



Vol. I
No. II

43% OF WORK FORCE JOBLESS

Gary Unemployment Staggering!

Steel workers in Gary, Indiana, are caught in the crunch of the U.S.'s economic crisis. Unemployment in that city has been steadily increasing and reached over 43% soon after the United States Steel Workers signed the steel contract on August 1, 1971.

Blacks, who are 53% of the population, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans were the hardest hit by unemployment and continuous layoffs, and have an unemployment rate that is higher than the quoted 43%. They are consistently the last hired, first fired and laid-off.

Gary is basically a steel town and the whole city is dependent on the steel industry to a greater or less degree. The major employers are U.S. Steel Gary Works which employs roughly 27,000 workers, Inland Steel in East Chicago which employs 17,000 workers, and Youngstown Steel which has 8,000 workers. The city came into being because of the steel industry, so that the town is virtually controlled by steel.

The vast majority of the population is workers. Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican steel workers are usually in the blast furnace, open hearth, coke, and other areas that are the dirtiest, nastiest, hardest, and yet most productive jobs. Where Blacks may be 30-35% of the workers inside a mill, there will be sometimes 65% Third World workers in particular departments.

The present work situation for both employed and unemployed workers is bleak because of 1) what is now a permanent unemployment rate, 2) the implica-

tions of the productivity clause in the steel workers' contract and 3) the plans of the Productivity Board in Phase II of Nixon's New Economic Policy. The basic objective of both the contract's productivity clause and the U.S. Government's productivity board is to get more work per man hour from those workers who still have jobs, whether through speed-up, mandatory overtime, write-ups when workers don't produce the amount that the company says, and more automation.

And none of these productivity arrangements of business or the U.S. government, provide for any safety committee to set safety standards in speeded-up or changed working conditions, nor for committees to guarantee adequate medical treatment and facilities when workers are injured.

AND THE FREEZE...

For the worker still inside the mill as well as for the unemployed worker who is being held back, Phase II of the New Economic Policy (part two of the Wage-Price Freeze) gives big business a club to beat the workers over the head by setting up these productivity arrangements. This means the company, with the U.S. government's help and union capitulation, will force the worker to increase the amount of work he produces. The worker will be working faster and faster and producing that much more. Because the steel industry, like other productive industries, will get more per man hour, the chances of more workers being hired back become worse

and worse. The whole of the New Economic Policy is a direct slap in the face from the U.S. Government to both employed and unemployed workers.

Gary, Indiana, began to grow around the beginning of the 1900's. The population was made of many Slavs, blacks, and some whites. Through the years, Gary has expanded and progressed as the industry inside of Gary expanded and progressed.

Blacks first came to this town in large numbers in 1937 during the big 1937 steel strike. They were mainly used as strike breakers, as scabs. Brought up from the South in railroad cars, blacks were forced to work in these mills for something like 46 cents an hour. Since that time Gary has added just one more major industry, Budd Automotive Plant (American Motors). Gary has 175,000 people of which over 53% are black, excluding Glenn Park to the south which is mostly white. It has evolved around steel and this is the way most people think of Gary. With so much unemployment already there are no chances for employment in Gary.

But unemployment has created more problems for the working people in Gary than not enough money for the workers to feed themselves and their families. The welfare rolls are swollen and since the companies don't pay their fair share of the taxes, public monies are being drained. Only workers with a minimum of two years service in the mills can receive "sub" pay (compensation from the company), which amounts to about

one-third of their normal wage, but this only lasts for from 6 months to a year. Younger workers, who do not have enough work time accumulated to qualify for sub pay and workers whose sub pay has run out must depend on public assistance. In Gary for a family of two, a man and his wife, a worker receives \$45 a week and \$5 for each additional child, which is supposed to cover all of his living expenses.

At the same time bills for basic needs and facilities continue to come in, such as utilities, heating, telephone service, medical treatment and medicines, all of which are to come out of the unemployed worker's welfare check and the employed worker's frozen wages. Illinois Bell is going to raise their rates substantially. NIPSCO (Northern Indiana Public Service Co.) is sending out higher and higher bills with winter coming on. For the furniture and appliances that workers have bought on credit and thought they could pay for, these bills are still coming in on a regular basis.

There have been no moves by any of the social service agencies, like the United Fund, Red Feather, Red Cross and Salvation Army, to really try to do anything for these workers. All those organizations to which workers have had to give their money, including unions, haven't done anything now that these workers are unemployed.

The unemployment situation has also instilled in workers a greater consciousness about who they are in the larger

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Gary Schools Doomed To Close!

AS STEEL CORPS. DUCK TAXES

Big industry, basic steel, is letting Gary public schools die. The school system was in such a financial crisis this year that public schools were scheduled to close November 15. Indiana state government, under political pressure and pressure from the citizens of Gary, authorized a \$2.5 million loan to the Gary Public Schools which will keep them operating until next year. But repayment of this loan will come out of the budget the following year.

Why is it that always when there is an "economic crisis" in this country the first things cut back is wages, welfare, hospital service, and school operations?

Money for schools is raised, basically, through property taxes. The value of property is assessed and taxes are paid at a definite rate on one-third of the property's assessed value. This means that if a

man owns a \$12,000 home he would pay taxes on \$4,000 of it. Say, if the tax rate was 4%, then his property tax for the year would be \$160. This \$160 would then go to the state and a percentage would go to support the educational system.

U.S. Steel, Gary Works claims that its property value was \$108 million. Yet one newly added facility alone (a cold strip) cost \$125 million. For this year alone it added \$265 million worth of new facilities. On its 104 tax form it listed only \$12,000 worth of vehicles (including trucks, cars, etc.). As a result, U.S. Steel pays no fair share of its taxes.

Gary is the home of the second largest steel mill in the world—U.S. Steel, Gary Works. With all the vast wealth of this one mill alone, poverty remains vast and threatens the people of Gary. The tre-

mendous amount of facilities, the increasing rate of production and the hundreds of millions of dollars in sales that Gary workers produce, benefits only a handful while thousands go ignored. Yet the basis of the school crisis in Gary is financial, the possibility of its entire public school system closing being based on a lack of funds.

The tax assessor for the county, whose job it is to estimate the amount of taxes paid, was once a struggling young lawyer making only \$12,000 a year. Since becoming county tax assessor he's well on to being a millionaire. He now owns a real estate firm, two large trucking companies, a hotel in Miami, and other enterprises.

This fall meetings were called by concerned citizens who were alarmed by the whole possibility that schools would be closed November 12 because no money was left in the budget for teacher's payrolls. The Black Workers Congress in Gary participated in these meetings composed of mainly students, teachers, and various community organizations. Members of the BWC proposed that 1) broader and larger meetings should be encouraged 2) we should research more information 3) and we should take actions around the results of this research.

This was agreed upon and at the next meeting with about 65 people attending the history of the school crisis was presented, and the tax situation was presented. Several steps were decided upon: picketing legislators who were meeting with school administrators, a tag day (students wore tags about the school crisis and raised money) and a labor day on which unions were called on to make a stand. With this momentum and an ever increasing participation anticipated, the climax was to be a march and rally around the tax question in relation to schools' lack of funds.

The focus of the march was the Tax Assessor's office as a symbol of the big corporations' rip off. The capitalists and their flunkies are the real criminals who rob daily but due to the lack of clear understanding of who the real enemy is many concerned citizens were confused and saw the main need as action around the legislators. Their idea was to make them pass new laws to raise money to keep the schools open. In essence this means to create new tax burdens on working people to pay the brunt of educational expenses and allow the big corporations to continue as they have in the past.

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43% Out of Work



Gary Schools Doomed!

cont. from page 1

But going to Indianapolis and begging the legislators for more taxes was like playing into the hands of the big businesses and in effect no real solution to the problem. On the contrary, it creates a worsening of the overall crisis; whereby the debt of working people multiplies and the real possibility of schools closing even earlier next year becomes a fact.

Most of the students were enthusiastic about taking action in relation to the march on the tax assessor. They planned a student-teacher walk-out for four inner-city high schools. Others expressed their decision to go back to the schools after the march and keep the schools open by physically sitting-in. This idea was discouraged by those who were pessimistic in general and had no desire to carry out the particular organizational work to make it a success. A majority of parents, teachers and representatives of community organizations did not support the students and actively engaged in work to ensure their victory despite efforts of members. Gloom and discouragement set in when there appeared to be a majority without backbone. This discouragement allowed other forces to squash the entire rally/march on the tax collector, as well as the walk-out and sit-ins. The BWC encouraged the students to carry out actions on their own and there were walk-outs at various schools and a spontaneous march on the school superintendent's office. Four hundred students rallied in defiance of school administrators and demanded they be heard.

They were heard because 2500 students disrupted their regular school schedule and joined in a teach-in where the real issues were brought forth and a real educational understanding was reached. The following days saw only 40 people descend on Indianapolis to participate in "pressuring" for higher taxes. The outcome of this action indirectly was the \$2.5 million loan to the Gary school system. This loan, though keeping the schools open till next year must be paid back out of next year's school budget.

Therefore, the cycle deepens as debts on the people increase. The eventual school closing grows less and less avoidable. The struggle for a real distribution of income goes on in many forms. In Gary, the tax question around the public and private sectors will be one of the key forms that struggle will take.

*Black Workers Congress
Manifesto Objective No. 17*

Free education from pre-school through all levels of college and university training and control of the educational facilities by the people.



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society and what they can do. Since the development of the crisis, workers in Gary have come together to form their own unemployment council. The Black Workers Congress Unemployment Council has been an attempt to force the union to take a position on unemployed workers and try to meet some basic needs such as food and clothing.

The growing crime rate also reflects the economic disaster that Gary is in. Workers who should have jobs have to provide for themselves and their families by other means. Welfare hardly begins to cover basic expenses for maintaining a household.

UNION ABANDONS WORKERS

The situation that led up to this unemployment crisis in Gary can be looked at through the developments of this past year, contract year for steel workers. This summer before the projected strike on August 1, workers were constantly forced to pull doubles (16 hour shifts) two and three times each week, stockpiling for the company. When the contract was signed and there was no strike, it became a question of overproduction of tons and tons of steel combined with an obvious lag in the economy in general, and in the demand for steel in particular.

The union's position was that workers did get a new contract, there was no strike, and there were no substantial gains. The fifty-cents-across-the-board raise included in the contract was supposed to represent a first. Usually a wage increase is based on the worker's job classification, the higher job classifications get more of an increase than lower job classifications on the new pay scale. But at the same time, according to one spokesman from United States Steel, the industry could increase its prices 45%.

The steel company would come out on top forcing the workers' position lower and lower. Where the production of steel is vital to the economy and the price of steel is upped over the wages; combined with escalating inflation; and management pitting workers in different countries against each other, the worker can only be crushed.

And the union's response? Immediately after the contract was signed workers here in Gary began to find themselves out on the street jobless. The response of the union to the unemployment situation faced by workers was to give workers a few food stamps as a method of survival. The union has no active program to try to get the workers their jobs back. Many workers who have looked to the union have no idea when they will get their jobs back. And a lot of them, in fact, will not see their jobs again.

BLACKS AUTOMATED OUT

One of the most significant of the recent developments affecting the workers' future in this situation is the automation projects that are coming out of the productivity plans of both U.S. business and the U.S. government. In basic steel this means the forthcoming, wide-scale application of a process called continuous casting which would force thousands more workers out of their jobs.

Continuous casting is a method of making steel using machinery to produce more work per man hour and automate workers out of their jobs. It would completely eliminate or drastically reduce the workers needed between the Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF) and the hot strip where the steel is practically finished. Between the BOF and the hot strip, the mode yard which hires between 30 and 40 workers, the blooming mill which

hires three shifts would be cut off completely due to continuous casting. The other processes in between would be drastically cut or eliminated as well. All that would be needed then are the BOF and the hot strip. Inland Steel will be ready to apply continuous casting very soon. Other steel companies will begin using continuous casting by 1972.

The future of steel workers in Gary and around the country does look very bleak. There are few alternatives other than to struggle against the forces that foster and maintain these conditions. There will be more unemployment permanently and, in turn, worse chances for re-employment because of the combined effects of the U.S. economic crisis, hard, government-backed demands for increased productivity from the workers, and automation. There will be, as well, diminishing public funds and services to relieve the workers' personal hardships and more hazardous working conditions under which workers will have to produce more. The consciousness raised by this crisis will see new forms of struggle in the class war.

*Black Workers Congress
Manifesto Objective No. 2*

An elimination of all forms of racism and the right of self-determination for African people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians and Indians who live in the United States and Puerto Rico.

BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS POSTERS



TO ORDER:
WRITE
Georgia Organizing Committee
P. O. Box 92340
Atlanta Ga. 30314

Attorney Ken Cockrel finds

STRESS:

Guilty as Charged



Ken Cockrel(center) talks with Nathaniel Johnson, Ted Spearman, and BWC members Helen Jones and Chuck Rutledge outside of Records Court in Detroit.

Photo by Reggie McGhee

The Detroit Police Dept.'s STRESS Unit was exposed for what it is, a tactical terror squad in the black community, in the trial of Nathaniel Johnson, a black youth. Johnson was finally acquitted on Dec. 17 of felonious assault (which carries a sentence of up to four years) when the prosecution's evidence, based on statements from STRESS policemen and supporters fell through. The state could not prove that the wild shooting that this STRESS Unit was responsible for was related to any real crime.

Ken Cockrel, defense attorney and member of the Black Workers Congress talked to Control, Conflict and Change Book Club three days before the resolution of the trial about the case:

"The case is simply a step in a process that was set in motion with the formation of the State of Emergency Committee, with the declaration of the existence of the state of emergency within the city of Detroit and other black and oppressed communities throughout this country. The case is simply another step in the progression away from the protest march that was held September 23 in the city in which thousands of blackpeople indicated their opposition to the sharp escalation in therepression with which persons who are struggling for the liberation are subjected: Angela Davis, Attica, Walter Collins, Joseph Rainey, Quincy Five, you name it — the list of persons who are being subjected to the sharp focus, the naked brutality of the oppressive state apparatus is increasing by legions as is the consciousness of people on the outside.

"... This trial does one thing and one thing only. It provides us with an arena established by the state within which they play according to certain rules, rules of evidence, rules of procedure, rules of decorum — 'Your honor,' for instance.

'All rise.' That inside of this arena we are able to force the attendance of the millions of the state apparatus police officers and trap them into revealing the transparencies of their lies.

In this particular case, just briefly, what happened was on May 29, 1971, there were two black youths riding in an automobile. They were on their way to pick up one of the youth's mother-in-law, at a bar where she worked on the east side — a couple of blocks away from here on Brush and Columbia. One of the youths stops to get out of the car to . . . urinate. . . or something, whereupon he was set upon by officers of the STRESS Unit. Four officers: Michael Worly, who has two kills to his credit, who is the person who is responsible for the Nov. 15th slayings — Mr. Brave in the city; Richard Worobec, who can claim to his credit participation in New Bethel (a police assault on a church), he can claim to his credit participation in the slayings that occurred on May 29, 1971. He can also claim to his credit the lives of 15 year old Craig Mitchell and 16 year old Ricardo Buck, on September 17, 1971; Ramon Peterson, another member of that particular STRESS unit who has 21 civilian complaints filed against him in his career, and who has participated in seven of the eleven incidents that have resulted in fatalities, who also kicked down the door of a white student by the name of Harry Drucker, right over here in the Wayne State University area on March 30, 1971, in company with everyone on the present STRESS team, Worly, and a man who has now been promoted to sargent — Marvin Johnson.

All of these individuals have been forced to come to court and the transparencies of the lies, the lie that Clarence Manning took a bottle and threw a bottle at Worly. At the same time that Nathaniel Johnson was supposedly

pointing a gun, a blue steel automatic out the window, and he doesn't shoot the man pointing the gun at him — he shoots the man throwing the bottle. Of course no gun has been found, but the Police contend that it could have been thrown away at a later time. And the bottle that they claim was thrown at the police officer, they can't even get into evidence. They moved to admit the bottle into evidence and it was denied by the court because they couldn't even establish a chain of evidence. In other words we're in a case where the prosecution doesn't even have evidence; doesn't have a gun because none existed; doesn't have a bottle they can get into court by their own rules of evidence. And where they systematically killed and fired seven shots into a 25 year old black youth and fired 18 shots in the entire incident, claiming that some were fired at the car in which they were riding. But when you call witnesses who

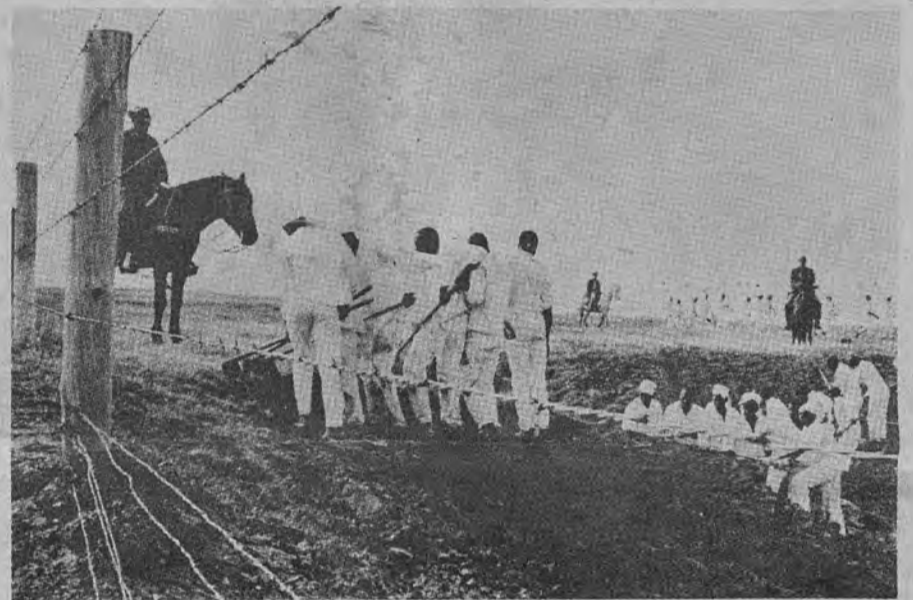
examined the car they tell you there was not evidence of any bullet holes or gunshot damage of the automobile, and even though Richard Worobec was an expert marksman and military policeman before he became a policeman in Detroit.

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"The abolition of STRESS is absolutely necessary. Everyone is familiar with the statistics. Since the inception of the STRESS program in January 15, 1971, there have been 12 people who have been murdered by the Detroit police department, 11 of whom have been black. One police officer has been killed as a result of encounters resulting from the decoy operations of STRESS, and he, of course, has been a black police officer."

Harriet Tubman

Committee in Atlanta



LNS

by Spurgeon Smith

The continuing development of prison uprisings around the country has resulted in a corresponding development of local committees and organizations that are acting in support of the prisoners, while simultaneously awakening and educating local communities to the true nature of prisons and the role that they play in this society.

One such recent development is the Harriet Tubman Prison Committee in Atlant, Georgia. This group composed mostly of students, was formed after the Attica massacre, and the resulting demonstrations that occurred in Atlanta. With the help of the Atlanta chapter of the Black Workers Congress, this group of determined young people, was first organized into an "Independent Student Organization." But recognizing that it could not function in isolation of the Black and other Third World workers who are the most consistent victims of the U.S. judicial and prison system, the ISO quickly moved to establish itself as an affiliate to the National Harriet Tubman Prison Movement and is now attempting to recruit ex-prisoners and relatives of prisoners into its ranks.

Extensive investigation by the Atlanta committee has revealed that conditions in Georgia prisons are as bad, if not worse, as those prevailing in prisons throughout this country. Particularly plagued with overcrowding, poor medical facilities, and brutality; Georgia prisoners, (who are over 85% Black), are also found to be laboring, and producing saleable goods for a

maximum salary of \$13 per month.

The members of the Harriet Tubman Prison Committee of Atlanta understand that the judicial and prison system of this country is one of the means by which imperialism maintains its control over the working class. These young people, are determined, however, to assist prisoners in their attempt to resist and ultimately change the miserable conditions that they face.

The Atlanta Committee is in the process of collecting books and other reading materials for the prisoners, and plans are being made to establish a free transportation service for prisoners' relatives, who otherwise are not able to visit the prisons. An educational-cultural program, planned by local concerned people and soon to be presented at one of the prisons, is also being assisted by HTPC.

Finally, in an attempt to develop and maintain a sense of unity between the "captured" workers in the prisons and the rest of the working class, HTPC has developed and published a news letter which they call "The Link."

"...Our objective is to be the link between the prisoners inside the institutions and those of us on the outside ... so that we may unite and ultimately destroy the walls that confine us both."

Unity—Struggle—Unity

HUD Conspiracy

by Edna Watson

Black Workers Congress Manifesto Objective Number 18. **Safe, clean, uncrowded housing where there are no rats and roaches, crumbling walls, falling ceilings and garbage piling up from insufficient public garbage disposal.**

Thousands of Detroit area Black working class families and poor people have been bilked out of millions of dollars from housing fraud it was revealed early this month. Fraudulent real estate investment companies and speculators in collaboration with the U.S. Office of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) conspired to deprive thousands of people of decent housing.

Since 1968, there have been a record number of foreclosures of mortgages in the country. In 1971 alone, 5000 or more homes have been vacated in Detroit proper. The figures are not public as to how many more homes were vacated in Detroit's adjoining suburbs this year... By the end of 1972, a projected 23,000 foreclosures will have taken place in Detroit alone. This means that at least 23,000 families will be kicked out of their homes by then. Estimated costs to the HUD office on these foreclosures may total \$200 million. Ironically, none of this money will go back to the tax-paying and homeless victims of the housing fraud. HUD has \$1.6 billion in its insurance fund. After the discovery of the alarming rate of foreclosures in Detroit, the highest in the country, the GAO (General Accounting Office) was hurriedly summoned to the city to investigate. GAO's concern was not the housing needs of the displaced workers but the loss of the money to the speculators and investors.

In 1971, an average of 381 families a month were kicked out of their homes by the U.S. Government in repossessing their homes. These homes had been approved for sale as sound dwellings by HUD through FHA appraisals. Most of these homes were deficient and the buyers demanded repairs and refused to pay for them unless they were repaired. As a result, their loans were defaulted and HUD paid the speculator for the home and kicked the family out. Most of these families were Black workers or members of a reserve labor force receiving public assistance. This kind of viciousness approaching genocide is happening all over the country, where workers are deprived of the right to control how and where they live.

Ironically, this same year Detroit had a record building year for new homes, from which Blacks are generally excluded, both as workers and inhabitants. Some 34,000 residential building permits will be issued before the end of 1971. As everyone knows, rarely is new housing built for or by Black people or poor working people, anywhere.

Before HUD knew just how much money was to be lost, there had been hundreds of complaints made to them about housing fraud. All year, complaints have poured into leg offices, etc., about Government inspected rat traps. Homes with no furnaces, no storm windows, bad plumbing, rats, roaches, firetraps, plaster falling out, holes in walls, and paint that self-destructed when you moved in. Feces coming out of kitchen sinks. And little

children suffocating from carbon monoxide due to makeshift heating arrangements when furnaces went out. Until HUD began to get ripped off more than usual by the speculators, it was no big thing that the very people who paid taxes and supported HUD were the principal victims of the housing policies of the U.S. Government.

As soon as HUD demanded the investigation, all the politicians leaped on the band wagon. These same politicians had been receiving complaints about lousy housing all along. I know for a fact that Rep. John Conyers, 1st Congressional District, got several complaints from his constituents. As did Robert Blackwell, Black Republican mayor of Highland Park. Now they are super concerned. Where was their concern when people were suffering in these hovels? The most their concern will bring now is more profit for some member of the Capitalist class, for whom they work and grovel.

What could HUD have legally done to protect the workers? HUD has the power to Blacklist fraudulent realtors and speculators all over the country under the URD policy as well as barring individuals and firms from doing business with FHA under provisions of Section 512 of the Federal Housing Law. In Detroit, these two laws have been used only twice according to William Whitbeck, HUD director, two years ago in 1969. Yet at least 600 families made formal complaints to HUD in 1971 about housing fraud. Apparently Federal Laws making fraud a criminal offense don't apply to real estate speculators, or somebody in HUD is in conspiracy with criminals.

While housing needs of Black families displaced by Urban Renewal, Highways, Medical Centers, Universities are by and large ignored, the government agency assigned to deal with this problem is running around aiding and abetting criminals. In addition, the means and mechanisms available for repairing these faulty homes are not in the hands of the people, who support the city through their labors, and taxes.

Safe, clean, uncrowded housing where there are no rats and roaches, crumbling walls, falling ceilings and garbage piling up from insufficient garbage disposal should be a right and not a privilege.

Federal employees who refuse to report violations of building and safety codes in Black and poor neighborhoods should be criminally prosecuted for the felons they are. Housing Fraud is a violation of a Federal law as well as a violation of so-called Constitutional Rights. Every complaint of Housing Fraud should be thoroughly investigated by the FBI and vigorously prosecuted in the Federal Courts.

The FBI should take time off from spying on and harassing Black working people trying to build a decent society and pursue the criminal, suburban-living, bourgeois real estate speculator-killers of innocent children. Investment companies have been immune to prosecution when people have accused them of Housing Fraud. Could this be due to the same reasoning that attempts to make felons out of those struggling for decent housing. Ironically, the GOA plans to tighten control of FHA appraisals and hang onto

for the masses of displaced and dispossessed Black workers to come together to oppose genocidal housing policies. The time has come for Black workers to speak out against these evils, to organize and struggle against housing profiteers and crooked officials.

The Black Workers Congress calls for an elimination of all forms of oppression of people in all phases of society on the job and in the home. **We demand safe, clean, uncrowded housing where there are no rats and roaches, crumbling walls, falling ceilings and garbage piling up from insufficient garbage disposal.**

more homes, selling them to developers who would proceed to upgrade the entire neighborhood for a profit, of course. This tax supported office is totally unresponsive to the people's needs. Without a doubt, the firms who get the right to redevelop these neighborhoods will be white as well as the workers who do the jobs.

The homes of these families should be immediately returned to them along with the necessary money or line of credit to repair them. Appointed and elected officials will have to stop aiding and abetting criminals in conspiracies against Black working people.



PUERTO RICAN WORKERS

from the Young Lords Party

The FEDERATION OF PUERTO RICAN WORKERS is an organization that unifies workers in the ~~discrete~~ industries.

Why do we organize brothers and sisters? Because we as Puerto Rican workers have one basic thing in common, that specific oppression and exploitation both on our island and here in the United States along with the working forces of Black, Asian, Latin, and poor white workers.

Let us examine the things we as Puerto Rican workers have in common: We were forced to leave our country and come to the U.S. because those who control Puerto Rico (the Rockefellers, Nixons, and Puerto Rican puppets like Munoz and Ferre) have made it impossible for us to find "decent jobs" to survive in Puerto Rico. The American-owned industries that exist in Puerto Rico don't pay enough for us to meet our basic needs—like food, shelter, clothing, and mental satisfaction.

They tricked us into believing that there were many jobs waiting for us in the U.S. Looking at this closely we can then see why we say that we were forced to leave our country, because if the only choice we have is to stay and die of hunger since Puerto Rico is only a paradise for the rich (who don't work), then this isn't really a free choice.

The Rockefellers and Ferrer were right. There were jobs waiting—those jobs nobody else would take.

However, since they (the rich) only needed a small number of us to work for them, many of us were unable to find jobs. Because we have to eat, and have to meet our other needs, we have been forced to turn to prostitution and hustling. Some of us turned to drugs in order to survive. If there were decent jobs available for us, we would not have to suffer this way.

As Puerto Rican workers, we're subjected to many injustices at our jobs such as: unsafe, unclean, unhealthy working conditions, racism, low wages, compulsory overtime, lay-offs, heavy work loads, and speed-ups both here and on our island.

One reason why we continue to be exploited is because we have racist, ineffective, and sold-out unions. They are racist because the principal leadership is white middle class people. Being from a different class and race, they don't understand and are not sensitive to our needs as Puerto Rican workers. We can see how the unions are sold-out when they worry more about if we're doing our job correctly rather than worrying about our needs and our problems.

As workers, we are the ones who keep these industries operating. Without us, they could not function. Therefore, these places should be owned and operated by us, for the people's needs instead of catering to the luxuries of a handful of capitalists. For instance, if you work in a factory line and produce 2,000 electrical switches a day, and you are told to increase production to 4,000, the foreman tells you that this is for your own benefit. He explains that you can earn \$10 more a week. You find yourself working twice as much to earn not twice your present salary but only \$10 more. This means they are robbing you of the value of the work you do. You are actually working for free!

These are our conditions, as Puerto Rican workers, and this is why there is a Federation of Puerto Rican workers. We must unite and organize ourselves. One way to do this is to get together and examine our common problems, in order to develop a way to stop these injustices.

Those are some of the reasons why the Federation of Puerto Rican Workers called a conference Dec. 4 and 5 in New York City.

THE DEMAND FOR BLACK LABOR

AN ARTICLE BY HAROLD BARON
REWRITTEN FOR THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS
FOR MASS DISTRIBUTION

by

MICHELE RUSSELL

INTRODUCTION

Now, in the 1970s, we can truly say our history has caught up with us. Particularly in the past ten years, the masses of black people in North America have not only awakened to a new appreciation of the role black people have played in developing the world; we have struggled in greater numbers and at more levels than ever before to fundamentally change the power relations in the world that continue to oppress and exploit us. We know we have been used to advance the special interests of everyone but ourselves, and we are tired of it. We have said this has got to stop and *we* have got to stop it. And we have marched, prayed, organized, struck, gone into exile, and taken up the gun to that end. We have refused to fight this country's wars abroad and have brought the war home to our communities around questions of police brutality, economic exploitation, and social welfare. Yet and still we are enslaved.

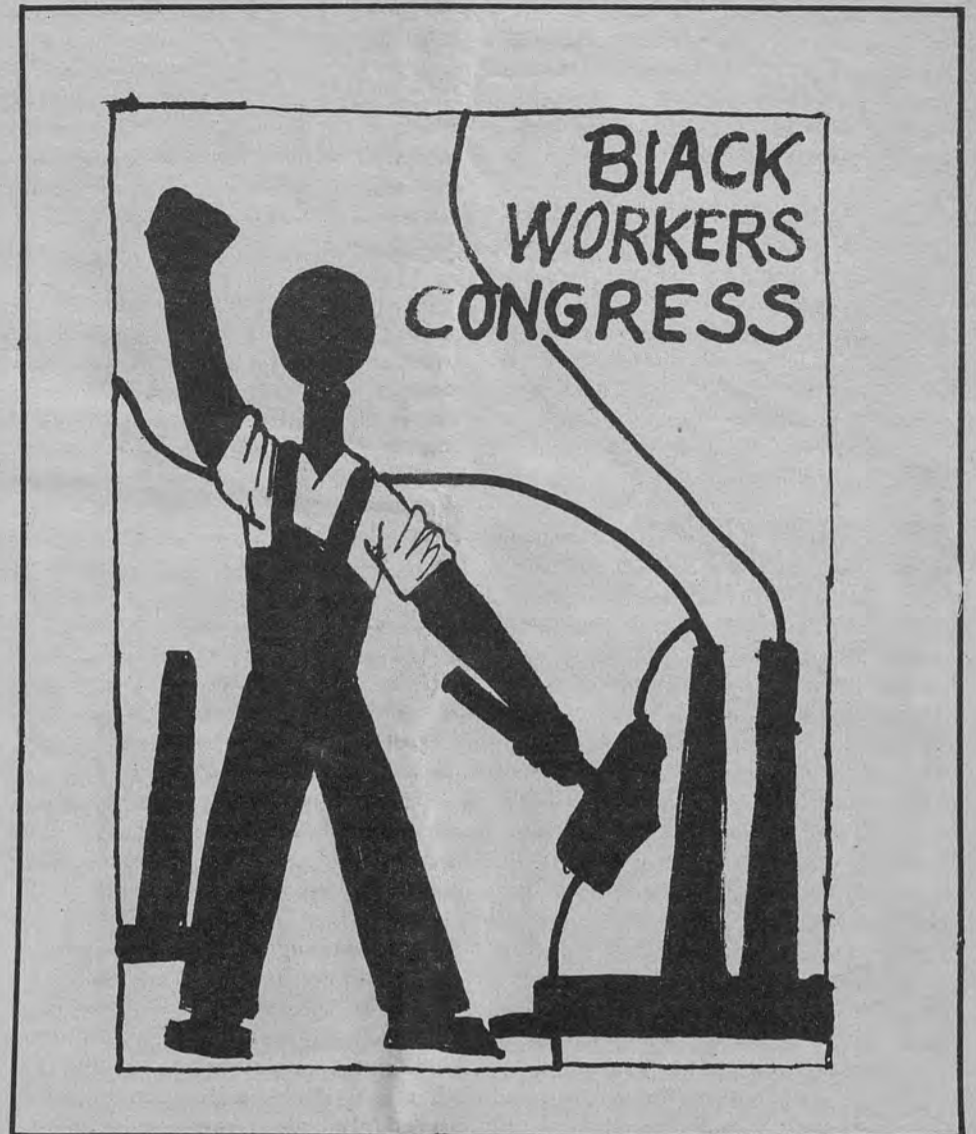
We have gone through stages where we loved being black, but then acted like the radical nature of our blackness depended on how little the history of the modern world affected us. We talked in metaphysical terms about our "culture" without recognizing that our day to day struggles against the oppressive material conditions of our lives have been the major force shaping us as a people for the past four hundred years. And many of us have gotten beyond that level of consciousness to realize that our fight for liberation is not a quest for purity; it is a demand for justice.

We have come to understand that the battle we are engaged in isn't confined to our families, our neighborhoods, or even the geographical boundaries of the United States. We are learning that the Vietnamese liberation struggle is our struggle, just as we feel our relationship to what goes on in Guinea, Mozambique, South Africa, and the Sudan. We know now that we and the Cubans are fighting the same enemy and that the enemy is the whole system; a brutal international economic and political system of organization and control. We have learned to call ourselves a colonized people and are just beginning to explore the contradictions of the situation.

However, all the sentiment, all the international solidarity we feel, all the different labels we put on our condition is not enough to prepare us to conduct our part of the world revolution against imperialism correctly. For our struggles to lead us closer to the re-organization of the world and the creation of conditions which will allow us to exercise true self-determination, we must evolve a strategy based on our structural position in the system we want to overthrow. We must realize that although everything is related and imperialism's tentacles are spread out all over the world, its central nervous system is here, in the U.S., where we are. In the cities, where we are. In the corporate power of industries, where we are. And we must develop a course of action that addresses those realities concretely, materially and in a sustained fashion. Our strategy must arise from an historical appreciation of where we've been, where we are now, and where we want to go. The following discussion should give us some added insight on the first two questions.

Many black people wonder sometimes why America should be our battleground - that is, aside from the obvious fact that this is where we are and we have to fight to live. But an important part of the answer becomes clear when we realize that our presence here as a people is not accidental. We just don't happen to be here. We were brought - to do a very concrete job.

The labor we put in combined with our treatment as chattel laid the foundation for the system of economic and cultural imperialism we are trying to overthrow today. Africans were brought to the American colonies and kept as slave labor:



1. To help accumulate the economic resources necessary for capitalism to develop beyond the mercantile stage in Europe and for the colonies to establish their economic independence from the British Empire.
2. To solidify social status and hide the real class divisions in the bourgeois democracy which was established through the American Revolution.
3. To allow greater manipulation of white workers than they would normally have accepted by the ruling class if there were no niggers to look down on in condescension and fear.

Some history is needed to break that down.

It is a well-known fact that one of the major sources of European wealth between the 12th and 18th centuries was outright robbery. Piracy on the high seas, profits and plunder from the Crusades, and the appropriation of whatever agriculture peasants produced on feudal estates provided the resources for nation-states to grow rather than simply survive. All those goods, all that foreign money gotten by theft and rationalized by war and divine right was surplus. It was used to expand the power of the ruling classes in Europe. They competed with and robbed each other. However, once advances in navigation in the 16th century made it possible for Europeans to reach other continents such as Africa, India, and the Americas on a regular basis, a whole new dimension was added to the process of accumulating capital. Explorers found natural resources such as gold, silver, sugar, cocoa, and tobacco that were scarce in Europe on these continents; and they found Indian and African peoples whom Europeans also came to think of as commodities to be bought and sold on the international market.

When the European powers first extended their influence down the African coast, they didn't have sufficient military and economic advantage to control the lands. They could only set up trading posts. The luxury items that this intercontinental trade put into circulation, however, were received with such enthusiasm by the wealthy Europeans that it seemed as though these products could be consumed without end. For the traders whose main concern was profit, a system had to be developed to increase the volume of goods extracted from Africa while

minimizing the cost of the labor necessary to produce those goods. This is where the need for slavery during the period of rapid capitalist expansion comes in. Relying upon advanced military technology borrowed in part from China and collaboration with Africans who were after similar profits, Britain, Spain, Portugal, and eventually France set about subduing and exterminating Africans so they could organize a captive labor force on a large scale and put it to work producing only those exports which made the continent economically dependent on European consumption and capital investment.

This callous and brutal subjugation and exploitation of Africans was accepted because of two conditions. First, the geographical distance between Africa and Europe meant that European laborers were not

sums up the relationship between New World slavery and British development:

The most-approved judges of the commercial interest of these kingdoms have ever been of the opinion that our West Indian and African trades are the most nationally beneficial of any carried on. It is also allowed on all hands that the trade to Africa is the branch which renders our American colonies and plantations so advantageous to Great Britain: that traffic only affording our planters a constant supply of Negro servants for the culture of their lands in the produce of sugar, tobacco, rice, rum, cotton, pimento, and all plantation produce; so that the extensive employment of our shipping into and from our American colonies, the great brook of seamen consequent thereupon, and the daily bread of the most considerable part of our British manufacturers, are owing primarily to the labor of Negroes....³

In the colonial period of the United States, the commercial basis of all the colonies rested largely on the Atlantic trade in slave-produced commodities. The Southern colonies directly used slaves to raise tobacco and rice for export. The Northern colonies, which also had slave populations, played an auxiliary role in the Atlantic trade: growing provisions for the Caribbean plantations, developing a merchant marine to carry slaves to the islands and sugar to Europe. After Independence the slave production of cotton provided the base for the pre-Civil War economic boom and the American industrial revolution. It was the most important influence in expanding the market, consolidating a class of large-scale planters, creating textile-related industries in the North, and moving large numbers of Euro-Americans out of self-sufficiency into the market economy. It is not an exaggeration to say that the colonies owed their economic life to African labor.

This is the broad economic context in which black chattel slavery became a new type of societal formation. It was maintained first by physical force and violence and secondly, by a culture of control. Given that the white Europeans were subjugating the black Africans, the culture of control became structured around a color-oriented racialism. An ideology which sanctioned the degradation of all blacks was necessary to maintain a social order based on enslaving some blacks. In the United States, racism - that is, subjugation based on blackness rather than on servitude alone - was more sharply defined than in most other places in the Americas.

For one thing, the slave system here tended to become a self-contained operation. The demand for new slaves was met by breeding and interstate traffic between the upper and lower South rather than to



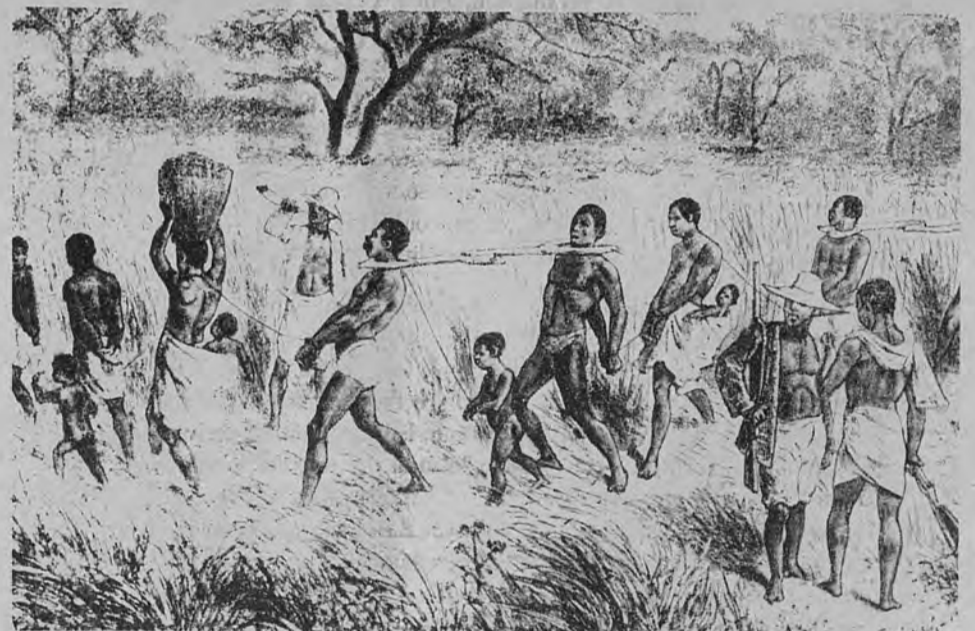
involved personally in producing these new goods. Production became impersonal. Once in the world market, a commodity lost all markings of its origin. No distinction could be made as to whether it was produced by free or slave labor. It became just a piece of merchandise to be bought and sold. Second, since West Africa was outside of Christendom or Mediterranean civilization, there were enough European cultural biases and strong national chauvinisms to encourage thinking of and treating blacks as animals, barbarians, a different species. (For a detailed description of the origins and extent of the attitudes that preceded and supported the institutionalization of racism, see Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black*)

The particular quality that capitalism gave to slavery was sharply revealed in the New World slave trade that supplied the demand for black labor. Alongside marketing the output of slave labor, the trade in the bodies which produced these goods became a major form of capitalist enterprise in itself.

Long before the trans-Atlantic trade began, both the Spanish and the Portuguese were well aware that Africa could be made to yield up its human treasure. But in the early part of the Sixteenth Century the cost of transporting large numbers of slaves across the Atlantic was excessive in relation to the profits that could be extracted from their labor. This situation changed radically when, toward the middle of the century...sugar plantings were begun in Brazil - and by the end of the 16th Century sugar had become the most valuable of the agricultural commodities in international trade. Importation of Negroes from Africa now became economically feasible.¹

Down into the 19th Century, it was often considered more economical to work slaves to death within five to ten years and replace them with fresh purchases than to allow enough sustenance and opportunity for reproduction so that the slave force could be maintained naturally. This practice illustrated capitalism's tendency first to reduce people to capital and secondly, to use them with even less regard than machinery. Further, it points ahead to our present situation in which the more abundant a resource seems to be, the more wastefully it is exploited. As CLR James has written of the French situation:

Nearly all the industries which developed in France during the 18th Century had their origin in goods or commodities destined for either the coast of Guinea or America. The capital from the slave trade fertilized them. Though the bourgeois traded in other things than slaves, upon the success or failure of the slave traffic everything else depends.²In the case of England, a contemporary 18th Century economist



and from Africa or the Indies. Also, once we were in North America it was almost impossible for a black person to achieve any other status than that of a slave, even if we had skills that made us the objective equals of Euro-American wage laborers. Even when plantation owners were forced to teach us the trades necessary to transform raw materials into manufactured articles so they could increase the South's self-sufficiency, we remained slaves. On the eve of the Civil War, 89% of the national black population was slave, and in the South the slave proportion was 94%.⁴ The small number of what John Hope Franklin calls "quasi-free Negroes" were not much better off than their brothers and sisters in bondage. Their legal status under the Constitution was questionable. They couldn't gain any kind of a secure economic position. A few acquired small farms in the countryside, but most of these blacks survived on patches of poor soil or as tenant farmers and rural laborers.

Free blacks who looked for employment in the skilled trades came into direct competition with slave artisans who were forced to do the same work without wages and a growing white urban population who moved in and took over craft after craft. In the North, the situation was the same. *Whatever demand there was for black labor was met by adapting*



the forms of slavery to these conditions, not by creating an independent pressure for free blacks to work.

The other important reason why institutionalized racism developed so thoroughly and was maintained so carefully in the United States is that this nation was based on principles of bourgeois democracy. Aside from temporary indenture, there were no well-institutionalized formal or legal mechanisms for fixing status among whites. Founding fathers like Alexander Hamilton were very clear in stating that the freedom they had fought for and won was the freedom for their class to make money. Yet those same bourgeois spokesmen not only ruled in the name of the people, but talked of themselves as belonging to the people. They designed a system to erase class consciousness but keep class stratification intact. The only way to do this and distract white workers from understanding the extent and sources of their exploitation was to strengthen their *identification* with the ruling class without changing their actual relationship to the means of production. For historical and cultural reasons they resolved to promote a mentality which encouraged laborers to define their worth as human beings in terms of being better than blacks. Fear of competition from blacks, either directly or indirectly through the power of large planters, also gave the large class of non-slave-holding whites a real stake in protecting racial distinctions. And in the North, immigrants from Europe soon found out that, although greatly exploited themselves, they could still turn racism to their advantage. The badge of whiteness permitted even the lowest of whites to use prejudice, violence, and local political influence to push blacks down into the lowest occupations.

These were the circumstances which allowed the planter class in the South to equate race with slavery and which led the North to let the social system of the South go unchallenged until the role black people played in the Civil War converted it into a struggle over who would control our destiny as a people in America. W.E.B. DuBois summarizes the dilemma we presented for Euro-Americans of the North and South who were fighting over the future shape of the United States:

Freedom for the slave was a logical result of a crazy attempt to wage war in the midst of four million black slaves, trying the while sublimely to ignore the interests of those slaves in the outcome of the fighting. Yet these slaves had enormous power in their hands. Simply by stopping work, they could threaten the Confederacy with starvation. By walking into the Federal camps, they showed to doubting Northerners the easy possibility of using them as workers and as servants, as spies, as farmers, and finally, as fighting soldiers. And not only using them thus, but by the same gesture depriving their enemies their use in just these fields. It was the fugitive slave who made the slaveholders face the alternative of surrendering to the North or to the Negroes.⁵

The outcome of this difficulty for the ruling class was that although slavery as an institution was abolished, both South and North agreed that blacks should remain subservient workers - held in that role now by the laws of institutionalized racism and the demands of the straight profit system rather than the laws of slavery.

In the South we were basically confined to agrarian labor in which we were more exploited than any class of whites, even the landless poor. Economic arrangements such as peonage, wage labor, sharecropping,

and rent tenancy replaced slavery. Even black landowners were often dependent on white patronage for access to the small plots of inferior soil to which they usually held title. We were still in the position of doing work nobody else would do, under conditions nobody else could survive. Our emancipation from the system of slavery changed our relationship to the American economy only to the extent that as "free" but super-exploited laborers, we now found ourselves in perpetual debt. We were unable to make our income cover the expense of our survival and reproduction. The situation W.E.B. DuBois describes at the turn of the century in Dougherty County, Georgia, is typical:

In the year of low-priced cotton, 1898, of 300 tenant families 175 ended their year's work in debt to the extent of \$14,000; 50 cleared nothing; and the remaining 75 families made a combined profit of \$1600.⁶

Debt and starvation for us, in spite of the fact that due to our labor, raw cotton production tripled between 1870 and 1910; consumption of cotton by domestic manufacturers increased six fold from 800,000 bales in 1870 to 4,800,000 bales in 1910; and cotton continued to be the United States' leading export commodity in global trade accounting for a quarter of the value of all merchandise exports on the eve of World War I. We were employed, but only insofar as we accepted our position at the bottom of the "melting pot" and acted in ways which allowed racism to divide the work force for the benefit of the capitalists. We could eat, but only on conditions: on condition that we would not strike, on condition that we would live on less and do more hard work than whites, on condition that we were always there, in reserve when the normal supply of white labor was cut off by strikes and wars.

Outside of agriculture the vast bulk of black workers were employed either in domestic and personal service or in unskilled menial fields that were known in the South as "Negro jobs." In the cities the occupational openings were as porters, draymen, laundresses, seamstresses. Black mechanics and artisans, who had vastly outnumbered Southern whites as late as 1865, fought a losing battle for these jobs down to 1890, when they were able to achieve a shaky position in some of the construction trades.⁷

In the North, our incorporation into the work force as the equals of whites depended on how much of a threat to social order Northern industrialists thought our presence would be. When theories of "Negro equality" resulted in race conflict, and conflict in higher prices of raw cotton, manufacturers were inclined to adopt the point of view of the Southern planter rather than the New England crusader. The Northern ruling classes accepted those conditions that stabilized the national political system and provided the raw commodities for their mills and markets most cheaply and efficiently. Therefore, they supported the establishment of a subservient black peasantry, the regional rule of the Southern propertied interests, and the racial oppression that made both of these things possible. Northern capitalists like Julius Rosenwald and John Rockefeller who supported black education in the South had in



mind a system that would encourage the students to stay in rural areas and would train them for hard work and menial positions.⁸ When faced with labor shortages, Northerners chose to encourage European immigration rather than hire large numbers of blacks. So, while 15,000,000 Europeans were imported to keep America's industry expanding, blacks were not only shut off from the new jobs, but lost many of the jobs we had traditionally held. The Irish displaced us in street paving, the Slavs in brickyards, and all groups moved in on the

once black stronghold of dining-room waiters. In one such instance of clear-cut racism, the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio, laid off 300 black janitors because the management wanted to have white farm boys start at the bottom and work their way up.⁹ Up until World War I, then, all segments of the American ruling class agreed that it was their best interests to keep us primarily in the South, doing the same kind of work we had done under slavery.

The outbreak of World War I changed all this. For the first time in our history in America, the black labor reserve in the countryside that had existed only as a potential source of the industrial proletariat became activated. War in Europe limited American industry's usual labor supply by shutting off the flow of immigration at the very time the demand for labor was increasing sharply due to a war boom and military mobilization. Competition with the Southern plantation system for black labor became one of the major ways to resolving this crisis of labor demand. This development affected the masses of black people in several ways. Obviously, it meant more jobs. But its long range significance was that it signalled a qualitative change in our structural position in the American economy. For the first time since we had been forced to emigrate to the New World, large numbers of us were relocated out of the South into Northern urban centers. Once there, we formed a distinct black proletariat at the very heart of the corporate-capitalist process of production.

Migration out of the countryside started in 1915 and swept up to a human tide by 1917. The major movement was to Northern cities, so that between 1910 and 1920 the black population increased in Chicago from 44,000 to 109,000; in New York from 92,000 to 152,000; in Detroit from 6,000 to 41,000; and in Philadelphia from 84,000 to 134,000.

Labor demand in such industries as steel, meat-packing, and autos was the key stimulant to black migration. The total number of black wage earners in manufacturing went from 7,000,000 in 1914 to around 9,000,000 in 1919 - an increase twice that of any preceding five-year period. A survey of the experience of the major employers of black labor in Chicago reported that "Inability to obtain competent white workers was the reason given in practically every instance for the large number of Negroes employed since 1914."¹⁰

Labor agents sent South by railroad and steel companies initiated the migration by telling of high wages and offering transportation subsidy. In some cases whole trainloads of workers were shipped North. Though American firms had employed labor recruiters for work among the European peasantries for decades, this was the first time they went out in any strength to bring black peasants to the city. Many Southern localities tried to protect their labor stocks by legislating proscriptions on labor agents and charging them prohibitive license fees, but on the whole recruiters played only a secondary role.¹¹ A more important push for migration came from the Northern based black press, most notably the *Chicago Defender* and above all from the letters and the reports of blacks who had already moved north. Successful employment served as its own advertisement, and better wages outside the South were very attractive. During the summer of 1917 male wage earners in the North were making \$2.00 to \$2.50 a day while the money wages on Mississippi farms ranged from 75 cents to \$1.25.¹² These wage differences combined with a wave of boll weevil invasions forced us off the land for survival. Early migrations to Northern cities had been from the Upper South. Now blacks came in from all over, with the Deep South having the heaviest representation.

There was a temporary slackening of the demand for black labor when post-war demobilization caused heavy unemployment. In Chicago, where as many as 10,000 black laborers were out of work, the local Association of Commerce wired to Southern chambers of commerce: "Are you in need of Negro labor? Large surplus here, both returned soldiers and civilian Negroes ready to go to work."¹³ In Detroit in 1921, black unemployment rates were five times as great as those of native white workers, and twice as great as those of the foreign born.¹⁴ But a strong economic recovery at the very time that restrictive immigration laws went into effect brought a second great migration out of the South in the years 1922 to 1924. The magnitude of this second movement has been estimated at slightly under a half-million persons, and may have been greater than the war time movement.¹⁵ The employers who already had a black sector in their work force were able to tap this supply with much less trouble and cost than they laid out a few years earlier. As William Graves, personal assistant to Julius Rosenwald, told the Chicago Union League Club: "The Negro permanency in industry was

no longer debatable."¹⁶

Of course, we have to remember that black workers were employed on management's own terms. Sometimes these terms would involve the deliberate use of blacks to divide the work force. As an example, International Harvester integrated the hiring of blacks into its open shop policies. Part of its strategy was to keep any nationality group from becoming too numerous in any one plant lest they form a power block in labor conflicts. Hiring decisions were left up to the individual plant superintendents, some keeping their shops lily white, others hiring large numbers of black workers. Harvester's management was caught up in a contradiction, though, between desire and demand. It needed large

numbers of black workers, especially in the twine mill and foundry where conditions were too bad for anyone else to take it. But if they hired us they would have to forget about keeping us below 20% of the work force at any one plant.¹⁷

A somewhat different approach was taken by Ford Motor Company. In the 1921 depression Henry Ford decided to maintain the black work force at the gigantic River Rouge plant in the same proportion as blacks in the total population of the Detroit area. The great majority of blacks at the River Rouge plant were employed in hot, heavy jobs in the rolling mills and foundry, but it was company policy to place a few in every major production unit and even allow a certain amount of upgrading to skilled positions. At the other Ford plants, as at the other major auto companies, black workers were confined to hard unskilled jobs. But the job concessions at Rouge became a mechanism by which Ford was able to gain considerable influence over Detroit's black community. Hiring was channelled through some preferred black ministers who agreed with Henry Ford on politics and industrial relations. Company black personnel officials were active in Republican politics and in anti-union campaigns. Ford had learned early a set of racial tactics that are widely employed today - that of trading concessions, relaxing economic subordination in order to increase political subordination and developing a class of black petit bourgeoisie to control and sell out the aspirations of the black working masses.¹⁸

In industry generally the black worker was almost always deployed in job categories that became designated as "Negro jobs." This classification, openly defended in the South, was often claimed in the North to be merely the way things worked out through application of uniform standards. The superintendent of a Kentucky plough factory expressed the Southern view:



SNT

This article will be continued

in the next issue.

Big Nation Battle Over Phase II

The Italians call it disastrous. The Germans call it a tragedy. The Japanese call it unbelievable. And the Canadians call it treachery. All the world capitalist powers have been trying for months, mostly in vain, to resolve the money crisis that Nixon precipitated when he removed, with one stroke of his magic wand, the American dollar's link to gold.

As black workers we know that the problems that money lenders are complaining about go much deeper than simply one of a dollar vs. gold standard. It is rooted in the very fabric of the imperialists system.

What is really going on?

The specific crises that we are feeling today must be seen within the framework of the General Crisis, or the period of decline, that has been tearing apart the capitalist system, bit by bit, since 1917. The General Crisis is the outcome of the historic struggle between capitalism and socialism, World Wars (which is international conflict between different capitalist nations), and the birth of new socialist nations.

As we have stated previously, World War II was fought to decide who among the capitalist nations would have the privilege of being the center of a "new" imperialism that would "save" the system economically and fight off the "communists." The United States emerged the victor. And, 'to the victor goes the spoils.'

Post World War II provided the U.S. an era of economic expansion, by creating a tremendous demand for goods and services that the European nations were in no position to provide. The big corporations backed by the big banks, were able to export long-term American capital to all parts of the world. The U.S. bought up as much of the world market as possible, including most of the important industry in many European countries. The U.S. became the greatest, most powerful, economic and military state in history.

Inside the U.S., this period of expansion had the effect of easing the class struggle somewhat by bribing a section of the proletariat (such as construction trades) with some crumbs off the profit table, absorbing some of the black tenant farmers (who were increasingly unemployed due to the mechanization of agriculture) into the Northern industrial proletariat, and purging the radicals out of the labor movement.

The Bretton Woods agreement symbolized the Euro-

pean acceptance of the United States as the leading imperialist power. Who could do otherwise? But as we can see today, such international agreements are never lasting. Uneven development and self-interest go hand-in-hand with the productive growth of capitalism. Twenty years of financing wars of counter-revolution, CIA cloak-and-dagger adventures, military dictators and atomic weapons programs has cost the United States a great deal. Within these same 20 years, the productive power of Japan, Germany, and other European countries has grown tremendously. These countries are no longer content with the existing state of affairs. They are no longer content with their former allocation, i.e., foreign exchange rates, set by the U.S. controlled International Monetary Fund.

But the Europeans are caught in a terrible dilemma. They realize that the system of imperialism is one system, interconnected, and indivisible. A crisis in one capitalist nation entails a crisis in all of them. They also realize that the world market today is much less able to absorb American production in view of the tremendous increase in the productivity of their own countries. They have been forced to finance the military defeat in Vietnam by holding huge deposits of American dollars as credit. And with military defeat comes economic disaster; enter Nixon.

When Nixon took office in 1968 the productivity gap between the United States on the one hand, and Europe and Japan on the other, was closed. Nixon wanted to restore the balance of payments, increase the present rate of growth, stifle inflation, re-establish a safe currency, and win the war. In short, he wanted the impossible.

For every one step forward Nixon made, the economy took two steps back: When the wage-price index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "soared a hair-raising 14% and the purchasing power of the dollar you earn and spend in the U.S. marketplace shriveled still another 8.5%." 'It was a disaster for tens of millions of Americans—an unmitigated disaster for all those living on fixed incomes, caught in the 1969-70 recession and/or stock market crash, forced out of jobs or pushed into bankruptcy.'

Nixon's "Phase II" strategy is designed to restore the competitive edge of American industries which have suffered most from "foreign competition" (many of these so-called foreign products are actually American pro-

ducts made in Europe), steel, automobile, electrical appliances, textiles and furniture. Foreign competition was forcing American capitalists into paying three to four times higher wages with less productivity than Japan or German. The hard facts had increased the tempo of the export of American capital "abroad," which had the effect of reducing the gap between the wages of American and European workers—thereby increasing the competitive position of American industry—wherever it is. One thing we should keep in mind is that in the capitalist world, it is not possible to produce with the same productivity as rivals abroad and yet pay workers at home two to three times higher wages.

All the big boys want Nixon to do is increase their profits. The so-called "Phase II" will try to do this in several ways. First, the increased exploitation of workers in the United States. Second, to increase the armaments program—even though the war is "winding down," the defense budget will increase. Third, the reopening of the Japanese door to American investment capital—there is no Japanese Imperial Navy to prevent it this time. Fourth, not to pay off American debts in gold. Fifth, to force devaluation of foreign currencies...this is so that American corporations can buy up as much of the world market as possible while the 10% surtax is still on.

The Europeans will find it hard to fight back. If a trade war starts, the side which has the largest capital reserves; the one that can make the largest, cheapest investments; and can hold out the longest because it has the biggest guns, usually is the winner. The Europeans will not help themselves by tearing down the U.S. dollar. American represents their largest and richest market. Though they would like to cut the dollar down to size, they would be sawing the branch they sit on.

Internally, United States Imperial Capital creates the contradiction between the so-called "free traders" on one hand, and the "protectionists" on the other. The former represents the interests of the "multi-national corporations." and the latter represents the interest of American corporations who do not operate on an imperial scale....Part two of a work on world finance capital.

Political Lesson One:
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Palestine Liberation Struggle Heightened

PFLP in the Forefront

by Christine Clark

Wasfi Tell, the Premier of Jordan and chief advisor to King Hussein, was killed in Cairo, November 30, in front of a hotel in Cairo. The four suspects arrested soon after admitted that Wasfi Tell should be killed for his actions against the Palestinians in the state of Israel and in Jordan. Arabs who fled or were removed from the Palestine area that is now occupied by the state of Israel make up one half of the Jordanian population.

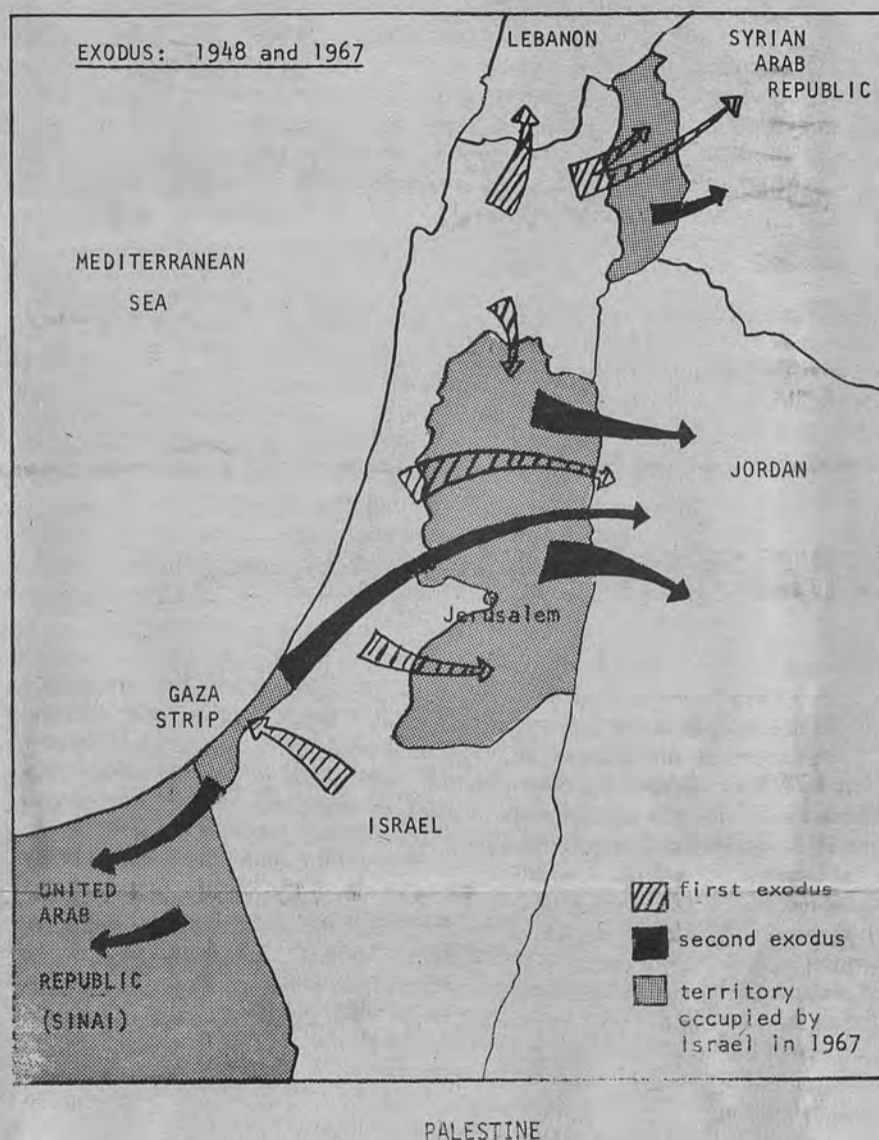
Wasfi Tell was principally responsible for undercutting the efforts and actions of Palestine liberation fighters, particularly in severely restricting the guerillas from moving against the state of Israel and using repressive tactics forcing them underground. The four Arabs arrested in connection with Wasfi Tell's killing, newspapers quoted, said that they acted as the "Hand of the Black September." The "Black September" refers to September of 1970 when the Palestinian liberation fighters were forced to retreat and accept a temporary defeat in their clashes with Israeli forces and capitulating Arab regimes.

The struggle of the Palestinian Liberation fighters against the political and military state of Israel has moved forward internally as well as externally (with the killing of Wasfi Tell, Premier of Jordan).

The Palestinian people were faced with the military power of Israel, backed by the United States government, Britain, and other Western powers when they were forced out of the Palestine area in 1948. Since then, living as refugees in Jordan, as captives in their own land in Palestine and the surrounding circumstances brought them in 1964 to the decision of fighting Israel and Israel's big nation allies with the force of arms using guerilla tactics. The most known Palestinian organization that entered the struggle for the freedom of Palestine was El Fatah, but also deeply involved in the struggle against their enemies were the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and what became the Democratic Popular Front, as well as other sincere and determined guerilla groups.

The U.S., Britain, France and other big capitalist nations have long exploited the vast oil resources of the Arab nations giving them in exchange for these amounts of oil only a fraction of what the rich capitalist nations get when they process and sell it. And these nations want to make sure they will be buying this oil under the same conditions, where the people do not control their resources.

The U.S. government and the rich European nations have consistently acted to control the Arab world and particularly suppress all Arab national movements. The establishment of Israel in 1948 was the direct political attack against the Arab world, and summarily declared war on the Arab nations in the Middle East



under the guise of giving the Jews a homeland.

Historically, the Arab world had been exploited and suffered under British colonial and neo-colonial domination and imperialist U.S., British, and French economic exploitation and repression. As well the Arab regimes (before and besides progressive Arab governments) represented the bourgeois oil-selling classes in nations such as Jordan, Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, and worked on the side of the buying capitalist nations to keep down the people's national movements that might lead to the nationalization of oil and or resources and products so that all the people could have a decent life.

The PFLP has emerged to continue the

armed political struggle against the military force of Israel and the Arab regimes that protect Israel by persecuting the guerilla fighters. While El Fatah and other Rightist Arab forces have been drawn into the Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) conferences to discuss with other Arab regimes ways of limiting the Palestinian liberation struggle even more, the PFLP has moved to resume the position of total determined struggle against Zionist Israel. The Jeddah conferences are based on the acceptance of the Rogers Plan of 1970. The PFLP rejects the Rogers Plan because 1) it accepts the political and military existence of Israel, which they insist should be abolished and reclaimed for all the Palestinian people, and 2) because it represents

a major retreat of Arab forces, both by Arab governments and by the guerilla forces that participate in the talks.

THE ROGERS PLAN

The Rogers Plan, named after U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers, is a program to liquidate the guerilla movement of Palestine liberation fighters. It features:

- 1) the recognition and acceptance of the political and military state of Israel
- 2) the recognition of fixed and secure boundaries for the state of Israel
- 3) the demilitarization of areas around the secure boundaries and
- 4) partial withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied areas seized in the war of June, 1967.

The part of Palestine seized by Israel with the support of Western powers in 1948 is completely left out of the discussions and plans of action among the Arab nations that meet on this basis.

The Zionist Israel of 1971 as a military and economic force in the Middle East was proposed among Britain, the U.S. and France at the beginning of the 20th century.

To take Arab soil and set up a capitalist military and economic base in the Middle East for the Jews when the Arab people are not free would at one blow exploit the anti-Jew as well as the Zionist feelings among people in the U.S. and Europeans, and at the same time establish a military front against the Arab people. The repressive Arab regimes, it was thought and it has now proved, would cooperate, either for the privilege of continuing to dominate their people or under the threat of major war with the rich European nations and the U.S.

The Belfore Declaration, written in 1917 and named for a former Secretary in the British government, discusses the decision even then to create a Jewish national home in Palestine.

From 1917 to 1948 the British ruled the Palestinian area as a mandate (colonial) power. At that time Jews were one tenth of the population. The earlier imperialist program for the division and settlement of Palestine was to have Zionists establish a state and join the remainder of the area to the East Jordanian regime of the Hash'mite (family).

During the developing conflicts between Arabs and Jews after World War II the British, who had under mandate power controlled all delicate sections of the government and the military power, withdrew. On May 15, 1948, the U.S. and European-controlled United Nations declared Israel a separate state. Israel was armed and the Palestinian Arabs were unarmed when this developed.

LIKE THE VIETNAMESE

They see that their struggle has two fronts: the fight against the state of

cont. pg. 11

Israel, its occupying armies and its allies, and the fight against the Jordanian regime that has repressed their movement and oppresses the Palestinians and Jordanians under the regime's domination. Their fight is not against the Jewish people but rather against the Zionist Israel state that is used as the Western imperialists' tool against them.

Programs to equip the Palestinian and Jordanian people to fight their real enemies are being established:

1. Emphasis on building the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the proletarian class.
2. Building this party from the atmosphere of struggle and armed struggle.
3. Organization of the masses of Palestinians and Jordanians to involve all the people in the making of the revolution.
4. Alliance with Arab regimes when they are under attack from imperialists and struggle against Arab regimes on issues in which they oppress their people.

The Rightist groups that had led the Palestinian struggle in an earlier stage related to the people for only their emotional support, and that they had. But, like the Vietnamese people, the defeat of

all their oppressors requires the mobilization of the masses of people, the escalation of adaptive guerilla warfare to a people's war. This applies to the situation inside Jordan as well as inside Palestine.



The Palestinian Liberation struggle had been put into the position of waging a regionalist struggle for the reclaiming of the Palestinian area. The PFLP is moving to establish a Palestine-Jordan national

front with the aim of toppling the present regime and establishing a democratic government in Jordan.

The conditions of the Palestinian people in Palestine and in Jordan must change. The oppression of the longstanding poverty of the masses of Jordanian people is heightened by the regime's repression in its attempt to crush the guerillas. Progressive trade unions have been crushed; these unions were disbanded and puppet pro-government unions were set up. Progressive elements, groups and individuals, are imprisoned more and more. Certain cities have been encircled by police or army forces. Movement from place to place is monitored at the will of government forces.

The U.S., Britain, France, imperialist world powers have worked in collusion with backwards Arab regimes and weaker but progressive Arab regimes. They have lined up against the struggle of the Palestinian people in Palestine and in Jordan whose fight is for total liberation of a people, of the land, politics, and economy of that people.

Black people in the U.S. and around the world can see how our common enemies are using the Jewish people's desire for a homeland to maintain a military and political stronghold for capitalism against the Arab world. We can also see how our brothers in Palestine are determined in their fight for the liberation of their people from foreign or Arab oppression and join hands with them in our common struggle for the total elimination of all forms of oppression.

In 1973 Guinea would be receiving a net total annual income of 175 million francs (five francs to the dollar), from the mining industry alone. The Guinean Government has 65% share in a mining company known as Harvey Aluminum, which has already signed a contract to mine 9,000,000 tons of bauxite annually from the District of Boke. When one considers that bauxite is the raw material that is smelted into aluminum, the metal used in making airplanes and space ships, then one can realize how much in demand is this precious mineral.

Other mining groups are already operating in other districts of Guinea. The Italians are building the largest dam in West Africa, which will generate six million kilowatts of electricity which can provide energy both for the whole of Guinea and the neighboring African countries at a much cheaper rate than average.

The Japanese have begun to mine rich deposits of iron ore. They have also been engaged at Simandu, in the District of Beyla by the Ivory Coast border.

Apart from iron and bauxite, gold and diamonds are also to be found in the bowels of Guinea—diamonds of a quality that rivals the quality of diamonds from South African mines. This industry is 100% government owned.

By 1975 almost all of the foreign technological experts will be replaced by young Guineans or Africans in general.

The imperialists and neo-colonialists see in all this untold wealth and power in the hands of an African Government they cannot hoodwink and steal from; a government that knows what it wants and how to go about it. The imperialists know that with the success of Guinea comes the liberation of present Portuguese colonies. We can expect them to launch another invasion. They know that the development of Guinea would mean strength for a revolutionary African Government, and in turn a solid mainstay of African liberation, which has been to putting a stop, at least, to foreign exploitation of the African Continent and its people.

Guinea Still Threatened With Invasion

esting disclosures.

There were a "few" because all they revealed could not be obtained because of the excessive pressure put on the Swedish Government by NATO authorities to suppress publication of such material—but not before it had been known that the master plan bearing the minutest detail for the November 22 aggression on Guinea had been in NATO possession long before the act was carried out.

The file was the plan numbered 554-70 and according to the plan the aggression was to be renewed between December 20 and December 31 of 1971, if the first attack should fail, as indeed it did. It was not going to be a naval operation then but an airborne one in which troops could be dropped on Conakry and five districts, Dubreka, Labe, Kissidugu, Farahan and Kankan.

The plan also called for the dismemberment of free Guinea. One portion was to be added to Portugal's Guinea Bissau off the western coast, other parts to Senegal and the Ivory Coast.

NO SECRET

Why did NATO mastermind this plot? Was it "to bring back democracy to that land" as it is often said, or was it an act of sympathy with Guinean reactionaries whom the very Western sources might choose to call nationalists?

Certainly not, for although neo-colonialist propaganda will have it put that way in a vain attempt to present the revolutionary regime of Guinea as oppressive and dictatorial. The neo-colonialists and their puppets would tell you that because of oppression they had taken action to "bring back democracy to that country" or that they were responding to requests from Guinea "nationalists" to reinstate democracy.

It is no longer a secret that such assertions are false, as it is now known that imperialist powers only pay lip service to democracy. If so why did they not attempt to free and bring democracy to South Africa where Africans are denied their basic rights as human beings?

It is not beyond NATO's competence to topple the apartheid regimes of John not because members of that alliance have vested economic interests in the area as it was, having failed to do something to bring "back democracy to the area,"

One would have expected that they would at least allow the situation to remain as it was, having failed to do something to bring "back democracy to the area," but instead they have now resorted to strengthening the hands of the racist regimes, as illustrated in the resumption of the British sale of arms to South Africa, regardless of an angry workers opinion.

WHY DID THEY DO IT?

"Do you think imperialism could have spent such vast sums of money on warships, jet fighters, guns, helicopters and weapons of all sort in training a group of Guinean traitors who had been rejected by their own people, for nothing or for love of those traitors?"

Perhaps no words could be more appropriate to begin with in examining the overall motive that led to the attack on Guinea than this rhetorical question posed by President Ahmed Sekou Toure himself when answering questions at an international press conference held in Conakry on January 27, 1971, after the trials.

The question harps on the heart of the matter. Was it love for those Guinean renegades that led the imperialists to spend so much time, money and material to wage aggression against the Republic of Guinea?

No. It was because of Guinea's economic potentialities and her radical development plans for the future that had made NATO members and Portuguese colonialists in particular fidgety. Guinea's natural wealth was the main cause of the aggression. Wealth, the same reason why imperialism wanted to make Katanga a separate state from the progressive Congo. Some experts have estimated that by 1975 the Guinean currency could be the sixth in the world in terms of purchasing power.

The following are excerpts from an article contributed by Olu Oluwle to SIEGE. Mr. Oluwle originally published the article in *The Unity*, a newspaper in Sierra Leone. These sections explain the continued danger of an invasion of Guinea.

Although the first invasion of Guinea by NATO-armed Portuguese and other forces failed, the country is still being surrounded by imperialists' forces. Another invasion which was expected to occur on October 2nd of this year failed to materialize. Currently, at the request of the Guinean government for military aid, Russian ships are sitting in the harbors of Guinea.

Some of us were thinking and a few may still be going with the impression that the November aggression in Guinea was just an ordinary strike action by the Portuguese invaders that lasted for two or three hours only. The fact is that it was a real war that went on for almost three days, November 22, 23 and 24. It was a kind of blitzkrieg, a lightning war, the principle and practice of which were brought into sharp focus by Nazi divisions during World War II. The kind of war in which the element of surprise, shock, and weight of arms are brought to bear all at once. It was the same kind of tactic used in the Middle East war in the summer of 1967.

* * *

THE SECRET IN THAT NATO FILE

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Western Powers military alliance which is imperialism's striking force, was the author of the November 22 invasion of Guinea.

This came clearly to light in December last year as partly mentioned, when six Portuguese officers defected to Sweden from where they made quite a few inter-

Exerpts from the
BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS MANIFESTO

...Our Objectives:

12) That all people in the United States engage in productive work for the benefit of all the people in the world. Parasitic capitalistic vultures must be eliminated and all people who are outside of the work force must have jobs so that there will be no need for prostitution, pimps, dope pushers and addicts, gamblers, hustlers, winos—all creatures of the capitalistic system.

13) An elimination of the trash and violence perpetuated on the mass media and the right of all people to use the radio and television networks to express and develop their cultural forms.

14) An end to the pollution of the atmosphere, forests, trees, rivers and living quarters of all the people by the giant corporations who have no regard for the people and whose owners can fly away to islands in the Caribbean to avoid pollution or jet-set to Latin America and Africa, parts of Asia and other areas.

15) Adequate free public health facilities in all communities; adequate free hospitals, free doctor's care and improved working conditions for nurses and hospital aides.

16) Sufficient free twenty-four-hour day care centers in all communities so that mothers and fathers will be able to engage in other work and activities and the care of children will be socialized and their education will train them to work for humanity and not for their selfish individual aspirations.

17) Free education from pre-school through all levels of college and university training and control of the educational facilities by the people.

18) Safe, clean, uncrowded housing where there are no rats and roaches, crumbling walls, falling ceilings and garbage piled up from insufficient public garbage piled up from insufficient public garbage disposal.

19) Abolition of the brutal penal system of the United States and the establishment of people's re-orientation centers for those who misunderstand the workers' society and commit crimes against the people.

20) The immediate release of all prisoners from the archaic jail system of the United States, many of whom are political prisoners in the traditional sense of the word, but all of whom are there because of the unjust historical development and practices of a capitalistic society.

21) A withdrawal of all United States troops from overseas countries and a total dismantling of the military force of the United States.

22) Elimination and smashing of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Counter-Insurgency forces and research activities that have terrorized the population of the United States and the people of the world.

23) A destruction of all the armed, vicious, brutal, militaristic police forces in the United States that kill people at random, terrorize the population, and the establishment of a people's militia. There will be no need for an armed police force and military personnel, FBI or CIA, with workers control of the means of production, transport services and communication facilities.

**BLACK WORKERS
CONGRESS**

1972

Compagni europei,

La rivoluzione nera negli Stati Uniti si sta sviluppando su tutti i fronti, ma noi riteniamo che la lotta piu importante sia quella nelle fabbriche. Il Black Workers Congress e stato creato per organizzare i lavoratori del Terzo Mondo in una organizzazione nazionale con prospettiva marxista. Il BWC include alcuni dei capi della League of Revolutionary Black Workers, la cui base era Detroit (John Watson, Mike Hamlin, Ken Cookrel) e altri lavoratori nel resto del paese. James Foreman e il segretario e Mike Hamlin il presidente. L'organizzazione e gia in funzione in ventidue citta in ogni regione, incluse citta del sud, Atlanta, Birmingham, o New Orleans. Il BWC e aperto ai neri, ai portoricani, ai chicanos, agli indiani-americani, agli americani di origine orientale, agli arabi e a tutti coloro che appartengono al Terzo Mondo. Questa rappresentanza di membri non neri e gia diventata un aspetto molto significativo del BWC.

Negli ultimi cinque anni c'e stato un grande progresso nello stabilire contatti tra gruppi europei e gruppi negli Stati Uniti. Il BWC sta cercando di estendere e di approfondire questi contatti. Avendo istituito una sezione che si occupa esclusivamente dei rapporti con l'Europa, saremo in grado di rispondere prontamente alle lettere e di provvedere efficientemente all'invio di materiale e di informazioni.

Chiediamo ai nostri amici e simpatizzanti in Europa e altrove di abbonarsi al nostro giornale, Siege (\$4 via mare, \$7 via aerea) o di organizzare piccoli gruppi per acquistare 50 o piu copie di ogni numero del giornale (10 copie: \$2). Forniremo inoltre agli abbonati e ai gruppi altro materiale del BWC e materiale di altri gruppi che svolgono un lavoro affine al nostro. In caso di richieste specifiche di materiale riguardante la classe operaia, i prigionieri politici e altre lotte, saremo lieti di fornire le informazioni in nostro possesso e qualunque altra informazione che saremo in grado di raccogliere. Per esempio possiamo fornire liste di gruppi e di giornali chicanos, indiani-americani, e portoricani e di gruppi bianchi di sinistra che si occupano di problemi della classe lavoratrice.

Ogni persona o gruppo interessato in questo forma di internazionalizzazione puo mettersi in contatto con me all'indirizzo che segue. Assegni o vaglia postali possono essere intestati a nome mio e inviati allo stesso indirizzo. Il primo numero di Siege e uscito e puo esser ordinato in singole o piu copie (30¢ via mare, 75¢ via aerea). Pure disponibili sono copie di The Political Thought of James Foreman (\$2.50), e il numero di Radical America dedicato ai lavoratori neri (\$1).

Hasta la victoria siempre,

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