



Nixon Bombs Hanoi

From the Mekong Delta to the DMZ, the war is on the move again. The long-awaited North Vietnamese offensive, that Saigon and Washington predicted would be hurled back, has scored substantial initial gains. Led by Russian PT-76 and T-54 tanks, with heavy artillery and anti-aircraft support, NVA troops have swept over the ARVN firebases "protecting" Quang Tri Hue, and An Loc, and now threaten to take these cities themselves.

Cities and military bases all across South Vietnam are coming under missile attack, while NLF guerilla activity has moved into high gear in the rural areas. All ARVN regular reserves have been sent to the front, including the elite battalion that guards the presidential palace in Saigon. If a further offensive comes in the Central Highlands, as many expect, Thieu will be hard-pressed to meet it.

Nixon has responded with massive air strikes against targets in both North and South Vietnam. This is his only option short of a hasty retreat, since neither congress, the public, nor the rank and file of the army would tolerate the return of US ground troops to combat.

The Air Force, however, has been greatly hampered by heavy cloud cover over Vietnam as the monsoon season approaches, and

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EDITORIAL U.S. GET OUT NOW!



U.S. ADVISER WITH ARVN SOLDIER

The upsurge of fighting in Indochina has been accompanied by a major escalation of US bombing and other military action. On April 14, government officials disclosed that President Nixon had "ordered large B-52 strikes throughout the 200-mile long southern panhandle of North Vietnam and that the objectives were diplomatic and political as well as military," according to the *New York Times*. Up to 150 of the huge B-52's are being used, escalating the bombing to an all-time high, surpassing even 1968.

Nixon's "diplomatic and political" objectives are obvious. His intention is to bomb the Vietnamese people in-

to submission through the aerial reign of terror that failed so miserably in the past. The new raids have already hit Hanoi and Haiphong.

Under the cover of bombing "military targets," the US is subjecting whole towns, sections of cities, and civilian populations to obliteration. Every available plane is being poured into a desperate effort to save Thieu's army in South Vietnam from collapse.

The US escalation is not limited to the air, however. Reports from United Press International (UPI), which Nixon has up to now denied, claim that up to 60,000 US combat troops are being prepared for action against the North Vietnamese and NLF forces should

Saigon's armies continue to lose ground.

Anti-war GI groups have received information that mobilizations are taking place in US bases around the world to prepare for possible massive sea and land intervention. Transport planes have reportedly disappeared from the East Coast and are heading for Indochina.

At least 25 ships, 480 planes, and 30,000 military personnel have left for the Indochina area, according to information gathered by the Vietnam Vets Against the War. While the situation is still very fluid, the possibility exists of a full-scale desperate assault

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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.

The National Committee of the International Socialists met in Chicago on the weekend of April 7-9.

Part of the NC meeting was devoted to preparations for the International Socialists forthcoming Convention, to be held July 4 weekend. Discussions were held on the directions to be taken by socialists in relation to the rank and file movements of workers, and on perspectives for trade union activity.

These discussions were accompanied by a series of reports on industrial work of the IS. Reports were presented on rank and file movements in auto, Teamsters, telephone, and teaching. What emerged was a picture of variety in the forms taken by these movements.

In auto, the United National Caucus, centered in Detroit but with members elsewhere, stands on a program of opposition to racism, struggle for better working condi-

tions, and against the wage controls, and the call for an independent party of labor. Originally composed largely of skilled-trades opposition leaders, it is beginning to build a base among production workers, but remains small.

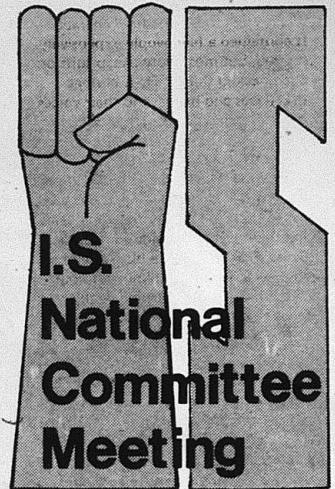
In contrast, the Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has a somewhat sketchy program but has grown explosively, enrolling thousands of members in only a few months.

In telephone, the work of the United Action group in New York, which has often been reported in the pages of *Workers' Power*, was able to provide a focus for rank and file militancy during the 6-month strike which ended this winter. In contrast, the United Action Caucus in the American Federation of Teachers has so far functioned only as an opposition

at AFT conventions.

A major concrete decision taken by the National Committee was to launch a theoretical magazine of International Socialism in the autumn of this year. The magazine will focus both on contemporary politics, such as the current developments in the United States, Europe, and the Stalinist countries, and the Third World, and on history and theoretical questions of Marxism. In addition to members of the IS, it will hope to draw on the talents of members of the International Socialists in Britain and the groups in other countries which share our commitment to revolutionary opposition both to capitalism and to the bureaucratic "Communist" regimes.

As plans for this magazine are made final, readers of *Workers' Power* should watch for an announcement of its publication date.



I.S. Conference on Rank and File Revolt

The International Socialists is holding a socialist educational conference on the crisis of capitalism and the rank and file revolt in the labor movement, to be held in Chicago on May 13 and 14. The site of the conference will be the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois.

[For information on registration, housing, childcare, and the schedule and speakers for the conference, please write:

Chicago International Socialists, P.O. Box 3451 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654, or call 312-753-2233, Ext. 114.]



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Wallace Comes To Michigan

James Coleman



George Wallace arrived in Detroit April 15 to begin campaigning for the May 16 Democratic Primary. Many expect the school-busing issue to help Wallace to his first victory of the year in a Northern industrial state.

Aside from Wallace himself, several varieties of livestock were present as Wallace spoke at the Michigan State Fairgrounds. Noticeable though not conspicuous in black trousers and gray shirts were a dozen members of the Michigan White People's Party (neo-Nazi), calling themselves the "Wallace Youth Movement."

The crowd which streamed into the Fairgrounds, 10,000 strong, was different from these sideshow characters. It contained a few people expensively dressed, but most wore cheap suits or open-necked shirts. Their clothes, their faces and hands, and their voices showed them to be a crowd of working people, white-collar workers, and small businessmen.

Outside the chain-link fence, topped with barbed wire, 60 radicals picketed. Police kept them away from the gates, and there were no major confrontations. (The Nazis' one black member, controlled by some unknown impulse of self-hate, kept returning to the fence to snap out the Fascist salute.)

SOUTHERN FLAVOR

A greater contrast could not be imagined between Wallace's crowd and the audience attending a \$50-a-plate Democratic Party fund-raising dinner downtown (from which Wallace was excluded because he would not pledge to support any candidate the party might nominate). In this contrast lay the significance of the Wallace rally.

The crowd was mainly over 35, with a high proportion of white-haired people, but there were also a sizeable number of teenagers. Most of these seemed not to be committed Wallace supporters, but had come to "check it out." In the whole crowd of 10,000 there might have been at most 15 or 20 black faces. There were many Southern accents, and the rally had a Southern flavor, with a variety of country combos singing such tunes as "Y'all Come" and "Kentucky Waltz."

The most fervent in the crowd were those drawn by the busing issue. They carried such signs as "No Busin' for Usun" and "Wallace Save Us from God Roth." (Federal Judge Stephen Roth is the judge in charge of the De-

troit area school integration cases.)

There were attempts to demonstrate labor support for Wallace; there were small groups from several UAW locals, as well as a group called "Hard Hats of America" which distributed white hard-hats to the crowd -- plus a group of women whose "UAW" signs turned out, on closer inspection, to refer to "United Angry Women."

But most of those at the rally were of a slightly different stripe from the anti-busing activists. They felt that Wallace was the first politician in a generation to speak for them. Several of the older people compared him to Roosevelt. "They called Roosevelt a radical too," one white-haired woman said. One man mused on the ITT scandal -- "ITT has no more votes than anyone else," he said, seeming to see Wallace as a crusader against the power of the monopolies.

When Wallace spoke (in the Community Arts Auditorium, not the livestock shed), he played up to these sentiments. Over and over he hit at his familiar message -- "The working people, the business people, the farming people of this country are sick and tired of a faceless bureaucracy running things."

Again and again, Wallace struck at the unrepresentative nature of American politics, as no other candidate has been willing to do. "In Washington there are offices after offices where there's an Assistant to an Assistant to an Assistant to an Assistant to an Assistant -- and he's getting \$40,000 a year -- and he doesn't have anything in his briefcase but a peanut-butter sandwich."

Again and again, Wallace voiced the sentiment of millions of voters that the candidates -- except for himself -- are fakers. "They turn their heads so far speaking on both sides of an issue that they get slipped discs." He correctly pointed out that the "anti-war" candidates had all voted for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

The six major candidates, Wallace said, had been in the Senate a total of 109 years, "and they're all talking tax reform, but in those 109 years, what have they done about tax reform?" These are the sorts of questions the voters are asking themselves as they listen to the usual bland promises from indistinguishable candidates.

Wallace hit, too, at the anti-work-class attitudes of the intellectual

establishment. "They've drawn their conclusions about me, just like they've drawn their conclusions about you." He appealed to the crowd's sense of powerlessness. "Send them a Message," he cried. "You are silent no longer." And he offered a classic "pressure group" conception of his own campaign -- by voting for Wallace the people would force Nixon and the other candidates to respond to their wishes.

Wallace has been able to move many politicians in his direction -- it was just after Wallace's victory in Florida that Nixon made his anti-busing speech. But the character of Wallace's proposals represent no real solution to the problems even of the white, older crowd which jammed the Fairgrounds, much less to the problems of the blacks and the basic-production workers who were absent.

ANTI PROGRAM

His program, by now familiar, is to cut back government spending. Although he referred to the problem of unemployment, he has no solution for it, except jim-crack economics to the effect that lower taxes would stimulate buying and therefore create more employment. His program is *against* -- against giveaways to "countries that spit in our face" and to "welfare slackers."

Wallace presents the sort of program which, 20 years ago, appealed only to Republicans and the middle class. The fact that it appealed to a heavily working class audience in Detroit is evidence not only of the race hatred running under the surface of the rally, but also of the *failure* of the welfare-state programs these voters once supported.

(In some other respects, Wallace carefully avoided cutting himself off from the political center, which he hopes will continue moving in his direction. On foreign policy he sounded like a cold war liberal, opposing cuts in arms spending but carefully favoring "negotiations," and voicing support for the Marshall Plan which had "stabilized the free world.")

Most notable was what was *absent* from Wallace's oratory. Over and over he repeated that he spoke for "the working man, the business man, the farmer." But he had very little to say on labor issues.

Wallace emphasized the low property taxes in Alabama. But he did not mention his own record as Gover-

nor on labor issues -- the fact that during the '60's, with Wallace as Governor, Alabama ranked 48th in the country in personal income per person; the fact that Alabama's average payments for unemployment insurance were lowest in the country; the fact that the low level of unionization means average wages are over \$1.50 per hour lower than in Michigan; the fact that Wallace, as Governor, has opposed all efforts to repeal Alabama's "right to work" law.

His rhetoric presents the "business man" as another victim of "big government"; thus he avoids saying anything very concrete about the huge corporations. His program proposes to tax foundations, and *hits* at taxing corporations, but Wallace attempts to convince working men that their interests are united with the interests of businessmen against government bureaucracy. It's a line that may sound good until there is a strike or layoffs.

And although he referred to the fact that the other candidates, as Senators, had "brought us to the brink of economic chaos," Wallace said nothing about Nixon's program of wage controls, made no statement on controlling prices, said nothing about the efforts in congress to curb the right to strike, made no reference to the need to organize non-unionized workers. Opposing busing, he offered no program for improving schools or other social services (although he did support the idea of urban rapid transit, a semi-important issue in Detroit).

Thus, although Wallace was able to voice the frustrations of his audience at their powerlessness and their declining living standards and environment, he made use of this radical-sounding appeal to bolster a program which would cut back the few benefits which poor people have at present, while offering nothing to replace them and offering no way to improve life for the majority.

On the busing issue, Wallace said very little. He took a swipe at Nixon as being just as dictatorial as Mao Tse-tung by not asking people's opinion on busing. This however was tucked away in the middle of his speech.

As a result, the rally had a somewhat anti-climactic quality. The outpouring of emotion against busing which a large part of the crowd must have expected, never came. Wallace,

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During the last month or two, United Auto Workers (UAW) locals across the country have been holding delegate elections, in preparation for the coming UAW Constitutional Convention to begin on April 23 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Total administration control of UAW conventions has become a tradition over the past 20 years, and few expect that the Woodcock regime will suffer any serious defeats this time around, or even that any divisions in the top UAW leadership will emerge; the UAW has sadly degenerated since its origins in the upsurge of the CIO.

Still, the coming convention promises to be a lively affair. Even though few of the delegates will effectively articulate the growing unrest among the UAW rank and file, the unrest in the ranks will have its indirect effect on the convention.

Inflation, the failure of the 1970 auto strike, and the impact of the New Economic Policy, have all been felt by auto workers. Conditions in auto plants are getting worse and unrest in the ranks is growing. The strikes over working conditions and disciplinary layoffs at Lordstown and Norwood are visible signs of this revolt.

As shop floor struggle intensifies, local leaders feel the pressure to produce results. But those who try often find their hands tied by the International leadership. Negotiations in the Lordstown strike, for example, were conducted under the wing of the International in Detroit.

This can produce an intense sense of frustration with the consolidated power of Solidarity House and its army of 1,000 appointed international representatives — power which is used to keep the union in line rather than to advance the interests of the membership.

Most convention delegates will be local union office holders whose main interest is getting a union office and holding on to it. At present, in a majority of locals, it is only these sorts of individuals who have plantwide or localwide reputations, and have the machinery with which to mobilize a plantwide or localwide vote.

As a result, the majority of delegates will come to the convention as down-the-line supporters of Woodcock's machine. But few if any campaigned on that basis. Probably not a single delegate slate card handed out said: "Vote for us if you like the way the International Union is being run," or "A vote for our slate is a vote of confidence for Leonard Woodcock and the International Executive Board."

Rather, most delegate slate cards contain a list of campaign promises that meant even less than politicians' promises in government elections.

The one issue on which there is almost sure to be opposition to the Woodcock administration at the convention is union democracy — particularly the election of top union officers. The UAW president and the International Executive Board are now elected at the conventions. Ever since Reuther consolidated power, the incumbent slate has won handily each convention.

Rarely have delegates, even when very unhappy with the leadership, dared to challenge the slate which is

recommended unanimously by the executive board. The ability of the bureaucracy to reward and to punish has been too great.

The proposed alternative, whose supporters believe would be a step toward breaking the stranglehold of the bureaucracy, is the "Referendum Vote" — to let the entire membership of the union vote for top officers. The same top officer who could expect a near unanimous vote for reelection at the convention, might have to sweat out an election by the ranks — and any serious oppositional candidate could be expected to draw a strong vote.

No doubt, referendum vote would provide a healthy pressure on the top leadership. The rank and file, who are virtually unrepresented at the convention, vote out incumbent slates nearly 50 percent of the time in local elections.

The United National Caucus of the UAW has been advocating Referendum Vote for some time, and that demand seems to be picking up real support. Locals 160 and 387, both on the recommendation of UAW members, put the following question on the delegate election ballot, as an informational poll: "Do you favor a referendum vote to elect all International officers and staff positions?" In both locals, over 90 percent voted yes.

There will be a serious effort made at the coming convention to bring to the floor the referendum vote propo-

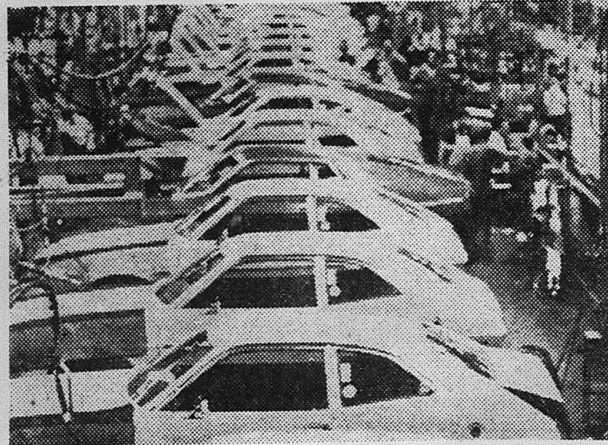
sal, together with other structural reform and union democracy issues. On this ground, the frustrated oppositional secondary leadership will attempt to make its first fight against the International leadership.

A coalition of local caucuses called the League of Caucuses for Democracy in the UAW has formed primarily for this purpose. It includes the United National Caucus within it, but is likely to rally broader support. Whether or not this League will move toward becoming a more generalized rank and file opposition movement still remains to be seen, though it will be under pressure from below to do so.

By itself, however, the issue of union democracy speaks neither to the rank and file discontent nor to the fundamental questions facing the UAW. For young workers, black workers, and production workers in the plants today, the union itself often appears as an irrelevant, useless institution.

A union which fails to fight the murderous working conditions, racism, and authoritarian discipline to which these workers are subjected cannot generate much enthusiasm. Over the years, the tools and procedures which once gave the UAW power on the shop and local level to deal effectively with working conditions and grievances have been bargained away.

Beyond shop floor issues, a whole range of vital questions face the UAW to which its bureaucratic officialdom



Pinto assembly line in Metuchen, N.J.— a long way from Atlantic City

UAW Convention To Meet In Atlantic City

John Weber

has no response. Although Woodcock may have de-fused the Pay Board as a convention issue by his resignation from it, he has led no struggles to smash the government's blatantly discriminatory wage controls.

While the convention floor will undoubtedly ring with anti-Nixon and anti-Wallace rhetoric, Woodcock has no program to defeat these reactionaries except to support the Democratic Party, the party which first advocated and passed wage control laws. While the UAW membership is overwhelmingly disgusted with the war in Vietnam (as even George Wallace recognizes in his speeches), and while the UAW leadership may even condemn Nixon's new escalation, it will do nothing to mobilize its members for anti-war rallies, work stoppages, or political action.

The much-advertised economic upturn raises additional issues as well. While auto plants have called back laid-off workers and even begun some new hiring, unemployment remains high in the cities where the auto industry is concentrated, most disastrously among young blacks. At the same time, auto workers are working 48, 54, or even 60 or more hours per week. By demanding thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay with no forced overtime, the UAW could alleviate the intolerable conditions facing auto workers and simultaneously build an alliance with the millions of unemployed.

The United National Caucus has pledged to raise a number of crucial issues at the convention (see *Workers' Power* No. 53). These include the areas of: unemployment and job security, working conditions, racism, wage controls, and political action.

Key issues in these areas singled out for attention were: 30 for 40, no forced overtime; protection against plant closures and runaway shops; rank and file control over production standards, the right of the local to strike over local problems; overhaul the grievance procedure, establish the representation ration of a steward for every foreman; establish a production workers council of the UAW to deal specifically with production workers' problems and to map out a strategy to defeat the corporations' "productivity drive"; open the skilled trades to black and other minority workers toward the goal of establishing the same racial mix in skilled trades as in the industry as a whole, racist practices must be fought by the UAW; no cooperation with wage controls, and labor political action independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Around issues of this kind a genuine rank and file movement in auto can be built. In this context, structural reform and union democracy take on their real significance. For the ranks, they are means for helping to achieve a program which better the lives and conditions of the workers in the plants.

No real victory over any of these substantial issues will be won at the coming convention. But the work of rank and file militants at this convention and afterward can lay the basis for building the kind of rank and file auto workers movement that can revitalize the UAW and throw back the corporations' offensive. ■

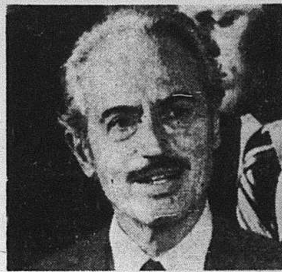
Baseball Bosses Strike Out

The strike that left the bases open and the batters box empty in 21 cities is over, after a strategic retreat by the owners of major league baseball clubs.

The club owners style themselves as sacred guardians of America's "National Pastime," by virtue of the millions in hard cash they have invested in their various franchises. But the owners' decision to compromise with the striking players was more the result of acute financial pressures than of any altruistic dedication to the sport.

The only pastime to which these multi-millionaires are resolutely dedicated, in season and out, is *making profits* -- of which they would like to give as little as possible to the players.

The issue which originally ignited the strike was the demand by the Players Association for a 17 percent increase in the contribution the



Marvin Miller

owners make to the players pension fund. Pensions are a particularly important issue to most professional athletes, since their entire working lives may span no more than 10 to 15 years at most.

The players argued that the increase was necessary to cover a corresponding rise in the cost of living since the last contract was negotiated three years ago, and they demonstrated it could largely be financed through an already existing surplus in the pension fund, plus a quite modest contribution of \$11,000 from each of the owners.

This offer was flatly rejected by the owners, who began striking an unaccustomed pose of moral outrage -- taking a "firm, courageous stand" against the "uncompromising demands and arrogance" they felt best personified in Marvin Miller, the Executive

Director of the Players Association. Miller, whose credentials include a long stint in the offices of the United Steel Workers bureaucracy, became the favorite target of the owners, who blamed him for leading the players (who voted almost unanimously to go out) astray into a needless strike which the owners had "at all costs attempted to avoid."

In fact, however, it was the owners who had provoked the strike, in an attempt to break the power of the Players Association. The Association has become an increasingly painful thorn in the owners' economic side, as well as offering a small but growing challenge to the monolithic control they have always exercised over the game.

It was in hopes of curtailing this intolerable nuisance that the owners refused to increase the pension fund and thus consciously provoked the strike. The players repeatedly tried to work out some sort of compromise, but the owners were more interested in breaking the power of the Players Association than in settling the dispute and getting the season under way.

For the owners this approach represented a calculated risk, but a risk which none the less promised favorable returns in light of the enthusiastic cooperation they received from the media. TV sportscasters and newspaper columnists mobilized public opinion against the players.

Some players' representatives in

vulnerable positions, not having won rank among the superstars, were given their release. Others were threatened. Individual owners attempted to start back-to-work movements, while others spread rumors about importing "scabs" from the minor leagues.

The owners finally backed down from their original "not one more cent" position and agreed to let the players invest \$500,000 which was sitting idle in the pension fund as "surplus." But they then invented a new issue: as a condition for settlement, the players must make up the games lost in the strike without receiving any pay.

Acceptance by the players of such terms would have meant a complete surrender of what little power they have won in return for practically nothing. The players refused to end the strike on such terms.

The owners finally caved in to the pressures of two weeks without revenue at the gates. While players will receive no pay for days missed, the cancelled games will not be played at all. Division championships will be determined by won-lost percentage, since the teams will not play the same number of games.

The 1972 strike over pensions may be only a prelude to a major struggle next year, when the players' contract with the owners covering working conditions and players' rights will have expired. ■

On March 29, a merger agreement was announced between the New York state teachers union (United Teachers of New York), affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and the New York state Teachers Association, affiliated with the NEA. Each teacher organization has about 100,000 members in New York. The merged group will affiliate with both national movements.

Merger, which is also under active consideration in Michigan, is a response to mounting attacks upon teachers throughout the country. This attack -- expressed by cuts in jobs, poor salary settlement, and attempts to eliminate long standing teacher rights such as tenure -- parallels those which the entire labor movement is experiencing today -- the elimina-

tion of jobs, speedup, cuts in pay in unions such as UAW, IUE, and the Rubber workers.

The hope is that the merged teacher organization will be better able to protect New York teachers from attack, and a merged organization certainly has such a potential. But whether or not the potential will be realized depends upon the policies the merged organization will pursue.

In creating the new organization, both parties emphasized the need to intensify pressure upon the state legislature. What they have in mind is lobbying and raising a \$1,000,000 fund for supporting "friends of labor" in the coming elections. No mention has been made of the hopeless lack of

effectiveness of such methods in the past, in preventing things such as New York's anti-public-employee-strike law (the worst in the country: a fine of two days pay for each day out on strike), or the fact that the anti-teacher laws passed by the current Rockefeller-controlled legislature were enacted only three months after the labor-endorsed Rockefeller was elected.

The merger may well result in just more of the same, but it also contains the possibility of new tactics which neither of the two organizations could carry out alone. Perhaps the new organization of teachers could learn something from the recent successful statewide strike of the New York civil service workers. ■

Teachers' Unions Merge



Public Employees Win State-wide Strike in New York

On April 1, the New York state Civil Service Employees Association, representing 185,000 state employees, went on strike against the state in defiance of the state's anti-public employee strike law -- and won.

The strike was called at the demand of the membership when they discovered that the leadership of the union had agreed to a contract with no raise in pay this year. As a result of massive, spontaneous protests, the leaders were compelled to reverse themselves and call the strike. After one day out, the State agreed to a 4 percent pay raise, which was accepted.

This first massive strike by the entire employees of a state not only sets an important precedent but is also the expression of a developing conflict between two strategies for public employees.

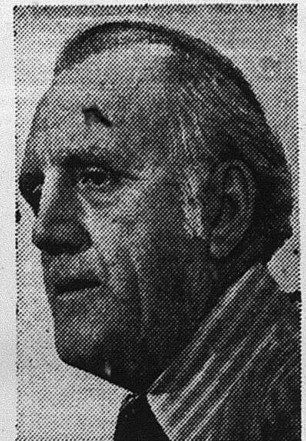
One strategy, proposed by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO,

calls for public employees to accept binding arbitration of all contract negotiations. This proposal has been advanced in the New Jersey legislature by the New Jersey AFL-CIO, and by Meany himself in a recommendation to Congress and to President Nixon last year.

The other strategy calls for united statewide action, up to and including strikes by individual unions or coalitions of unions. This strategy is being debated widely among public employee unions.

In New York, a coalition of public employee unions exists, mainly to engage in coordinated pressure on the legislature. But it refuses to involve the ranks of the union in any way in such pressure.

The modest victory of the CSEA in New York is striking evidence of the neglected power of the ranks when they do move. ■



CSEA President Theodore Wenzl

The Politics Of Imamu Baraka

Clarence Jones

In every black American there exists a drive to resist, and finally, destroy unmercifully those forces that oppress and humiliate him. Almost any call for action, statement of resistance, or show of defiance can excite this drive. Thus, it should be no surprise that the National Black Political Convention in Gary had a lot of brothers and sisters stirred-up and watchful.

It should also be no surprise that Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones), the well-known poet and one of three conveners at Gary, is as popular as he is. His poems, plays, and life-style articulate all the frustrations and jumbled-up desires of the black masses. His community image is one of militant, arrogant defiance.

Baraka and the Gary Convention are indeed reflections of the black mood -- reflections that, in turn, foster identification with them among the black masses. But this ability to reflect the black mood and foster identification is not a sufficient guide to political action. It can be misleading.

Black people are tired of the economic squeeze, but the Gary Convention sidestepped its chance to deliver black people out of the clutches of the Democratic Party. Black people remain on the treadmill of the capitalist political system, running faster (the squeeze is getting tighter), but getting nowhere.

Imamu Baraka was just as much a participant in this sidestepping as the Democratic Party politicians. He chaired the session of the Gary Convention that tabled the motion calling for an independent third party and an immediate break with the two capitalist parties, i.e., the Democrats and Republicans.

Baraka's tactics of confusion as chairman led to passage of the motion to table just as much as Jesse Jackson's deceptive words (see *Workers' Power No. 54*). Baraka might indeed be a reflection of the black mood, but his political leadership must be rejected.

CLASSLESS ANALYSIS

The Congress of African People (CAP), the organization headed by Baraka, organized an East Coast convention on black political action in July of last year. Baraka at that time presented a position which appeared (at least on paper) to call for the formation of an independent black political party.

This position was also put forward earlier in an article by Baraka in the March, 1971 issue of the *Black Scholar* (This article offered the most detailed presentation of his position).

One outstanding feature of Baraka's position is his complete lack of understanding of class society and of the importance of class to the black struggle. This lack of understanding was

basic to Baraka's role in Gary.

This lack of understanding means that though Baraka can reflect the black mood, he can give expression to this anger only within capitalist boundaries. The lack of understanding of class also does little to equip the black masses for struggle against the system from which their oppression stems.

Baraka conceives of "four areas of political power": (1) Public office (elected or appointed); (2) Commun-

black people need "to get hold of the goods and services that accrue from even the smallest political office." He also correctly states that, "When the most conscious black activists do not move in 'electoral' politics, the area is left to stooges, thieves, and toms":

"They become the local power figures and, like it or not, have some allegiance from the community, based on their ability to supply goods, services (e.g. jobs)."

What is the strategy for accom-



ity organizations; (3) Alliances and coalitions; and (4) Disruption (actual and threatened).

All of these "areas" represent real power, but power that is limited in various ways. They take on a specific nature molded by the realities and nature of American capitalism. Their strength depends on how you use them. Their effectiveness must be judged on this basis.

In the area of public office, Baraka correctly recognizes the fact that

plishing all this? Here Baraka brings in his main political concept. This is what he called "operational unity," his concept of alliances and coalitions.

Operational unity means that "ideology must be subservient to the commonality of our experience, and by working together the gap between so-called ideologies will disappear and strong working relationships develop among black people of seemingly widely-divergent theoretical, political ideologies."

In other words, behind Baraka's militant words, he is saying that those "stooges, thieves, and toms" are really your brothers and allies, even though their Democratic Party allegiance is a knife in your back.

You might say that a black is a black under all conditions, i.e., he is confronted by racism. But you cannot compare the racist oppression of the black worker or poor to the racist oppression of a black politician or labor bureaucrat, for example.

The black worker and poor face the greatest oppression and have nothing to lose in struggling against it. The black politician, the bureaucrat, etc. face a much lesser oppression and their social interest is tied to the same system that oppresses them. Also, oppression takes different forms among these different groups. The oppression of the black Democrat takes the form of a limitation on his rise within the party. The oppression of the black worker takes the form of low wages, dirty jobs, speedup, and constant humiliation.

Because of these differences, the two groups have two different world viewpoints, even though at times this may be blurred by deceptive talk of "blackness." This is clearly seen by the fact that the period of militant black resistance was initiated by the ghetto masses. The black politicians and middle class blacks jumped in only after the masses had set the cities on fire demanding justice.

Even so, their militancy only went so far. Jesse Jackson and Richard Hatcher talk about breaking with the Democrats, but in practice they resist this. It was the grass-roots youth of the Louisiana delegation at the Gary convention who were ready to do the real thing.

Baraka's theory of operational unity ignores all this. Baraka believes we're "fighting the same battle . . . to liberate ourselves." Therefore, he ends up on the side of the "stooges, thieves and toms" leading the masses down a dead-end road.

BLACK LABOR IGNORED

There was almost no reference to labor, particularly black labor, as a political power in Baraka's position paper. Baraka ends up on the wrong side again when he speaks of the "contributions" and the "resources" of business men, politicians, churches, etc. and fails to mention black labor. When a motion was put forward at the Gary Convention calling for black labor representation in the National Black Assembly, it was Baraka who shuffled this motion into cold storage.

Blacks are predominately working class, their interest is tied to the best interest of all workers. Racism has long led to black workers taking a back seat in the labor movement. Today, the wage freeze is hurting all workers, and low-paid black workers,

who are a large minority in basic industry, are hurting the most. Therefore, black workers are taking the lead in fighting against inhuman working conditions and wage cuts. This is also in the interest of white workers. A strong rank and file movement not only benefits white workers, it is the only way for black workers to fight for betterment and against racism-on-the-job.

The interests of labor and the black community are interlocked against their common exploiters. This gives black labor the right and duty to play a prominent role in the community.

Baraka speaks of community organization as the "kernel" of political organization. Community organization is necessary, but workplace organization must become the kernel of political struggle.

The power of the exploiters is based on their control over production and services. Like the New York black telephone workers [see *Workers' Power No. 5/1*], black workers must contest this control and demand that production and services be utilized to the benefit of the black community.

Electoral action must be backed up by just this kind of movement. Controlling public office does not by itself guarantee jobs, decent housing, quality education, and all other needs.

This brings us to Baraka's last "area of political power," disruption (actual or threatened). Baraka here seems to oppose terrorism as a futile.

He states that "For black people it (violence) has been more threat than actuality. Which is the reason the white boy buys all the wool tickets we will sell him." He states also that, "We cannot be so ready to die that we forget the purpose of our struggle is life."

Baraka's opposition to terrorism, though, is only a reflection of a period of calm in the black community. Specifically, he probably doesn't want his man Gibson, the mayor of Newark, to be put in the same position Carl Stokes was in in Cleveland, i.e., putting down a black uprising with police force. This would indeed blow his cover.

Furthermore, Baraka is confirming that it is he and his politician friends whose "wool tickets" have gotten too cheap for a profitable sell. It is a standard tactic of Baraka and his friends to bargain with the big powers by using the threat of black unrest.

We agree with Baraka that "wool tickets" are of little use. But unlike Baraka, we are for a real alternative to "wool tickets." That alternative is an uncompromising mass movement led by black labor.

Also unlike Baraka, we are for defense of any ghetto uprising that occurs, as well as defense of any brother who decides to demonstrate his indignation by picking up a gun. We are for this even though we may disagree tactically. We are for this because, unlike Baraka, we do not blame the victim of racism by accusing him of being "slave-stupid."

With all this in mind it is easy to understand why Baraka is in the camp of "stooges, thieves and toms" while giving lip service to militant, independent black political action. His poems, plays, and manner may embody the emotions and, to some degree, the desires of the black masses, but his political ideology betrays them. ■

On March 23, an all-white jury in Biloxi, Mississippi, rejected all damage claims in a \$13.8 million suit against Mississippi highway patrolmen and Jackson city police, in connection with the 1970 Jackson State College shootings in which two black students were killed.

The suit had been brought by relatives of the dead students and by some of the nine other blacks who were wounded when the highway patrolmen and police suddenly opened fire, spraying a dormitory at the college with more than 200 bullets.

Despite testimony from students and a newsman at the scene, to the effect that the only "provocation" which occurred before the police opened fire was the throwing of one bottle, the jury apparently chose to believe the police, who said that they were fired on by one of those ubiquitous "snipers" who always seem to put in a brief appearance in such cases and afterwards conveniently disappear without a trace.

The jury's decision, to deny the victims of the shootings even civil damages, followed investigations by both federal and state grand juries, both of which decided not to bring criminal charges against either the police or the state authorities which ordered them onto the campus.

Despite the flood of right-wing propaganda about how the courts are "hamstringing" the police with "permissive" decisions, the Jackson state case shows how in fact the police are the real beneficiaries of "permissiveness." The Jackson State decision was just the latest in a whole series of cases in which the judicial system has been telling police and troops, in effect, that they are free to brutalize, injure, and even kill blacks and white radicals without fear of serious punishment.

CODDLING

The following are only four of the most blatant examples of judicial "coddling" of official criminals:

1. Despite official findings by a federal investigating commission that the National Guard acted totally without justification when it shot and killed four students at Kent State University and wounded more than a dozen others, the government decided last summer that no federal grand jury would be convened to consider bringing charges against any of those responsible. This was justified by John N. Mitchell, the Attorney General, on the incredible grounds that there was no evidence to support conspiracy charges against the Guardsmen (a consideration which does not seem to have weighed too heavily in Mitchell's mind when the Chicago 8 were indicted for conspiracy).

A state grand jury not only completely exonerated the National Guard, but also indicted 25 Kent students and faculty members on a variety of charges. Three of the defendants were convicted last December before the acquittal of another defendant led the state to drop charges against the remaining 21 people for "lack of evidence."

2. Although the official version of the police murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago has been entirely discredited, no charges have been brought against policemen or city officials for their part in the actual killings. In-



The Law In All Its Majesty

stead, Edward V. Hanrahan, the Cook County (Illinois) State's Attorney, one of his assistants and 12 Chicago police have been indicted for "obstructing justice" in the case -- that is, for clumsily trying to cover up for themselves after the murders. They have not yet come to trial, but if Hanrahan's victory in the Illinois Democratic primary in March is indicative of the degree of racist and reactionary sentiment in the Chicago area, the chances for a conviction are not good.

3. After the police attacks on anti-war demonstrators at the Democratic convention in 1968, another federal investigating commission ruled that what had occurred amounted to a "police riot." The US government, chose, however, to prosecute the organizers of the demonstrations, leading to the infamous conspiracy trial of the Chicago 8, all of whom still face long prison sentences.

At the same time, in a clumsy attempt to appear even-handed, the government indicted eight Chicago police (out of hundreds involved in wholesale brutality against the demonstrators). They were charged not with brutality against demonstrators, but with beating up new media personnel. Furthermore, they were indicted not for aggravated assault, but for depriving the newsmen of their constitutional rights, a less serious charge. The eight police escaped even these watered down charges when they were acquitted after a not-too-vigorous prosecution.

4. In the 1968 Orangeburg massacre, South Carolina highway patrolmen opened fire on a crowd of black college students, killing three and wounding 27.

Nine highway patrolmen were charged in a federal indictment with depriving the students of their constitutional rights by inflicting summary punishment on them, a charge which carries a penalty of only one year in jail and a \$1,000 fine. Nonetheless,

all nine were acquitted.

The prosecutors, police, and other repressive forces in American society can hardly fail to get the message being broadcast by the judicial system in all of these cases: that it's open season on anyone (particularly students and blacks) who gets out of line in this country.

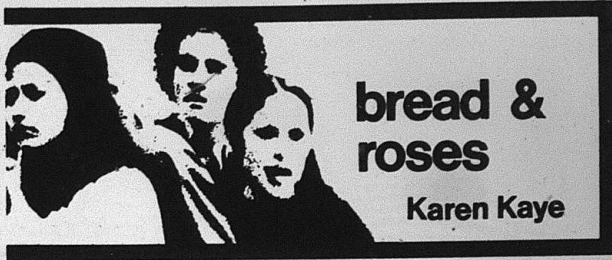
One reason that the courts have been able to get away with such outrageous conduct is that white radicals and ghetto blacks, acting spontaneously and without organization, have lacked the social power to pose an effective challenge to the system of which the police, judges, and courts are a part.

Contrary to the prevalent mythology, the movements of the late '60's were vulnerable to official repression not because they posed an immediate danger to the system, but because they went outside the system's legal framework while at the same time being weak due to their social isolation.

Their characteristic forms of activity -- demonstrations, civil disobedience, spontaneous unorganized uprisings, even the Panthers' policy of armed self-defense (not to mention Weatherman terrorism) -- could not overcome the massive organized violence of the state, as long as the government could count on the vast bulk of the American people to watch passively while the movements were crushed.

In the last two years, economic recession has led to increasing stirrings of discontent in the working class. The more advanced sectors of the working class, although still a relatively small minority, are growing and increasingly militant.

If black and white radicals link up with these advanced sectors of the working class, they can help build a mass movement with the social power to sweep away the judges and police and the social system which they protect. ■



bread & roses

Karen Kaye

Good News

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) made significant revisions in its guidelines early this month. The new guidelines will affect women's employment rights and job-related benefits that women receive due to protective legislation in many states.

In the first instance the EEOC has ruled that:

- Hiring policies that exclude women from jobs because of pregnancy violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Employers also may not test female applicants for pregnancy unless the employer goes to similar lengths to find out if male applicants have ailments that may cause them to leave the job for a few months.

- Benefits from health or insurance plans for sickness or temporary disability must be extended to

EOC 1570-15000-15000



women employees disabled by pregnancy, miscarriage, abortion, childbirth, or recovery from any of these. And medical, hospital, accident, and life insurance plans that apply to men must also apply to women.

- Firing employees because of absences that exceed the allowed time may be unlawful if this practice has a disproportionate impact on one sex. (This could apply to women who are fired for missing several weeks of work due to pregnancy.)

At the same time, the agency has revised its guidelines on women's protective legislation existing in many states. The EEOC's former position was that state laws limiting the hours women could work, weights they could lift, or the jobs they could hold

were in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bars employment discrimination because of sex. The new guidelines extend some of these benefits to men, such as lower retirement ages and minimum wage laws.

For many women who are not in unions, this type of protective legislation has been their only guarantee of their working conditions, in such things as basic as having bathroom facilities, and break time. In cases where men worked with women, they benefitted from the legislation also.

But in recent years, employers have tried to abolish the protective laws, claiming, as the EEOC did, that they were discriminatory under the Civil Rights Act. Many women active in the labor movement and the women's liberation movement have feared that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would be used as a further basis for abolishing protective laws, and have urged instead that they be made non-discriminatory by being extended to men.

While the guidelines of the EEOC do not have the force of law, in the past the courts have been heavily influenced by them. Their purpose is to give guidance to courts, employers, and labor unions as to how the EEOC interprets the law. Last month Congress passed a law that gives the commission the power to go directly into federal court to seek orders to enforce its decisions.

A Small Deduction

Childcare expenses will become an income tax deduction for some parents in 1972 under a new income tax law. The law will permit single and divorced men and women, and married couples where both parents work, to deduct up to \$400 a month for specific household and childcare expenses for children under 15.

There are several important limits to the law however. First, parents can only deduct the maximum if the income is under \$18,000 - whether it is a single parent or a couple with joint income. Thus, in many cases the law could encourage women to stay home and care for the children herself if working would raise the family's income too high.

Second, the maximum deduction is allowed only for baby-sitters who come to the home. For day care centers or preschool programs, the maximum drops to \$200 per month for one child, \$300 for two, and \$400 for three or more.

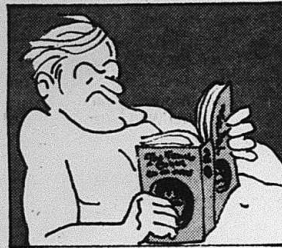
Pin-up Speaks

"They haven't established any political groundwork and haven't reached the working class woman who needs help the most. Many of them don't know what they want, they just think that if those male chauvinist pigs would behave, life would be lovely."

The above is a comment on the women's liberation movement from Paul du Feu, British *Cosmopolitan* magazine's first male nude pin-up and separated husband of Germaine Greer. (*Cosmopolitan* is a magazine for young career women. The American edition made a stir recently by publishing a nude centerfold featuring Burt Reynolds as the model.)

According to a *New York Times* reporter who interviewed Mr. du Feu, "He agrees with the fundamentals (of the women's liberation movement) of equal pay and childcare, but regards as froth a lot of agitating about whether they're addressed as Ms., or being barred from some pubs."

Mr. du Feu is a construction worker and comic strip writer with a degree in literature from London University. He was paid about \$250 for posing for the pin-up.



Subsidized Day Care

A new tax law may encourage more businesses to provide day care for their employees. Amended Section 303 of the Internal Revenue Code allows businesses to deduct the total cost of acquiring, constructing, reconstructing, or rehabilitating property to be used for childcare over 5 years.

Another section of the code allows employers to make deductions if they hire ex-welfare recipients through the federal Work Incentive Program (WIN). The law requires that subsidized day care services must be made available to WIN and former WIN trainees.

Kosher Pig

A coalition of Orthodox Jewish rabbinical organizations has claimed that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the US Constitution would threaten the right of Orthodox Jews to practice their religion. "A central tenet of our faith is the uniqueness of the respective roles of men and women," said Rabbi Abraham

Gross. Orthodox men and women are separated in synagogues and parochial schools.

Rabbi David B. Hollander said boys in Orthodox Hebrew day schools received "deeper academic study" while girls focused on subjects such as typing, stenography, and home observance of dietary laws. He also remarked that "women should be feminine in appearance and philosophy, not brazen or arrogant."

Asked whether he regarded Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem of the women's liberation movement as arrogant and brazen, he replied, "If they claim that American women are oppressed, that's arrogance."

The Unwed Father

Peter and Joan Stanley lived together on and off for 18 years. During that time they had three children. When Joan died, the children were taken from Peter and became wards of the state. Why? Because the couple never married and in Illinois only unwed mothers, not fathers, are considered "parents" of the children.

Mr. Stanley's case eventually made its way to the Supreme Court, where, on April 3 it resulted in a decision that unwed fathers, like unwed mothers, cannot be denied custody of their illegitimate children without an opportunity to prove that they are fit parents. The Court said that the Illinois procedure discriminated against men and denied them due process and equal protection under the law, guaranteed under the 14th Amendment.

Why, Dr. Scholl!

Mrs. Diane Sanchez Heiman has filed a \$1,750,000 suit against the Scholl Manufacturing Company, makers of therapeutic footwear, and the company vice-president, Jack Scholl, for violating Federal anti-discrimination laws. Mrs. Heiman was fired from her job as a traveling promotional representative for the company in October, after, she says, refusing Mr. Scholl's sexual advances over a period of several weeks. She says that submitting to the sexual advances of one's superior is not a condition of employment for men. ■



the struggle for Puerto Rican independence

David Finkel

Puerto Rican Independence; The Fight Against U.S. Colonialism, by Lori Larkin and Eric Langdon, International Socialist Pamphlet, 75¢

The struggle for Puerto Rican independence is the subject of a new pamphlet published by the International Socialists. The pamphlet, written by IS members Lori Larkin and Eric Langdon, outlines the history and analyzes the current political problems and perspectives of the Puerto Rican movement. It helps fill a major gap in the literature of the American radical and socialist movements, which for the most part have known very little about the oppression of Puerto Rico and the various currents within the Puerto Rican movement.

Puerto Rican development has been dominated by colonial and imperialist exploitation for over four centuries. Spanish and then American rule destroyed the agriculture, mineral resources and social conditions that could have laid the basis for real economic development.

Under Spain the island functioned mainly as a military base, and its economy was left to stagnate. After the US took over Puerto Rico in 1898, it became a sugar bowl ruled by North American sugar interests. Small farmers were ruined and became landless agricultural workers.

Puerto Rican history has been marked by various movements and uprisings that sought to overthrow the social structures imposed by colonial rule. Under Spain, the peasants and agricultural workers (jibaros) conducted numerous slave revolts and one major uprising, "El Grito de Lares" in 1868, which demanded independence and a republic.

But these forces were too weak to

overthrow Spanish military rule. When the Spanish colonial empire collapsed, the US replaced Spain as the power in the Caribbean and the ruler of Puerto Rico.

Under American rule, and with the emergence of a more developed class structure including the first stirrings of the urban proletariat, a nationalist movement developed as a popular breakaway from the liberal ruling class party. In its early period the Nationalist Party limited itself to demanding independence without speaking directly to the economic crisis on the island.

The Nationalists were brutally suppressed during the 1930's, when Don Pedro Albizu Campos and other leaders were imprisoned and peaceful protest demonstrations were fired on by police. The decapitation of the Nationalists left a vacuum which was filled by the Popular Democratic Party (Populares), which based itself on a New Deal program and worked out compromises to modernize rather than overthrow colonial rule.

After World War II, a revival of the independence movement gave rise to a new wave of repression against the Nationalists. Driven to desperation, the Nationalists in 1950 launched a heroic insurrection against the US — an uprising which gave voice to all the desires of the Puerto Rican masses but did not mobilize their active participation.

The bloody crushing of this revolt opened the way for the expansion of US industrial capital and "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico. This process has largely destroyed the old semi-peasant *jibaro* class, which formed the social base of the pre-1950 nationalist movement, and has given rise in its place to an industrial working class.

Following this historical survey,

the authors discuss in some depth the economic domination of Puerto Rico by the US today. The reader will find descriptions of the various mechanisms by which super-profits are extracted from the island, without providing any benefits to the Puerto Rican masses.

Workers are largely unorganized, and most existing unions are controlled by the bureaucratic North American "Internationals." Minimum wage and protective laws do not exist in Puerto Rico. In fact, when companies in the US demand that unions agree to wage slashing and speedup under the threat of moving the plant elsewhere, it is to Puerto Rico (as well as other countries) that the companies threaten to move.

While American investors enjoy tax holidays and other special arrangements, Puerto Rican workers pay the taxes that enable the government to build roads and services for the corporations. Puerto Rico is both a captive market for expensive US goods and a cheap source of Puerto Rican goods for the US.

Official unemployment hovers around 11 percent, while real unemployment is about 33 percent. These are the fruits of the vaunted "Operation Bootstrap," which is billed for American tourists as a program which is bringing "prosperity" and "development" to Puerto Rico.

The most important section of the pamphlet deals with the problems facing the Puerto Rican independence movement today. The massive expansion of US capital has laid the basis for its own destruction by creating an industrial working class concentrated in the cities, including dockers, sugar workers, and concentrations of women workers in textile and garment industries.

The authors point the road for-

ward for the independence movement as a working class movement:

"In the process of fighting for independence from colonial domination and strangulation by the North American labor bureaucracy, the working class must fuse its demands for better conditions and higher wages with the struggle against both US and Puerto Rican capitalism. In this way the fight for independence can deepen into a struggle for socialist revolution and the achievement of real economic, as well as formal, independence."

A critical step in the building of a revolutionary workers' movement in Puerto Rico must be the development of a revolutionary socialist party. This party must be a workers' party whose program centers around the struggle for political power — for an independent workers' republic of Puerto Rico.

As the struggle deepens in intensity, and the various middle class supporters of independence abandon the struggle because they fear its social consequences, the revolutionary party will be called upon to lead the independence struggle itself, on a revolutionary working class basis.

The formation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) can be a step toward the creation of a revolutionary party. While building united-front actions with the rest of the nationalist movement, the PSP calls for the "socialization of the means of production by the working class" and for revolutionary struggle.

The authors discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the PSP at the time of its formation, including the problems and opportunities of electoral action and the reformist illusions of the "peaceful electoral road to independence and socialism" that continue to exist.

The authors, in summing up the tasks of the PSP, indicate that the broadest movement for independence must be built around a class program:

"The PSP, through its working class program, must also develop ways to draw behind its banner the urban unemployed, the rural poor, students, and those sections of the middle class who will join in fighting for economic and social demands and thus support the working class struggle for socialism."

This pamphlet is recommended reading for all militants interested in the reality of Puerto Rico today and the struggle for a revolutionary solution. ■

1905 by Leon Trotsky

First English translation — just published. The classic account of the first Russian revolution, when the working class shook Tsarism to its foundations. The rise of the Soviet of Workers Deputies, the fighting arm of the working class in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Trotsky places the revolutionary upsurge in the context of Russian and European historical development and sets forth his theory of Permanent Revolution as forged in the crucible of revolutionary events. \$2.95

Lenin's Moscow by Alfred Rosmer

Translated by Ian Birchall. The memoirs of a revolutionist about life in the Soviet Workers' state from 1920-1924. "Any revolutionary or militant of the labor movement anxious to confront today's problems

will be amply rewarded by reading Rosmer's book. It contains many details and analyses of the early years of the Communist International, crucial material for the Marxist history of the Third International still waiting to be written... it is a study of the complex dynamics of the world revolutionary movement from the Russian revolution to Lenin's death. Rosmer shows how the economic crisis of the post-war period, the traditions of the European labor movement and the qualities and weaknesses of individuals all interacted to produce the successes and failures of the period!" — from the translator's introduction. \$4.00

Marx and Keynes by Paul Mattick

A study by America's foremost Marxist economist of the Keynesian

method as an attempt to solve the classical contradictions of capitalism. Discussions of the Marxist theories of value, credit, the falling rate of profit, and economic crisis, and the possibility of revolutionary working class activity to overthrow capitalism. \$5.95

The Making of the English Working Class by E. P. Thompson

One of the greatest studies ever written of working class history. The origins and development of the institutions of struggle developed by the working class before the rise of Chartism and the trade unions. \$2.95

[For a complete catalog, please write: I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward, Highland Park, Michigan 48203.]



Vietnam

R.F. Kampfer

[Continued from page 1]

by increasingly effective anti-aircraft fire. The NVA is being hurt by the bombing, but the campaign will be won or lost depending on how the South Vietnamese army performs.

So far, the ARVN has not done very well. Even though they outnumber the NLF and NVA in South Vietnam by five to one, ten to one counting militia, nowhere have they been able to regain the initiative. They have slowed down the offensive in places, but they have not stopped it or turned it back.

Yet the issue is still in doubt. The hardest thing for Hanoi will be to keep its divisions supplied with food, fuel, and especially ammunition. Not even the best troops can hold when their supply lines are cut; nor can a modern army survive on what it captures.

Sherman was able to live off the land all the way across Georgia, but von Rundstedt was unable to duplicate his feat in the Ardennes. If Giap becomes overextended, it will mean the worst defeat of his career, and an important victory for Nixon and Thieu.

At the same time, if the NVA wins even a limited victory, Thieu's days are clearly numbered. There are three basic alternatives open to Giap.

The first is to drive for Saigon and end the war once and for all.

This offers the greatest rewards but also the greatest risks. It is highly unlikely that this will be tried in the near future unless the ARVN begins to disintegrate altogether.

Another possibility would be an eventual undefeated withdrawal to Laos and Cambodia, destroying Saigon's military defenses and political infrastructure as they withdraw. In a strictly military sense this might be the best course, since it would badly damage Saigon's military capacity at the least cost to the NVA.

It is doubtful that a humiliated ARVN could or would follow across scorched earth to attack prepared defensive positions, behind which the NVA could refit for a further attack at a time of their own choosing.

However, there are political disadvantages to this option, the main one being that Nixon and Thieu would try to protract even a planned withdrawal as a Saigon victory. Giap needs some tangible triumph for its effect on Saigon's

morale and American politics. Accordingly, Giap will probably try to take Quang Tri and/or An Loc, set up a Provisional Revolutionary Government in one of these, and hold on to the territory his troops have occupied.

If Giap can pull it off, Nixon's "Vietnamization" program becomes exposed for the farce it always was. Once again there are parts of Vietnam that the ARVN cannot penetrate in any strength, by day or night. After years of massive US intervention, the situation returns to that of 1965.

What must be determined is why Hanoi chose a course involving grave risks at this time. The answer most likely lies in the international political scene.

Nixon's trip to Peking has already raised fears that the US and China may make a deal that includes a Big Power compromise over Southeast Asia. (US planes are dropping leaflets to the North Vietnamese troops showing Nixon shaking hands with Mao and pro-

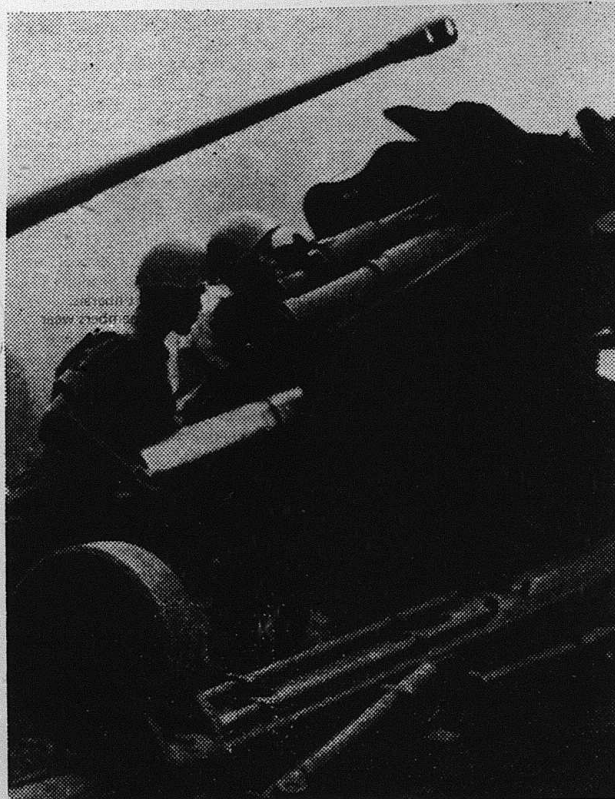
claiming, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung desires peace between the world's peoples.") Hanoi has even more reason to fear a sellout when Nixon goes to Moscow, since the great bulk of the NVA's war material comes from Russia.

Nixon desperately needs a Vietnam victory of some kind before the elections. No doubt he is making some very attractive offers to Russia and China to help him get a favorable negotiated settlement. Hanoi's only possible response is to raise the conflict to a level that either precludes such a settlement, or favors a settlement on its own terms.

An equally important consideration is the 1972 elections themselves. The more desperate the Vietnamese situation becomes, the greater the necessity for candidates to commit themselves to a solution. Given the present political climate, the solution that wins the most votes is immediate withdrawal.

When push comes to shove, Nixon may prefer to leave Vietnam instead of Washington, but if he is unable to bring himself to withdraw, the Democrats may well find someone who can. Hanoi, which has often advised American anti-war activists to work to elect a Democrat in '72, may be hoping that the anti-war sentiment springing from this offensive will promote such a result.

Saigon, of course, is keenly aware of the dilemma in which the presidential candidates find themselves. If Giap's offensive is successful, some of the leadership in Saigon may decide to save themselves, at least temporarily, by scuttling Thieu and forming a coalition government with the PRG. ■



North Vietnamese artillery in operation

"doves" in this country for establishing a "coalition government" in South Vietnam. These proposals put forward conditions for US withdrawal, rather than demanding that it be immediate and unconditional.

It is the US which has invaded Vietnam, which continues to maintain an occupying army there, and which perpetuates the division between North and South Vietnam - a division which was arrived at not by the will of the Vietnamese people, but by earlier imperialist deals. While we oppose the anti-working class politics of the NLF and the Stalinist North Vietnamese regime, we support their

military victory over the US in this war.

The new escalation finds the American anti-war movement poorly prepared. As the attention of the American people has shifted to the economic and social crisis in this country, the failure of the anti-war movement to link the issue of the war to that crisis has allowed both Nixon and the Democratic Party to sweep the war under the rug.

The ability of the anti-war movement to respond to the resumption of full-scale bombing and the threat of new troop escalations will be measured by the turnout for the National Peace

Action Coalition (NPAC) demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles on April 22. The International Socialists urge all anti-war activists and militants to support the April 22 marches, and to make them massive demonstrations demanding the *immediate unconditional withdrawal of all US forces from Indochina, and the immediate end of all support to the Saigon regime.*

But there should be no illusions that these demonstrations by themselves can force the US out of Vietnam. The leadership of the anti-war movement has failed throughout its history to confront the need for sustained anti-war activity and a political break from the capitalist war parties. Its reliance on bureaucratic single-issue coalitions and single-issue semi-annual peace marches means that the political benefits of the new anti-war sentiment will fall largely to liberal Democrats.

The strategy for the anti-war movement must be mass action throughout the elections, directed against the Republican, Democratic, and Wallaceite candidates who offer only a continuation of the war in one form or another. As anti-war sentiment and outrage comes to the surface again, the so-called liberal "doves" must not be allowed once again to derail it and thereby leave the government (whether Republican or Democrat) free to re-escalate yet once more. ■

Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

by the US in yet another attempt to gain a military victory in Indochina.

While the character of the fighting has now changed - from guerilla warfare and "Vietnamization" to conventional warfare and renewed massive bombings - the politics of the war itself remain the same. The US military presence in Vietnam is the only force standing between the Saigon regime and total collapse. The North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front are fighting a war of national liberation, aimed at expelling the US and smashing the Saigon regime which is a cardboard facade for US imperialism.

Revolutionary socialists support the victory of this national liberation struggle and the defeat of the US in Vietnam. Nixon's claims to defending South Vietnamese "self-determination" against the "invasion" from the North are a total fraud. Equally fraudulent are the proposals of liberal Democratic

Radical Party Wins In Ann Arbor

Nancy Holmstrom

A new radical political party, the Human Rights Party, won a stunning victory in the April 3 city council election in Ann Arbor, Michigan. They captured 2 of the 5 seats that were up for reelection and made impressive showings in the races in the other wards. The Democrats won no seats.

Nancy Wechsler, 22, a graduate of the University of Michigan and presently a stock clerk, became the only woman to sit on the council. Jerry DeGriek, a senior at the University of Michigan, became the youngest person ever to sit on the council.

In Ann Arbor, home of the University of Michigan, HRP is composed mostly of radical and left liberal students (as well as "street people" represented by the Rainbow Peoples Party, headed by John Sinclair, which is in coalition with HRP). Around the state HRP has a higher proportion of older disenchanted Democrats.

HRP is a rare bird among political parties: all policy decisions are made at open conventions and mass meetings, candidates run as party spokespeople not as individuals, and there is an active women's caucus.

The biggest factor in HRP's victory was clearly the new student vote, disproving establishment social scientists' predictions that students would not bother to register and would vote like their parents if they did register. However, only 50 percent of the students eligible to vote were registered and in the first ward HRP could not have won without strong support from the black community -- which came in spite of desperate last ditch attacks on HRP by the Democratic Party hacks of the NAACP.

HRP also won some support from what working class population there is in Ann Arbor, which is small because of the astronomically high cost of living in the city.

This largely student party was able to attract significant support from out-

side the student community because their platform and their practice spoke to the interests of the majority of people who live and/or work in Ann Arbor: tenants, poor people, working people, and blacks, as well as students.

The HRP campaigned heavily against the Democratic Party which they correctly charged represented business and landlord interests in town (and nationwide) as much as the Republicans do. They emphasized community control of public services, including the police, called for 5,000 units of low cost housing, tenant-controlled housing, and rent control, a comprehensive system of public transportation, and a steeply graduated income tax.

They called for the repeal of all laws involving victimless crimes, such as drug use, curfew violations, and homosexuality. They attacked institutional sexism and demanded free abortion on demand, the end of discrimination against women and homosexuals, and the establishment of parent-controlled child care centers.

They supported a strong anti-strike-breaking ordinance which would make the use of any scab labor during a

strike illegal. They backed this up with strike support activities during the strikes of Ann Arbor teachers, the CPHA workers, and the Buhr Machine Tool workers. Their support was significant enough in the last case to win endorsement of HRP candidates by the Buhr UAW local.

The Ann Arbor city council will consist of 5 Republicans, 3 Democrats (with a Democratic mayor), and the 2 HRP members, making them possible swing votes on the council. Only if the party maintains an active radical membership will the HRP'ers on the council be able to resist liberal pressure and provide an alternative radical direction on the council.

Given the composition of the Ann Arbor population it will be next to impossible for HRP to build a working class base. Its growth will come among left and not-so-left liberals.

Already, many HRP members wear McGovern and Chisholm buttons next to their HRP buttons, and HRP's electoral success will make it more attractive to middle class liberals and opportunists. There will undoubtedly be increasing conflict within the party over the emphasis to be given to elec-

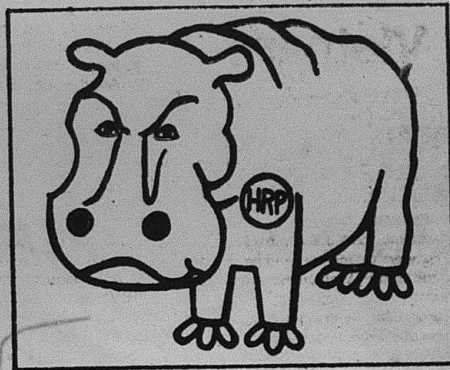
toral campaigns versus other political work, and the emphasis to be given to congressional and other campaigns that go beyond local issues and where there is less chance of winning against liberal Democrats.

Already, the pressure of a campaign and the inexperience of many people in HRP resulted in the politics sometimes getting a little lost. Little connection was made between the local issues that correctly were emphasized and national issues such as the war and inflation. The wage freeze was barely mentioned. There was also controversy within the party over the emphasis given to the marijuana issue.

If it is to survive as a radical party representing a clear alternative to both ruling class parties, the HRP must continue to develop programs and campaigns on and off the council which speak to the needs of working people, unemployed, tenants, women, and blacks; and that can attract their active support.

A hopeful indication of the direction things may take is the fact that at the first mass meeting of the HRP after the election it was decided by a margin of 8 to 1 to make the anti-strike breaking ordinance the first priority on the council. It was also voted not to bring up the marijuana issue at the same time.

Until there is a party of the working class, which alone can achieve radical social change, the most important long range benefits that a party like HRP can accomplish is raising consciousness and providing experience in self organization. It can be a means of uniting around common aims the majority of the community whose interests are not represented by the capitalist parties. Even if the lifespan of HRP as a radical party is not a long one it will have provided an example of such a party organized in clear opposition to the Democrats and Republicans. ■



Jerry DeGriek



Nancy Wechsler

Million Dollar Wage

Harold Geneen received a wage boost of \$45,739 last year from the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, the company of which he is both president and chairman of the board. His salary for holding down these two jobs was \$812,494, up from \$766,755.

At first glance this looks like a case for the Pay Board, since Geneen's increase amounts to 6 percent, half a percentage point above the administration's 5.5 percent guidelines. But Geneen is well within his rights. It turns out that his compensation also included the option to buy 33,334

shares of ITT stock, at a special price. The price Geneen paid was \$1,125,022 for the shares, whose market value was \$1,920,872.

Geneen's additional \$795,850 in stock values brought his total income up to \$1,562,344. Compared to this, his wage increase was a mere 3.3 percent, well within the Pay Board's permitted range.

ITT's generous salary levels, coupled with strict adherence to the Phase Two guidelines, are a rarity among American businesses these days. President Nixon will no doubt be extremely grateful. ■



PRESIDENT HAROLD GENEEN

Student unrest breaks out in Stalinist Hungary

James Coleman

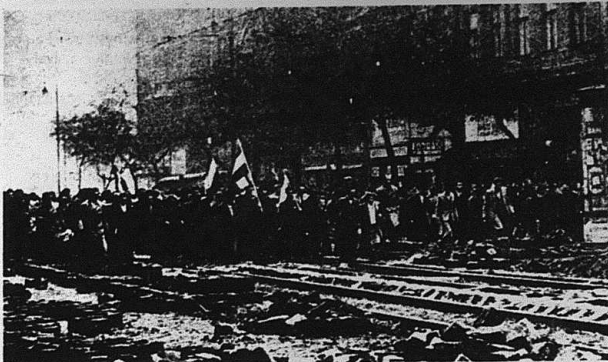
The first street demonstration in Hungary since the aftermath of the 1956 rebellion occurred in Budapest on March 15. According to reports by travellers in Vienna, the demonstration occurred as a breakaway from an official rally celebrating Hungary's national day.

According to the Vienna reports, students shouted down a Communist Party speaker at the official rally, then marched through the streets along the route taken by demonstrators in the nationalist uprising of 1848. (March 15 is the anniversary of the 1848 revolt.)

The police were reported to have set up barricades to stop the march. According to the reports in Vienna, the police used truncheons to break up the crowd and there were dozens of arrests.

The reports described the demonstration as being led either by Maoists or by "those who believe in permanent revolution" -- that is, Trotskyists.

Trotskyist analyses of the Communist regimes as new class societies have circulated throughout Eastern Europe -- for example, in the manifesto of the Polish revolutionaries Kuron and Modzelewski, and in the program of



Mass demonstration in Budapest in 1956

the now-suppressed "Revolutionary Socialist Party" in Czechoslovakia.

On April 13, the Hungarian government confirmed that the breakaway demonstration had taken place, but denied that there had been violence or arrests. Readers can interpret these denials for themselves.

The demonstration came in the context of a continuing conflict be-

tween Hungary and the USSR over economic policy. Hungary has for some years been engaged in an economic program similar to that of the brief Alexander Dubcek period in Czechoslovakia. Like Dubcek, the Hungarian government has given more play to market forces in the economy, resulting in a greater availability of consumer goods. The other effects of

these policies -- which in Czechoslovakia also resulted in a decline in working conditions and greater inequality in wages -- are not clear from available reports.

According to the *New York Times*:

"The Budapest leaders argue that the economic reforms are essential to prevent social disorders of the type that broke out in Poland in 1970 which stemmed from high prices and poor goods. The Moscow leaders say the reforms inspire a liberalism that inspires the disorders."

Whichever side is "right" in this argument about how to prevent popular unrest, it is plain that the dissatisfaction of Hungarian citizens and the potentiality of working class unrest lie behind the conflict over economic policy.

This forms the background to the March 15 demonstration and increases its significance. The demonstration marks the emergence of Hungary's student population from the deep apathy and cynicism which gripped Hungary after the failure of the 1956 rebellion. If Hungary's students are now beginning to stir, other sections of the population may follow. ■

Ovambo strikers make contact with Angolan freedom fighters

W. Enda

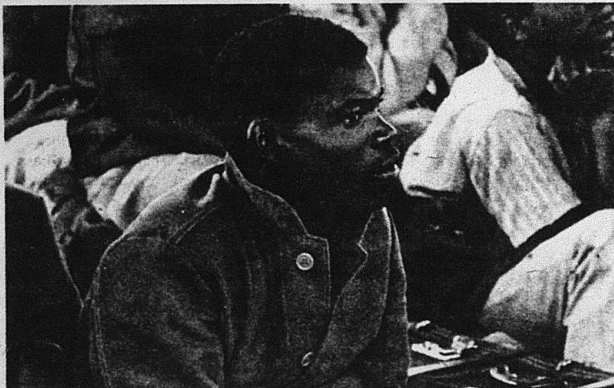
The magnificent strike of 15,000 Ovambo workers in Namibia (South West Africa) against the labor contract system is now more than ten weeks old.

The workers realized that the agreement reached last month between the South African government and their stooge chiefs, without consultation with the strikers' representatives, was phoney. All it did was to put the control of recruiting into the hands of the chiefs instead of the whites.

None of the demands were granted -- equal pay with whites for the same work, the right to live outside company-owned compounds and to pay for their own food and accommodation, to have their families with them in town, the abolition of the police border post on the exit from Ovamboland to the white areas.

News from Ovamboland has been suppressed by the government, mainly to prevent other Africans in the republic itself from following this example. Bits and pieces of information trickle through.

Sixty miles of fence, built to divide Namibian Ovambos from their brothers in Angola, have been cut. The



strikers are making contact with the people in Angola, who, according to the liberation organization, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, rose up in armed struggle on January 12.

Portuguese and South African troops have been rushed to the borders to try to keep the insurgents apart.

In Ovamboland, the strikers have formed themselves into bands. Armed

only with machetes, bows and arrows, they have attacked the white police patrols sent to protect collaborating chiefs.

Their courage is tremendous. The police are armed to the teeth with the most up-to-date automatic weapons.

Officially, twelve Ovambos have so far, been reported shot dead. An unspecified number of white police have been hospitalized. The whites

keep quiet about their own fatalities but the grapevine says six have been killed.

Many chiefs have had their houses burnt down. Execution has been the fate of some, for informing the police about the strikers' activities. Emergency regulations were passed on February 4, preventing people from moving about without permission, and giving chiefs the power of arrest.

The thousand or so workers who fell for the settlement, and returned to the capital city Windhoek, are having second thoughts. Finding the same old Katurura compound, same rotten food, and same old conditions, they rioted on February 12, driving out the compound guards.

Armed police surrounded the compound, shakily aware that the workers had not been subdued. News from Katurura has since been nil.

The country is rapidly going bankrupt with industry at a standstill. The whites can only think of sending in more armed forces.

The Ovambos have kept up their fight for 10 weeks and will last longer. They all believe in their demands and many have shown they will die for them. ■

Indian Left Communists Reap Defeat

John Ashdown

Throughout India's long crisis of the sixties, West Bengal remained in the eye of the storm. There the major strikes were fought, mass demonstrations took place, and open political warfare on the streets led to the slaughter of countless militants.

The terrorism of the far left and the gangsterism of the right tore the great city of Calcutta apart. Throughout the struggle, the main leadership of the movement was in the hands of the Left Communists (CPM), which was more concerned to yoke the movement to its tactics in the West Bengal assembly than to create a mass revolutionary movement.

One result was the creation of a

far left terrorist movement of young people (CPML). Once that happened, the CPM, in the state government, turned the police and army on its former supporters in defence of its own "law and order."

Now the CPM has begun to reap what it sowed. For it did not build a disciplined revolutionary workers' party, but simply a leftist middle class opposition, entirely focussed on winning and keeping parliamentary power at the state level. Its mass movement was not seen as the instrument of power, but kept in reserve for demonstrating in favor of the CPM in the government.

The state elections have shown

who can play this game best. Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party has swept the polls in an unprecedented victory.

The Congress Party gangsters, having slaughtered the militants of the CPML, turned on the CPM. Defeat at the ballot box came only long after the CPM had been brutally pulverized with physical violence.

The middle class of West Bengal, terrorized by the street warfare and the economic decline of the state, has been charmed by the leftist slogans of Mrs. Gandhi and the aggressive nationalism of the Indian Army's invasion of Bangla Desh. It has swung massively against the CPM.

For five years the CPM dominated the West Bengal assembly. Now it has been reduced to 14 seats (with six close allies) of a total 280.

In the old assembly the Congress Party had 55 seats; now it has won 216. The Right Communists (CPI), close allies of the Congress Party, have more than doubled their score with 35 seats. In Calcutta, West Bengal's biggest city, the CPM has lost all the seats it previously held.

The CPM will say its defeat is simply the result of Congress Party gangsterism. There was certainly enough of that. Congress Party thugs took over polling stations to manufacture the vote, shooting anybody who protested. About 10 people were murdered on polling day, and countless others beaten up.

But that is only half the story. The other half is that the middle class sup-

porters of the CPM changed their minds, and they did so because when it comes to a straight parliamentary alternative there is no reason to back a small local party when you can back a big national one.

Of course, a parliamentary massacre of the left is not as bad as a physical one. The CPM leaders have at least been given the chance to learn a few lessons about the parliamentary road to socialism.

These are lessons the Congress Party did not need to learn - organized violence was the precondition for getting the "right" result at the ballot box. If you stick to the constitutional forms in such circumstances, the left always loses.

But there is little likelihood that the CPM leadership will learn any lessons, except perhaps that Mrs. Gandhi is not as nice as they thought. (On the Bangla Desh issue, the CPM supported her passionately. Much good it did them.)

More likely, perhaps, the CPM will split, with much of its leadership moving back towards the Right Communists. For the rank and file, yet another period of confusion and demoralization seems likely. Mrs. Gandhi has reason to be grateful to the Communists of India for her massive triumph over the left. ■

[Reprinted from *Socialist Worker*, the weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists, April 8, 1972.]

The military government of Peru calls itself "revolutionary." It has talked a great deal about nationalizing foreign companies and has even taken over some American firms. Recently it has started a so-called land reform.

Some alleged socialists in Latin America have even talked about a "Peruvian model" of revolution. But facts which have started to trickle through show up the junta for what it really is - savagely repressive and anti-working class.

When the copper miners of Cobriza went on strike last November, supported by 15 trade unions, they might have expected government support. After all, one of their demands was the nationalization of the mines and the expulsion of the American company which owned them.

Instead, on November 10 and 11, the army and police murdered at least 25 miners. Not content with firing on the crowd, as they had done once before during the strike, they murdered



Peruvian Generals Machine-gun Miners

Richard Kirkwood

several union leaders in cold blood.

The general secretary of the miners' union, Pablo Inza Basilio, was machine-gunned to death while lying wounded. Members of the security forces got into a union meeting in disguise and simply gunned down the leading militants.

After the security police had dispersed the strikers, with more deaths, those arrested were shot on the spot.

Since then most of the militants have been sacked or deported to the concentration camp at Sepa in the Amazon forest. There they have been joined by miners from another strik-

ing mine, Orroya, who were deported at the same time, and by a doctor whose crime was to tend the wounded after the Cobriza shooting.

At the same time wives and families of miners have been continually harassed. They have no money. They have been driven from their homes, their children kicked out of school. All this has been done by a government calling itself revolutionary.

But the fighting spirit of the Peruvian miners has not been broken. In January 400 miners at Raul Mine were on strike for higher wages and for the provision of drinking water. At present water is so contaminated that workers have to travel to the next village for it.

As elsewhere in Latin America, the lesson is clear - there are no shortcuts, only a real movement of workers and peasants can put an end to the misery and repression which is the lot of the mass of working people in Peru. ■

The US Embassy in Saigon is taking the position of ignorance, a Saigon police official says that no students are being held, and a prison official refuses to speak on the subject. But on March 29, the first military court trial of Vietnamese students, some of whom had been "missing" for several months, was held.

The 10 defendants were accused of tearing down election posters for President Thieu, and "sabotaging national security." One defendant, the 20-year-old chairman of the Saigon high school students' association, slashed his arm with a razor, and with

his blood wrote anti-Thieu slogans on the courtroom wall.

The trial was postponed and the defendants returned to prison, where they are being held without warrant. The defense lawyer and various student groups charge that the prisoners are being tortured, and they are denied the right to see their lawyer while in prison.

One student publication states that 46 student leaders are known to be in jail, and the defense lawyer estimates that well over 100 students are imprisoned. The government is "determined to keep the students quiet and out of politics," he said. ■



Saigon students demonstration, 1970

Student Leaders Jailed in Saigon

Derek Hirst

Wallace

[Continued from page 3]

knowing he had the anti-busing vote in his pocket, was carefully projecting an image which could appeal to the many people in the crowd who shared his opposition to busing but were also concerned about other issues.

The result was that the rally did not really display the expected flavor of a right-wing, racist hate session. It was in many respects a typical American campaign rally -- the people yearning to believe in this one candidate who promises he is different from all the rest, who promises that he will give them a voice.

This atmosphere was in part real, in part deceptive. The rally did represent an outpouring of people who feel established politics has ignored the common man -- as it has.

It is the bankruptcy of the Democratic Party center, its inability to offer a program of real reforms, which has promoted the candidacies of both McGovern (previously regarded as an unappealing candidate) and Wallace. There is no greater indictment of the Democrats' supposed "progressivism" than the fact that only Wallace kicked off his Michigan campaign by addressing an old-fashioned American foot-stamping, cheering campaign rally.

FALSE ALTERNATIVES

At the same time, the currents of jingoism, race hate, and anti-intellectualism also ran through the crowd, stimulated but regulated by the master Wallace. This white electorate is one which, in this election year, could respond to either a progressive or a reactionary call, provided both dress in populist slogans.

An example of this was provided by the reaction of one youth at the rally who said he wanted to see a Wallace-McGovern ticket, and did not care which of them had first place. Asked if this was a contradiction, he replied that they stood for the same things. In terms of rhetoric, this is often true.

In reality, there are contrasts -- neither offering real hope. McGovern is attempting to forge a liberal reform program, but if he ever became President, he would be trapped like previous reformers in his dependence on the Democratic Party and its business backers. Wallace, free of the Democratic Party though formally running under its banner, merely offer a pressure campaign to force both major parties to the right.

Wallace's success so far indicates the power of independent politics. Yet Wallace is the biggest fake of all the candidates. Equally dependent on his own business support, he is able to give a voice to voters' frustrations, but is unable to offer a constructive program.

The kind of independent politics which could offer a real alternative -- based on the common interest of working people, black and white, against the employers and their parties -- is not in sight this year. ■



feedback

Busing

In editing my article "The Challenge of Wallace" (Workers' Power No. 54) the editors made, with my consent, one change to reflect the majority on the Editorial Board, with which I disagree. This was in the discussion of school busing.

First, while it is true that none of the liberal Democratic candidates can come up with a real solution to today's economic and social crisis, it is not therefore true that these same candidates cannot support school busing as a solution to the school crisis. They can, and some of them do -- Lindsay, Chisholm, McCarthy, McGovern, and sometimes Muskie.

These Democrats do support busing precisely because it is no real solution to the school problem. As revised, my article neglects to point this out.

Just as, in the economic sphere, the liberals try to foist the burden of

the rights of blacks and other minorities against the attacks of this movement. However, the anti-busing position is shared by people not motivated solely by racism.

If, after all, we agree that busing is not a real solution to the crisis in our schools, then we should not summarily label as racists all those who have reached a similar conclusion.

Many white workers who are experiencing a declining standard of living through economic attack on the job and the rapid deterioration of the cities are unwilling to watch their children suffer a similar "cutback" in education. And this is precisely what the busing plan accomplishes.

Busing redistributes the poverty of American education by transferring some black students out of their wretched ghetto schools into merely miserable suburban schools (which have been laying off librarians, special instructors, and teachers) and sending white students in the opposite direction. For white workers who still have some hope of their children accomplishing more than they have ac-



PARENTS PROTESTING BUSING FOR THEIR CHILDREN IN DADE COUNTY, FLA.

reviving American business upon the working class through the wage controls, in the cities they seek similar schemes which force workers to pay for needed social reforms. Busing is one such scheme. It is liberal members of city school boards who are pushing busing, oftentimes against black as well as white opposition.

The article's discussion of busing is based on an unfair insinuation that "anti-busing" is simply a code-word for racism. This kind of analogy plays right into the hands of the "left" Democrats who would like nothing better than to convince skeptical black voters that only they will fight for the interests of blacks against the reactionary "Joe's" of "middle America."

There is no denying the fact that the anti-busing movement is largely composed of racists -- and we defend

ourselves to the old "American dream" (despite massive unemployment, inability to pay college costs, and the low quality of white working class education) -- the idea of sending their children back into the cities which they scrimped and saved to escape from is just too much.

This, therefore, is not entirely a racist response, but it can develop into one if the school debate remains limited to busing vs. anti-busing, with Wallace leading the anti-busing forces and such "liberals" as Joseph Wilson, President of Xerox (in Rochester), heading up the pro-busing side. The racists hope to capture this wider anti-busing sentiment for their own purposes. By stating that all who oppose racism must support busing, we will leave these people to the racists.

We should also pay attention to the

sizeable black opposition to busing. Many blacks realize that just as "separate but equal" schools will not guarantee black children quality education, neither will integrated education -- without corresponding educational improvements and democratic control of the schools -- begin to right the wrongs which black children have suffered in a racist society.

When black children are transferred to white schools the result is often the separation of black students into "remedial" classes which continue the practice of segregation within the school. Furthermore, administrators and teachers in white communities will not develop an educational program relevant to the experience of minorities in America without the kind of struggle which has forced these kinds of changes in city schools. Integration into white suburban schools can threaten whatever control the black community has been able to achieve over its schools.

As socialists we must support the right of all children to quality education and to attend the schools of their choice in order to receive that education. Initially, exercising these rights will probably mean the flooding of a few privileged white schools by both black and white working class children. Racists who have opposed busing will also oppose such a scheme, but other white opponents of busing -- who were genuinely concerned about their children's education -- will be forced to reconsider the issue.

In this light it will be increasingly apparent to some white parents that black parents who want the same quality education for their children are not the enemy, nor a threat to their own children's education. Both blacks and whites will be more likely to see that it is the state which denies their children a decent education by refusing to seriously reconstruct and build new schools which will fit children's needs.

Perhaps then we will see a movement which can unite all workers and which can force the state to provide quality education for all.

Shelley Levine

Showdown?

I am astounded at the news in the editorial "Nixon, Mao Deal Over Asia" (Workers' Power No. 52) that, "In the long run, a showdown between Chinese and US imperialism is inevitable, since they represent two different social systems that are . . . hostile to each other . . ." We might just as well say that -- since bourgeois imperialisms are fundamentally hostile to each other -- "In the long run a showdown between French and US imperialism is inevitable, since . . . etc."

This method takes a correct generalization (hostility of Western business and Eastern bureaucracy) and "applies" it to a concrete situation (US and China) without any regard for the local facts, the relations between just these businessmen and exactly these bureaucrats. In this case, I doubt if China will ever be economically developed enough to require a "showdown" with US imperialism, although it might be a US junior partner in a "showdown" with Russia.

William Jackson

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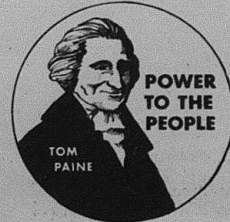
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George Grosz.

Cabaret

review

R.F. Kampfer

Most musicals made in the past decade have been just LP albums strung together with a feeble excuse for a plot. That may be why the genre has been going downhill ever since *West Side Story*. *Cabaret* is different, and even those who hate musicals should see it.

Cabaret seems to have been modeled after the Bertolt Brecht-Kurt Weill plays of the 1920's, especially *The Threepenny Opera*. There is the same cast of fringe elements, not quite criminal, not quite respectable, trying to find a niche for themselves. There is the same use of song to accent human frailties and pretensions, the same ricky-ticky music (John Kander) and schmaltzy lyrics (Fred Ebb), the same unrelenting cynicism about life in general.

Cabaret is set in the Berlin of 1931, during the death agony of the Weimar Republic. The cast are performers and patrons of the Kit Kat

Club, a tawdry but pretentious cabaret.

Outside there is unemployment, inflation, and political turmoil, including full-scale street battles between the Nazis and the Communists. Inside there is wine, music, drugs, sex, and kinky entertainment. Out of the conflict between the two grows the plot.

There is Sally, who wants to use the cabaret as a launching pad for a career in the movies, pathetically innocent for all her pretensions of "divine decadence." There is Brian, who wants to marry Sally and become a university professor at Cambridge. There is Maximilian, the bisexual Baron who seduces both of them.

Finally, there is the ultracynical Master of Ceremonies, who both caters to and mocks the hungers and weaknesses of those around him. His grotesquely painted face always seems to be peering over the shoulder of anyone who might, for a moment, feel optimistic about something (This make-

up, incidentally, was customary for M.C.'s at that time, and does not imply anything about his sex-life).

The crisis comes when Sally gets pregnant, she isn't sure by who. She has the choice of marrying Brian and spending a dull life at Cambridge, or chucking that option for good, getting an abortion, and staying on at the cabaret in hopes of the big break.

It's always obvious what choice she is going to make, and the picture ends with her singing "Come to the Cabaret," as the brown Storm Trooper uniforms form an ever greater part of the audience. The grim realities of the outside world are invading the last refuge, and there is no escape for anyone.

The "message" of the movie is an ambivalent one, as seems to be the style nowadays. One interpretation is that when society is breaking down the individual can do nothing about it, and might as well have fun while he or she can.

The retreat into sex, dope, and

music is nothing new on the political scene, despite what some of the spokesmen for such a policy may think. The consequences of dropping out and copping out are just as reactionary today as they were back then.

Another possible interpretation is that political decadence (fascism) somehow goes with sexual "decadence" (homosexuality, bisexuality, transvestism, sado-masochism, promiscuity, and prostitution), although it is not clear which is supposed to produce the other. This is a much trickier question.

While all forms of sexual variety found expression, sometimes openly, under the Nazi regime, the official line was in favor of the "traditional," puritanical, patriarchal, Germanic family. While homosexuals formed a sizable percentage of the SA and the SS, homosexuality was grounds for being sent to a concentration camp.

This is not the place to go into the relationship between sex and politics. Suffice it to say that the movie does a disservice by establishing a contiguity between Nazism and offbeat sex, so that the audience might afterwards viscerally associate one with the other.

Despite these reservations, the film is well worth seeing. Liza Minelli has the most mobile and expressive face since Rita Tushingham, and is a joy to watch as Sally. Michael York is adequate as Brian, although that part does not give the player a great deal of scope. Joel Grey almost steals the show as the M.C.; it's impossible to imagine anyone else playing the part.

Director Bob Fosse has exactly captured the atmosphere of pre-nightmare Germany, from the grimy grey streets festooned with Communist and Nazi posters, to the self-consciously rustic beer gardens. The scene of an angelic-looking young Storm Trooper singing, "Tomorrow Belongs To Me" is one that will be remembered for a long time. ■

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