]

eliminate many persons now receiving welfare.

* 515 mental health clinics, which serve as alternatives to mental hospitals, will be closed over the next eight years.

* Among his most vicious moves, Mr. Nixon plans to sharply cut the special milk program for school children, an "economy measure" which will endanger the health of millions of children already suffering from malnutrition.

Death, Racism & Unemployment

The new budget also affects working men and women in critical areas.

* Workers will continue to be killed and injured on the job in awesome numbers. The Occupational Health and Safety Administration's budget will stay at the same puny level. At best, 80,000 of the nation's five million work-places will be inspected during the next year.

* The Emergency Employment Assistance Program, which provides public service jobs to unemployed workers in high areas of unemployment, will be ended. With unemployment at 5%, such a program should be vastly expanded - not eliminated.

* Black and other minority workers will be especially hard hit by lax enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. Nixon is spending only \$24 million of \$34 million allocated this year to stop job discrimination by federal contractors.

* If you're out of a job, don't waste your time applying for one with the federal government. There will be about 100,000 fewer federal civilian jobs this year than earlier anticipated. Among the cuts will be 5000 jobs in the post office.

Not everything will be cut back, however. The military budget will rise by \$4.2 billion (despite withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam). And aid to local police departments will go up 7.5%.

The programs cut were ridiculously inadequate to start with. The "poverty program," for instance, was in the main designed to quiet the black community and draw activists into the established political structure, particularly into the Democratic Party. Nixon's openly pro-business Administration has little use for even these feeble social welfare measures.

Nevertheless, many of the programs were important to the health and welfare of those affected by them. They need to be expanded and redesigned to meet the physical needs of the people rather than the political needs of capitalist politicians.

What the government is trying to do is solve the problems of the capitalist class at the expense of the nation's poor and its workers. Anything which does not produce a profit (education, health services) must be cut.

The cuts hurt the poor and minorities hardest, but also affected organized workers directly, through deterioration of education and other vital services.

Since the Nixon budget hits particularly at the poor and minorities, it also has the potential to deepen the gap between organized and unorganized workers. This is a threat not only because Nixon is using the conservatism of the organized labor movement to support his victimizing the unorganized, but also because this could build a large reserve of low-paid labor ready to be used as scabs whenever the employers decide to take on the unions in a serious way.

Congress Has No Answer

Despite the brutality of Nixon's attack on black people, welfare victims and the poor, these measures cannot and will not solve the problems of inflation and the other crises of American capitalism. They will be followed by sharper and more direct attacks on the unions. For these reasons, the labor movement must meet Nixon's actions with a vigorous response.

Some of the cuts may be restored by Congressmen posing as "friends-of-the-people." However, Nixon has made it clear that he will simply refuse to spend anything Congress appropriates against his will. But even if everything were restored to the budget and spent, it would still be only a fraction of what is needed.

In truth, the Democrats have no more real response to Nixon's destructive domestic policies than they did to his murderous foreign policies. They might restore the milk program, but they'll never eliminate the military budget and tax the corporations to raise the vast sums of money needed to rebuild our cities.

Nixon's policies, while claiming to "return power to local government," represent in fact the continuing centralization of economic and political power in the hands of the largest corporations and the capitalist state bureaucracy. The liberals who denounce the White House for robbing the Congress of any real power are unable to do anything to reverse this process. ■



Oppressed Peoples

Review: Defense Account Exposes Carlos Feliciano Frame-Up

Eric Langdon

[Carlos Feliciano: History and Repression published by the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, \$1.95 70pp.]

Two days before Christmas 1969, small bombs exploded in three of New York City's ritziest department stores. The resulting fires damaged a few hundred dollars worth of furs. Within several days, the New York Times was printing sensational stories accusing the MIRA, a supposedly underground terrorist group of Puerto Rican independence supporters, of planting the bombs.

In the past few years, such press barrages have been the prelude to witch-hunts directed against Puerto Rican independence militants and groups.

In May 1970 Carlos Feliciano, a previously obscure militant of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party who had lived quietly in New York with his wife and six children, working as

a skilled carpenter, was arrested.

The entire press went wild. Carlos was portrayed as a mad bomber, a member of MIRA, a Cuban agent. The District Attorney set bail at \$275,000. This cynical fabrication was to be used as a springboard to label the entire Puerto Rican Independence movement as a "terrorist conspiracy".

The District Attorney's plot backfired. Instead, Carlos Feliciano has become a rallying point and battle cry for thousands of young Puerto Ricans who are fighting for an end to the colonial domination and oppression of the Puerto Rican people.

Feliciano's case has attracted the support of student, black liberation, Chicano, trade union and civil rights activists.

Carlos Feliciano: History and Repression, published by the defense committee which has waged the campaign to free Carlos both in and out of court is the saga of his case. But as the Puerto Rican journalist and independence activist Alfredo Lopez explains in his background piece, it is also much more:

"Certainly one of the great militants in Puerto Rican history, Carlos Feliciano is at once a symbol and a part

of a struggle, a struggle by a small nation of people for their freedom. To tell his story any other way is to distort reality."

The book is divided into four parts, with a short introduction by Carlos' attorney, the radical lawyer William Kunstler. These sections are: the historical background, Carlos Feliciano's letters from prison, account of Carlos' first trial, and a capsule summary of the cases of other Puerto Rican political prisoners.

The book is beautifully laid out and the text is accompanied by numerous photos of the 1950 Nationalist uprising in Puerto Rico and Feliciano defense activities in New York.

Alfredo Lopez's historical article gives a clear and concise political history of the years just after World War II, when the U.S. began to industrialize the island.

Lopez describes the colonial tyranny and repression which led young men like Carlos Feliciano to join the Nationalist Party to resist the oppressor and participate in the heroic rebellion of 1950. He recounts the facts of Carlos' present case and the origins of the defense committee.

In plain and moving language, Carlos wrote from prison the answers

to the questions of why he was arrested in May 1970 and why he became an independence supporter.

Feliciano explains his activities as a young follower of the dedicated Puerto Rican Nationalist leader, Don Pedro Albizu Campos, and the years he spent with him in prison following a conviction for "advocating the overthrow of the colonial government," which was later declared unconstitutional.

He paints his vision of a future Puerto Rico, independent and free "in which the practice of a system of equality and equity in social as well as economic and political affairs could be assured, in which the man from the country and the townsman might work in mutual harmony for the development and enrichment of our country."

The third section depicts Carlos' first trial in the Bronx -- the wildly contradictory and absurd testimony of the cops, which persuaded the jury that Carlos had indeed been framed.

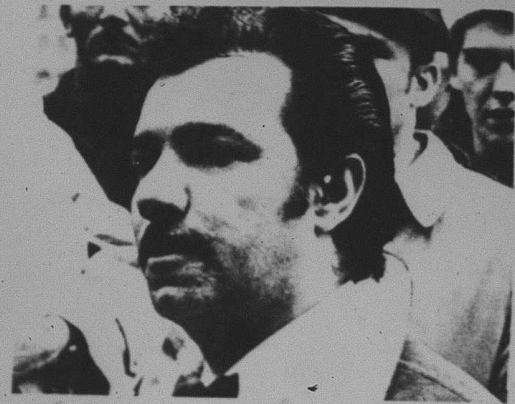
History of Struggle

The fourth section includes short histories of other Puerto Rican political prisoners -- older Nationalists imprisoned in 1950 and 1954 such as Lolita Lebron and Oscar Collazo, young independence supporters both on the island and in the U.S. including Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz, Humberto Pagan, Jose Torres Cruz and Ruben Vega Merced, among others.

For anyone who wants to understand why growing numbers of Puerto Rican workers, students and youth are demanding independence from the U.S. and why the legalized violence of the U.S. government to repress the independence movement will fail, this book is an important document.

Carlos Feliciano can be obtained for \$1.95 by writing to the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356 Canal St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. All funds go for the defense, which is preparing for Carlos' second trial, this time in Manhattan on attempted arson charges. ■

[Eric Langdon is co-author with Lori Larkin of the International Socialists' pamphlet *Puerto Rican Independence: The Fight Against U.S. Colonialism*, available from I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203. This pamphlet outlines the history of the Puerto Rican movement and presents a revolutionary socialist critique of the nationalist strategies for the independence struggle. \$.75.]



Under New Attacks

Navy Purge Launched To Crush Growing Black Revolt

Jim Woodward

The Navy is quietly trying to get rid of "misfits" in order to head off further outbreaks of racial disorders aboard its ships. Most of those released will be given general discharges "under honorable conditions."

The official certificates, however, will carry code numbers -- understood by many employers -- signifying that the discharged sailors were "undesirables" and "unsuitable for re-enlistment."

In the Pacific fleet, which represents about half of the Navy's 600,000 men, as many as 6,000 "undesirables," a substantial proportion of them black, might be let out in the next few weeks, with more to come.

In effect, the Navy is abandoning its well-publicized campaign to attract more recruits from the minorities. Enlistment rules have been tightened to emphasize "educational and character qualifications."

This program was part of a general program of military recruitment begun by former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in the mid-1960's. McNamara stressed that poor blacks and whites were unable to meet the Army's entrance standards.

The Army, McNamara said, would graciously accept these men anyway and give them the training they failed to get in school (and then, of course, ship them to the front lines in Vietnam).

Poor blacks and whites ended up with the most risky and dirty jobs in the Army. In addition, blacks found the same racism in the Army that they found in civilian life.

The difference was that now they were armed. Towards the end of the war, the increase in "fragging" attempts and other attacks on racist noncoms and officers was well-known.

The Navy only began implementing this policy in the last couple of years. Here again, blacks ended up in the menial jobs, in the laundries, in mess gallery and in deck crews, with little opportunity for advancement.

This produced mass resentment which broke out last fall in mutinies among the crews of the aircraft carriers Kitty Hawk and Constellation.

A House subcommittee concluded at the end of January that these mutinies were the result of a climate of "permissiveness." It was "unable" to find a single case of racial discrimination on either ship.

Representative Floyd V. Hicks,

chairman of the subcommittee, said that "The riot on Kitty Hawk consisted of unprovoked assaults by a very few men, most of whom were of below-average capacity, most of whom had been aboard for less than one year, and all of whom were black."

Twenty-one black sailors from Kitty Hawk refused to participate in the hearings.

The Constellation sit-in, according to Hicks, was "the result of a carefully orchestrated demonstration of passive resistance."

This report was a clear warning to



Kitty Hawk sailors

Navy bureaucrats to crack down on dissidents in its ranks. The warning wasn't really needed.

Soon after the Kitty Hawk and Constellation mutinies, the Navy switched its recruiting policy. Emphasis was placed on recruiting "school eligibles," those qualified by education and background to receive technical training at the Navy's electronics, nuclear propulsion, avionics ordnance, and other class A schools.

The purge now taking place is the logical extension of this policy. The Navy is not only making sure no more

"trouble-makers" get in, it is eliminating those who are now in uniform.

Black youth don't join the military out of patriotism. This is often the only kind of employment they can find, especially over the last few years when the unemployment rate for young black workers has skyrocketed.

The Navy, like other employers, has found out that it can neither keep the promises it has held out to blacks nor cow them into submission. Its solution is now to slam the door in the face of the most victimized sections of the black youth.

INDIANS RENEW THE FIGHT

Several hundred angry Indians fought with police in Custer, South Dakota, February 6 and set fire to the county courthouse. The incident is the latest manifestation of the growing anger and militance among native Americans.

The Custer battle came after an Indian had been stabbed to death and his assailant, a local white businessman, charged only with second-degree manslaughter. About two hundred members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) gathered at the courthouse to demand that the charges be changed to first-degree murder.

State's Attorney Hobart Gates refused to consider the Indians' demand. Subsequently, fights broke out between police and the Indians. In the midst of a snowstorm fighting raged through the center of town.

The Chamber of Commerce building was burned to the ground, the courthouse damaged by fire, and

two police cars destroyed.

At least 37 Indians were arrested. The prosecutor showed that his leniency did not extend to Indians by filing charges of felonious riot, arson, and felonious assault -- charges at least as serious as those levelled against the white businessman for murdering an Indian.

With the development of a militant Indian movement, many standard anti-Indian prejudices are re-emerging. Again the press is portraying Indians as dangerous, bloodthirsty people who attack "without provocation."

Sales of arms and ammunition to Custer residents have been booming, with some promising to shoot to kill if the Indians return.

All this guarantees that the struggle for Indian rights will be a difficult one. If it is to succeed, it will need to develop an alliance with other oppressed minorities and a class-conscious working class movement.



At one point along Chicago's long system of elevated trains, the tracks border a used car lot. Here the owner has put up a large sign -- **OUR CARS ARE CHEAPER THAN BUS FARE.**

Rattling home last week, I saw that sign and like several thousand other Chicagoans, wondered whether it was indeed time to try to buy a car. The reason: another fare increase and service cut by the Chicago Transit Authority.

Early in January, the CTA board confirmed rumors by announcing a five-cent fare increase for February 1 and the immediate elimination of several rapid transit stops and bus lines.

This brought the fare up to fifty cents, or a minimum of five hundred dollars a year for a couple who both work. Then, on January 15, the CTA announced further cuts.

Twenty-three rapid transit stops would be closed, an express train service would be eliminated, night service on another line would be ended, and eighteen bus routes axed.

Banks and Bonds

Why is the CTA so short of money? Part of the problem is that although the CTA is called a public corporation, it has always operated in the interests of a small group of private citizens, its bondholders.

When the CTA was formed, after World War II (to bail out, by buying out, bankrupt private companies), it raised money by selling bonds.

These bonds pay "only" 3% interest, but since that interest is tax-free, the bonds are typically bought by the very rich looking for a tax loophole.

The First National Bank of Chicago acts as trustee for these bondholders, looking out for their interests in the management of the CTA. To guarantee the ability of the CTA to pay interest, the First National not only demands fare increases, but stashes away eight per cent of the CTA revenue as an "emergency" fund.

Today, the First National has ten million dollars of the CTA's money put away, as well as collecting 8.4 million dollars just this year for the bondholders' interest payments. (For a more complete discussion of the finances of the CTA, see *Workers' Power* No. 20.)

Even if the CTA did something as radical as stopping payments on the bonds, which it has threatened and certainly should, the money shortage would not be solved. Transit workers, especially in the past few years, have

refused to put up with inadequate wages.

Because of the pressure of several wildcat strikes led by black CTA workers, the union has won a living wage plus a cost of living increase. As food and other prices have gone up, CTA workers have demanded their increases guaranteed by the contract.

The last ten cent COL increase wasn't given, but CTA officials know they can't stall forever.

The answer to the CTA's problems is not to attack the workers' wages. They need these wages and, especially considering the irregular and late-night hours they work, deserve them.

The way to avoid layoffs and provide decent service at decent prices is to subsidize the CTA, to stop making public transportation pay its own way, and even, as in the case of the CTA, make a profit for bondholders.

Several politicians, including Mayor Daley and his henchmen in the State Legislature are proposing subsidies. But all of them are saying that the money should come from increased taxes on working people.

Some propose an increased gasoline tax (and gas is expected to reach fifty cents a gallon without any increase!) Others propose the money come from income taxes or property taxes.

But taxes are too high already, and we cannot afford an increase. What needs to be done is to tax the banks and corporations. The businesses should be forced to pay their workers' expenses in getting to work by paying taxes for a free and well-operated mass transit system.

City-Wide Struggle

At the present time, CTA employees aren't the only Chicago municipal workers facing wage cuts and layoffs. The public school teachers recently struck over similar problems.

Cook County Hospital workers, also back on the job after a recent strike, are looking for a way to fight the layoffs announced there.

These three simultaneous struggles and the similar problems of government workers elsewhere, such as in the Post Office, point to the need and possibility for a united movement of Chicago municipal workers. The most militant and best organized of these groups, the black workers, have the potential to take the lead in building a powerful alliance between the black community and the working class movement in Chicago.

Chicago Students Oust Racist Principal

Dan Lawrence

A militant struggle by Latin students and community groups seems to have won a small victory in the fight to improve conditions at Tuley High School on Chicago's north-east side.

Following over a week of demonstrations, boycotts and other confrontations with the Chicago school system, the Latins have forced the removal of principal Herbert Fink from Tuley.

On January 31 a student sit-in turned into a fight and then into a battle between an estimated 200 cops and students and local community members.

In the battle 7 cops and several students were injured and 20 people were arrested.

These events were followed by a 90% effective one day boycott by the school's 3,500 students, and the next Monday by the occupation of the school by an army of 90 to 150 cops.

The main issue has been the student drop-out rate, which is officially estimated to be 50%, and lack of any college placement for Latin and Black students.

As one student said, "Education here is really doing nothing for us. Fink has done nothing about the drop-out rate. Few of us go to college."

A former student who was thrown out of Tuley by Fink in 1968, and who now works for the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO) said:

"It's the kind of education that causes the dropping-out. Like there never was any college for Black and Latin students. There was never any 'college day' when college recruiters were invited."

Students and community activists were also concerned about the fact that in a school which is 64% Latin, largely Puerto Rican, but also Mexican and Cuban, only 11% of the teachers are Latin.

Another problem has been drugs, which even the educational bureaucracy admits is a severe situation.

"Fink Must Go!"

The frustration and bitterness resulting from systematic discrimination in Chicago's barrios has been temporarily focused on Fink, a particularly inflexible and arbitrary bureaucrat.

In his third hearing in as many years the community and students have finally forced his removal.

One of the Latin women who had organized the protests, a Tuley senior, said that "Fink isn't sensitive to our needs; he has shown that he is not the

kind of principal we need. And by 'we' I mean not only Latins but poor white and blacks -- he has nothing in common with us."

While much of the bitterness was directed immediately at Fink, others had broader criticisms and pointed out the area's general poverty, the number of people on the welfare rolls, the 25% unemployment rate among Latin youths.

One man I talked to shouted in anger: "Look around -- our barrios are another Vietnam. These houses are 80, 90, 100 years old. It's not only the school, it's the housing, unemployment, welfare!"

While the removal of Fink is a victory, it is only a partial one. Even while removing him, the school board also exonerated him and reaffirmed his policies.

It is clear that he was "bumped up" to avoid further confrontations. In fact, one member of the school board says she will attempt to re-instate Fink at a meeting of the full board.

While this struggle has shown that a militant movement can win concessions even from a bureaucracy as rigid and reactionary as Chicago's, still serious problems must be overcome if quality education without discrimination is to be won.

United Fight

Most important, a united fight of student, teachers, and parents against the bureaucracy must be carried on.

Students felt that they were betrayed by teachers who supported Fink, even organized a pro-Fink movement, and turned black and white students against the Latins.

While some teachers said they supported the students, still no support action was taken and none of the caucuses of the Chicago Teachers' union gave support even verbally.

Chicago teachers, who won a partial victory in their strike here last month (see the article on page 3), can win further gains only if real bonds among teachers, students and parents are created now.

The second obstacle to a successful struggle at Tuley and in Chicago's poor working class areas is racism. Black and white students at Tuley were never really involved in the Latins' struggle for better education.

At best the non-Latin students remained neutral and some, both black and white, indulged in racist attacks on the Puerto Ricans. Black and white students must be encouraged to advance their own demands on the school and to participate fully in struggle.

Chicago Transit Funding Crisis Sharpens

William Falk

CONTINUING THE WAR: SOUTH EAST ASIAN REACTION SETS IN

Andy Bonifacio



In August 1967, five of America's Asian allies -- Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia -- formed the anti-communist Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), allegedly for economic and cultural cooperation among the member states.

Apologists have since misleadingly billed ASEAN as "non-political". Yet high U.S. government officials and influential businessmen have recognized and valued the pro-Western orientation of the ASEAN during the subsequent four and a half years of the Vietnam War.

Johnson administration policy-makers McGeorge Bundy, later of the Ford Foundation, and Robert S. McNamara, formerly of Ford Motor Company and now with the "World Bank," appreciated the political and military potentials of "homegrown" pro-Western alliances in Southeast Asia.

Compared with the inefficient Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, ASEAN appeared promising. With this insight, however, Bundy, McNamara, and others were hardly original.

A similar perspective is urged in a secret "Special Committee Report on Southeast Asia -- Part II," originally drafted on April 5, 1954, now made public with the release of the *Pentagon Papers* (Gravel edition, Volume I, Document No. 32).

Nixon Doctrine

The difference between 1954 and 1957 was the involvement of half a million U.S. ground troops in Vietnam, not counting naval and air forces.

The Vietnam War became increasingly unpopular in the U.S. during 1965 - 1968. The working class was less and less willing to support a costly war which claimed the lives of its sons, brothers, and husbands.

The architects of "de-Americanization" under Johnson and "disengagement" under Nixon have counseled encouragement and financial support for a "regional defence force" of Southeast Asian mercenaries (or draftees if necessary).

Thus, an "indigenous" international organization could provide the "Asians

fighting Asians" in a racist, imperialist war.

At the same time, U.S. businessmen have perceived the chance for increased productivity and profits in the internationalization of production under the ASEAN umbrella.

Ford Motor Company is a good example. In an address delivered June 15, 1971, at the Seventh Biennial Ford Engineering Forum, E.R. Molina (Vice President of Ford's Latin American Group) spoke of "Complementation of Products" as one of the ways in which Ford coordinates its international empire.

In plainer English, "individual Ford manufacturing countries [sic] each contribute complementary components to a common vehicle."

Increased profits for multinational corporations like Ford and General Motors depend partly on management's ability to negotiate "tax shelters" with multi-country regional organizations (rather than separately with several different nations).

For this reason Henry Ford II has

shown interest in the expansion of the European Common Market and in the ASEAN. And, with the low wage rates prevailing throughout Southeast Asia, it is not surprising that Ford Asia Pacific and General Motors have sought to negotiate with ASEAN in order to expand production facilities in the region.

One obvious effect of this international diversification of production thus far has been to make the two largest U.S. automobile manufacturers less vulnerable when UAW workers go on strike in the U.S. and Canada.

The labor movement will have to internationalize its strategies if it is to maintain the gains won in the past from these giant corporations.

The irony of these developments is perhaps best seen when contrasted with the unattained but "cherished ideals of peace, freedom, social justice and economic well-being" of which the August 8, 1967, ASEAN Declaration spoke.

Over the decades, the economies of the ASEAN countries have been

systematically raped and misdeveloped at the hands of the North Atlantic states and Japan.

The industrial and agricultural working classes in the five ASEAN countries aspire to an improved standard of living and more control over their own destinies.

Satisfaction of these demands will require industrialization much more rapid than has been the case in any of the five ASEAN states. Unless the worker and peasant masses of these countries win the power to define their own economic and social goals, however, "economic cooperation" within ASEAN will remain a hollow choice from among imperialist masters, i.e., the U.S., Japan, or the European Economic Community.

An anonymous correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* wrote recently, "With the fast-changing international political scene, a settlement in Indochina and the Nixon Doctrine applied all the more earnestly, ASEAN's role is bound to increase" (November 25, 1972, p. 24).

In an October, 1967 article for *Foreign Affairs*, Nixon himself clearly indicated his own hopes for a counter-revolutionary ASEAN in the future.

And as long as the ASEAN countries are ruled by the political parties of landowners and small capitalists, regional organizations in Southeast Asia will be pawns in the deadly games of inter-imperialist rivalry.

For an Independent, Socialist Asia

In 1951, the Independent Socialist League (a predecessor of the International Socialists) passed a resolution advocating an "independent federation for Asia." This strategy is quite relevant today. [See *Independent Socialism and War*, an ISC Clipping-book, No. 2, pp. 176-182.]

If the working classes in these countries gain control of industry and state power, the formation of an independent socialist federation could be a holding action in the eventual conquest of power by the working class throughout the world.

Such a federation would allow these countries to pool their resources and production more efficiently.

With the perspective of world revolution, the working class leaders of these countries could use such a federation as a springboard to encourage workers' revolutions in the rest of the Third World and in the advanced industrial countries as well.



PHILIPPINES' MARCOS



INDONESIA'S SUHARTO



THAILAND'S PRAPTHAS

FRENCH ELECTIONS: VOTERS SWING "LEFT"

Barbara Adler Paul Benjamin

French voters will go to the polls in early March to elect a new Parliament. The elections (the first in five years) will result in a sharp swing to the left in French political life.

Dissatisfaction with the Gaullist regime of Georges Pompidou is rising rapidly. Primary reasons are the ever-galloping inflation, rising unemployment, and worsening housing conditions.

In addition, a series of well-publicized scandals has discredited the government. Powerful French businessmen have been buying up lucrative contracts on the cheap from important government figures.

Last June, after three months of negotiations, the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Party (SP) formed an electoral alliance to take advantage of this opportunity. They agreed to a joint campaign on the basis of a "Common Program."

Three weeks later a split-off from the pro-capitalist so-called Radical Party joined the alliance, stressing its agreement with the Common Program's guarantees for small businessmen. Other liberals are now beating a path to hop on the band wagon.

The glue holding this alliance together is the desire by all parties involved to grasp a piece of the political pie. None of them could win a parliamentary majority alone.

History of Betrayal

The 1973 election is by no means the first time that the French CP has used electoral alliances in hopes of participating in government. The politics of this year's "left-wing" electoral alliance are a continuation of the policies the CP has pursued for the past thirty-five years.

In 1936 a wave of mass sit-down strikes shook France. The CP brought them to a halt because, as part of international Stalinist policy, it supported the pro-capitalist "Popular Front" government then in power.

In 1944, the armed Communist workers of the war-time resistance were in a position to take over the country. They had disarmed the Paris police and begun to take over the factories.

Invited by General DeGaulle to join the government, the CP told the workers to *put down their arms* -- and to "roll up your sleeves" to increase production for the "grandeur of France."

In the 1973 campaign, the French CP has tried to soothe the bourgeoisie by pointing with pride to its record in the post-war De Gaulle government.

In June 1968, 10,000,000 French workers waged the largest general strike in the history of the international labor movement. The CP-controlled union, known as the CGT, called off the strike in order to prove its respectability to the middle-class voters the CP wanted -- and still wants -- to win.

The Common Program itself scarcely addresses the real needs of the French working class. It is a tissue of vague promises and meagre



Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders planning campaign

commitments bearing in fact a close resemblance to Pompidou's own election promises.

The Program states that "a substantial increase in wages and salaries, particularly for the lowest paid and for the hardest work, will be pledged. The growth rate of the economy will be raised from 5.2% to 8%.

Pompidou has made precisely the same promises.

The Program states that "The government will consider as a prime objective the elimination of chronic unemployment and underemployment. . . . How this "prime objective", which any capitalist government is always glad to consider, will be implemented is left to the voter's imagination.

The program does indeed promise that the 40 hour work week (a right French workers first won in 1936) will be restored with no cut in pay -- in 1978. Other promised social reforms are put off for ten or fifteen years.

The Program also speaks vaguely about "economic democracy" giving workers "the possibility and means to play an active role in making decisions," and says "The rights and abilities of the workers . . . will be reinforced and enlarged. . . ."

How? When? Not one word. . .

In addition, the Common Program states that nationalization of key industries "ought to allow the workers to have effective access to responsibilities." But workers in the already nationalized Renault auto plants know that they have no more rights than workers in plants that are privately owned.

And in speaking of the very short list of companies (a grand total of nine, plus private banks and insurance companies) to be nationalized -- with full compensation to the owners -- the Program emphasises the necessity of "efficiency" (read: speed-up) to compete on the international market.

Finally, the Program does not even hint at the possibility of workers forming their own assemblies, their own forms for political discussion and deci-

sion making. In fact, the CP-SP alliance is determined that workers' role in the campaign will begin and end in the ballot box.

In no way have the CP and its allies submitted their program to the workers. There have been no meetings, either in the factories or in working-class residential districts, in which workers could discuss and criticize the program.

No committees have been set up through which workers could express their own views on the program or the election.

The CP at one point talked vaguely about setting up committees in support of the Common Program. The

SP leadership rejected the idea and the CP gave in without protest.

The leader of the SP, Francois Mitterand (a very recent "convert" to socialism) has opposed mass workers' meetings or demonstrations. None have taken place since December 1st. The idea that workers can themselves act on their political beliefs is completely foreign to his politics.

The same policy has been carried out in trade-union work. Georges Seguy, head of the CP-dominated CGT, has urged workers not to strike to avoid losing middle-class votes in the elections.

Seguy recently went out of his way to assure the ruling class that the unions will be "responsible" after the elections.

The French ruling class knows it has little to fear from the Common Program. But it is worried that a left victory might lead to a wave of working class action -- as happened with the Popular Front of 1936.

Seguy assured them that the CGT would do its best to ensure this was not so. In an article in the CP daily newspaper *L'Humanite* he poured scorn on this idea and said that union leaders who were talking in these terms were "unrepresentative."

He also denied that there would be any increase in the scope of the alliance's nationalization program.

Seguy's pledge to the bourgeoisie indicates what French workers can expect from a CP-SP coalition victory. He has promised to throttle the working class upsurge which would inevitably follow such a victory.

In short, Seguy pledges that a parliamentary victory for the CP-SP will mean no material gains for the French working class. ■

Revolutionaries Run Protest Campaign

Two revolutionary groups have protested against the CP-SP program and practice by fielding their own candidates in the parliamentary elections.

Some months ago the revolutionary socialist group *Lutte Ouvriere* (Workers' Struggle) challenged the CP, in an open letter, to open its program to the workers themselves, to discuss it with them and accept any changes decided upon by the majority of workers. This tactic is designed to help expose to the workers the real nature of the CP campaign.

Their challenge ignored, *Lutte Ouvriere* has joined with the *Ligue Communiste* (Communist League) in running a slate of over 300 candidates as a revolutionary alternative to the CP-SP alliance.

The revolutionary French left does not have the strength today to present a serious electoral challenge

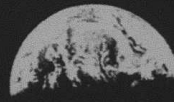
to the CP-SP alliance. Under these circumstances, *Lutte Ouvriere* has publicized the campaign as a means by which rank and file militants in the CP and SP can register their dissatisfaction with the alliance's program, without endangering the electoral chances of the CP-SP alliance.

Militants can vote for the *Lutte Ouvriere* and *Ligue Communiste* candidates on the first round of balloting, as a warning to their own leadership. Then they can support the alliance on the second and decisive ballot.

French workers should reject the illusions projected by the CP-SP alliance by supporting the candidates of *Lutte Ouvriere* and the *Ligue Communiste*. In turn French revolutionary socialists will continue their struggle to present a socialist alternative to the parliamentary maneuvers of the Communist and Socialist Parties. ■

international report

Paul Benjamin



Protestant terror sweeps Northern Ireland



Northern Ireland has experienced another wave of terrorist attacks in which 20 civilians have died in 10 days.

Most of the killing has been the responsibility of Protestant terrorists, who fear that the British may grant concessions to the Catholics in Northern Ireland. The British Army itself has killed six of the 20, and has rejected Catholic requests for a public enquiry on the shootings.

The Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army has "executed" two Protestants in retaliation to the Protestant terror campaign.

Protestants went on a general strike in Belfast on February 7th to protest the detention of two leaders of the Ulster Defense Association, a Protestant paramilitary group, under the Detention of Terrorists order. This was the first time the act had been applied against Protestant extremists.

A few Catholic groups, including the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Union, have supported the strike, as an attack on the detention laws.

But the strike was essentially a reactionary, anti-Catholic strike. While the arrest of the two men touched it off, militant Protestants made it clear that they were also serving notice on the British government not to "sell out" to the Catholics in the forthcoming white paper on the future of the province.

It is clear that Northern Ireland is headed for increased bloodshed and the blind alley of continued sectarian warfare. Neither the British government nor the terrorists on either side have any program directed to the real interests of the workers of Northern Ireland.

The only solution is a struggle for a workers' republic, in opposition to the role of British imperialism in both Northern and Southern Ireland.

The current struggle in Northern Ireland has reached a dead end. The only way out is a struggle directed against the real oppressors of both the Protestant and Catholic workers.

Japanese imperialism wants piece of the Indochina pie

Japan is trying very hard to tell Washington and the rest of the world that it is dead serious about playing a major role in postwar Indochina.

Masao Sawaki, Japan's consul-general in New York, has pledged that Japan will outdo American reconstruction spending in the war zone.

The ruling classes of both countries have an interest in Japan's assuming some of the costs of imperialism in Southeast Asia. The current imbalance in trade between the U.S. and Japan is a sore-point in the relations between the two countries.

Sawaki asserted that Japan intended to solve this problem. He said that "Japan has so much accumulated foreign exchange it is natural for the U.S. to think that Japan should play the major role [in Asian development]."

But the new role of Japanese imperialism has already created political problems. Japanese officials have complained that the Nixon administration was not keeping Tokyo informed on the Paris peace talks. In addition, Japan has not been invited to the conference on Indochina beginning February 26th in which 30 other nations are scheduled to participate.

"We have some left-out feelings," Sawaki said of the negotiations that led to a cease-fire in Vietnam. "It was all done by Mr. Kissinger and North Vietnam with Russia, China and the big countries."

In other words, Sawaki wants to put his mouth where his money is. It has long been hoped that entry into Southeast Asian politics might ease the pressures on the troubled American economy. But it could also be the beginning of a resumption of the rivalry between American and Japanese imperialism in the Far East.

Russia: Stalinist regime fears economic crisis

The Russian economy has failed to achieve its goals in all major areas, according to figures published in the government newspaper *Izvestia*.

There were failures in national income growth, industrial productivity, labor productivity, personal income and agricultural output. The economy was especially weak in the consumer goods sector, which had been a priority in the 1971-75 five-year plan.

Two years ago Russian Communist Party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev spoke of "saturating the market with consumer goods." The figures showed that those industries Brezhnev promised would lead Russia into the consumer era were in the most troubled

Brezhnev recently announced major

cutbacks not only in consumer goods but also in industrial production (see *Workers' Power* No. 70).

The failures of the Russian economy help explain why the Russian bureaucracy was so anxious to get help from the West, especially the United States. This help has taken the form of massive wheat purchases to cover crop failures in Russia, and huge investment deals to develop Russian oil and natural gas resources.

It is partly in return for this help from the West that Russia has put heavy pressure on North Vietnam to reach a negotiated settlement with Nixon.

Chile: Allende rhetoric escalates to cover turn to the right

President Allende of Chile has dug up some of his old campaign promises in preparation for the legislative election coming up in March. He has proposed a new Constitution and a one-house "People's Assembly."

These same promises, made in 1970 during Allende's Presidential campaign, were bartered away even before Allende took office. Allende chose to rely on the Chilean bourgeoisie to ensure his coming to office, rather than on the militancy and dedication of his supporters.

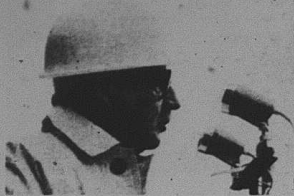
Despite his rhetoric about a "workers' government"/Allende has consistently betrayed the workers he claims to represent, defending ruling class property -- and ruling class cops -- against the militancy and self-organization of the working class movement.

But Allende is now in trouble. In abandoning the working class he has been forced to rely on the right for support. This has resulted in the Army's entering the Cabinet so that the right can make sure that Allende stays in line.

The right now hopes to increase its representation in the Parliament so that it can override Allende's vetoes, if not impeach him outright. Thus Allende has reached into his bag of slogans in the hope of maintaining himself in office.

The Chilean workers' movement should not be fooled by this. Constitutional and parliamentary tinkering will not solve the enormous social and economic crisis in Chile.

Workers' must develop their own organizations and means of self-defense if they are to successfully resist the threat of the right in Chile.



Italy: Mammoth workers rally brings Rome to a standstill

More than 200,000 workers marched through Rome Feb. 9 in what union leaders described as the biggest postwar demonstration in Italy. They demanded higher pay and long-sought social reforms.

Half the city was tied up in a traffic knot for hours, but no disorders were reported.

Most of the workers traveled through the night by buses, trains and ships to get to Rome in a show of solidarity with 1.4 million metal workers who are on strike in a contract dispute.

Thousands of students skipped classes to join a rally. The workers marched to the rally in ranks of a dozen or more, chanting slogans, blowing whistles and ringing cowbells. Folk music groups sang songs denouncing management and the moderate government of Premier Giulio Andreotti.

It was the latest in a series of mass rallies organized by the metal workers union to press for a \$30 monthly raise and better working conditions.

South Africa: Black workers lead struggle against white supremacy

Thirty thousand blacks have gone off work in a series of illegal strikes in Durban, South Africa.

The strikes, which began in January, have shut down over 100 companies. In addition, most of Durban's 16,000 workers have joined the strikers. Latest reports indicate that these 16,000 workers have been forced to end their strike under threat of immediate discharge.

All the strikes in Durban have been for higher pay. Black workers, who represent 80% of the labor force in South Africa, work for starvation wages, and are barred from entering many occupations. Many earn a minimum wage of less than \$15 a week.

The entrance of the black working class as the leaders of the black movement in South Africa introduces a new element into South African politics as a whole.

Racists have controlled the white labor movement by pointing to blacks as a threat to white supremacy in South Africa. Like the rest of white South African society, the white working class is racist to the core.

White workers have now been forced by their own self-interests, however, to begin supporting black demands for equal pay for equal work. They are beginning to realize that holding black wages down -- and thus ensuring a pool of cheap labor -- endangers their own demands for higher wages. Even among pro-apartheid white racists, cracks along class lines are starting to show.



Rejoinder

Teamster Leaders and the Right

I wished to register some comments about the article in *Workers' Power* No. 70 that I collaborated on.

The "Teamsters Attack UFWU" article was intended to open up a discussion of the political trends within the leadership of the IBT, as well as mount an attack on the anti-UFWU move announced by Fitzsimmons. Certain points on the first of these questions were deleted in the final version, which I consider important.

The undercurrent of right-wing pressure on Einar Mohn in the Western Conference is real; what the article in its final version did not say was that the pressure on Mohn is also connected with the firing of Gibbons in the Central Conference (Gibbons, too, is being replaced with a conservative bureaucrat).

In the absence of being able to wield the kind of power from the General President's chair that Hoffa could, Fitzsimmons is compelled to reduce the threats to him from the Conference satrapies. Gibbons and Mohn (but most particularly Gibbons) represent the sharpest threats to him at this time: between Grami and Fitzsimmons, Mohn won't be doing much for the foreseeable future.

The second point is that Laurence Silberman, under-secretary of Labor, was pegged by the L.A. Times as the inspiration for Fitzsimmons' speech to the American Farm Bureau Association and the proposed alliance.

Whether or not the whole idea came from his office cannot be known, but it is very clear that the White House has a real stake in the IBT maneuver.

Finally, given the loyalty of UFWU leaders to liberal Democratic politics, anything that would contribute to its destruction would be a mighty favor to Ronnie Wonderful and the California agribusiness cabal. No, there should

be no illusions at all on the complicity between Fitz and the right-wing of American politics in this move.

Lee Ramie

Unions and the Courts

Accompanying the main article concerning Teamster attacks on the Farmworkers in the January 19 issue of *Workers' Power* was an item entitled "Court Hits IBT Rank and File," which related that an appeals court had ruled against Don Vestal's suit for more democratic procedures in the Teamster's Union.

Presumably, the purpose of the article was to show the futility of taking workers' struggles to the courts. The danger of calling on the courts to intervene in union affairs was not discussed.

This omission tends to imply that we support Don Vestal in his action in the courts. On the contrary, the strongest criticisms by the I.S. of Vestal and of Arnold Miller of the Mineworkers is that they have relied on the courts, agencies of the ruling class, to force changes in the functioning of their respective unions.

The precedents involved in such actions are bad enough, but appeals to the courts can also discredit organizations like TURF and Miners for Democracy in the eyes of those in the rank and file who have witnessed the damage done in the past by the courts.

The I.S. heartily endorses demands for democratic union reforms, but it just as heartily maintains that the fight for these reforms should go on in the unions, not in the halls of ruling class "justice."

Edward Marshall

[The author is a member of the New York International Socialists and is active in the Teamsters Union.]

formulation of any organization, and 100%-pure consciousness raisers, who felt that the meeting should be used exclusively for those present to "rap and get to know one another," while making themselves heard and causing minor disruptions, did not successfully derail this discussion.

The third day was entirely orderly. Election of officers took place, and the various interest groups, which the article speaks of, decided who would represent them on the steering committee.

A second convention is scheduled for late March in Atlanta. Discussion among the various interest groups formed at the last convention will then occur. Each group is expected to present a proposal regarding the organization's goals. Heated debate is likely to center on the question of which program to implement.

The article was correct in stating that the new organization, in order to survive, must adopt a program of struggle aimed at achieving full rights for all homosexuals. Further, gay activists must recognize the ultimate necessity for socialist revolution for the achievement of gay liberation if implementation of such a program is to avoid falling into a morass of confusion.

D. H.

Prison Letter

I'm a political prisoner serving a fifteen to twenty year prison term and have been since 1969.

I'm writing for a free subscription to the paper *Workers' Power*. I want to enrich my mind and help fight oppression by any means necessary.

I'm hoping to receive my first edition of *Workers' Power* at your earliest convenience. Myself and the other comrades of this Concentration Kamp are forever fighting discrimination and oppression, and it's extremely good to know that people on the outside are fighting just as valiantly as we who are incarcerated.

Maybe I'll be paroled by 1975, but I'm really not expecting it. The pigs accuse me of having a nasty attitude and being an agitator.

I must say power to the Vanguard and the struggle for ultimate liberation must go on. You're doing a great job for the people.

A Prisoner

Correction

The following paragraph appeared in garbled form in the story on Bethlehem Steel in *Workers' Power* No. 71, p. 11:

The government's order, issued by outgoing Secretary of Labor James Hodgson, comes in response to complaints filed by black workers five years ago. It calls for alterations in the plant's seniority system to make up for past discrimination. All workers in predominantly black departments must be given a chance to transfer to other departments with all their seniority intact. Previously, a worker lost all seniority in changing departments. This meant that even though a worker might have 25 years in the plant, he could easily be bumped from his job to a lower one in his new department if layoffs occurred.

The italicized material above was left out due to a typographical error.

Jim Woodward

W.P. Editorial Board

Gay Convention

An error in your impatient account of the Southern Gay Convention *Workers' Power* No. 69) needs correction.

The article states that "on the second day" the convention "procedure was abandoned" and that "the rest of the convention was a chaotic discussion..." This is false. On Saturday afternoon, the majority present voted to (once again) launch a discussion on the proposed organization's goals.

Anarchists, who objected to the



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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.

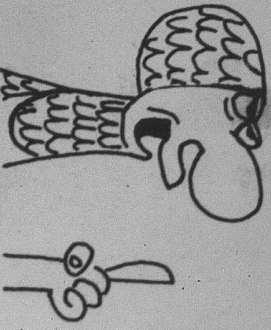
We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic 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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