



Aerospace Pact Axed

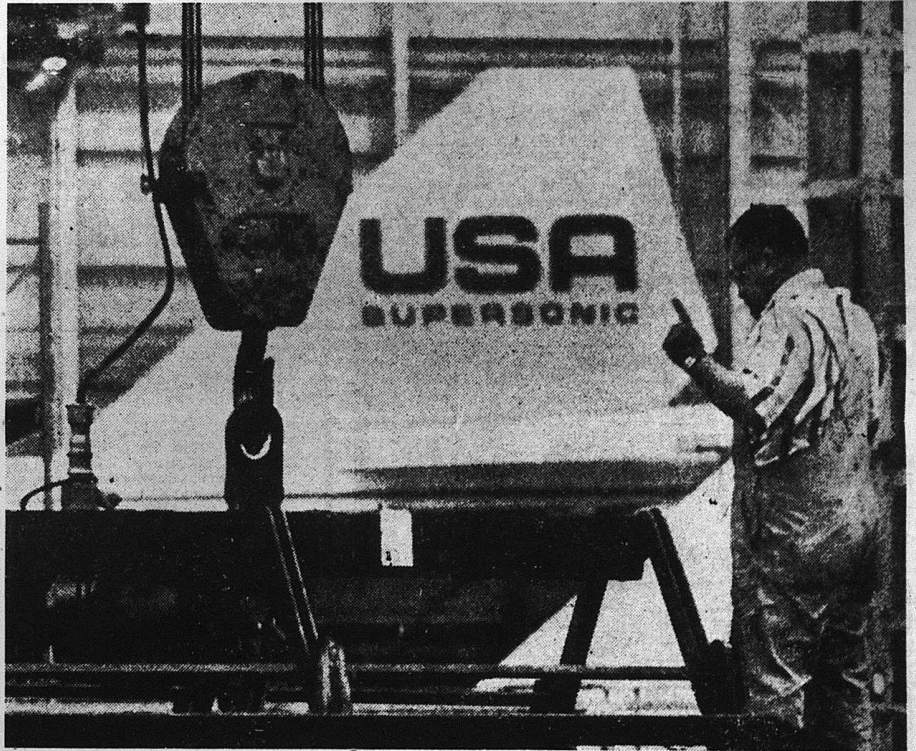
President Nixon's Pay Board continued its attack on the nation's organized labor movement last week by vetoing a tentative national contract agreement between 250,000 workers in the aerospace industry and their employers. The proposed contract called for an average wage increase of 12 percent.

The wage package was rejected by the Pay Board because it exceeded the Board's maximum allowable pay raise guideline of 5.5 percent. Despite this stated policy, the Board has accepted higher increases in the past -- most notably the 15 percent raise won by soft-coal miners last November -- when militant pressure from the union ranks made it impossible to enforce their guideline without provoking a major confrontation.

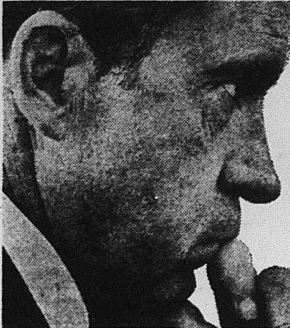
But in the aerospace industry, the Pay Board felt that it could torpedo the proposed settlement without inciting any major rebellion from rank and file workers. The quarter-million workers covered in the ruling are divided between two separate unions -- the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) -- which makes it difficult for these workers to organize a coordinated strike, or even to apply pressure on their own union representatives.

In addition, the whole aerospace industry has been hard-hit by the economic recession of the past two years -- perhaps more so than any other industry in the country. In many plants in

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Anderson Blows Nixon's Cover



The latest series of Jack Anderson columns, in which he reprints a number of secret memos outlining the formulation of US policy in the India-Pakistan war, offer a fascinating insight into the inner workings of the Nixon administration. What they conceal, however, is just as interesting as what they reveal.

Briefly, the Anderson papers show that Nixon took a hard pro-Pakistan stance before and during the war; and that this position brought disagreement and passive resistance from the rest of his administration. What is not revealed is just why Nixon and his bureaucrats took the differing positions that they did.

That Nixon is pro-Pakistan was hardly a secret. He said not a word when Yahya Khan overturned the Pakistani elections, suppressed the winning Awami League, and sent troops to East Pakistan to slaughter a million Bengalis and drive ten million refugees into India. Yet when the war started Nixon was quick to condemn India as an aggressor, push a cease-fire resolution through the United Nations, and send the nuclear aircraft-carrier Enterprise into the Bay of Bengal.

The secret memos indicate that he was prepared to go even further: to supply US arms to Pakistan -- in violation of the 1965 and 1971 embargoes -- through Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Yet

all the while, administration spokesmen were hotly protesting that the US was "neutral" in the war and supported neither India or Pakistan.

Like the Pentagon Papers last year, the Anderson revelations have once more demonstrated that systematic, wholesale lying is standard procedure for the US government -- lying, that is, not to other governments especially, who were well aware where Nixon stood all along, but to the American people. At this point the credibility gap has grown so large that if Nixon announced the sun will rise tomorrow, many people would start preparing for eternal night.

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Bram parker and Johnny hart

AFSCME VICTORY

Jane Anderson

In an unprecedented victory, the clerical staff of Eastern Illinois University swept the polls with a landslide vote in a representation election on Wednesday, December 15, 1971. AFSCME (the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) Local 981 was the sole union on the ballot.

Already on the campus Local 981 represents the maids, cooks, and janitors. The clericals were the only non-academic employees not organized on the campus.

After a five month organizing drive,

enough interest was shown to include twenty-two clerical classifications in the bargaining unit. Out of 163 possible votes, 141 cast their ballots. The final official count was 84 votes in favor of AFSCME as opposed to 57 against.

The election victory at Eastern has the distinction of being the first time that the majority of clerical employees at any public institution in Illinois have been organized. The victory at Eastern Illinois University will pave the way for future organizing drives both in Illinois and nationally.

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AEROSPACE

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California and Washington state, as much as 50 percent of the workforce has been laid off, with little prospect of recall in the near future.

In Seattle, Washington, a city whose local economy is almost entirely dependent on major aerospace producers Boeing and Lockheed, the official unemployment rate has reached an incredible 30 percent of the workforce. Employment at United Aircraft's giant Pratt and Whitney engine plant outside of Hartford, Connecticut -- the largest factory in the state -- has dropped from 22,000 to 16,000 over the last two years.

These conditions have produced great insecurity within the ranks of aerospace workers, and this has had a major effect on their willingness to fight around their demands. When the 12 percent contract was first announced -- before the Pay Board vetoed it -- workers in many plants expressed dissatisfaction. But when confronted with the hard choice of accepting it, or hitting the bricks in a strike that few of them felt would wring much more out of the companies, most workers reluctantly voted to accept the contract.

At Pratt and Whitney, for example, the IAM local president Justin Ostro spoke in favor of a strike -- recognizing rank and file resentment at the proposed contract -- but in a way calculated to undermine strike sentiment, emphasizing that strikers faced company cancellation of their insurance and low strike benefits from an already depleted national strike fund. The strike vote still carried, but not by the re-

quired two-thirds majority.

Now, even the inadequate increase offered by the industry has been taken from the aerospace workers, simply because the Pay Board was willing to bet that they could veto the pact without facing a serious challenge from the

trade union movement.

And the initial reaction to the ruling, from union officials, bears out the Pay Board's judgement. UAW International President Leonard Woodcock issued a statement on January 8 which was full of angry words, but little else.

Woodcock angrily condemned the Pay Board's ruling as "arbitrary and capricious." "This is a naked power play," he added. "It would be good for the country if it (the Pay Board) never met again."

But Woodcock had nothing to say about effective action to fight the ruling. His only response was to announce that the unions would file suit in Federal Court in an attempt to overturn the ruling. Woodcock should know that this suit has little chance of success, however; the Board's right to rule on labor contracts has already been established by rulings in Federal Courts dominated by Nixon appointees.

And despite his statement that the Board "should never meet again," Woodcock again failed to resign his position on the Board, as one of the five labor representatives. IAM President Fred Smith is also one of labor's representatives on the Pay Board, and he too has failed to take the obvious step of ending his criminal collaboration with Phase II.

Now, more than ever, it should be clear that the continued participation of Woodcock, AFL-CIO President George Meany, and other labor "leaders" on the Pay Board serves only to provide a public facade of impartiality for the Board's consistently anti-labor rulings.

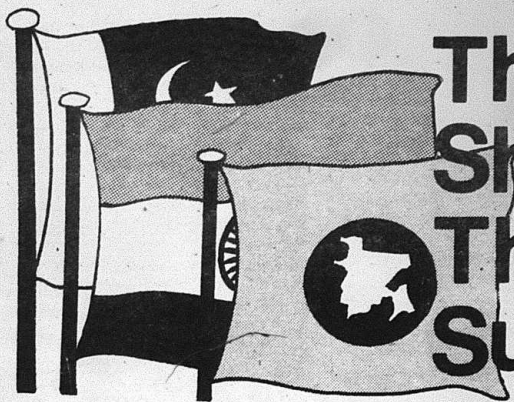
The defeat of the aerospace workers is in reality a defeat for all workers in America; it can only add momentum to the anti-labor drive launched by Nixon. And, because of their continued presence on the body which serves as the major tool in this attack, Leonard Woodcock and his fellow union bureaucrats must be regarded as parties to that defeat. No matter how many angry statements they make, their inaction speaks far louder than their words. ■

[Adapted from an article by Ken Fireman in *The Fifth Estate*, January 15, 1972.]

On Dec. 4, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charged that "women, blacks, and Spanish-surnamed Americans" are excluded from all but the lowest paying jobs in the trucking industry. The Commission suggested that the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) with the power to license trucking companies "would be best able to eliminate the shameful pattern of trucking industry discrimination."

The only response of the American Trucking Association, representing the companies, was to claim that there is no lawful basis to justify the ICC regulating hiring practices. Apparently the A.T.A. lawyers are unaware of a recent Supreme Court ruling concerning the ICC and the Railroads, which said that the ICC in fact is responsible for the welfare of employees in the industry.

The industry's own statistics for 1970 show that blacks hold 7.3 percent of the jobs in the industry, but only 2.4 percent of the white collar jobs and only 61 of 7,600 sales jobs. 93 percent of all women in the industry work in office and clerical jobs. Only 2.2 percent of management jobs are held by women. ■



The New Shape Of The Indian Subcontinent

The Indo-Pakistan war has decisively shifted the balance of power in South Asia. It has also postponed the achievement of an independent Bangla Desh for quite some time.

Indeed, independence is now further off than it was before the Indians converted the struggle into an Indo-Pakistan war. For now the struggle for an independent Bangla Desh is completely locked into the general struggle of Indians against the Indian ruling class. At the moment, that battle is less promising than the old war of Bengalis on the Pakistan ruling

1. PAKISTAN

For the rulers of Pakistan, the war is only the climax of catastrophe. Last March, the army moved into East Pakistan (East Bengal) to smash the most powerful challenge to its rule in Pakistan's history, the movement for an independent Bangla Desh. The brutality of that oppression laid waste the province. It drove out of the country into India 10 million refugees.

Rarely have the policies of a contemporary government been such a complete disaster. Despite the utmost savagery the rulers of Pakistan lost well over half the population, not to genuine independence but to their most consistent rival, India.

The institution around which the whole concept of Pakistan was built, the army, suffered a crippling defeat in what it claimed was its main reason for existence - fighting Indians. Even on the western front it lost far more territory than it gained and is in no position at all to bargain for what it hoped would save its face, a bit of Kashmir.

Pakistan is now a dwarf beside the Indian giant. The Indian army has demonstrated its unrivalled military superiority. The Indian generals have grown to be nine feet tall, and increasingly their shadows will grow long, not just over India and Pakistan, but over the whole of south Asia.

Politically, Pakistan's back has been broken. One general - Yahya Khan - has fallen. His prime minister and deputy prime minister (Bhutto), with a host of others, led the way in denouncing him as little better than an Indian spy. In this way, they worked to inherit the peace.

But what they have inherited could just as easily destroy them. The Pakistan people have been fooled for a long time by anti-Indianism and militarism. Bhutto has nothing to offer them except the same brew with more pepper, but in a very much smaller cup.

Pakistan needed its Eastern Pro-

vince to help support a military establishment of 302,000 men, costing - officially - 53 percent of the budget of Pakistan before the war. The costs of the war, the loss of East Pakistan, and the huge cumulative foreign debt (equal to a fifth of all the foreign exchange earning of the former unified Pakistan, of which the East produced about a fifth of the exports) will not just force a brutal contraction of the military, it will also make very difficult any expensive leftist adventures by Bhutto.

In any case, Bhutto's rhetoric has already frightened parts of the army and the conservative ruling order. He will have to make considerable concessions to them to be trusted, while his own following might develop more intransigent ambitions.

Tragically, the circumstances of massive military defeat for a people still passionately committed to war on India are hardly promising for a revolutionary movement of opposition. The anti-Indian chauvinism which always robbed radical movements in West Pakistan of their most powerful weapon against the ruling class still reigns supreme.

The generals and Bhutto may find it necessary for their own survival to make growing noises at the 22 families that control Pakistan capitalism - even to expropriate some or all of them. The various aspirants for power in the ruling class can play leapfrog in coup and counter coup. But in the absence of an organized revolutionary party that has unequivocally abandoned Pakistani chauvinism (and the reliance on the military which that chauvinism requires), no progressive way out of Pakistan's crisis will be found.

2. INDIA

In India, Indira Gandhi has emerged with a position of power unrivalled since independence. She has, at very little cost, achieved the central aim of Indian foreign policy since 1947, the reduction of the threat of Pakistan. She has also escaped with glory from the dangers facing her at home.

Last March, the Prime Minister won a massive electoral victory on what was claimed to be a left-wing program. She pledged herself to achieve a family income of Rs. 100 (£5.50) per month by 1975, and create half a million jobs this year.

The refugees who fled from East Pakistan, and the war, gave the government a marvellous opportunity to escape all these promises. War and victory will, at least temporarily, swamp any domestic critics, giving Gandhi complete power to squeeze, rather than increase, mass consumption.

The Indian Left (including the "Communist Party of India, Marxist") were loyal to Indian chauvinism to the end. They made no challenges of Indira Gandhi's war policy. In November, Gandhi suddenly announced that the presence of West Pakistani troops in East Bengal was a threat to Indian security - for the first time since 1947.

She went further. Just as Yahya Khan denied any independent role to the Bengalis by saying the whole revolt was the result of Indian intrigue, so Indira Gandhi began to argue that the refugees had been driven out of East Pakistan by the Pakistani army to force India to concede Kashmir.

The attitude of the Left meant that it could direct only minor criticisms at the reintroduction of the Preventive Detention Act last June (some squeamish critics changed the name to the Maintenance of Internal Security Act), the even more far-reaching Defense of India Act, the arrest of countless "undesirable elements," the escalation of

inflation and military expenditure, the cancellation of the State Assembly elections (originally scheduled for next February, now put off until March, 1973), and so on.

On the first day of the Lok Sabha winter session, Gandhi prevailed on the opposition parties to withdraw their censure motions. The workers have been told not to rock the boat (to end strikes, withdraw "excessive" pay claims, work harder, etc.). The army the Left has been supporting in East Bengal will now turn upon Indian socialists if they dare to be impertinent.

Nothing now checks Indian domination of south Asia. Given Indian dependence on Russian arms, that means the Soviet Union now has a powerful dominating role in the Indian Ocean. Russia's triumph is the defeat of the US and China. The US relied on the checkmate of India and Pakistan, being able to manipulate each separately. Now it cannot.

For India, the policy of nonalignment is now dead, except as a threat in propaganda hypocrisy. Dependence upon the Soviet Union has now become very great, and the Indian Government is likely to find itself in the unenviable position of Egypt, snared in a web of Soviet interests.

3. BENGAL DESH

The new Bangla Desh state is born in the most unpromising circumstances. Before last March's events, it was one of the poorest countries in a poverty stricken continent. Now, it has not recovered from last year's cyclone (200,000 dead), let alone this year's succession of civil war, savage Pakistani occupation, and now Indian invasion and occupation. On top of that, the Indians will be trying to shove back into East Bengal ten million refugees when their land and homes have already been scooped up by someone else.

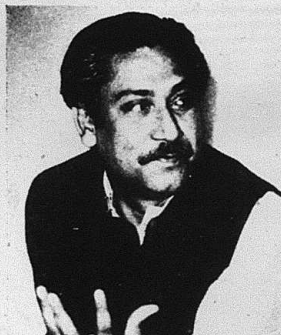
The political force created in a real struggle for independence might have been able to establish some stability in these desperate circumstances, provided it was clear the threat of Indian domination was already being neutralized by a revolutionary movement in India. But no such force has been created.

The Indian army has destroyed the hopes for an independent Bangla Desh. The Indian government has outflanked the guerillas, and has not been challenged at home while doing so.

The appalling repression by the Pakistan military has indeed been ended. But that - despite the joy of the crowds in Dacca - is not the same as independence. The Indian government will be delighted if the Bengalis



PRIME MINISTER GANDHI



SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN



PRESIDENT BHUTTO

are satisfied with an "independence" which means no more than the trivial symbols of a State -- a flag, a president, a seat in the United Nations. Those are things the Indians, if not the Pakistanis, can easily concede.

But the right of Bengalis to decide the affairs of East Bengal, regardless of the Indian ruling class, is quite a different matter. Indeed, at the moment, the new government has only Indian power to protect it from Bengalis. The war will not produce an independent government, only a puppet on strings pulled from Delhi.

As an Indian general put it: "We are taking territory and are not ashamed of it. *Bangla Desh must simply be ours if it is to remain stable. Some semblance of democracy can be created but no one in Delhi or elsewhere pretends that is the real reason we are here. Bangla Desh will be like Calcutta, which we keep firmly under our thumb from Delhi, with no nonsense of local autonomy.*" (Sunday Times, December 19)

The sleek Awami League gentlemen from Calcutta who have travelled to power in the tail of the Indian army cannot create their own power by magic. They are eager to establish their position, but that depends entirely upon the Indians. Independence by proxy is no independence at all. Indeed, so weak is the new government, it must inevitably continue to rely for a long time on Indians, in the army, the senior administrators and policemen now drafted into East Bengal by Delhi, and on Indian handouts.

During the war, the Mukhti Bahini guerrillas became, whether they know it or not, Mrs. Gandhi's public relations men. The Indian army directly supervised the guerrilla training camps, and the Indian Government both propped up the Provisional Government of Bangla Desh in Calcutta and supervised its relationships to other bodies. When the campaign started, the guerrillas were there to act as runners for the Indian army, not fighters for independence.

Today, the small inner core of the Mukhti Bahini can no doubt be absorbed in the new State as army and police, although the Indians will severely circumscribe their power and prerogatives. *But the mass of young men with guns cannot.* The Indians know it and are moving rapidly to try to disarm them.

For these young men, resentful that they who fought inside East Bengal are offered now only a return to their old life, whereas those who went into exile have inherited all, learning the lessons will be hard. If, like the Maoist cadres in the countryside, they already see the drift of events, they will prepare for the long and bitter struggle against Indian military domination.

The sooner the guerrillas set out to expel the new invader, the sooner will the struggle for independence once more begin. Without it, Bangla Desh will be a prison for poverty, with Indian jailers.

Meanwhile, the border with India is too long for the Indians to bottle up Bengali poverty outside of India. Gun running and the exchange of political cadres across the border -- the other side of the coin to the flood of Indian carpet baggers into East Bengal -- almost certainly will spread the chronic revolutionary infection into India's heartlands. ■

[John Ashdown is a member of the British International Socialists.]

NIXON MEMOS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Anderson's memos also offer us -- again like the Pentagon Papers -- an interesting study of the mechanics of US imperialism. Neutrality? Treaties? National sovereignty? International law? -- they are all so much rhetorical window dressing, to be taken up or discarded at will, used to hide the real relationships among competing powers.

The US government will do whatever it can get away with to achieve its ends (its problem is that recently it has been able to achieve less and less). To placate public opinion, it announces an embargo on arms to Pakistan's US-trained-and-equipped army. To try to hold back India, it makes plans to send arms to Pakistan secretly through other nations.

STRANGE COURSE

At the same time, one can't help but feel that all this seems a strange course for such a crafty politician as Nixon to follow, especially preceding an election. The public was solidly opposed to any actions that might involve the US in a new war.

Those who knew anything about the situation were pro-Bangla Desh. Most politicians, Republican and Democrat, were in favor of either a pro-India position or one that was critically neutral towards both.

Nixon even complained (through Kissinger) that the members of his own inner circle were "not being tough enough on India" and "not tilting in favor of Pakistan." Confirmation of their disaffection with Nixon's policies was provided by the speed with which the "secret" documents were leaked to Jack Anderson.

Some attempts have been made to discover just why Nixon and his opponents lined up the way they did. Most of the explanations have been grossly superficial.

One such is that Nixon simply likes Yahya Khan and dislikes Indira Gandhi, possibly because of the way they comb their hair. This can be dismissed without further consideration. Any politician incapable of cuddling up to those he hates and selling out those he likes would never get as far as the Burbank City Council.

The same holds true for the view that Nixon's critics support India because it is a democracy and oppose Pakistan because it is a dictatorship. None of them have demonstrated qualms about supporting dictatorships in the past -- and in any case, India abolished all democratic rights as soon as the war crisis broke out.

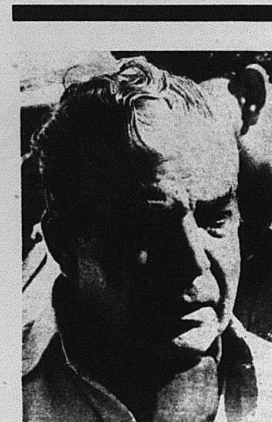
FAITHFUL FRIEND

One factor underlying Nixon's stubborn support for Pakistan may well have been a desire to shore up his new-found friendship with China. China backs Pakistan as the enemy of its enemies Russia and India. Nixon must have been reluctant to offend China by refusing to help Pakistan,

since so much is riding on his upcoming visit to China (his election-year prestige, his hopes to use Chinese influence to minimize the Vietnam defeat, his need for a powerful ally to counterbalance the growing role of Japan in Asia).

CONTAINMENT

Also, Nixon may have doubted the ability of the Indians to keep a tight reign on Bangla Desh once the Pakistanis were kicked out. Neither Nixon nor his pro-India advisors has any sympathy with a genuinely independent Bangla Desh. If India were to fail to replace Pakistan's brutal domination with a more subtle hegemony of its own, then all sorts of oppressed nationalities throughout the Indian subcontinent -- the West Bengalis, the Tamils, the Punjabis; in Kashmir, in Nagaland, in the Mizo country -- might begin demanding independence too. The stability of the whole region could be undermined.



Yahya Khan

Both Nixon and his advisors want to see the basic status quo preserved. Their differences were really tactical ones, whether "law and order" could best be inflicted upon the Bangalese by the Pakistanis or the Indians.

Nixon may have feared that once the Bangalese had seen their Pakistani oppressors defeated, they would be in no mood to bend their necks for a Hindu yoke. Many of those who spoke

against Pakistani terror in Bangla Desh are now demanding that India occupy the area indefinitely and disarm the Nukti Bahini, with the best liberal and humanitarian motives of course.

But Nixon's decision to sack with Pakistan despite the risks involved was primarily motivated by the need to contain India.

Both Pakistan and India have always been loyal members of the capitalist camp, despite India's erstwhile "neutralist" pose; the Indian bourgeoisie is well aware that its fate in the last analysis is tied to that of capitalism as a world system. But in the short run, India has imperial designs of its own, and is by no means content to stagnate as a docile subordinate to American power.

As a result US strategy in the Indian subcontinent for years has been based upon playing Pakistan off against India. Pakistan's military establishment, the most powerful social force in the country, is in part a US creation. The US has always underwritten Pakistan's strength in order to limit India's ambitions and hold off Russian penetration into the area.

Thus, whatever the costs, Nixon could hardly sit idly by while India reduced Pakistan to a shadow of its former self.

IMPOTENT GIANT

Nixon's main error was overestimating his ability to bluff India. The gambit could only have succeeded if he had been capable of massive military intervention on the side of Pakistan. But neither the public nor the rank and file of the army were in any mood to tolerate such adventures.

Any attempt to send troops to Bangla Desh would have produced a response that would have made the Vietnam war look like the Fourth of July. No doubt Nixon knew this. Now he knows that Indira Gandhi knew it too.

The willingness of someone other than Nixon's own staff to reveal the truth about the US role in the war under scores the magnitude of the American defeat on the Indian subcontinent. Pakistan has been humbled, India has been unleashed; China has been emboldened, Russia's position has been greatly enhanced.

A great, howling, impotent giant, US imperialism has been bested once more. Its hands have been tied by the unrest of its own people. ■



Kissinger "briefs" the Washington press



The International bureaucracy is opposed to out-of-state picketing, but does not dare condemn it publicly.

The out-of-state picketing was resumed just before Christmas, when several carloads of 1101 members travelled to Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. Again the response of workers everywhere was one of solidarity and sympathy.

Particularly in Washington, where plant and traffic workers (operators) are all in CWA, dozen of workers went out of their way to aid the New York strikers in closing down several buildings for the entire day. Members of the Washington plant local, Local 2336, invited the 1101 members to their union meeting, where they collected money for the strikers and gave a moving demonstration of their solidarity.

RANKS MUST ACT

The outstanding fact about all the out-of-state picketing -- and more is certain to follow -- is that it has been carried out by rank and file union militants and some leaders without the sanction of the Local and despite the disapproval of the International. Clearly an effective means to combat out of state scabbing, these long range "flying squads" (at least one of which actually flew) represent the kind of bold and imaginative action that is needed to defeat a monster like the Bell System.

As we have pointed out in past issues of *Workers' Power*, Bell has the support of the government, the courts, and the rest of the employing class. The winning of even small concessions from "Ma Bell" requires a national response, which the out-of-state picketing can help to create, and the support of the rest of the labor movement, particularly in New York City and State.

Whatever the immediate future of the telephone strike, the strikers have already shown that determined rank and file militants can force the labor bureaucracy to do certain things, including get out of the way. Those who sit around and wait for "the union" to do it, by which they mean the union leaders, will always be disappointed. Those who believe that nothing can be done, that "they" are too powerful, are also wrong.

With a strategy and an understanding of what the real power relationships are, mass rank and file action can change things. Such action can, and may yet, win the New York Telephone strike. ■

Telephone Strikers On The Road

Brian Mackenzie

The strike of New York telephone plant workers is now nearly six months old. With no change of position on the part of the company or the union, the strike remains an apparent dead-lock.

The attempts at "high level" bargaining made by Communications Workers of America President Joe Bieme don't seem to have netted even enough for Bieme to drum up a sell-out. The company's intransigence remains equalled by the determined resistance of the workers and their will to beat the Bell System.

The company has been able to maintain a minimum level of telephone service in New York, and thereby prolong the strike, in part because they have been importing management personnel from other Bell System companies to work in New York. For months members of the United Action caucus in CWA Local 1101 have urged the local to send pickets out-of-state to close down companies who have been sending the scabs to New York.

But 1101 President, Rick Carnivale has steadfastly refused to do

this, or anything that might antagonize Joe Bieme. Finally, however, union Vice-President, Ed Dempsey decided to push this program himself.

FLYING SQUADS

Several weeks ago, car loads of 1101 members descended on telephone buildings in Newark, New Jersey. New Jersey telephone workers, most of whom are in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers rather than the CWA, recognized the lines and gave the New York strikers a warm response. Following this success, other New Jersey telephone buildings and garages were hit, with equal success.

Simultaneously, members of CWA sister Local 1106, in Westchester County, hit buildings in Connecticut. Everywhere the response was great.

These first out-of-town trips were all within CWA District 1, the administrative district including New York, New Jersey, and New England. While there was some grumbling from the International, District Director Morton Barh said the picketing was "alright"

so long as it remained within District 1. Shortly after the New Jersey demonstration, however, Ed Dempsey and two other 1101 members flew to Detroit and appeared as a picket line in front of one of Detroit's major Central Offices.

Again, the response of the Detroit workers, and even local CWA officials, was friendly and cooperative. The building was closed down as long as the picket line was maintained (which unfortunately was only for about two hours).

Now the grumblings from the International became louder. There were rumors about threats to withdraw the Defense Fund.

When confronted directly, all the International bureaucrats, including Joe Bieme, have denied that they would take such a step. It does in fact seem unlikely that they would withdraw Defense Fund money from New York, since such a move would embroil the CWA in a wave of secessionist movements among its largest locals.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) recently released a report exposing the racist and sexist structure of the Bell System. [See *Workers' Power* No. 48].

While this report adequately described racist and sexist hiring and placement policies, it hardly touched the surface of the day-to-day humiliation faced by workers on the Bell System plantation.

The following incident is typical. Black operators at the Central Office serving the Harlem community in New York face constant harassment, and recently staged a walk-out. In December, a black operator asked for one day's unpaid leave to attend to her father who was seriously ill. White Traffic Manager Kathryn Wilcox refused her request. Shortly afterwards, a

white operator asked for a day off because her dog had died. Kathryn Wilcox said yes to this woman's request.

The black operators at the Harlem Central Office are not sitting still for this sort of racist harassment; they are beginning to organize themselves for action. They want to bring together all operators, black and white, who are willing to fight. They are asking help from the striking craftsmen (mostly white), and from the Harlem community.

An alliance must be built of all telephone workers to fight the in common enemy, the Bell System, and its racism and sexism. Doubly victimized by Bell, black women workers will very likely play a leading role when such an alliance becomes a reality. ■

Black Operators Fight Back



As the militants of the Movimiento Pro Independencia raised their clenched fists to sing the battle march of working class revolution -- the Internationale -- they proclaimed the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno. The decisions reached at the November assembly in Bayamon, Puerto Rico are an important step forward for both the organization and for the fight for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico.

The name change from Movimiento Pro Independencia (M.P.I., Movement for Independence) to Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno (P.S.P., The Socialist Party of the Puerto Rican People) represents a crucial change in political strategy for the organization. Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the new P.S.P., said that the time is ripe for the recruitment of thousands of workers into the new party.

This development can completely change the direction and character of the independence movement, previously dominated by professionals, intellectuals, students, and others from the middle class.

Underscoring the change in strategy is the tremendous ferment and growth of independence sentiment and radicalization among Puerto Rican workers and youth. The recent mass march of 100,000 people on September 12 (see Workers' Power No. 45) and the workers demonstrations against Nixon's anti-labor legislation are just a preview of what is to come.

WORKERS REPUBLIC

At the November conference the P.S.P. stressed the necessity to fight for a democratic socialist workers republic. Four cornerstones of their program were passed: (1) Independence for Puerto Rico, (2) Reconquest of the Puerto Rican heritage, (3) Socialization of the means of production by the working class, and (4) Use of revolutionary violence as necessary against the repressive violence of the rulers.

The fundamental goal of the new party is:

"The transformation of the colonial-capitalist structure existing in Puerto Rico into a Democratic Socialist Workers Republic of Puerto Rico... ruled by the working class in alliance with all exploited classes and the conquest of national independence."

The assembly took another large step forward when it decided to play an active role in the struggles of Puerto Rican people living in the US. In the past the M.P.I. had viewed Puerto Ricans in the US as an appendage and support group of the movement on the island, rather than as active fighters against US capitalism.

The developing organization and militancy of Puerto Ricans in the US, around their social needs -- jobs, housing, schools, medical care, and wages -- are making their impact felt. Puerto Ricans are an important part of the working class in the United States and will play a vital role in the struggle of the North American working class.

The working class direction of the assembly shows the gigantic strides it has made in a very short time. Only a few years ago M.P.I. defined itself as "An alliance of classes, progressive ideological tendencies, and different generations."

However, the P.S.P. has not shaken off all its baggage from the past and is still unclear on certain crucial points. If it is to become a genuine revolutionary socialist party which can lead the



Puerto Rican working class to socialism, then it will have to further transform its politics.

The M.P.I. split in the late 1950's from the Partido Independista Puertorriqueno (PIP). The P.I.P., while formally for independence, did not link this demand to a program for transformation of the social system. Because the P.I.P. did not tie the independence demand to a social analysis, they have in the past supported US imperialism (for example, the Korean War). They did not take part in the huge movement against the US draft in the 1940's.

The P.I.P. has moved leftward under the pressure of events. It has begun in the last few years to participate in social struggles, such as squatters actions and the battle to get the US Navy off the island of Culebra (an island off the Puerto Rican Coast). With the M.P.I., it co-sponsored the September 12 independence march. The leader of the P.I.P., Ruben Berrios, has recently come out for self-defense of the independence movement against government attack, an important change from its former pacifist stance.

But in spite of increased militancy, the P.I.P. still remains a reformist electoral party whose concept of "socialism" is not based upon the working class, but on "all men of good will." What murky program it has modeled on Swedish welfare capitalism.

The M.P.I. was far more radical and action-oriented than its parent. It was able to attract members from the Nationalist Party, the Communist Party, and the new left. M.P.I. militants and those of its students groups, F.E.P.I. and F.U.P.I., have provided leadership in student, anti-colonialist and anti-militarist struggles in Puerto Rico over the last decade.

Although its base was largely among students and youth, its appeal was often specifically working class oriented.

The M.P.I. supported and intervened in strikes. Unlike the P.I.P., it linked the independence demand to the fight against US colonialism and capitalism.

However, as its name, Movimiento Pro Independencia, implied it was a movement containing a wide variety of political elements within a militant pro-independence position. The political heritage of the P.I.P.'s reformist and its social democracy, pro-Moscow CP's, and the new left, still bear their imprint on the politics of the new P.S.P.

Some of the problems of the P.S.P. are revealed in its attitude towards the 1972 elections. In the past the M.P.I., like most of the Puerto Rican left, had abstained from elections. From a socialist point of view this tactical question has to be linked to the consciousness of the working class. Because most Puerto Rican workers, like US workers, still believe in the electoral process, socialists must not leave the field free, but use the elections as a method of exposing imperialism and the parties which represent it.

The P.S.P. is advocating a united front for the elections with the P.I.P., or else no vote. They feel that if they cannot join with the P.I.P. they would not have the strength to run a separate campaign. Certainly their wish to join in a united front is highly desirable: however the question must be asked ON WHAT TERMS?

If the election campaign is going to educate the workers on the relationship between independence and the problems they face, then the politics of the campaign must be clearly anti-imperialist with a working class program. Otherwise there is no reason to expect the working class to automatically support the independence demand.

There are questions which workers will inevitably ask which must be

answered if the left is going to win their support: Won't independence and chasing yankee business off the island mean economic ruin and no jobs? (Aren't a few crumbs better than an empty plate?)

Another question workers will legitimately ask is, why should the US government honor the results of an election? In 1965, the mere threat of the election of a left nationalist government in nearby Dominican Republic was sufficient cause for US troops and tanks to occupy Santo Domingo, the capital. Electoral victories cannot be a substitute for the muscle of working class social power.

The proposed electoral alliance with the P.I.P. is not clear on these and other vital political questions. Such a coalition must not result in the subordination of the P.S.P.'s program to the reformist politics of the P.I.P., for this would be a step backwards from the stated goal of winning workers to its program. Nor will the P.S.P. be able to attract the many good militants from the P.I.P. if it subordinates its own politics.

STRATEGIES

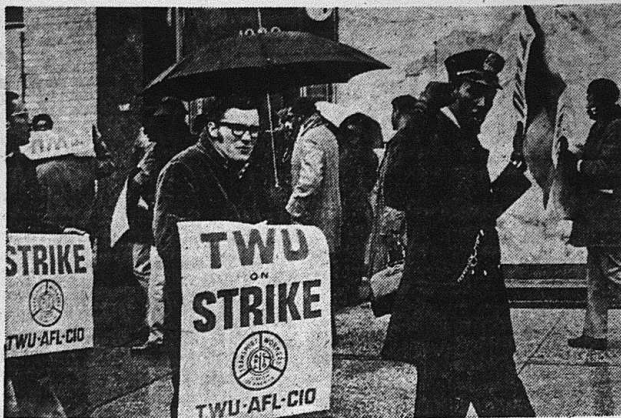
For some in the P.S.P., the proposed electoral coalition with the P.I.P. is Puerto Rico's version of Chile's electoral coalition, led by Salvador Allende, which claims to be the "peaceful road to socialism." But while Allende has nationalized the US mines, workers are discouraged from seizing the factories and mines, peasants from taking the land. The government has consistently opposed workers demands for higher wages leading to a rash of strikes. At the same time the Allende regime has bent over backward to placate the middle class and the military. By refusing to arm the workers it has laid the basis for a right-wing coup, Bolivia style.

Others in the P.S.P. are attracted to the Cuban and Chinese revolutions or the terrorist strategy of the Tupamaros in Uruguay (or CAL in Puerto Rico). All these models would spell disaster for the Puerto Rican working class because they are not in fact, in spite of their loud cries of being "socialist" working class strategies.

Both in China and in Cuba -- as in all the self-styled "Communist" countries -- the old regimes have been replaced by a new, exploitative ruling class, a totalitarian bureaucracy that puts new chains on the working class even as it gives US imperialism a well-deserved boot.

If the P.S.P. is to live up to its tremendous potential it will have to sweep away these anti-working class strategies and base its own revolutionary strategy upon the independent, conscious initiative of the working class. In the course of struggle it must develop a program which, based upon working class leadership, can attract the urban unemployed, the rural poor, students, and others into the fight for socialism.

A victory will mean a bitter defeat for US imperialism and help to spark revolutions throughout the Caribbean and South America. The participation of Puerto Rican revolutionaries in the United States can be an important factor in building a revolutionary party which can lead not only Puerto Rican workers but all workers in the fight for socialism. The creation of a Puerto Rican workers' state will be the beginning of the real history of the Puerto Rican people. ■



TRANSIT WORKERS BLAST CONTRACT

On Tuesday, January 5, 200 angry rank and file bus and subway workers demonstrated in front of the offices of their collective bargaining representative, the Transport Workers Union. They said they planned to continue and enlarge the demonstrations against the 27 month contract agreed to by union representatives in the wee hours of New Year's day.

The transport workers had been asking for a 30 percent increase at the start of an expected two year contract. Instead, the agreement was for 6 percent on January 1, 1972, 6 percent on January 1, 1973, and 6 percent on January 1, 1974 applying only to the extra 3 months added on to the contract.

The TWU had also demanded a 32 hour week for 40 hours pay (to put a

stop to the rapidly dwindling work force), a cost-of-living escalator clause that would include retirees in its coverage, time-and-a-half for all weekend work, and double time for all holiday work. The gains on these demands were a big round zero.

Instead of a proposed 10 percent night differential the contract provided only 2 percent on each of three steps. Of the 3 additional holidays they requested, the workers got none. For extended sick leave, they got the New York City Transit Authority to agree to up their annual contribution for employee health and welfare benefits from \$400 to \$450 per person. The already existing right to retire after 20 years at age 50 was made uniform throughout the bus and subway system.

In exchange for so little, the union

negotiators agreed to the establishment of a joint union-management team "to review maintenance operations to see whether they can be improved and streamlined to increase efficiency and productivity." Disputes will be settled by an "impartial" arbitrator. "Speed Up and worse conditions!" has been the response of the rank and file.

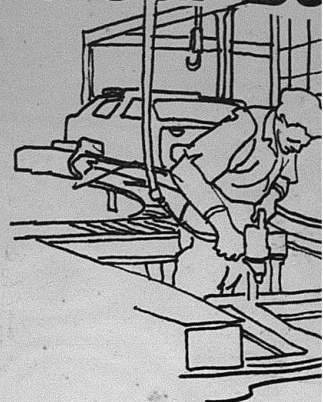
The contract has already gone into effect - despite the fact that the mail ballots, on which the workers will register their approval or disapproval, have not been mailed out, nor has a date for their mailing even been set.

On top of what will already be a cut in buying power due to galloping inflation over the two years since the last contract, the transit workers, like all New Yorkers, will be paying a 2½ percent added surcharge on state income tax, 3 cents additional (to make a total of 15 cents) state tax on a pack of cigarettes, and more for gasoline and liquor taxes.

To make the pill even more bitter, the Democratic and Republican politicians (who bulldozed this package through the New York State Legislature) are trying to hoodwink other wage earners ("the public") into blaming the transit workers for these tax increases, the 5 cents a ride higher transit fares, and the doubling of bridge and tunnel tolls within New York City. (For a working person who lives in Staten Island, who drives to work, this means \$6 a week extra for tolls alone.)

So the transit workers got less than peanuts, and they and all working people are being subjected to highway robbery by Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and the banks and corporations whom they represent - as can be seen from the shrinking share of the tax burden born by banks and corporation, while workers' taxes go up and up. ■

Recess Four-Da



The UAW and Chrysler Corp. broke off negotiations over a proposed four-day work week after their bargaining session in Detroit on December 13.

The union had been negotiating with Chrysler for nearly a year in an attempt to set up an experimental program at a Chrysler plant, in which workers would work a four-day week of ten-hour days.

The two sides had conducted lengthy studies of the proposed experiment over the year. But Chrysler resisted actual implementation due to disputes over the application of overtime.

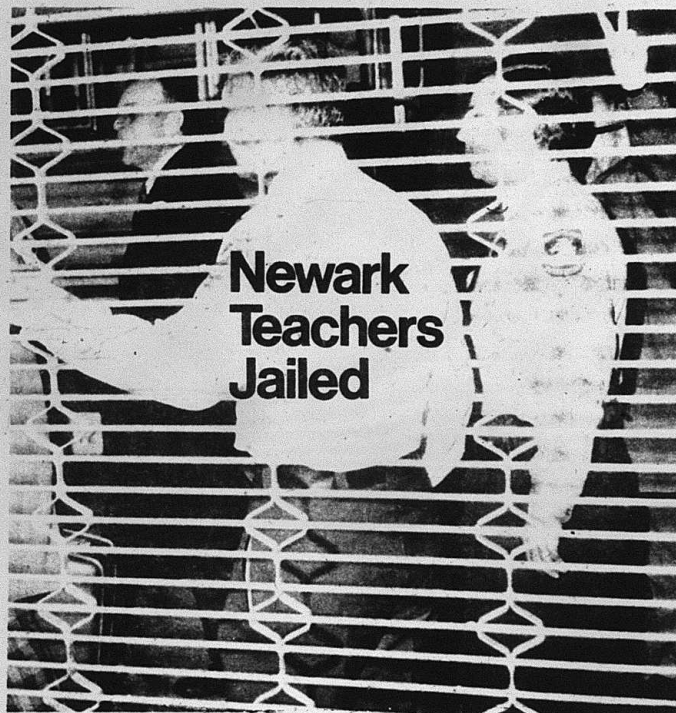
Finally, UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser announced that the scheduled meeting of Dec. 13 was a "last-chance" meeting to get an agree-

185 Newark teachers went to jail on Christmas eve. This was the most massive imprisonment of union members for striking in over 30 years. Their crime? - picketing in defiance of a court injunction.

The sentences run from 10 days to 90 days, the latter for Carol Graves, President of the Newark Teachers Union, and six other officers. Along with the fines, close to \$400,000, the sentences represent a concerted effort at union busting. In this case, the courts are doing the dirty work of Mayor Gibson and the Newark School Board.

Despite the gravity of the case, the NTU has received only nominal support from the labor movement (except for its parent union, the American Federation of Teachers, which is paying half the fines). The best the New York City Central Labor Council could manage was a protest rally of a few hundred. The national AFL-CIO has met this attack on all labor with nothing but a resolution of protest against the use of injunctions (a resolution which fails to mention the right of public employees to strike and makes no offer of financial help).

Back in 1968, when the New York City United Federation of Teachers was fined for its strike (aimed at the black community), the national AFL-CIO did pick up the \$270,000



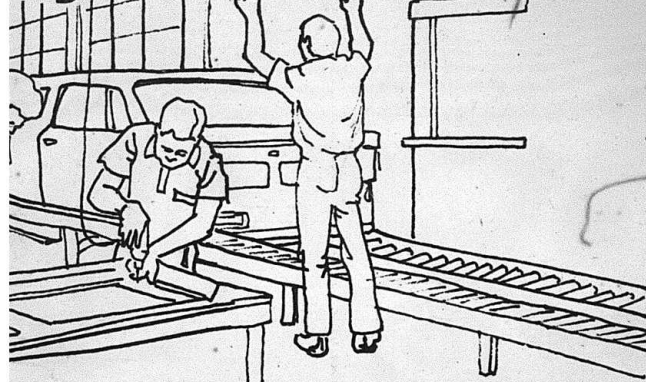
fine. Labor's present refusal to give the Newark Teachers' Union any real help is a result of the fact that the AFL-CIO and President Meany oppose the right of public employees to strike.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats support compulsory binding arbitration for public employees. Last year, Meany officially proposed to Nixon that the AFL-CIO and the administration jointly sponsor such legislation. (Such a bill, with labor's acquiescence, has already been passed in New York City.)

Further evidence that public employee strikes are contrary to Meany's policy can be seen in Meany's refusal to support the great 1970 postal workers strike. Instead he lined up with Nixon and the strike-breaking president of the postal union, called upon the workers to end the strike and condoned Nixon's use of troops in New York City to break the strike. ■

[Individuals and local unions who realize the threat to labor in the Newark jailings and wish to aid the union should send funds and resolutions. In addition, friends of the NTU should solicit the help of county labor bodies in their areas. All communications should be addressed to: Newark Teachers Union, 804 Clinton Ave., Newark, New Jersey 07108.]

Union Kills Day-Week Talks



ment. Before this meeting, Fraser said:

"We think the time has come for the studies to end and the experiment to begin... if the corporation does not agree, at the Dec. 13 meeting, to begin such an experiment, then we see no point in continuing discussions of this matter."

When the meeting produced no agreement on concrete implementation, the union bargainers announced that the negotiations were at an end. Fraser later stated that the four-day week issue would be a "priority demand" when the UAW negotiates new national contracts with the auto companies in 1973.

The original idea for the study on the four-day week came out of the contract negotiations between Chry-

sler and the UAW a year ago. At the time, the auto companies were intensely concerned over rising absenteeism and a high turnover rate, which created an "unstable" work force in their plants. The four-day week was seen as a possible solution to this problem.

But in the past year, as the recession grew worse and jobs in auto grew scarce, both the absentee and turnover rate began to drop. Workers simply couldn't afford to take time off and risk both short paychecks and possible discipline as the company cracked down. As a result, Chrysler lost interest in the project.

The UAW leadership has not lost interest; however, and is carrying on an intensive campaign among its own membership to build support for the

Union Democracy?

On September 13, the Executive Board of the American Federation of Teachers Local 61 in San Francisco introduced a motion to endorse Joseph Alioto for re-election as Mayor -- despite his outspoken, often demagogic opposition to school busing, which the union supports.

A good deal of rank-and-file opposition developed during the floor debate of the proposal. Alioto was attacked not only for his hypocritical stand on school integration, but also for being a "blood-sucking lawyer" and for having done nothing to implement the school board's agreement to reduce class size, that the union won in 1968. The traditional argument that Democrat Alioto would act as a "friend of labor" in strike situations carried little weight given the role he played in breaking past municipal strikes in San Francisco.

In all, not one speaker could be found rising from the floor to defend Alioto. A motion to take no position

on the endorsement of a mayor passed easily on a voice vote.

However, when the San Francisco Labor Council COPE voted to endorse Alioto, the Reporter, the news bulletin of Local 61, featured this fact "as usual" without even a mention of the local's official position of non-endorsement.

At the next membership meeting, the night before the election, cards were passed out presenting labor's endorsements, including the recommendation for Alioto. A member introduced a motion condemning this kind of undemocratic practice.

The COPE delegates then refused to say how they had voted, explaining that they had interpreted the "no endorsement" resolution to mean they were free to "vote their consciences." People who so cynically ignore democratic decisions ought to be more careful than to claim in public that they possess a conscience. ■

[Loretta Martin is a San Francisco city employee.]

four-day week. The problem with this program is that it simply doesn't speak to the real issues.

First of all, so long as the company can force workers to work overtime hours, it is very unclear how much things would change under a "four-day week." Auto workers today are supposed to be on a 40-hour work week; yet during peak production seasons they are forced to work 50 to 60 hour weeks with no right of refusal in most plants. And the UAW leadership has proved itself unwilling to fight for

and win a "no compulsory overtime" clause in any national contract.

Until the UAW wages a real fight around working conditions -- for workers' control of line speed and production standards, for a real grievance procedure, etc. -- the urge to "take a day off" will remain in the minds of auto workers as a voice of sanity in an increasingly inhuman and repressive work situation. ■

[Reprinted from *The Fifth Estate*, December 23, 1971]

Federal Judge Otto Kerner II -- former Governor of Illinois and chairman of the National Commission on Civil Disorders -- was indicted last month for conspiracy, mail fraud, perjury, tax evasion, and bribery, in connection with a race track stock deal. Although the newspapers are scandalized, there is nothing surprising about evidence that this judge is corrupt.

Otto Kerner I, the Judge's father, started his political career as a Chicago alderman. He worked his way up through the Illinois courts to become Attorney General of Illinois in 1933. He then became a judge on the US Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit, the same position his son now holds. Otto Jur. made the most of his well-connected beginnings. He married the daughter of former Mayor Cernak of Chicago.

Kerner's first major office was that of Governor of Illinois. He was nominated and backed by the Daley machine, and running against the corrupt incumbent, William Stratton.

Kerner ran and was elected as a clean but well-favored dark horse. His campaign was based on the celebrated scandals of the Stratton administration. (After his defeat, Stratton was indicted for tax evasion.)

Kerner's administration as governor was fairly uneventful. However, he gained national prominence in his second term, when he was appointed by

President Johnson to head the National Commission on Civil Disorders. After deciding not to run for a third term as governor in 1968, Kerner was appointed to the Federal Appellate Court by Johnson.

Kerner's administration was not so uneventful as to be free of the minor scandals so common in Illinois politics. There were many, some of which involved Theodore Isaacs, Kerner's Director of Finance and now his co-defendant. But the biggest scandal was not discovered until Kerner was safely on the bench.

Secretary of State Paul Powell, prominent figure in many scandals, died -- leaving 6 million dollars in cash in his shoeboxes. It has now been found that this same Paul Powell was also instrumental in arranging a race track stock deal for state politicians. Kerner was one of the parties to this deal, which arranged for stock worth \$300,000 to be purchased by state officers for \$58,000, more of a gift than a sale, in return for granting that tract the choice racing dates.

Like many politicians, Kerner was appointed judge at the end of his public career. Politicians become judges -- their grimy political pasts are covered by their robes of justice. Unlike most, however, Kerner was caught, and caught after he became a judge. ■

There Goes The Judge



Kerner (center) with Roy Wilkins and LBJ in 1967

THE OTHER WARS

Bon Flaherty

The November 18 military coup in Thailand came against the background of a striking increase in guerilla activity throughout Southeast Asia. All the optimistic talk from western politicians about the war in Indochina "winding down" has an air of unreality when seen from here, where every day brings reports of increased fighting, and of the growing strength of the guerillas, in Cambodia, Thailand and Malaysia.

Five days before the coup, Thailand's "Chief of Communist Suppression," General Saiyud Kerdphol, warned that Thailand could become a

Second Vietnam by 1977. He estimated there were 5,000 "hard-core" guerillas entering the "second stage" of insurgency, involving attacks on government forces and unfriendly villages.

Kerdphol said many villagers in rural areas were now supporting guerillas against the government. The General's warnings are backed up by daily reports in Bangkok newspapers of ambushes of government patrols.

In Cambodia too the war has heated up a great deal. Government troops were badly mauled by North Vietnamese troops during a big prestige drive to open up roads in the north of the

country. As fighting continued in the north, guerilla outfits moved to within 8 miles of Phnom Penh, shelling the airport for 4 days running and killing 20 persons.

The Cambodian government also dropped its only semblance of democratic rule by dissolving the National Assembly, a few days before the coup in Thailand.

NEW DIMENSION

If these events are not surprising in countries that have long been involved in the Southeast Asia war, then the latest news in Malaysia does add a new dimension. Government security forces have fenced in the logging village of Tanah Hitam, in the northern state of Perak, and plans are being made to fence off three more villages in the area, where a guerilla camp was recently discovered.

The government measures point to a return to the methods of the Malayan Emergency, the period of heavy guerilla fighting in the fifties. It was during that fighting that the notorious, "strategic hamlet" strategy was developed, later copied unsuccessfully in Vietnam. The Malay villagers will be required to keep records of all residents and visitors, and may have all their food carefully controlled to keep them from sheltering or feeding guerillas.

Government ministers in Perak conceded that the guerillas had won considerable support from both Malay and Chinese residents of the area. This is immensely significant, since one of the main reasons for the defeat of the insurgents during the Emergency was their lack of support from Malays, who are the majority in rural areas. Their support at that time came largely from the Chinese minority.

The integration of the Chinese into a larger national liberation movement would be a tremendous step forward in both Thailand and Malaysia. Popular hostility to Chinese businessmen is a trump card in the hands of the right wing.

Thai military dictator Marshal Thanom Kittichakoru defended the military coup on the grounds of "the threat of a swing to Communism by Thailand's Chinese population inspired by Peking's entry into the United Nations." This "threat" is obviously fabricated to serve a cynical end -- it is designed to mobilize support for the regime by playing on widespread popular sentiment against the "foreign minority that controls the economy."

(In Thailand, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the Chinese are heavily concentrated in the small-business sector.)

In Malaysia, Malays fought Chinese in violent race riots two years ago, and there is a lot of bitter hatred just beneath the surface. A movement for social change must overcome this polarization, and break Malay workers and peasants from their chauvinist reliance on Malay capitalists. Perhaps a start is being made in those northern villages.

If a second Vietnam develops in Thailand, and perhaps a third in Southeast Asia, the local capitalist governments will have to face the threat without the kind of massive American involvement that has kept Thier and Ky afloat so long. The American public will not tolerate another big commitment so soon, and the fight over the foreign aid bill demonstrates similar feelings among a powerful section of the US ruling class. Nixon's China trip also points to a desire for an "understanding" with Communism in Asia.

NEUTRALIZATION?

As a result both Malaya and Thailand are making cautious overtures to Peking. Malaya has proposed an ambitious plan to "neutralize" Southeast Asia, and Thailand has given it cautious support. Both are talking about trade with China.

Both governments clearly hope that a "neutralized" Southeast Asia will be acceptable enough to the Chinese that the Peking rulers will "call off" the guerillas. If they are abandoned by the United States, this could be these governments' only hope.

(Ironically enough, this is probably part of the reason for the Thai coup: if the Bangkok regime is to make a major change of course in foreign policy, it prefers to do it without the annoyance of critics in the press and the government. Marshall law was a convenient solution.)

China showed during the revolts in Bangla Desh and Ceylon that it is less concerned with revolution than with maintaining friendly governments in power. It is possible, then, that Mao might indeed be persuaded to withdraw support from the Thai and Malaysian guerillas.

But "calling them off" is another matter. For the guerillas spring not from the thoughts of Mao but from the poverty and hunger of the Asian countryside. As long as these persist, the war in Southeast Asia will never "wind down" for very long. ■

Cambodia: Pawn In The Game?

After the overthrow of Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk (a neutralist who leaned toward North Vietnam and China) in 1970, Sihanouk set up court in Peking ahead of the "Royal Cambodian Government of National Union." Supposedly, the Royal Government is engaged in a war of liberation to rally the peasantry behind Sihanouk and against the US-backed dictatorship of Lon Nol.

Actually, according to a recent report in the British newspaper, *The Manchester Guardian*, North Vietnam is giving little support to the "Sihanouk army," which remains quite small and relatively inactive. Instead, North Vietnam maintains 60,000 troops in Cambodia, only 8,000 or so being engaged in action against the Cambodian army (the rest are reserves, mainly for action in South Vietnam).

North Vietnam's intention apparent-

ly is to use the Cambodian insurgents to back up its own actions, not vice-versa -- according to one neutralist diplomat quoted by the *Manchester Guardian*, North Vietnam's troops "are not building a road to Phnom Penh, but taking an unavoidable detour on the road to Saigon."

What happens in Cambodia will be determined by the alignment of forces between the US and North Vietnam, with China and other powers looking on as anxious aunts. North Vietnam's refusal to build up the Cambodian insurgents will make it impossible for them to act as an independent force. The specific outcome cannot be predicted, but one possibility which cannot be overlooked is that North Vietnam will agree to call off the war against Lon Nol in return for its goal of a coalition government in Saigon. ■



SIHANOUK

Sun Sets On British C.P.

Ian Birchall



The British Communist Party, which has just held its thirty-second congress, is facing grave problems. Its membership is in steady decline: it is now 28,803, compared with 30,607 in June 1969, and 34,281 in 1964. And this is, of course, paper membership — the active membership is far lower.

The Party produces a daily paper, the *Morning Star*, with a press run of forty to fifty thousand. Twenty-five thousand of these go to Eastern Europe. Simple arithmetic reveals that not all the Party's members buy its paper, let alone sell it. The youth section, faced with vigorous competition from more radical tendencies, has almost disintegrated.

An understanding of the peculiar role of the Communist Party is essen-

tial to any clear view of what is going on in the British labour movement. In terms of parliamentary elections the Party has never gotten anywhere. In 1945 it had two members of Parliament; now it has none, and gets derisory votes wherever it contests elections. Yet many of the best industrial militants in Britain owe allegiance to the Party, and its ideas penetrate far beyond the limits of its own organization.

The Party was most successful during the Second World War. On a tide of pro-Russian feeling and despite a policy of opposition to all strikes, it reached a membership of over fifty thousand, and won a dominant position in several trade unions. Despite the cold war witchhunts of the late forties and early fifties, the Party re-

served a strong working-class base until the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, when it lost almost all its intellectuals, and many of its best shop-floor militants as well.

Seized with panic at this setback, some Party members in the ETU (Electrical Trades Union) stooped to ballot-rigging to maintain their position. The result was a court case, a right-wing takeover of the union, and a further deterioration of the Party's prestige.

Yet the Party still plays an important leadership role in the British labour movement. The one-day strike in December, 1970, against the Tory Government's proposed anti-trade-union legislation — the biggest political strike in Britain for many years — could not have taken place without the organizational and political impetus provided by the Communist Party. Likewise, the occupation of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders — for all its weaknesses an important tactical step forward for British workers — has been led throughout by Communist Party militants.

But the Party's work in the trade unions is affected by a fundamental contradiction. On the one hand, its strategy of fighting union elections and supporting the left or "progressive" wing of the trade union bureaucracy means that many of its members are embedded in second-rank positions in the trade union hierarchy. On the other hand, many Communist Party militants on the shop floor are elected to positions as shop stewards, not so much out of support for their politics as out of recognition of their calibre as militants.

As the industrial struggle has sharpened, the clash of interests between the bureaucrats and the shop-floor has been more pronounced. The consequent friction has seriously weakened the Party's capacity to act as a disciplined force in industry, rather than as a collection of militant individuals.

The leadership's way out of this is

to turn more and more to open reformism. Not merely does the Party stress the importance of Parliament — although its performance gets worse at every general election — it has also intensified its efforts in municipal elections.

Yet municipal authorities have almost no power at all, and most workers recognize this by not bothering to vote in municipal elections. Last summer the Party lost its last three municipal councillors in London, a borough where it had traditionally deep roots.

All the leadership can offer is concessions to openly reactionary ideas. In campaigning against British entry to the Common Market, Party members wore lapel badges of the British flag, and marched side by side with open fascists in a public demonstration. At its recent Congress, the Party defeated a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland — at a time when the repressive role of the troops is obvious to everyone.

Yet the only opposition in the Party, which got about one-sixth of the votes at the Congress, offers no real alternative. Essentially this faction is motivated by nostalgia for the good old days of the 'fifties, when the Party was more committed to militant policies in the factories. But the same people also want to bring back the unquestioning loyalty to the Soviet Union which marked the same period. They bitterly oppose the Party's half-hearted opposition to the Russian action in Czechoslovakia.

The Communist Party will be a long time dying, but its death as a real current in the labour movement is certain. Those militants who previously turned to the CP, not out of enthusiasm for Russian "socialism," but as the only radical alternative to the Labour Party, are now without a political focus. Such a situation shows both the potential opportunities, and the huge responsibilities, facing revolutionaries in Britain today. ■

Eighteen young men were sentenced to death in October, by the repressive government that took power in Turkey early this year, for "attempting to overthrow the constitution." Sixty-three others await trial for the same offense.

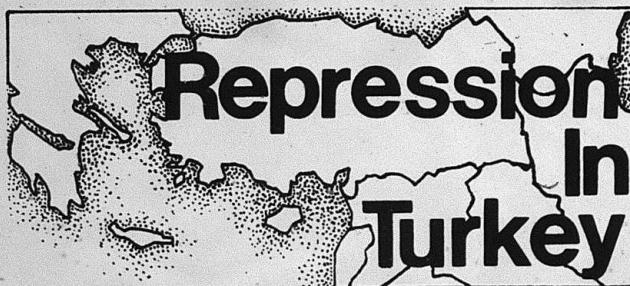
More than 10,000 people have been thrown in prison and tortured in the last six months.

A week or so after these first death sentences had been handed out, the British Royal Family arrived in Turkey as guests of the generals. Let us have a look at the filthy company the Queen keeps.

After 1946, a secret treaty between Turkey and the United States led to the construction of over a hundred US conventional and nuclear air bases. Foreign capital flowed in, but the growth of heavy industry and land reform were resisted by the ruling party. Opposition grew among groups — intellectuals, civil servants, workers and the armed forces — who wanted a more efficient development of the economy.

In 1960 the military threw out the government of businessmen and landowners. But the same people gradually crept back into power.

In order to increase exports, the government tried to force amalgamations of firms and to keep down the living standards of workers and peasants. With in-



creasing attacks on their wages, workers were forced more and more into industrial action, which was often also political.

In 1961, the revolutionary trade union federation DISK was founded by workers dissatisfied with the non-militant policies of the majority federation. The Turkish Workers Party (TIP), founded in 1961 to fight for parliamentary representation, has propagandized against employers, landlords, and American imperialism.

In 1970, the government brought in a bill which restricted strike action, while strikes in oil companies (including Shell and British Petroleum) were completely forbidden.

In June, 70,000 workers, called out by DISK, demonstrated in Istanbul against the bill. The government replied with

police, soldiers, and tanks, and three workers were killed. Strikes and sit-ins, however, continued for several days. At the same time peasants were occupying the estates and there were fierce struggles in the universities.

At the beginning of 1970, the TIP was split over whether to support violent resistance to the attacks of police, army, and armed bands of right-wing extremists. A group broke away to form the Revolutionary Youth Federation, whose members began to arm themselves against such attacks.

Strikes, occupation of land and university boycotts increased, partly because of the devaluation of the currency and a resulting inflation of 15 to 20 percent.

The Revolutionary Youth and the Turkish People's Liberation Army began

to attack banks in order to buy the arms they needed.

On March 12, 1971, the armed forces overthrew the government for its failure to crack down hard enough. A puppet government was set up, and on April 26 martial law declared in the main industrial areas.

Strikes and meetings of trade unions and many other organizations were prohibited. Universities were closed, organizations banned, and left-wing books destroyed.

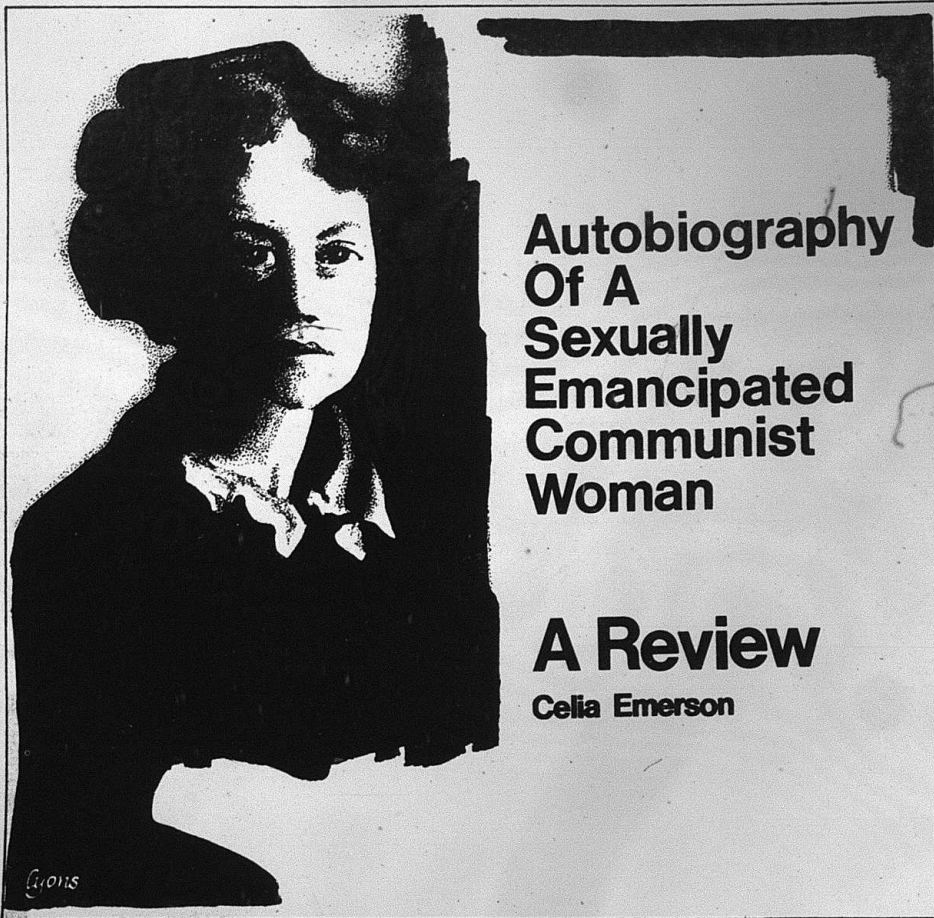
Persecution of the four to five million Kurds living in Eastern Turkey was unleashed. As a result of its support for the Kurds' national rights, the Turkish Workers' Party was declared illegal in July.

All trade unions of teachers, salaried staff, and public employees have been prohibited and dissolved.

The generals' aim is to break all opposition. Large numbers of prisoners have been barbarically tortured. A former secret police chief has reported:

"The tortures that are practiced in the Istanbul police headquarters are more terrible than the Inquisition. There is a trained group of policemen that is able to get any 'confession' it wants from suspected persons through torture."

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, the weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists.]



Autobiography Of A Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman

A Review

Celia Emerson

The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman, Alexandra Kollontai, Herder and Herder, New York, 1971.

Alexandra Kollontai was the first woman elected to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. She was also the first woman in modern history to hold a government post, that of Minister of Welfare and Health, and the first woman to be appointed an ambassador to a foreign country.

Through the period 1907-1921 Alexandra Kollontai was in the leadership of the revolutionary feminist and socialist movement. In fact, Maxim Gorky, a Russian author, remembers being told by another Bolshevik that "There are only two Communists in Russia, Lenin and Mme. Kollontai."

Alexandra Kollontai's life and writings have remained in obscurity for almost 50 years, and it is only because of the women's liberation movement that interest in her has surfaced.

There are a number of reasons for Kollontai's "disappearance." In the first place, because she was a woman, she was not as important as other male revolutionaries. Secondly, she lost her popularity in Russia after she became the leader of a faction within the Bolshevik Party called the Workers Opposition. Finally, and most importantly, her ideas on women's liberation and sexual freedom were considered reactionary and banned after the triumph of the Stalinist counter-revolution.

An autobiography of a revolution-

ary feminist (who organized and led strikes of working women) who was also a leading member of the Bolshevik Party and a participant in the Russian revolution could provide invaluable information about the interrelationship between women's liberation and socialism. It could also tell the exciting story of a woman who led a remarkable life.

Unfortunately, Kollontai's autobiography which promises so much in the title says very little. By 1926, when it was written, Kollontai no longer felt free to write an honest autobiography. The Stalinist bureaucracy was on its way to complete power, and many revolutionaries sensed that their political futures and their lives depended on how they acted.

REVOLUTIONARY FEMINISM

Kollontai was born in 1872, the daughter of Russian nobility. She became involved in radical politics as a teenager. When she was in her twenties she became active in the revolutionary movement and in 1899 joined the outlawed Social Democratic Party.

She was drawn to feminism as a result of her experiences with striking textile women workers. After the 1905 revolution she became the leader of the Russian revolutionary feminist movement.

... I realized for the first time how little our party concerned itself with the fate of women in the working class and how meager was the interest in women's liberation... My Marxist outlook pointed out to me with illuminating clarity that women's liberation could only take place as the result of

the victory of a new social order and a different economic system.

She began organizing women workers and by 1908, the first working women's clubs were formed. These clubs later merged into the Xhenbdeth, the independent women's liberation organization that played a leading role in the Russian revolution.

In 1908 she was forced to flee Russia. However, she remained politically active. She published the Social Foundation of the Woman Question which was a challenge both to bourgeois feminists who would have nothing to do with working women, and to revolutionary organizations who thought that women's liberation was not very important.

From 1908 to 1917, she helped organize a number of important women's strikes and demonstrations, including the first international women's day demonstrations. In 1915 she joined the Bolshevik Party. After the March 1917 revolution, she returned to Russia.

From March to November 1917, Kollontai played a leading role in preparing for the Bolshevik revolution. She published a newspaper called Women Worker, which appealed to women to join with the Bolsheviks. In July, she helped organize a strike of women laundry workers who were demanding the socialization of all laundries. She also organized the first All Russian Congress of Women, which coincided with the Bolshevik revolution.

For the most part, her autobiography ends with the October revolution. There is little mention of her work as Minister of Welfare from 1917 to 1920

and the tremendous gains made by women during this period -- although Kollontai was largely responsible for the socialization and communalization of housing, for the setting up of day care centers, communal laundries and restaurants. Kollontai had argued these reforms were essential for the liberation of women:

"In a workers state where woman is recognized as an independent unit and citizen it is doubtful that you would find many volunteers for stooping over a hot stove to win husband's approval. Let men learn to love and appreciate women not for being good at kneading dough, but for their personal qualities, their human ego. Separation of kitchen from marriage is a reform no less important than the separation of Church and State, at any rate in the history of women."

Similarly, there is no mention of the passage of legislation which attempted to shatter the patriarchal family; of the fact that abortions were made free and legal and homosexuality no longer outlawed; most important, of the role that women played in winning their demands.

There is also little discussion of her ideas on human sexuality, which she had earlier thought were crucial for the liberation of all people. She had written numerous pamphlets and novels on the subject, and tried to live a "sexually liberated life." For this she had been castigated by the opponents of the revolution for being the "mad female Bolshevik." (Later in the thirties, even though she had renounced her earlier ideas, her life and works were held up as bourgeois and decadent.)

STALINISM

Finally, Kollontai fails to discuss Stalinism and what it meant for the women's liberation and socialist movement.

For women in particular, Stalinism meant the brutal destruction of all the gains they had made from 1917 - 1923. Under the Stalinist rule, the patriarchal family was reintroduced with a vengeance; women workers (male workers as well) had no political or economic rights in their factories or in their homes; any discussion of human sexuality was branded as "bourgeois, decadent and fascist." The women's liberation movement was crushed.

Kollontai wrote her autobiography in 1926, claiming that her political life was over. However, this was not exactly true. It was her life as a revolutionary socialist and feminist that was coming to an end.

She continued to be the ambassador to Norway until 1930, and then served as ambassador to Sweden from 1930 to 1945. While serving as minister to Sweden, she vigorously defended the Russian invasion of Finland (her place of birth). She died in Moscow in 1952, lonely and forgotten.





Paramount Pictures Presents A Sagittarius Production

"JOE HILL"

who wrote songs and was shot.

Review

Laurie Landy

At Joe Hill's funeral procession in Chicago in 1916, 30,000 people marched, and a news reporter asked, "What kind of man is this whose death is celebrated with songs of revolt, and who has at his bier more mourners than any prince or potentate?"

Unfortunately, we never find the an-

swer to that question in the film *Joe Hill*. That answer can only come through an understanding of the role of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the revolutionary union movement Joe Hill was part of and inspired by.

Joe Hill doesn't attempt to provide this understanding. Instead, the film is

a series of sometimes clever, half-fictional anecdotes about what a nice guy and a hero Joe was. Almost as an aside, we find out that he happened to like workers.

The period in which Joe Hill lived, the beginning of the twentieth century, was a time of intense class struggle in America. The onslaught of the bosses was vicious — for example, the massacre of miners and their families at Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914. The working class response involved hundreds of thousands of workers in militant struggle... Lawrence, Paterson, Butte are only a few of the many strikes which come to mind.

This was the landscape of the closing American frontier. And, in fact, Joe Hill was a dedicated union organizer who took part in dock strikes up and down the California coast. At the time of his arrest he was involved in a union organizing drive at the United Construction Company and was framed by the copper trust.

None of this, material for a really great film about Joe Hill and the IWW, comes through. The movie appeals to our worst sentimental feelings about the "hero," completely divorced from the times and the struggles he lived. The Wobblies portrayed in the film give you more the mood of Maoist students than of tough and dedicated working class men and women.

Joe Hill said, "Don't mourn — organize." It's too bad that Bo Wideberg, the director, didn't heed those words. An endless amount of the movie is taken up by an almost morbid fascination with Joe Hill's last days in jail and execution. But little effort is made to show the work that Joe Hill and the Wobblies did to advance the working class struggle in America.

We are also expected to believe that President Wilson, the same President who refused to release Eugene Debs from jail, intervened on Hill's behalf because a sweet lady (who looked more like a Salvation Army member than

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the famous IWW organizer) paid him a visit.

What Wideberg forgets to mention is that a massive campaign was launched to free Joe Hill. Thousands of working class people demonstrated and petitioned. It was this massive movement which stirred Wilson — not the goodness of his heart.

If Joe Hill had never left New York City, this would have been a good movie. The first part, which pictures the poverty of foreign immigrants coming to the "land of plenty," is sensitively handled. These scenes, particularly those using the present-day New York Bowery (skid row), have quite an impact.

It is surprising that the director of *Adelen 31*, which in spite of its own problems shows some understanding of working class men and women in struggle, completely misses the boat with *Joe Hill*.

The beginning of the twentieth century in the United States was an exciting period on American working class history and the Wobblies played an important part in it. If Wideberg had "told it like it was," he could have made a very fine movie. ■



EXECUTION IN "JOE HILL"



The Real Joe Hill A Bibliography

Chaplin, Ralph. *Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Chaplin wrote *Solidarity Forever* and was a Wobbly poet and contemporary of Hill.

Dos Passos, John. *Nineteen Nineteen*. New York: 1931. One chapter is devoted to Joe Hill.

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Foner, Philip S. *The Letters of Joe Hill*. New York: Oak Publishing, 1965.

Harmon, Stavis and Frank. *The Songs of Joe Hill*. (Edited by Barrie) New York: Oak Publication.

Kornbluh, Joyce. *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1964. This is one of the best books on the Wobblies, and pages 127-157 deal with Joe Hill. The book is filled with photos and old drawings.

Renshaw, Patrick. *The Wobblies*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Co., 1967. This book is now in paperback for \$1.45, published by Anchor (A 637).

Smith, Gibbs. *Joe Hill*. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1969. This is a very good newer book and contains an excellent list of everything ever written about Joe Hill in its bibliography at the back of the book.

Stavis, Barrie. *The Man Who Never Died*. New York: 1951.

Stegner, Wallace. *The Preacher and the Slave* (later, 1969, reissued *Joe Hill*; a biographical novel). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950. This is a novel based on Joe Hill. Stegner felt Hill was guilty.

Stegner, Wallace. "The Case Against Joe Hill," *New Republic*, January 5, 1948, page 21.

Thompson, Fred. *The I.W.W.: Its First Fifty Years*. Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1955.



bread & roses

Contraceptive for Men

Two doctors at the New York Medical College are testing a new male contraceptive. Called Bionyx Control, it is a tiny T-shaped device equipped with a valve that fits into the sperm duct. Doctors can turn it on or off to allow or prevent sperm passage, as desired.

While it can stay in place a lifetime, the new device, unlike a vasectomy, should allow for complete reversibility. However, it is still in the testing stages, and is not yet available to the public.

Most birth control devices today are made for women -- the pill, the diaphragm, the I.U.D., and the various foams, creams, and jellies. As all women know, each has serious drawbacks that make it a danger, a bother, or a source of worry.

Women's liberationists have long been asking that the medical profession develop a safe, easy, and inexpensive contraceptive that could be used by men. Hopefully, Bionyx Control will prove to be one such method.

"Guardian of Fetuses"

New York State's abortion law, liberalized in June 1970, is now under attack. Justice Francis X. Smith, of the State Supreme Court, has issued a temporary injunction to block abortions in New York City municipal hospitals.

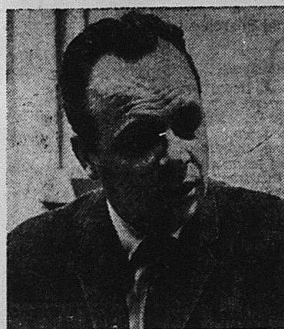
The plaintiff in the case is Robert M. Byrn, a 40-year-old Roman Catholic bachelor and professor of law at Fordham University. Mr. Byrn was recently appointed "guardian of unborn fetuses" by a New York State Supreme Court Justice.

According to the *New York Times* "The appointment of special guardians by the court is a long-standing practice that is utilized when a judge determines that any allegedly injured person cannot adequately represent themselves in court, such as infants or incompetents." Byrn's aim is to eventually void the state's abortion law as unconstitutional.

The New York law permits abortions on the initiative of the woman

and her doctor up to the 24th week of pregnancy. Byrn says this law violates the 14th Amendment, which holds in part that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

The city's Corporation Counsel and State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz are filing appeals that will immediately stay the injunction. Mr. Byrn declared, however, that if necessary he will take his case to the United States Supreme Court. The trial testing the constitutionality of the state's law is scheduled to begin in the State Supreme Court in Queens on Wednesday, January 12.



Robert M. Byrn

Women's rights groups have attacked the injunction as discriminating against the poor and as an affront to all women. The injunction would forbid abortions only in municipal hospitals, used by poor women to obtain abor-

tions. The private hospitals, which are more expensive, would still be able to perform abortions.

In the first year of the liberalized law, 165,000 abortions had been performed in New York. During that year, there was a decisive drop in illegal abortions and illegitimacy rates. The maternal death rate was the lowest in memory.

Robert Byrn claims to be concerned about saving lives. Obviously though, he cares nothing about the millions of women who die from botched up illegal abortions, or the children who are neglected because they were born unplanned and unwanted by either their parents or their society.

Women's liberationists must fight to prevent this man and his sympathizers from nullifying the New York State Law for even one day. And the fight must continue in New York State and in the rest of the country to win *free abortion on demand*, so that every woman, regardless of her income, can decide for herself how many children she will have and when.

Handbook

A Job Discrimination Handbook for working women is now available for 50¢. It describes the various federal non-discrimination laws and how to file charges under them. It can be obtained from:

Human Rights for Women, Inc.
1128 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20004.

Bread and Circuses



The strike by the Harlem Globetrotters, the oldest and most famous of the professional touring basketball teams, is the latest in a series of revolts by athletes in all major sports at both the collegiate and professional levels. As in many other such revolts, the racist treatment of black athletes -- as grinning, shuffling, ignorant performing animals -- is a major underlying issue.

Beginning when the players refused to take the court for a game in Port Huron, Michigan, the Globetrotters strike exposed the truth about the conditions to which these athletes are subjected.

Most people who know the Globetrotters as a world-famous performing unit -- whose routines combine superb basketball skill with vaudeville-style comic art -- probably assume that the players receive salaries and fringe benefits on a level with superstars like Kareem Jabbar, Connie Hawkins, or Oscar Robertson in competitive professional basketball. But in fact the Globetrotters work and travel under conditions like those of twenty or thirty years ago, when professional basketball was considered a joke and national Sunday afternoon basketball telecasts were unimaginable.

Before the strike, the Harlem Globetrotters were allotted only one suit per

player, which they were responsible for washing themselves. This must be done while the team travels on a broken-down bus from one game to the next -- playing every night in an endless succession of one-night stands.

The players sleep and eat on the bus, yet are expected to be in top form and grinning broadly from the moment they hit the floor for the pre-game warmup routines. The salaries for most new players average around \$4,000, increasing to \$16,000 after six years.

In many ways, the working situation of the Globetrotters has changed little from the days when the life of a touring basketball team was a literal war of

survival -- playing every night against local teams on asphalt or splintered wooden courts for a percentage of the gate (if anyone showed up), against home-court referees and occasionally the threat of mob violence from hometown fans. But the Globetrotters organization is no longer a starving road show run as a semi-cooperative venture, but rather a multi-million-dollar corporation managed along plantation lines.

While most of the players endure low salaries and anonymity, one of them -- used as the main Globetrotter symbol and drawing card -- receives \$65,000, as a device to prevent player unity against management. The other players, incredibly, are not even allowed to use the Globetrotter name to receive publicity or "side money" (e.g. television commercials), under threat of lawsuits by the corporation.

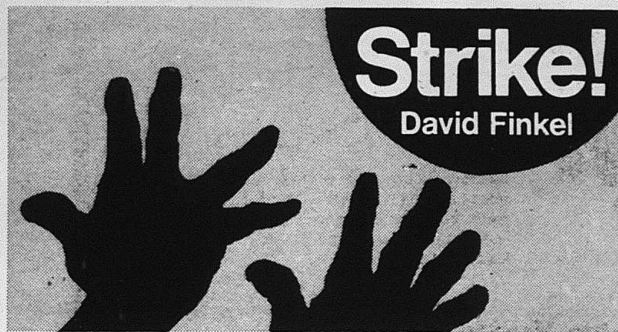
This forced anonymity, designed to degrade the players and enable management to fire and replace them at will,

was one factor which drove dribbling specialist Marcus Haynes to quit the team and organize his own.

The Harlem Globetrotters corporation has expanded its operations from basketball into broadcasting and even television cartoons. The players, who are not members of the corporation, have no voice and receive no benefits from any of this. Their major fringe benefit is a twice-a-year banquet at management expense -- at a hamburger stand.

All this seems incredible in comparison to the fame and fortune achieved by the stars of the National and American Basketball Associations. But then the NBA/ABA players themselves suffer all kinds of mistreatment, including the threat of being released or traded and the reserve clause which keeps a player chained to one team (which the owners want to strengthen by merging the two leagues). Moreover, pension benefits were only won by NBA players when they threatened to strike thirty minutes before a nationally televised All-Star game several years ago and panicked the owners into concessions.

The Globetrotters' strike demands did not challenge the fundamental exploitative structure of professional sports, but only asked for the most basic reforms such as an extra suit per player. The strike settlement reached late in December did result in certain improvements -- extra suits for each player and a new bus for travel. They failed to win the demanded sickness benefits. *The real change is that the players no longer accept their exploitation without protest.* ■



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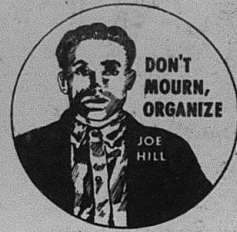
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I met an old friend today

I knew her well when she was a child
a wild, free spirit fond of the desert
who sat in a dusty country graveyard
to ponder life and death
a streak of pink sunset
or swiftly purpling mountains

she saw metaphors in the changing of the seasons
symbols in the rocks and rain
felt the stirring to growth
the desire for knowledge
the love of beauty that only humans know
so that in her unfettered mind
she (foolish child) felt herself
a part of what is called mankind
dared to create, dared to think, dared to be

until
they harnessed her bosom
then her mind
krinkled her hair
sticked her lashes
pasted her lips
slinkied her walk
sucked out the soul and left a doll
who abandoned sunsets and mountains
for parked cars and the hot beer kisses
of boys who never knew she had a soul

laying aside symbol and metaphor
thought and creation
she somehow learned her true goal in life:
to get and keep a man
not to dream, but to be his dream
not to create, except his children
not to be, except through him.

Until today
I pretended not to notice
the pensive child who
from time to time rose up
to challenge my conscience.

But now I know I must get to know her again
reach back and find what is left of my self
patch it up after years of neglect
and poor acting in a poorly cast role
learn anew the joy of being.

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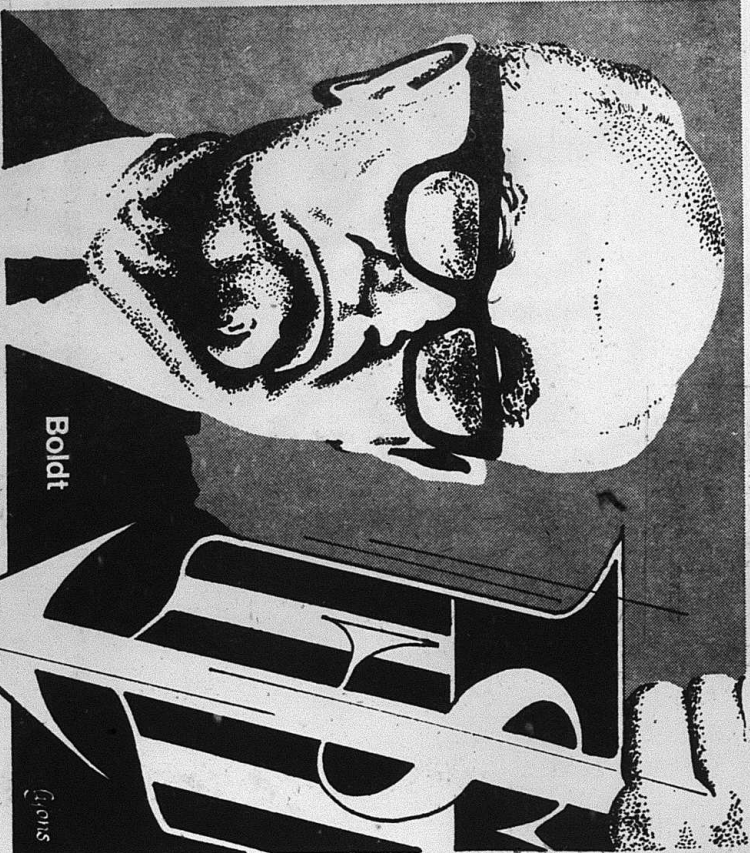
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