



UAW: Cracks at Top

Evidence of a deep split in the leadership of the United Auto Workers bubbled to the surface amidst widespread dissension in the ranks, on the fifth and last day of the 23rd Constitutional Convention of the UAW, in Atlantic City.

The first three days were virtually empty of any issues that really affected and concerned the rank and file in the plants. All collective bargaining questions were tabled to a special collective bargaining convention to be held next year.

Instead, the convention often had the flavor of a campaign rally, with a steady stream of political speakers addressing whichever delegates happened to be inside and listening. The speakers emphasized two common themes. One theme was "Dump Nixon." The other was the continuity of leadership between Reuther and Woodcock.

All stops were pulled out at this convention to emphasize Woodcock's legitimacy as Reuther's successor. A film biography of Reuther's life that ended with Woodcock guaranteeing he would continue the grand old tradition added to the effort to extend Woodcock's somewhat precarious hold on power.

Questions concerning working conditions, grievance procedures, health and safety on the job, were all "out of order" at this convention. It was only some of the political candidates -- apparently more in tune with what's going on in the shops than the union leadership -- who felt compelled.

(Continued on page 4)



EDITORIAL

VIETNAM: WHAT NEXT?



The past few weeks have seen a continuing series of defeats for the South Vietnamese army. Despite massive American air support, the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, and wild claims by Saigon generals of thousands of enemy soldiers killed, the spectre of disintegration has begun to emerge.

Most of Binh Dinh and Quangtri provinces now lie in North Vietnamese hands. The flight of refugees from Kontum, and reports of incipient panic in Hue, indicate that popular confidence in the Saigon regime is all but shattered.

As significant as the battles themselves are the indications that the com-

mand structure of the South Vietnam army is collapsing even more rapidly than the fighting morale of the troops. While the offensive has not yet threatened the major cities of Saigon or Da nang, and hope is being held out that the North Vietnamese will exhaust their forces in this "desperate gamble," there is much public (and no doubt even more private) doubt by American officials that strategic areas of the country can be held.

Confronted with the reality of Saigon's military collapse -- and the threat of political collapse as the situation worsens -- Nixon's escalating rhetoric takes on an ominous sound. While promising continued withdraw-

al of ground troops (20,000 over the next two months), Nixon has proclaimed certain victory for the South Vietnamese army and stated that "We will not be defeated. And we will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression."

But unless the North Vietnamese supply lines collapse -- which seems unlikely, since much of the northern area of South Vietnam has been captured, as well as rice-rich areas in the Central Highlands -- the offensive at a minimum will leave the PRG and North Vietnamese in control of several provinces and possibly major cities. Further fighting in the Central High-

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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.

I.S. Conference on Rank and File Revolt



On May 13 and 14, the International Socialists are holding a social-ist educational conference on the crisis of capitalism and the rank and file revolt in the labor movement. The site of the conference will be the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in Chicago.

PROGRAM

The Current Capitalist Crisis: Its Roots and Impact

Art Fox Former President of the Tool and Die Unit, Local 600, Ford Rouge Plant. Long time militant and a founder of the United National Caucus of the United Auto Workers.

Rank and File Committees in Action

Joe Naebeck One of New York City Communication Workers of America's Chief Stewards. A promi-

nent leader of the recent 6-month long telephone workers strike and an activist in United Action, opposition caucus in the CWA.

Jordan Sims Former Chairman of the Bargaining Committee for Local 691 of the United Auto Workers. A well-known militant of the UAW and now co-chairman of the United National Caucus of the UAW.

The Unorganized

Mickie Swisher Involved in organizing drive for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Socialist Perspectives and the Black Liberation Struggle

Joel Geier National Secretary of the International Socialists. A veteran of the Civil Rights and radical student movements.

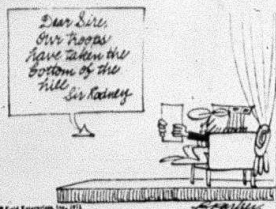
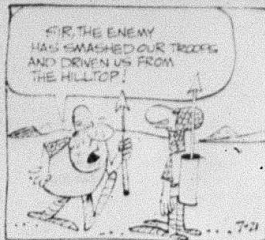
Rank and File Labor and the Tasks of Socialists

Brian McKenzie Leader of United Action of the Communication Workers of America. Leading figure in the recent CWA strike of telephone workers in New York City.

The experiences of these speakers and the groups they represent provide insights into the course of the struggle against the policies of the bureaucratic officialdom of the trade unions and the attempt to develop a new, fighting strategy for the American working class.

[For information on registration, housing, childcare, or additional information, please write:

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



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Berkeley Campus Workers Fight U. C. Union-busting

Louise Mitchell



Striking Berkeley workers have picked up the banner of action where Berkeley students dropped it, and have carried it into battle against the state of California.

As relatively small-scale anti-war protests broke out on college campuses in the wake of the new US escalation and bombing in Vietnam, Berkeley students, once famous for their militancy, were even more subdued than others. The week of April 17 was marked, instead, by a strike of campus workers, which brought a long-standing grievance to a head, against the wishes of the leadership of the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

On Thursday, April 13, building trades workers who have had a strike authorization in effect for 2 long years, fired their old negotiating committee and moved into action: "Fish-bowl negotiations" conducted at the UC campus the next day brought no satisfaction; the building trades workers are faced with a clear attempt to break their union.

The University wants to "re-classify" skilled workers to maintenance, cutting wages up to 40 percent, is insisting on substantial layoffs, refuses to sign a contract with the union, and will not accept anything resembling a reasonable grievance procedure. This action against the best organized workers on the campus is a clear attack on all working men and women, in the context of a general cutback in public services as the economic crisis intensifies.

The building trades workers set up their pickets early Monday morning, April 17, and were joined by AFSCME 1695, the union of non-academic clerical and professional employees. 1695 also voted to strike for their own demands, including equal pay for equivalent work and the call that funds to meet their demands not come from other workers or students.

All together, the strike was joined by about 35 unions representing 2,000 mostly non-academic employees. The Berkeley Radiation Laboratory, the Livermore Radiation Laboratory, and UC operations in Richmond were all affected.

But Dick Groulx, Secretary of the Alameda Labor Council, and Lamar Childers, head of the Building Trades Council, refused to call the picketing and "withdrawal of labor power" a strike. Perhaps they hoped that mysterious talk about "informational picketing" would confuse the courts. At any rate, they refused to face head

on a key issue of the whole struggle: The right of public employees to strike.

Their evasions didn't fool the courts at all - an injunction was granted within the day, although strikes by public employees are not technically illegal in California - but since these union bureaucrats didn't openly call for support, and disciplined their members not to do so, the only result of the evasion was that other campus workers and students were confused and demoralized.

Student support is crucial; the Berkeley strike is a political strike, and it will have to be won politically. Without broader support there could be a long drawn out struggle which will die on the streets.

Groulx set up a further roadblock to winning the strike when he told a packed ballroom of students on Wednesday, April 19, that a student boycott was unnecessary now. He did this even as the Regents were saying how important it was, and comforting, to see "business as usual" going on (with the aid of professors who were issued plastic bags to take home their garbage, and open scabbing organized by the university).

AFSCME 1695 did openly call for student support, but this appeal was played down by the regular papers, including the UC student newspaper, the *Daily Cal*, while Groulx's attitude was played up.

The labor bureaucrats were aided in their misleadership by the supposed leaders of the student body, the liberal student government bureaucrats

(not to mention the Student Mobilization Committee and their mentors in the Young Socialist Alliance). They tried to channel the strike solely into an "anti-war" action, and are clearly afraid to take up the labor issue, to confront any anti-labor prejudices on the part of the students.

The International Socialists, whose members include both employees and students at UC, were on the picket lines from the time they went up Monday morning, urging campus workers and students to stay out.

Daily IS leaflets have addressed workers and students on the issues behind the strike, and on a strategy to win, linking the strike, the war, and other issues the student body has adopted as a program for the strike (for example, law students are fighting to see that there are no cutbacks in minority enrollment there next year).

There is still a possibility that this struggle, played down nationally, will develop into an explosive situation; all the ingredients are there. Rank and file workers will have to organize to spread the strike (it has already spread across the Bay Bridge to the UC San Francisco Medical Center); students will have to see that at last there is a possibility of uniting the issues they have long fought for, and really closing the campus down.

There must be unconditional support to the Berkeley workers in their defense against the state's attack. Many students have begun to recognize that it's not just rhetoric to say that it's all one struggle.

Woodcock Discovers Capitalism



"I resent being dragged through the capitalist press on the internal affairs of the union."

This surprising quote came from none other than Leonard Woodcock, UAW President, after public charges and newspaper reports that he had supported the dumping of Regional Director Paul Schrade. Woodcock, who managed to find nothing wrong with serving on the capitalist Pay Board, supporting the capitalist Democratic Party, allowing the capitalist auto corporations to close plants and speed up assembly lines, and living like a capitalist himself on the salary of a labor bureaucrat, worked up the guts to denounce the "capitalist press" when it gave meager publicity to opposition to his regime.

Workers' Power applauds Woodcock's courageous exposure of the bosses' press as enemies of the union. No doubt he is anxious to have a full and open discussion of democracy in the UAW in the labor press, free of the lies and distortions of the capitalist media. We are delighted to offer our pages to Leonard Woodcock to enable him to tell his side of the story.

UAW

Jack Trautman

[Continued from page 1]

to talk about inhuman working conditions.

Despite the political tone of the convention, there was no mention of some of the pressing political problems facing the union movement. For example, the threat posed by George Wallace was barely mentioned.

The fact that, despite the pleas of the union leadership, many UAW members have already voted and will vote for Wallace -- racist, anti-union demagogue that he is -- was studiously ignored. To discuss a real strategy to beat Wallace would have meant examining some of the union's failings, a taboo subject.

Only Pete Kelley, co-chairman of the United National Caucus (UNC) broke the taboo. He pointed out that the absence of a discussion of Wallace was symptomatic of the divorce of the union bureaucracy from -- and their lack of concern for -- the ranks.

But Kelley's comment was ignored. So was the proposal for independent political action by the labor movement put forward both by the UNC and by at least one independent delegate from Iowa. Any discussion of a break from the two capitalist parties was also "out of order," despite the UAW's standing official endorsement of the New Democratic Party, the Labor Party of Canada.

Woodcock even had the nerve to call the 1970 GM contract (which provided only \$.08 in new money and merely regained the escalator clause lost in 1967), the greatest gain in the history of the UAW. He pointed out that when he took office the union had hanging over its negotiations the tremendous victory (not his words) of the Teamsters, who had won a \$1.85 per hour increase. Due to his "courage and militancy" the UAW was able to avoid "falling into the same trap."

HIDDEN CRISIS

Woodcock's machine appeared well-oiled. Outside the meeting room was a carnival atmosphere with balloons, an accordion player, a raffle booth, slide shows, clowns, and sales of Walter Reuther Memorial plaques, records, books, etc. The atmosphere at times seeped into the convention sessions, with staged demonstrations and balloons.

On the floor, an army of 800 International Representatives kept their eyes on the less than 3,000 delegates, to discourage and report any defections.

Outside, the Administration provided free parties for the delegates, paid for by a slush fund provided by the International Representatives: 10 percent of the \$22,000 salary and expenses: \$2 million.

Nonetheless, hidden behind the convention facade was a crisis for the union. Within the last year the UAW has lost 220,000 members -- almost 15 percent of its membership. Yet the union spends less than one half as much on organizing as it does on its

Black Lake, Michigan, vacation spa. The leadership offered no real proposals to end the loss of jobs in auto. One member described the proposals that were presented at the convention as putting band-aids on a large bleeding wound.

With working conditions deteriorating, with the union having less and less of an in-plant presence and with the leadership concentrating on a legislative program and refusing to mobilize the ranks for struggle, discontent is growing.

The pent-up anger of the delegates came to the surface on the last day. In a discussion of resolutions on job security and unemployment, speaker after speaker rose to express dissatisfaction with the union's policies.

One after another delegates pointed out that they had voted for the Woodcock slate (instead of the UNC candidates) but that the union wasn't doing its job and they weren't getting service. One rose to state angrily that he was appearing at the convention

accelerating the union's drift to the right, who long ago called for wage controls, who refused to walk off the pay board until the notorious conservative, George Meany, led the way -- felt Schrade to be a thorn in his side. He sent his International Reps out to line up votes for Schrade's opponent, Jerry Whipple.

Here is where the split in the bureaucracy emerged. Irving Bluestone, newly-elevated head of the GM Department of the UAW, prevented his underlings from participating in the "Dump Schrade" move. Bluestone appeared to be seconded by Doug Fraser, who had lost the contest for the Presidency to Woodcock by one vote (Schrade had helped line up support for Fraser, a factor in Woodcock's eagerness to dump him).

International Trustee Ann LeFebvre, who held her post for 22 years, publicly broke with the bureaucracy and resigned, accusing Woodcock and Vice-Presidents Bannon and

face of his liberalism, Schrade is no different from the other top-level bureaucrats. His region is the hardest hit by unemployment, plant closures, and foreign competition, and he has had no program to offer other than reactionary economic nationalism.

The fact that Schrade was unable to draw much support from blacks and Chicanos illustrates his isolation from the shops. It was his failures that laid Schrade open to attack when the bureaucracy moved against him. Had he built himself a base, he could not have been removed.

Nevertheless, it was clear that the defeated Schrade did have a large following at the convention. He claimed that he was returning to his old job at North American Rockwell to join the ranks and organize an opposition to the Woodcock Team.

As a member of that team he had never attempted to organize the ranks. It remains to be seen what sort of opposition he will organize -- a rank and file group or a more liberal image bureaucracy.

PRESSURE FROM BELOW

In the meantime, the growing discontent of the rank and file intensifies the pressures on the whole bureaucracy. If the opposition can be organized, Woodcock may well be offered up as a sacrificial lamb. So far, there has been no focus for the opposition. The United National Caucus has not yet been able to gather to itself the dissident elements. But the cracks in the ranks are beginning to become visible.

The Canadian Region, granted some autonomy by the last convention in response to the nationalist current sweeping Canada these days, is still unhappy. Canadian workers get short shrift from the US pork choppers. Moreover, American economic policies, which the UAW is supporting, are causing severe economic problems in Canada, including an unemployment rate of 8 percent.

But Canadians were scarcely called upon to speak during the convention. Pete Kelley, also having trouble getting called upon, mentioned this, joking that perhaps he was sitting too close to the Canadian section.

The potential for a powerful opposition is clearly in evidence. The leadership is thoroughly out of touch with the concerns of the ranks. A split like that which surfaced in Atlantic City could lead to a real power struggle.

In such a battle, neither side will likely represent the interests and real needs of the rank and file. But the cracking of the monolith opens up the possibility that a more sustained and thoroughgoing opposition can be built.

The UAW, once the most democratic and militant of the CIO unions, and the leader of the union movement in its dynamic days, may be the first to see a crack in the bureaucracy and to bring to the surface the workers' opposition that has been brewing down on the shop floors for some time. ■

Correction

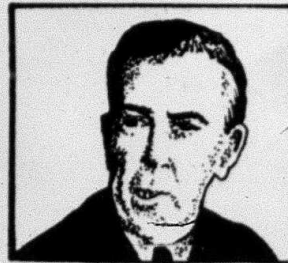
The article "UAW Convention to Meet in Atlantic City" in *Workers' Power* No. 56 was incorrectly attributed to John Weber. The byline should have been Frank Gothic.



Leonard Woodcock



Paul Schrade



Doug Fraser



Irving Bluestone

for the last time: his plant was closing and he and his members would soon be out of work. Similar threats of closures and plant phase-outs hung over the heads of others.

Demands for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, no compulsory overtime, and increased holidays were raised by Donald Deal, UNC delegate from Chicago. But there were all "out of order" in terms of any action at this convention. In the end, the leaders' ineffective and probably irrelevant legislative proposals were passed.

The anger and discontent of the rank and file is unorganized and unfocused. But it represents a growing threat to the union bureaucracy.

It is in this context that Woodcock decided to axe Paul Schrade, Director of Region 6, the West Coast. Schrade, who had been Reuther's protege, was a liberal in the spectrum of the UAW leadership. He had been the first UAW big-wig to oppose the war, and had supported student, black and Chicano struggles.

Woodcock -- who is continuing and

Greathouse of purposely scotching Schrade.

All of this indicates that beneath the rhetoric of "Teamwork in the Leadership" that was trotted out so often at this convention, there are deep divisions among the picards. Woodcock's control over the leadership, while secure for the moment, is by no means deeply rooted and there is obviously a lot of maneuvering going on behind closed doors.

Schrade is the first Regional Director to be done away with in the UAW in a long time. Such changes are often a response to rank and file discontent. This was the way both Woodcock and the capitalist press described Schrade's downfall.

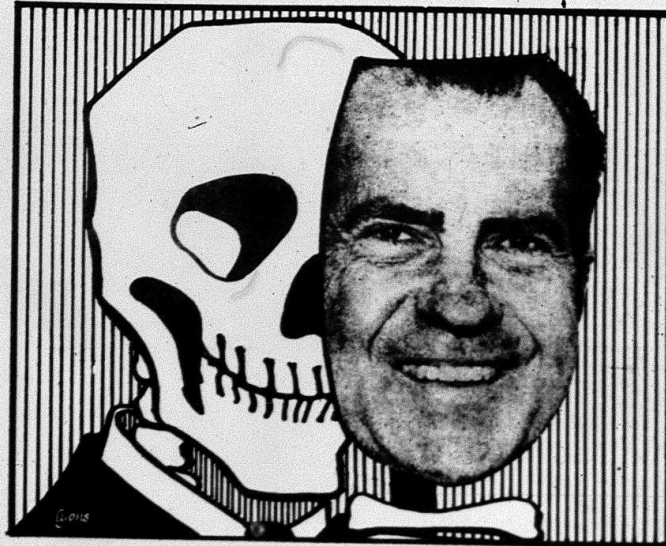
But it was the top leadership, not the rank and file, that were out to get Schrade. The point is, however, Schrade was unable to mobilize the ranks in his own defense.

The reason the rank and file was willing and in some cases happy to see Schrade dumped was hardly because he was "too liberal." Beneath the sur-

NIXON ON THE WAR

Behind The Lies

David Finkel



On April 26, as Saigon's armies continued to collapse throughout the northern provinces and Central Highlands of South Vietnam, Richard Nixon took to the airwaves to "report" to the nation about the success of "Vietnamization" and the prospects for a "peaceful settlement." It was just about four years ago that Lyndon Johnson, in the face of the Tet Offensive and the pressure of the American anti-war movement, announced his withdrawal as a candidate for re-election to the White House.

Nothing so interesting was to come from Nixon's radio-TV address. He simply served up a re-hash of the glowing accounts of battlefield progress and the arrogant lies "justifying" the American intervention which have been fed for ten years to the American people -- who long ago became bored and finally disgusted with them.

Still, Nixon's speech deserves some attention for two reasons: first, because the nature of the current fighting -- in which North Vietnamese troops are openly and heavily involved -- has confused some people who believe that the US is justified in "defending" South Vietnam against an "invasion" (a confusion Nixon and the pro-war media are exploiting to the hilt); and second, because behind Nixon's lies about Vietnam stand barely-veiled threats of a new massive escalation -- threats that he will try to turn all of North and South Vietnam

into bombed-out wastelands before accepting defeat.

Nixon's first and biggest lie is the old myth of Vietnamese "invading" their own country: "The massive invasion of South Vietnam by the Communist armies of North Vietnam . . . in violation of the treaties they signed in 1954, and in violation of the agreement they reached with President Johnson in 1968."

The most important thing about this argument is that *there is absolutely nothing new about it*. The US government, under Republican and Democratic administrations alike, has always claimed to be defending South Vietnamese "self-determination" from outside attack. But the creation of South Vietnam as a client state of the US, following the Geneva peace agreement of 1954 (which the US never signed, but accuses North Vietnam of violating), never had anything to do with the wishes of the Vietnamese people in either the North or the South.

Vietnam is one nation, which was to be re-united by elections in 1956. The US cancelled the elections because the Communists would have won them.

According to the US, the presence of North Vietnamese troops destroys the "pretext" of civil war. *In fact, however, the war in Vietnam ceased to be a civil war long ago. Today, it is only liberals who argue that the US is*

interfering in a "civil war" between two Vietnamese forces. Before the massive introduction of American troops, sent to fight South Vietnamese NLF guerrillas who were then described by the US as "invaders," the war was a civil war between Communist guerrillas and the US-backed Saigon dictatorship. As hundreds of thousands of US troops poured in, the war changed its character and became a struggle for self-determination.

The Tet Offensive showed that Saigon had long before lost any social base or support whatever in Vietnam, outside of a tiny group of generals, landlords, and war profiteers. The people of Vietnam had become overwhelmingly loyal to the NLF, fighting a war of national liberation against the United States. (For a discussion of the NLF and self-determination, see *Workers' Power Nos. 45 and 46.*)

Nixon's second lie is that "our program of Vietnamization -- helping the South Vietnamese develop the capability of defending themselves" has been a success: "The South Vietnamese are fighting courageously and well in their self-defense." Battlefield reports tell a different story. In Quang Tri city, South Vietnamese officers deserted their own forces and moved out for Hue, leaving 10,000 South Vietnamese troops to try to fight their way out under the command of American "advisors."

The fact is that Vietnamization

failed because it had to fail -- because of the nature of the war itself. Without a social base or a program that commands the loyalty of any section of the population, the Thieu regime cannot be propped up by any amount of American hardware and technology. "Vietnamization" has only served as a cover for continued air support and aerial and naval bombardment, carried out under the pretext of "protecting our remaining American forces."

Even to restore the military stalemate that had existed since 1968 would require the large-scale re-introduction of American troops. But this option is closed off because of the political and economic consequences that would be involved in the US itself.

"GENEROUS TERMS"

Nixon's third lie is that "we have offered the most generous peace terms in both public and private negotiating sessions." There could be no There could be no better illustration of the arrogance and hypocrisy of the imperialist mentality which Nixon and his Democratic predecessors represent.

After sending over 500,000 American troops; after supporting one Saigon dictator after another, the torturing of protestors and political opponents, and the blatant rigging of elections; after dropping napalm and phosphorus bombs on thousands of civilians and dropping captured prisoners of war from helicopters; after massive bombing to destroy the industrial and population centers of North Vietnam, the invasion of Cambodia by American troops, and the slaughter of civilians in My Lai and countless other unknown villages -- after eight years of fraud, destruction, and genocide, the US has no right to offer "peace terms," generous or otherwise to the Vietnamese.

None of the peace offers made by Nixon or Johnson are consistent with the right to self-determination of Vietnam. None of them give up the US government's claimed "right" to participate in setting up a government in Saigon.

The fact is, as the Pentagon Papers and other documents have shown, that the US never intended to negotiate peace at all so long as it thought it could win the war. But in any case, the US has no right to any "peace terms" other than *immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all US troops and an end to all support to the Saigon regime.*

Editorial

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lands and the Saigon area could bring the regime to the brink of collapse, either through NLF-led urban uprisings or by way of a "neutralist" or military coup.

What will Nixon do then? Re-introducing US troops seems excluded for the moment, and may be too late

a few months later. Short of nuclear weapons, there remains the possibility that the US might launch a desperate all-out air and sea assault on North Vietnam and captured areas of the South.

This would mean turning all Vietnam into a "free-fire zone," mining Haiphong harbor, and bombing dams to cause flooding (as some government officials have hinted), hoping to cause Hanoi to crumble from sheer physical destruction and to provide an object lesson to national liberation struggles elsewhere. Even this policy would probably fail, but it could turn much of Southeast Asia into an uninhabited, defoliated no-man's-land.

The American anti-war movement

has begun to respond to this threat, through mass mobilizations and demonstrations, strikes and occupations on several campuses. These actions mark the first successful anti-war demonstration in over a year, and probably (despite their smaller size) have had the greatest impact since the upsurge following the Cambodia invasion in 1970.

But most of those who joined the massive demonstrations of 1968-70 have remained passive in the face of Nixon's threats, many confining themselves to working for the McGovern campaign. And while Nixon's fear of a defeat in November may hold him back from sending troops back in, they cannot prevent

him from trying to "destroy Vietnam to save it" or force him to end US intervention altogether.

The call by various liberals and peace groups for a "moratorium" and demonstrations against the war on May 4 have received the endorsement of the AFL-CIO. Anti-war militants and unionists should use this opportunity to turn these demonstrations into mass actions for immediate withdrawal. Only by continuing such actions throughout the elections, and directing them against the Republican, Democratic, and Wallaceite candidates, can the anti-war movement effectively expose the imperialist basis of Nixon's lies and counter the new escalation.

Gary Organizers Revise Black Convention Decisions

Clarence Jones

The chairman of the National Black Political Convention and other key figures at the Gary event met recently in closed session at Howard University. The purpose of the meeting was to modify the National Black Political Agenda, the political program passed by the convention, into an acceptable package for the capitalist politicians, both Democrat and Republican.

The meeting seemed to be designed to solidify their bargaining position and strategy. But what the meeting and its decisions revealed were the deceitfulness and disregard for the black people of the Gary organizers.

Even though the National Black Political Agenda was voted on and passed by a majority of convention delegates, the steering committee of the National Black Assembly, the continuing organization, has the right to amend or overturn all decisions. What this means is that the convention was only a rubber stamp for the organizers-leaders.

The famous anti-busing motion was amended by the Howard University meeting. The original resolution

was heavily jargonistic -- characterizing busing as "obsoleter and dangerous" and racial integration as "bankrupt" and "suicidal." Such jargon provokes strong reactions in many circles.

But in amending the motion, the N.B.P.C. organizers were not responding to the sentiment of the black masses, who are deeply divided on this question and without the means to express themselves. They were responding to the sentiment of the Democrats and black liberal circles.

From this camp came the charge that the anti-busing motion had a pro-Nixon-Wallace character. For this camp, which is involved in a pro-Democratic "dump-Nixon" campaign, the busing resolution works against them -- adding fuel to Nixon's presidential campaign. They also fear that a black acceptance of "separatism" would encourage the rightward drift of the Democratic Party.

Carl Stokes, speaking on the anti-busing motion at the National Black Policy Conference on Education (a Congressional Black Caucus organized affair -- seemingly organized to mus-

ter opposition to the Gary motion), argued that all the Democratic presidential candidates "are trying to out-Wallace Wallace." He went on to state that these candidates plan to put blacks in a "position of neglect and rejection."

The revised resolution reads:
"Busing is not the real issue in American education today, and we condemn the dishonesty of the Nixon administration and other forces in making busing an issue . . . The real educational issue for the black community is how do we get supreme quality education for all our youngsters . . ."

Even though this revised version is essentially correct, it was arrived at under pressure to accommodate the Democratic Party, and not to represent the people's interest.

In a solid block the Democratic Party organizers and participants in the convention denounced the anti-busing resolution after the event. Apparently, the confusion of the convention allowed the resolution to slip by them -- or, perhaps, they were afraid to risk further disunity by op-

posing the resolution, outright, at that time. The revision took place under the firm insistence of the Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina delegation chairmen.

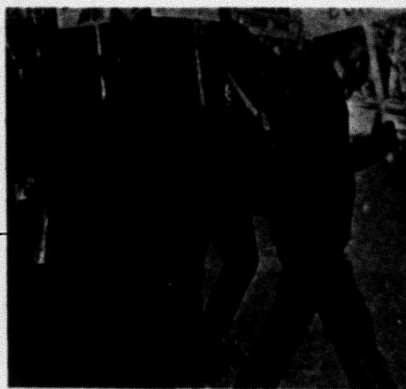
As for the nationalist backers of the original resolution, their response to the revision was insignificant. Roy Innis, C.O.R.E. leader and the resolution formulator, was reported "pacing the floor outside the meeting room, roaring like a lion." Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones) was reported as being very "quiet" during the entire meeting.

Another resolution passed by the convention was also revised by the Howard University meeting. This was the resolution on Israel, a direct attack on the Zionist state -- calling for its dismantling.

Again, the original resolution was jargonistic. Although it correctly and sharply attacked the imperialist oppression of the Palestinians by the Israeli ruling class, it at the same time neglected the rights of the Israeli working class.

The revised resolution reads:
" . . . be it resolved that the con-

The Louis Smith Case: Black Union Militant Framed



Smith walking United National Caucus picket line

He has photographs of his injuries to sustain his charge.

The "coincidence" of police coming on the scene from an anonymous phone call, and "just happening" to encounter a prominent black militant packing a gun, is patently absurd. Against the background of Smith's prominence, the previous threats, and Cincinnati's Southern-racist atmosphere, the whole incident takes on the appearance of a carefully planned frame-up.

FREE LOUIS SMITH!

Smith was tried before an all-white jury. Despite the fact that Ohio law permits individuals the right to carry a concealed weapon if they have reason to believe they are in danger, and the fact that the prosecution failed to even attempt to refute this argument in court, Smith was convicted. The jury also ignored highly contradictory testimony from police witnesses.

Smith was then sentenced to the maximum penalty -- one to three years -- despite the fact that he had no previous criminal record. The judge refused to even consider arguments for a mild sentence. He also refused to grant bail for Smith pending his appeal, although he reversed this decision two days later.

Movement groups in Cincinnati are organizing a defense campaign to win reversal of Smith's conviction. Petitions for his release were also circulated at the recent UAW Constitutional Convention, where Smith had been elected as a delegate from his local union. ■

A black union militant in Cincinnati has been convicted on a highly dubious charge of "carrying a concealed weapon," and slammed with the maximum sentence of one to three years.

Louis Smith, chairman of the JOB (Jobs, Opportunity & Betterment) Caucus at the General Electric Plant in Cincinnati, was convicted and sentenced on April 21. The charges stemmed from an incident with Cincinnati police on February 21 of this year.

Smith's group, a militant black caucus organized to fight racist practices by the GE management, has the support of some 800 black workers at the plant. The caucus was formed, at least in part, in response to the inaction of

the UAW leadership in the plant around racial grievances.

The incident which led to Smith's conviction smacks of a classic police frame-up. On the night of February 21, Smith was preparing to leave for a meeting of the JOB caucus executive committee. JOB members had learned that some KKK types were planning to break up the meeting. As a result, Smith, who had also received several anonymous phone calls threatening his life, had decided to carry a revolver with him to the meeting.

As Smith was leaving for this meeting, a contingent of Cincinnati police officers arrived at Smith's apartment building. The police claim they were drawn to the building by an anonymous phone call reporting "man with

a gun, 670 N. Crescent (Smith's address)." After arriving on the scene, and finding nothing, the police claim to have entered the building through the back door and climbed the stairs.

The police then claim to have encountered Smith on the landing. They maintain that they noticed a bulge in his jacket, grabbed him, found a revolver, and arrested him on a concealed weapons charge. They also claim Smith pushed them when grabbed.

Smith maintains that he did not meet the cops on the landing, but that the officers forced their way into his home and encountered him inside. Smith also claims to have been beaten by the cops twice; once in front of witnesses in the hallway of his apartment, and later at the police station.

vention go on record as being in agreement with the O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity, the official association of African states) position that calls for: (1) The Israeli government to be condemned for her expansionist policy and forceful occupation of the sovereign territory of another state; (2) Measures to alleviate the suffering and improve the position of the Palestine people in Israel; and (3) The National Black Political Convention to resolve to support the struggle of Palestine for self-determination."

Again, the N.B.P.C. organizers responded not to the interest of the oppressed, but to the interest of the ruling class. This softer Israeli revolution is designed to accommodate the pro-imperialist, pro-Zionist Democratic Party.

DEALS WITH DEMOCRATS

Along with these revisions the Howard meeting also made more important decisions. At a press conference Richard Hatcher announced the plans of the N.B.A. steering committee to meet with all "viable" candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The purpose of the meetings will be to seek the compliance of the candidates with the National Black Political Agenda. In exchange, they will be awarded the "endorsement of the nation's black voters." Apparently, the no presidential endorsement resolution passed at the convention was only meant to stall action on a issue too hot to handle democratically.

The steering committee will also meet with the national chairmen of both parties to discuss the "degree of black participation" in their conventions. They are demanding 20 percent representation on all policy-making bodies. Lawrence J. O'Brien, national chairman of the Democratic Party has already agreed.

In a time when the power that be feel free to talk of bumping blacks, and liberals, such as Humphrey, feel free to "out-Wallace Wallace," these so-called leaders only offer further black subordination. Jesse Jackson is busy with legal maneuvers trying to replace the Daley machine convention delegates with his delegates. But black people cannot go along with Jackson and Co. to the oppressors table. The militant defense of black rights will always be outside the two capitalist parties. ■



Raised fists in Gary

Recent weeks in the murder-conspiracy trial of Angela Davis have uncovered a tangled web of confusion, intrigue, and demagoguery in the state of California's case against her. While trying to construct a tale of conspiracy by the defendant based on her letters to George Jackson, Prosecutor Albert Harris revealed instead evidence of a conspiracy by the state against Davis -- a conspiracy involving the FBI, police, and the Soledad prison administration.

The prosecution spent several weeks attempting to produce a coherent version of the events of August 7, 1970, at the Marin County courthouse where the "jailbreak" attempt and shootout took place. Harris tried to sway the all-white jury with grisly accounts of the deaths in the getaway van, including a description of Judge Harold Haley's head being blown apart by a shotgun blast, and with the fate of one of the hostages, who grabbed a gun from Jonathan Jackson, shot several of the prisoners and was shot himself and left paralyzed for life.

Later medical testimony revealed, however, that the shot that killed Haley was probably a pistol wound in the chest rather than the shotgun wound which the state accuses Ruchell Magee of firing. It is quite possible that Haley was accidentally shot by the hostage himself, Assistant D.A. Gary Thomas. The shot which paralyzed Thomas came from outside the van, from police who riddled the van with a fusillade of gunfire.

Harris began the next part of his case by reading in court the murder indictment against the Soledad brothers for the death of a prison guard in 1969. He characterized as "immaterial" the fact that John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo, the surviving Brothers who came to trial in the case, were acquitted. Refusing to stipulate to the jury that the verdict had acquitted the Soledad Brothers, Harris stated it "has nothing to do with this case." "Neither does the indictment," responded Leo Branton, one of the defense attorneys.

STATE CONSPIRACY

The heart of the state's case (which claims that the hostages taken at Marin were to be traded for the freedom of the Soledad Brothers, including George Jackson), consisted of reading into the record letters written by Angela Davis to Jackson, supposedly showing a passionate love affair between the two which would drive Davis to any lengths to free him.

The court has prevented Harris from introducing one such letter, which he removed from Jackson's personal papers after the latter was murdered by San Quentin guards. Other letters, however, had been admitted as evidence, although this violates constitutional guarantees against seizure of private papers and property without due process.

While reading one of the letters to the jury, Harris suddenly stopped and broke into a sweat as he realized that the passages he was reading had no bearing on any personal relationship between Jackson and Davis, but rather referred to the need for struggle by all Black people.

The account of how the state obtained the letters is the most interesting aspect of the trial to date, since it offers strong evidence of a consciously coordinated political conspiracy to



railroad Angela Davis to prison. Given the fate of other black revolutionaries and Communists who have been sent to prison for long terms -- including the fact that Davis herself suffered serious eye and other health problems during her sixteen months imprisonment without bail -- it is not hard to imagine what the state intends to do with her once she is safely behind bars.

An FBI agent testified to making two illegal searches of Angela Davis' home in Los Angeles last August, during which he took photocopies of some of the letters (apparently having been informed that any material connecting Davis to Jackson would be wanted by the prosecution). A Soledad prison guard admitted confiscating a letter from Davis to Jackson, in violation of prison rules, and passing it on to the Guard Captain who engineered the frame-up of the Soledad Brothers. A Marin County woman deputy sheriff admitted stealing Davis' typewriter from her prison workroom at night to type a sample to be submitted as evidence of her authorship of the letters to Jackson.

Thus it appears that from a time long before George Jackson's murder, the state was collecting "evidence" to link Davis to Jackson in order to prepare charges against her. With Jackson out of the way, it was easy enough to seize his papers and gather all the correspondence between them. The state has attempted during the trial to force John Thorne, an attorney for

both Jackson and Davis, to provide further testimony on this correspondence, in violation of the rights of confidentiality between attorney and client.

The capitalist system of "justice" allows no mechanism for investigating the extent of collusion between various arms of the state in their efforts against Davis.

There is no question about the enormous depth of sentiment for Angela Davis in the Black community, as well as among many younger whites. Even for many Americans who once accepted the word of the government as fact, the public exposure of the conspiracy to murder the Black Panthers in every city and to destroy other black and radical organizations has undermined the ability of the state to convince them of the validity of frame-up charges like those against Davis.

So far, this sentiment has unfortunately remained largely untapped, since the Angela Davis Defense Committees have restricted themselves to fund raising and courtroom defense tactics (along with small demonstrations in the immediate area of the trial).

The Angela Davis trial will come to its climax and conclusion sometime this summer. In order to guarantee her acquittal and freedom, it is necessary to mobilize demonstrations in support for her and all political prisoners in every major city in the United States. ■



Growing independence movement has Puerto Rican politicians on edge

"People's Capitalism" For Puerto Rico

Lori Larkin

To hear Governor Luis A. Ferre tell it, Puerto Rico may become a "commonwealth" in fact as well as name; the entire island will be populated by capitalists. He has proposed the creation of a government-sponsored investment fund to enable Puerto Rican workers to share in the ownership of island industry.

According to the Ferre plan, lower and middle-income workers could obtain stock shares in the fund through loans from private and public banking institutions. The government would buy a matching amount of stocks from a proposed \$10 million operating fund.

The fund will operate as a government corporation empowered to invest in the stock of private corporations, make business loans, buy and sell real estate, and even initiate new business enterprise: loans would be repaid to banks at unspecified interest rates from dividends on stock earnings.

Even modest government estimates put five years as the minimum needed to pay back loans. After that the dividends would probably not be more than a few dollars a year, hardly enough to create a massive army of Rockefellerers.

If this misty-eyed vision seems a bit unreal, two facts bring Ferre's proposal into perspective: it is election year in Puerto Rico, and the is-

land has been swept by strikes in recent months.

The Puerto Rican economy is in trouble. Its fortune is tied to the winds from Washington and Wall Street, and the US recession has hit hard. US-owned industry, lured twenty years ago by "tax holidays" and cheap labor, is packing up and heading for greener pastures.

Tourism has fallen off. Agriculture is in a long term slump after decades of Yankee mis-management. All but two sugar mills have been reluctantly nationalized by the island's government.

Labor in recent months has fought back hard, beginning in October of last year when 2,500 workers marched against the Nixon anti-labor wage freeze. Beginning January 18, Puerto Rican telephone workers carried out a successful and militant strike against none other than IT&T (which also controls on the island, Avis car rental, the Sheraton Hotel chain, and other assorted Puerto Rican enterprise).

IT&T used many strike breaking tactics, including a \$25,000 "bounty" reward for "saboteurs"!

Exactly a month later 600 workers at *El Mundo*, the largest newspaper in Puerto Rico, went on strike and are still out almost two months later. The strikers have successfully kept the presses from operating but workers have been arrested and beaten for de-

fying a Federal injunction to keep out scabs.

Two trucking strikes, on January 2 and February 9, involving several thousand Teamsters and 164 trucking companies, caused a huge backup of goods to and from Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican shipping is about 85 percent containerized and ships have not been able to unload and load vans.

In the southern part of the island, in Ponce, 600 shoeworkers at Granbal and Pense struck for union recognition and higher wages. In the same area hundreds of members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers staged a militant strike against the PPG oil-chemical complex. Scabs were beaten back but many workers were arrested. (The new multi-million dollar petrochemical industry on the south coast is the Ferre administration's hope to bolster the sagging economy.)

BAG OF TRICKS

However, the panic button would not be shining quite so brightly, no doubt, if this were not an election year. In 1968, Ferre's New Progressive Party, formed for the election, took advantage of the split in the ranks of the Popular Democratic Party, the "Populares" (PDP) who had ruled the island since 1940, to sneak into office.

The two sections of the "Populares" still outpolled him by a good deal. This party's advocacy of statehood for Puerto Rico has proved an embarrassment and handicap which he tries to play down.

In the November election much depends on the labor vote, the largest single class in Puerto Rico. Therefore Ferre has opened his bag of tricks (which may well prove a Pandora's box) and pulled out a compulsory pension plan for workers in private industry, an increase from 2 percent to 4 percent of the mandatory Christmas bonus. But this was just small change compared to his extravaganzas of "people's capitalism," his key recommendation in his State of the Commonwealth message to the legislature for stock distribution to workers. The essence of the proposal has been summed up quite nicely by Richard Gillett, director of the Puerto Rico Industrial Mission, and Jose J. Villamil, a professor in the University of Puerto Rico Planning School. They call the Ferre Fund:

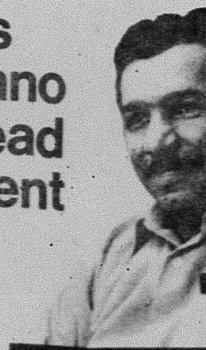
"Little more than a dressing up of the facade of the body politic, or worse still, politicking for the working class vote in an election year."

NO SOLUTION

With unemployment at a consistent level of over 30 percent, Puerto Rico needs much more than window dressing to ease the burden of poverty and destitution so many of her people are forced to endure. The cynical showmanship of Ferre and the Populares (who have been conspicuously quiet on the subject of the Ferre Fund) will not solve the poverty of Puerto Rico, where the poorest fifth of Puerto Rican families receive 3.2 percent of the income while the richest fifth get 47.2 percent.

Like their counterparts in the United States, the Republican and Democratic Parties, neither the NPP nor the Populares will represent the interests of the working class, only the independent self-organization of labor can do that. ■

Carlos Feliciano To Plead Innocent



As reported in *Workers' Power* No. 55, Carlos Feliciano, framed Puerto Rican nationalist militant, had agreed to plead guilty on one count of "reckless endangerment." This plea was a response to a deal offered by Bronx D.A. Burton Roberts, in which all bombing and weapons charges would be dropped in both the Bronx and Manhattan.

Since then, it has become clear that the deal was an attempt to pull a doublecross, to put Carlos behind bars for several more years. On May 3, Carlos will change his plea to innocent and be ready for trial.

The Carlos ing ele in a di consti fused; the Ju that p him to At ance o Puerto cal sup house. The father

Phase 2 Bulletin: Wages Down 4.9%

Michael Stewart

The blatantly discriminatory character of the wage-price controls has been further exposed with the release of the economic figures for the first quarter of 1972. The figures dramatically show that the controls are only a disguised attack on the standard of living of all working people in this country.

The publicly announced goal of the controls was to hold wage increases down to 5.5 percent a year, and price increases down to 2.5 percent. The three percent difference was to be based on wage increases corresponding to the average yearly increase in productivity.

Even if this were actually accomplished, the program would still be discriminatory, merely maintaining the current inequitable distribution of income in the US. The actual results, however, are much worse.

In spite of much publicity about "large" wage increases in longshore and mining, the average wage increase was actually held below the 5.5 percent rate. As Judge Boldt, Chairman of the Pay Board, proudly proclaimed, the average increase for all cases involving 1,000 workers or more was only 4.3 percent! This involved 1,328 cases

Pay

coverin Acc gram of meant cent. 6 annual, even hi freeze! Thus has been creasing meant a 4.9 per Will been fai been go Banker fits are high." least 16 First this ma Ford ha profits a ter, as h The. on to p Board's ting to t they are workers the capi



was a leader of the pro-independence Nationalist Party and a participant in the 1950 independence revolt in Puerto Rico -- was arrested two years ago. He was initially charged with 41 bombings and being tied to a foreign government, and held on \$175,000 bail.

Two years of intensive efforts by the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, a coalition of the entire Puerto Rican left in New York, has led to the dropping of most of the charges, the lowering of the bail, and numerous mass actions of the Puerto Rican community coupled to a strong legal defense.

The case is one of gathering government attacks against Puerto Rican independence supporters and fighters against the oppression and racism faced by Puerto Ricans in the US. The Defense Committee holds that Carlos Feliciano is innocent of all charges and will not spend another day in jail.

Future activities, including court packings and a mass rally in the South Bronx, are planned for May. ■

[Funds, support, and information requests should be sent to the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10003.]

The Bronx D.A. wished to shuffle Carlos behind bars before the upcoming elections in which he is running in a district with a heavy Puerto Rican constituency. The Manhattan D.A. refused to go along with the deal, and the Judge in the Bronx made it clear that political expediency would force him to mete out a long sentence.

At Feliciano's last court appearance on April 10 in the Bronx, 300 Puerto Rican activists and other radical supporters picketed the court house demanding Carlos' release.

The 42 year old cabinet maker and father of six -- who, as a young man,



Pay Board Chairman George Bolt

the government, is all very fair and equitable.

This all took place while the labor bureaucrats were on the pay board. It shows once again that their participation in the board did not defend their members, but rather helped keep their wages down.

The board is continuing to do that even though Meany and company have withdrawn. At a recent Senate hearing, when questioned on his withdrawal from the board, Meany stated that there "is no problem. The Pay Board is continuing to function." Meany has no intention of leading a fight against the Pay Board to defend the rank and file of labor.

While profits are up and administration economists are talking about another boom, unemployment remains almost 6 percent nationally, and much higher in the major cities.

The administration has developed a bright new theory to explain that. As reported in the *Journal of Commerce* for April 20, "Mr. Stein (chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors) suggested that some of this more than cyclical increase (in unemployment) might be the mark of an affluent society, one numbering individuals who can afford to move into the labor force for periods of time and back out again."

We don't know what world Mr. Stein is living in, but it certainly isn't this one.

The previous article from the *American Banker* gives the real reasons for unemployment. As sales go up, "companies can begin to use idle production capacity without hiring more workers, and output per worker climbs sharply." Workers in auto understand this well, with the speedup and layoffs at Lordstown, and regular 60-hour weeks in many other plants. Meanwhile, contrary to Mr. Stein, thousands of people never even get a chance to move into the labor force. ■

covering more than 6 million workers. According to the announced program of controls, this should have meant price increases of only 1.3 percent. But prices actually rose at an annual rate of 6.2 percent. This is even higher than in 1971 before the freeze!

Thus the result of controls so far has been to reduce wages while increasing the rate of inflation. This has meant a disguised average pay cut of 4.9 percent for all working people.

While workers' real income has been falling, capitalist income has been going up. The April 4 *American Banker* reported that "Corporate profits are climbing to a record-smashing high." They expect profits to rise at least 16 percent for all of 1972.

First quarter returns show that this may be too modest. GM and Ford have already announced record profits and dividends for the first quarter, as have many other companies.

The *American Banker* article goes on to point out that "The Pay Board's wage controls are contributing to the profit surge." Indeed, they are, by taking money from the workers' pockets and transferring it to the capitalists. This, we are told by

Ex-GI's Fight For Safe Return

Eric Langdon



As the war in Vietnam drags on and its character as an imperialist war against the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people becomes clear, thousands of active duty GI's have been voting against the war -- with their feet.

Not only have whole companies recently balked at being sent to the front -- thousands have deserted. Many Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano GI's have become fed up with army racism and the racist character of the war. Many GI's are sick of the brutality of the "action army." Working class youth are tired of being cannon fodder for the US government in a war they neither wanted nor supported.

Many of these "self-retired vets" (deserters) now wish to return home to their families, wives, and friends. But to an authoritarian army that runs on discipline and to a government that must prove that it is "defending democracy" by crushing popular revolts against bloody dictators, this poses a sticky problem. A safe return undermines their authority.

A recent example was the case of John D. Herndon. The son of a West Virginia truck driver, he enlisted at the age of 18. In 1968 he was wounded after spending 15 months in Vietnam. Returned to active duty in Germany, he deserted when he was told that he was going to be sent back to

Nam. This March, he returned to the US where he was held in the Fort Dix Stockade facing court martial and a five year sentence.

The army brass, aware of mass revulsion against the war, have given him an administrative discharge. But thousands of other deserters will face similar court martials and sentences if they return.

Liberal Democrats, like McGovern, who claim to be against war, say they favor general amnesty for draft resisters, but propose a case-by-case examination of deserters by the military. A similar set-up after World War II turned down amnesty for 90 percent of the 15,085 who applied.

An organization called Safe Return, composed of activists from the Winter Soldier Hearings that exposed US war crimes in Vietnam, has been formed to defend deserters and resisters who wish to return home.

They are circulating a petition that demands the safe return for all resisters and deserters, restoration of all civil liberties, no alternative service as a condition, freedom for all prisoners jailed because of opposition to the war, and honorable discharges and full veterans benefits. ■

[For more information -- or to send funds -- write: Safe Return, 156 5th Avenue, No. 1003, New York, NY 10010.]

Norwood Strikers Battle GMAD Speedup

On April 7, the Norwood, Ohio GM plant went out on strike against layoffs and speedup.

Recently the management at the Norwood plant had changed hands from the Chevrolet Division to the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), the hatchet division of the GM empire. As one striker put it, GMAD: "feels that no matter what number of people are working on a job, it's too many and they begin to lay them off without cutting down production speeds. For instance, jobs that had for years been set up for fifty people to do, are now to be

done by thirty."

The main issue of the strike is production standards. More than six hundred grievances over working conditions had accumulated prior to the strike vote, and the company had refused even to discuss them. It was not until the strike vote passed by a very large margin that GMAD agreed to begin talks.

The conditions at Norwood are similar to those at the Lordstown, Ohio GM plant and the Norwood strikers are continuing the fine example set by Lordstown in its fight for human working conditions. ■

SOUTHERN IRELAND:

JACK LYNCH FRONTS FOR BRITAIN

Brian Trench

There must be few governments in Europe -- or anywhere else in the world -- that have survived the kind, and number, of crises which Jack Lynch's Dublin government has been through.

Every phase in the steadily deepening crisis in Northern Ireland has had a direct or indirect effect in the South. To sum, direct rule has not brought an end to the political and social conflicts in the North; and it is certainly no guarantee for the British and Irish ruling classes against the danger they most fear: that the crisis will overflow into the 26 Counties of the South.

The fates of the two Irish states have been closely tied since their foundation. Through Partition, British capitalism was more easily able to dominate two necessarily weak economies. In the past ten years, more particularly, the economies and politics of North and South have become more and more enmeshed one with the other.

The British ruling class has consciously related to Ireland as a unity. When it deployed its troops in the thousands on the streets of Northern Ireland, it aimed not only to prevent escalation of the conflict in the North, but also to prevent any rise in Southern support for the Catholics.

Jack Lynch was in trouble not only with the population in general, strongly moved by nationalist feeling, but also with his own party. Some members of his government were naive enough to take seriously the idea that Fianna Fail (Lynch's ruling party) was still the republican party (in 1970 two of them faced trial -- with two other men -- on charges of conspiring to smuggle arms to the North, but were acquitted).

Since 1969 Lynch has had to deal with problems of this kind at regular intervals. In order to hold his position he has to make ritual gestures in the direction of nationalism and the nationalist tradition. After Derry's Bloody Sunday, for instance, he called for the abolition of Stormont. At the same time, he has to be prepared to contain any movement which pursues nationalist aims consistently enough to recognize his essentially collaborationist role, and to organize in the South against his regime.

The most obvious political weakness of the IRA relates to the question of the Southern state. Neither wing of the IRA has recognized the necessity of a common struggle North and South. Both the Officials and the Provisionals have, at different times, tried to contain militancy in the South, which might have been directed against the government there, in favor of "unity" against the Protestant Unionists and the British troops.

Even while they were only using the 26 Counties as a training ground and as a refuge for their Northern militants, the IRA represented a considerable threat to the stability of the South. On that stability the British strategy of a "federal deal" is essentially founded.

The Southern regime was the cornerstone of British designs for a more rationally exploited Ireland. Those designs have been reflected in its economic and political policies for ten years or more. British investment in the "independent" South are worth more than investments in the North. Indeed, the 26 Counties of Southern Ireland are one of British capitalism's most profitable areas of investment.

It is the profits reaped from the

South, and the desire to keep in power a regime which ensures their steady flow out of the country, that have determined British policies towards the North. Those features of Northern society which most offend the Southern and Catholic middle classes have to be removed. If that means putting up some opposition to their old friends, the Northern Unionists, the British ruling class is prepared to pay that price.

The imposition of direct rule demonstrated this clearly enough. Catholic middle class politicians like John Hume and Gerry Fitt speak as if they had just taken power, while the Unionists are thrown into disarray, opposing the British Tory government, and competing with each other for popular support.

LYNCH VS. THE IRA

The developments of the past four years have to be seen in the context of Ireland as a whole. The contradictions and the limitations of the Officials and the Provisionals appear most obviously in relation to the South. At the same time, the contradictions of bourgeois politics in the 26 Counties appear most dramatically in relation to the IRA.

The first suggestion of internment without trial in the recent period came from Jack Lynch at the end of 1970. He announced his intention to use it against republican and left-wing militants, constructing a supposed assassination plot to justify it. But he faced such massive opposition on the streets that he withdrew the plan.

As the use of internment was proposed more and more frequently in the North, the commentators and the politicians all agreed that it would be little use to introduce it in the North alone, so long as the republicans had the safe haven of the South from which to operate. Lynch would almost certainly have been prepared to use internment in the South if it had been used in the North against loyalist extremists as well as republicans. As it happened, Faulkner and Heath chose another approach, and Lynch did not move.

Throughout 1970 and 1971, republicans were coming before the courts in the South, mainly to face charges of illegally possessing firearms or explosives. In the large majority of cases, juries were acquitting men for "no evidence," when the very obvious evidence of weapons produced in court clearly indicated the opposite. Judges, too, were "unreliable." They often accepted the argument that arms which people possessed in the South were intended for use in the North as grounds for acquitting them.

Pickets and demonstrators appeared

outside courts when republicans faced charges. Following the introduction of internment in the North, and then following Bloody Sunday in Derry, support for the republicans increased in the South. It became more and more difficult for Lynch to move against them, even while the pressure from London for action increased daily.

At this year's convention of the government party (Fianna Fail), Jack Lynch and his Minister of Justice announced a "get-tough" line against the republicans. Several activists who had been acquitted were to be re-tried.

In February, the premises of Sinn Fein (Official) were raided, and 18 members of the organization arrested. Lynch invoked the very repressive Offences Against the State Act to bring charges of membership in an illegal organization against some of them. But all were acquitted, including Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff of the Official IRA.

At the Fianna Fail convention a reconciliation took place, similar to many sudden turns which have marked bourgeois politics everywhere:

Charles Haughey, former government minister, who was one of the four charged in the "arms conspiracy," embraced Jim Gibbons, the Minister of Defense in 1969, and accused at that time by Haughey and others of lying in the courts and in parliament about the supposed arms conspiracy.

In spite of the confusion and the changes of line, there are about 20 republican prisoners being held in Southern prisons today. They have been denied treatment as political prisoners. Some of them face long sentences.

LOST OPPORTUNITIES

Around the issue of their imprisonment alone one might think it possible to mobilize republicans and republican sympathisers in the South in a campaign directed against Lynch's government. The opportunities for such a mobilization have, however, been even greater, and more frequent. Each new wave of repression in the North, and each new phase of tighter resistance, has brought forth a response in the streets of the Southern towns.

After Bloody Sunday, and the massacre of 13 demonstrators in Derry, literally hundreds of thousands of people throughout the South demonstrated in protest against the massacre, and against the British presence in Ireland. It seemed for a moment as if the opportunities lost on previous occasions might this time be gained. Never had there been such intensity of feeling shown in the South about repression in the Six Counties.

Yet, today, less than ten weeks after the massacre, solidarity activity

British Maneuvers In Northern Ireland

On April 27, the British government announced the end of the ban on "traditional marches" in Northern Ireland. Most such parades are Protestant. Civil rights and other "non-traditional" parades remain subject to regulation and banning by British security authorities.

On the same day, the government backed down on its crackdown on "illegal parades" by granting amnesty for all persons convicted of organizing such marches in the last four months. The amnesty applies in particular to Frank McManus and Bernadette

Devlin, members of Parliament who had been sentenced to six-month jail terms for organizing the February 6 march against the massacre of thirteen civilians in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

In another "conciliatory" move, the British promised to offer "appropriate compensation" to families of the massacre victims of January 30. This magnanimous gesture follows the publication of the Widgery report whitewash, which cleared British troops of all responsibility for the thirteen murders. ■



Lord Widgery



Edward Heath



Jack Lynch



Bernadette Devlin

has ceased. It has taken only a few more weeks to die down than, for instance, after the introduction of internment in the North.

On St. Patrick's Day, the Provisionals held a rally in Navan, Co. Meath, typical of many such republican rallies held throughout the country. About 2,500 people marched seven miles "in solidarity with the North." At the football ground they heard speeches from leading Provisionals, and well-known sympathizers.

The calls were for "British Troops Out," "Irishmen Unite," and for guns and money to support the IRA. Each mention of guns brought smiles onto the faces of those present. Each declamation of support for the IRA brought applause.

At the same time, there was a steady trickle of people leaving the stadium. Within less than an hour, the crowd had shrunk to between 200 and 300. Clearly, the emotional identification with "their struggle with the North" did not commit anyone.

Only one issue was mentioned which related directly to the South; Frank Gogarty, of the N.I.C.R.A., called on Southerners to vote against Irish entry into the Common Market at the forthcoming referendum. Not because of the loss of jobs, and rising prices which entry would certainly bring, but only because acceptance of the Common Market Treaty would be acceptance of Partition in Ireland.

The people of Navan might not necessarily have stayed at the meeting in their hundreds and thousands if the speakers had connected the Northern struggle to immediate issues affecting them, but it is more probable. The opportunities missed in Navan are only the tiniest fraction of the opportunities missed throughout the 26 Counties.

FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP

It is difficult to imagine a clearer example of the failure of political leadership. Lynch's government was on a knife-edge after Derry. The Southern capitalists panicked when they saw the militant demonstrations at the British Embassy, and some started exporting their capital. A concerted push and the regime might have been toppled. Nothing could have more lastingly wrecked the British ruling class's hopes of stabilizing their political and economic domination of the whole of Ireland. It would have taken away the cornerstone of the proposed restructuring.

Thousands of trade unionists marched against British imperialism; they came off their sites and out of the factories spontaneously. Meanwhile, the unions issued notices to their members to take no more than

two hours off work on the national day of mourning, and to go to church services as near to their place of work as possible.

Thousands of republicans and republican sympathizers marched against British imperialism. Yet, the leaders of neither section of the republican movement had anything to offer them. The Provisionals kept to their attitude of not alienating the "85 percent support" they claim in the South. The Officials raised demands only in relation to the North, and the British presence there. Neither wing of the republican movement suggested the seizure of British property in the South.

The workers have returned to their sites and factories, many of them disillusioned. They sensed the potential of the situation. They saw they had been let down.

The British and Irish ruling classes have their internal conflicts and their difficulties. But the more conscious elements of them share an idea of an integrated long-term strategy for all Ireland. It is clear that a movement without a total strategy for the 32 Counties is incapable of leading a successful struggle against the ruling class and its system.

To develop that kind of strategy it is necessary to understand the class nature of the system. It is not simply a question of the republican movement - both sections - having a blind spot about the South; it is, more fundamentally, a question of their lack of orientation to the class struggle.

I have dealt only with some of the repercussions of the Northern crisis, and of the unsolved national question, on the South. There are many issues of immediate working class relevance around which deep discontent exists in the South, and around which workers do mobilize - but, because of the lack of socialist politics in the working class movement, on limited perspectives.

Ireland still has a very high level of strike activity. At the time this article is being written, a wildcat strike of power workers, which will cripple industry and the services, has just begun. There are also 30,000 tenants of local authorities on strike against a meanstested rent system, and that strike is about to spread to Dublin.

The government is attempting to re-negotiate its National Wage Agreement, a form of incomes policy with which the trade union bureaucracy has been only too happy to cooperate. Meanwhile, prices have risen 35 percent in the past three years. Unemployment is approaching 9 percent of the working population.

In May, a referendum is to be held on the question of Irish entry into the European Economic Community (the Common Market). A majority of unions in the Irish Congress of Trade Unions are opposed to Irish entry. Yet, apart from the small revolutionary groups, there is no political tendency advocating more than a YES or a NO vote in the referendum. Neither section of the republican movement, nor the hopelessly reformist (and some-

times not even that) Labour Party, proposes anything beyond the day of the referendum.

The catalogue of discontent, and of contradictions of the Irish situation, could continue. What they all point to most clearly is a central absence in that situation: a mass working class party.

There are many militants in the trade unions, and in both sections of the republican movement, who recognize that only socialist politics can provide a way forward. Yet that recognition has not crystallized in an organization.

SOCIALIST WORKERS

The revolutionary groups are small, with little influence outside very politicized circles. They have not been able to break out of these circles and develop a mass base.

In producing a monthly paper, committed to the class struggle, and aiming to link North and South, the Socialist Workers Movement, newest of the revolutionary groups, aims to do this. Its initial successes show how great the possibilities are.

The imposition of direct rule in the North has caused great confusion North and South. In that situation, clear political leadership is essential if demoralization is not to follow.

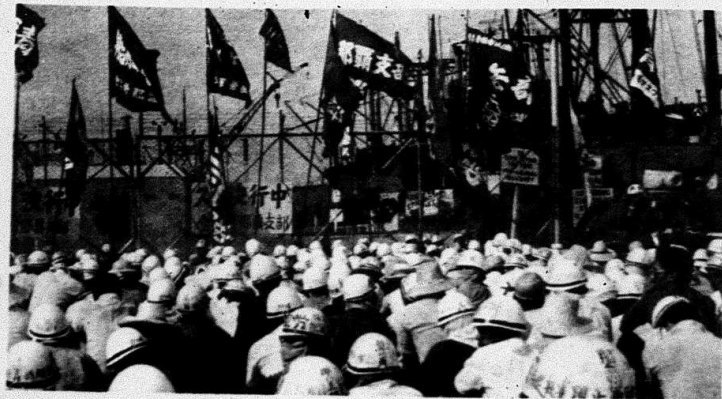
In a variety of ways - some of them already indicated - the South provides a key to the Irish situation. As long as imperialism maintains its second front in the Dublin regime, any of the concessions forced by the resistance movement in the North can be undone.

If the Protestant workers are to be won to the struggle for freedom and socialism, the fragmentation of the Unionist bloc, which has increased with direct rule, is not enough. The possibility of breaking the hold of "loyalism" on Protestant workers lies in committing the anti-imperialist movement to oppose the Southern regime, and to fight on class issues. To win that commitment means to develop out of the present struggles a new, revolutionary leadership. ■

[Brian Trench is a member of the Socialist Workers Movement in Ireland.]



Okinawa Militants Resist Reversion



Striking Okinawan base workers wearing helmets of the Okinawa Marxist League

[The following article was prepared by the Anti-Stalinism Study Group, a San Francisco Bay Area organization which is in close contact with the Revolutionary Communist League (Kakumaru faction) in Japan.]

Militant struggles have erupted throughout Okinawa and mainland Japan in fierce opposition to the Okinawa reversion maneuver of the US and Japanese imperialists, scheduled for May 15. In the forefront of these struggles on Okinawa is the 17,000 member Zengunro (All-Okinawa Military Base Workers' Union) which, as of March 23, indefinitely extended its already 17-day old strike.

The reversion of administrative rights over Okinawa into the hands of the Japanese imperialists is a major move to strengthen the US-Japanese military alliance as part of the US imperialists' nuclear military strategy for the Far East.

Until 1945, Okinawa was a Japanese prefecture, inhabited by Japanese who speak a number of dialects. During the US occupation of Japan following World War II, Okinawa was built up by the US military into their main base area in the Far East, becoming the "keystone of the Pacific." Article 3 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which came into effect in 1952, gave the US sole sovereignty over Okinawa.

As an occupied territory, that is, a special preserve for the US military, Okinawa has been maintained as a direct forward supply and logistic base for the war in Southeast Asia. The military bases which literally honeycomb the islands house nuclear weapons, poison gases, special forces training camps, B-52 bombers which take off directly for bombing raids over Southeast Asia, etc., etc.

Although governed by a US military administration (the Civil Administration), headed by a High Commissioner appointed by the War Department, an essentially powerless "native government" (the Ryukyuu Government) was also set up on Okinawa by the US military, in an attempt to conceal the reality of their direct military rule.

The land for the military bases was forcibly requisitioned from the Okinawan farmers, and these dispossessed Okinawans had no choice but to get jobs working at the US military bases; it is the base workers today who are the most militant members of the Okinawan working class.

Together with the other militant workers and students of Okinawa, rising up in class anger against the massive firings of the base workers and other ruling class offensives accompanying the Okinawa Reversion Agreement, they have rallied around the Okinawa Marxist League (OML).

Founded in January 1967, the OML, which is struggling in close solidarity with the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), Kakumaru (Revolutionary Marxist) faction, on mainland Japan, has constantly pointed out the necessity for a proletarian solution to the Okinawa problem.

What is the meaning behind the Okinawa reversion maneuver which the Japanese government is vigorously promoting as the "realization of the cherished national hopes of the entire nation"?

US imperialism has been menaced by a constantly deepening economic crisis and military defeats in Southeast Asia, and has been forced to recognize the bankruptcy of its traditional China policy. Consequently, basing itself on the Nixon Doctrine, US imperialism has embarked on a policy to reorganize its Far Eastern nuclear military strategy to surround the Stalinist bloc as part of its imperialist policy of world domination.

In short, the US ruling class is urging the Japanese bourgeoisie to step in and play the chief role in the Asian military and economic strategic system, while remaining under the US "dollar and nuclear umbrella."

The Okinawa reversion maneuver, to be effected with nuclear weapons intact, will lay the material groundwork for a joint strategic system of both the US and Japanese imperialist forces; the emphasis will be placed on developing the military capacities of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to be able to increasingly take over the burden for the "defense of Asia."

The reversion will in no sense mean the elimination of the US military presence on Okinawa -- the Japanese government has already recognized the right of US forces to unhampered use of the military bases after reversion. Okinawa will continue to play a crucial role as a supply base for the transport of troops from the US mainland to various regions of Asia, as well as being the "forward base" for the First and Third Marine Divisions on Okinawa, among other functions.

The Okinawan people have always regarded themselves as part of the Japanese nation, yet in these many

years of US military rule, the Japanese bourgeoisie has only advised them to submissively obey the US occupiers. Meanwhile, the Established Left -- the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties -- lacking any analysis of the class nature of Japan, have merely played upon the nationalist sentiments of the Okinawan people, fostering a simple-minded desire for reunification.

Thus, the movement of the Established Opposition has constantly distorted the anti-base struggles of the Okinawan people into merely bourgeois-nationalist or anti-American nationalist demands ("give Okinawa back to the Fatherland"). However, especially after November 1969, when the Sato-Nixon Joint Communiqué formally stated the intention of both countries to revert Okinawan sovereignty back to Japan, the "Fatherland Reversion" movement was completely undermined by the "bourgeois solution" of the Okinawan problem by the ruling class.

Now, pitifully attempting to somehow salvage itself from the very brink of downfall, the Established Opposition merely contents itself with whimpering that "the demands of the prefectural people are not fully reflected in the Reversion Agreement." It is also taking active measures to suppress the struggles of the Zengunro and other militant workers and students. [See also *Workers' Power*, no. 33 and *Tsushin*, nos. 1,3,4,10.]

The JRCL, Kakumaru faction, and the OML, have vividly exposed these anti-proletarian distortions of the Established Left's "Fatherland Reversion" movement, and have ceaselessly promoted the revolutionary movement aiming for the liberation of the Okinawan people to be won as one link in the Japanese proletarian revolution.

Until recent years, the US military authorities had feverishly attempted to promote feelings of separatism and Okinawan nationalism to counterpose against the Okinawans' national identification with Japan, in order to maintain Okinawa as their own "preserve." However, in the present period, when US imperialism is being forced to revamp its Far Eastern strategy in which Okinawa reversion plays a major role, the reversion of Okinawa is more and more clearly recognized by the Japanese and Okinawan people as a maneuver that will in no way "liberate" the Okinawan people from US military domination.

While opposing reversion, the advanced workers and students in Japan

and Okinawa do not raise the slogan of "national independence" for Okinawa or make vague calls for "national self-determination." That is, the struggle of the Okinawan people can only be won as part of the international proletarian revolution and is not going to be advanced by merely forming another bourgeois national state.

To limit the Okinawa struggle to one of only calling for the right to form a national bourgeois state would be no more than playing anachronistically into the hands of the US imperialists.

The will of the Okinawan working class and people concerning reversion was revealed with clarity by the fact that they went on a General Strike to oppose the signing of the Reversion Agreement last year. (The signing took place on June 17, 1971.) Further, there is the possibility of another general strike being called against the reversion on May 15 of this year.

Despite the virtual news blackout in the US concerning the Okinawa issue and the struggles erupting there and in mainland Japan, we here in the US must not continue to permit, by our criminal silence, this reversion plot, another major move that will strengthen the imperialists' strangling domination over the international working class.

We who aim toward the international proletarian revolution and the overthrow of both the capitalist and Stalinist forces in the world must resolutely oppose and crush the reversion maneuver. Further, we must revolutionarily build the anti-reversion struggle here in the US in firm solidarity with the revolutionary workers and students in Okinawa and Japan.

To actualize this, the Anti-Stalinism Study Group (A-SSG) has issued an appeal to all radical and revolutionary groups and individuals in the Bay Area to join together in building a joint anti-reversion struggle.

[The A-SSG would like to make known to the readers of Workers' Power, our monthly newsletter Tsushin, describing in detail the activities of the Japanese revolutionary workers and students in the Revolutionary Marxist movement. Subscriptions are \$4/year for foreign air mail subscriptions.]

To subscribe to Tsushin or request a list of other A-SSG publications, apply to: Tsushin, P.O. Box 8724, Emeryville, Calif. 94608.]

Many radicals in the US believe that the Chilean government of Salvador Allende shows how to build socialism without revolution. They back its claim that it can bring about a socialist transformation gradually, without the need for mass action against the ruling class and the state machine that in the past has protected its rule.

But in fact the achievements of Allende's government are already beginning to wear thin.

Until the beginning of this year Allende seemed to be enjoying some success. The Chilean middle class was prepared to support him in his actions against the foreign monopolies that dominated crucial sections of the economy and against the most leech-like sections of the old ruling clique.

The main middle class political party, the Christian Democrats, although opposed to any measures putting power into working class hands, was quite willing to support the government nationalization of foreign firms.

It backed the takeover of the largest landed estates, and did not oppose the buying up by the state of shares in many private companies.

Another middle class party, the Radical Party, was actually part of Allende's ruling Popular Unity coalition.

The army, likewise, was prepared to go along with these policies. Although its much-vaunted traditions of "being above politics" have not prevented it from shooting down demonstrating workers and peasants, it rebuffed attempts to prevent Allende taking power.

The officers, like the middle class generally, did not object to certain reforms — providing they were kept within limits. Allende has rewarded them for their support by giving them important positions in the management of nationalized industries.

BALANCING ACT

Allende's difficulty has been to carry out policies satisfactory to the army and the middle class while keeping happy the workers who voted for him.

In his first year in office, he attempted to avoid this problem. He gave the middle classes the controlling positions in the newly nationalized firms, so that they had the same economic position as before, though it was now exercised in a different way.

He also tried to satisfy the demands of the workers by letting them have hefty wage increases and improved welfare services.

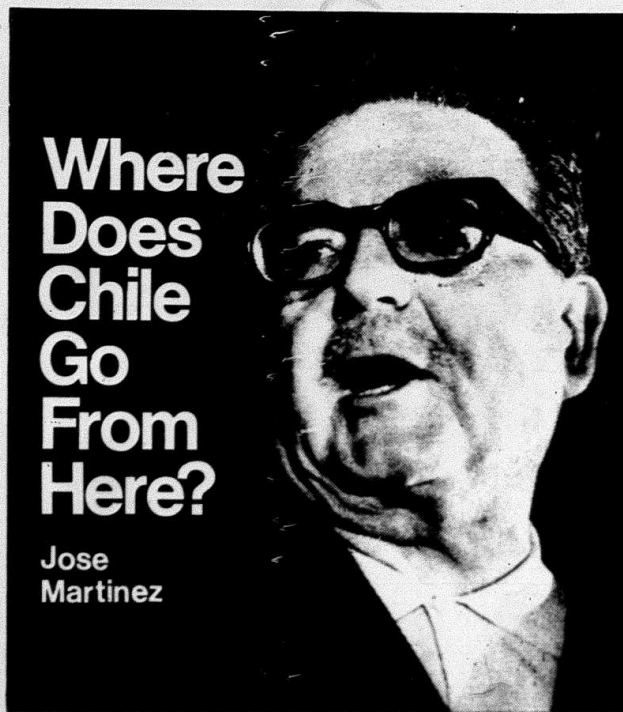
But a point was bound to arise when such opposed interests could no longer be reconciled.

The middle classes have begun to fear that reforms might begin to hit at their privileges, as well as those of the old ruling clique. The Christian Democrat Party has moved into firm opposition to the government, and has been demanding reassurances that change will not go any further.

It has joined the party of the old ruling clique, the National Party, to pass laws limiting further nationalization, and demands the economy be put on "a sound basis."

The Radical Party, though remaining within the government, has split, with the majority supporting the "Left Radical Party," which, despite its name, is a right-wing breakaway.

The general economic situation is



Where Does Chile Go From Here?

Jose Martinez

also making the government's task difficult. Chile's main product is copper. But over the last year the price of copper on the world market has fallen by a fifth, drastically cutting Chile's export earnings.

Members of the ruling class have been smuggling funds out of the country wholesale. And people who have been given wage increases have been using them to buy more goods, often from abroad.

The overall result has been to push up the already high debts Chile owes to the big foreign banks.

The government finds itself in a cleft stick. It needs to borrow more money if it is to keep its promises to develop the country and to improve living standards, but it cannot do so unless it proves to the foreign banks that it is "responsible."

One demand is that it pays considerable compensation whenever firms are nationalized — which pushes up its debts still further.

For instance, in a recent agreement with 44 US banks, Allende was loaned 300 million dollars with which to repay some previous debts. But interest has to be paid on this new loan at the current international rate.

Somehow the funds to pay this interest have to be found. In the end the Chilean workers still find themselves toiling to keep international capitalists happy, even though they may work in nationalized concerns.

In such a situation, there is only one alternative for the government if it continues its "gradualistic" approach — to start making massive concessions to the foreign bankers and to the local middle class. That means holding down wages to increase profits and so keep the remaining private capitalists happy and pay off the international debts.

It also means giving assurances that the nationalization of industry will go no further.

And it means strengthening the forces of the state and using them to prevent any opposition against these mea-

asures by rank-and-file socialists or trade unionists.

This is the direction in which Allende is moving. In recent months he has been adamant in his opposition to the wage demands of workers.

When the miners demanded 50 percent wage increases, for example, Allende argued they could not have more than 30 percent. This might not sound so bad, until you realize that prices in Chile rose 3.6 percent in January and another 6.5 percent in February.

The prices of basic necessities were put up by much greater amounts — sugar by 37 percent, bread by 33 percent, milk by 30 percent, cooking oil and tea by 20 percent, transport fares in the city by 60 percent.

In the countryside, Allende is trying to insist that big estates can be broken up only when the government gives the word, and not before.

The same tendency to compromise with the middle class against the interests of the workers and peasants is shown by Allende's behavior towards the middle class parties.

When the right wing of the Radical Party split away in protest at the "extremism" of government policy, Allende hastened to reshape his government to make room for the new party.

In other words, the workers are continually given the impression that their own activity is not needed to deal with these crises. They need only to rely on Allende's parliamentary abilities and the "impartial" and "honest" behavior of middle class politicians and judges.

The officer corps of the army has been only too happy to help Allende out. For they know that the more Allende relies on them, they more they in turn can determine the limits of his policies. The price Allende pays for their support is having to consider their views and their response whenever he makes any decision.

Allende is doing his best to do as they wish. Although miners are only

permitted a 30 percent pay rise, the army has been given rises of 45 percent. Despite continual stress on the foreign debt, spending on foreign military equipment for the army is higher than ever.

In short, Allende's policy is demoralizing the workers and peasants who elected him, by cutting back on the reforms favorable to them, by denying them any increased control over their own lives, and by reinforcing the control of the managers, foremen, and police who have always bossed them around.

At the same time, it is preserving and even strengthening the position of army officers deeply committed to upholding the power and the privileges of the middle classes.

Because Allende has all along refused to take any action against those who run the army and the police, he increasingly depends on them for protection — and they provide that only if he continues to make his policies even more amenable to the middle classes.

The overall result is that the government itself drifts slowly, but inexorably, to the right. As it does so, more and more of the gains the workers have made are threatened.

But the real danger is that the disillusionment of Allende's supporters may result in confused support from sections of workers for his right-wing opponents and further pressures on him to move to the right. The success of the opposition parties in recent elections seems to point in this direction.

Such a trend would mean that the experience of previous attempts in different parts of the world to bring about socialism peacefully through parliamentary means would once more be repeated. The only beneficiaries would be the middle class controllers of industry, whether nationalized or private.

MASS ACTION

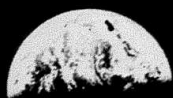
The trend can be reversed, but only if the Chilean working class begins to understand the true situation and to break with the compromising politics of Allende and the parties which support him.

There is only one way out of the impasse for Chile's workers and peasants. That is resolute action to smash the forces of reaction in Chile — starting with the army and the police, both based upon chains of command that leave effective physical power in the hands of the middle class.

Such action cannot be taken through parliamentary elections. It can only be the culmination of repeated mass actions in the factories and the streets.

Only if this is done and power taken by the workers' own direct representatives can the other major problems of Chile be solved — through the refusal to pay back any so-called debts to international monopolies and banks, by really dividing the land so that the economic power of the old ruling class is smashed once and for all, and above all by giving a real lead to the revolutionary movements in neighboring countries like Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina. ■

[Reprinted from Socialist Worker, the weekly newspaper of the British International Socialists, April 15, 1972.]



international report

David Finkel

Balaguer's Bloody Work

Almost 7 years after the US invasion of the small Caribbean Dominican Republic, the US-backed dictator Balaguer continues to be one of the most bloody-handed in the western hemisphere. Since the US intervention to protect its vast corporate holdings against popular revolt, its hand-picked "favorite son," Balaguer, has had his hands full crushing discontent.

The latest government actions include an invasion of the University of Santo Domingo by the police and armed forces. Twenty students were wounded, hundreds arrested. The attack came as police searched for a leader of the students' rights movement on the campus. As a result of the April 8 invasion, one student, Sangrario Diaz Santiago, has died of bullet wounds.

Students in the Dominican Republic have been among the most vocal opponents of the regime and participated, along with workers, in the mass actions against the government in response to the brutal murder of four young revolutionaries last January.



Joaquin Balaguer

Massacre In Uruguay

Seven members of the Communist Party of Uruguay were massacred April 17 by Uruguayan police and army troops at the C.P. office in Montevideo. In response, the C.P. called for a two-day general strike to begin April 18, to include transport and municipal workers and schoolteachers. Some factories in Uruguay have been occupied by workers in support of the strike.

Police attacked the office on the pretext that Tupamaros guerrillas, on whom the government has declared "internal war," were hiding out there. This claim was later retracted by the

government itself. Neighborhood residents insisted to newsmen that the police began shooting from the start and fired on the building for more than than an hour.

Press censorship and suppression of all liberties has been imposed in Uruguay in order to carry out the "internal war against terrorism." The campaign is in reality a wave of repression against all left-wing and workers' organizations.



Israel and the Gaza Strip

The Zionist state of Israel is strengthening its control over the Gaza Strip, part of the territory seized by the Israeli Army in the 1967 war. The *New York Times* of April 24 reports that "Israeli military control has been enforced, economic integration with Israel is well advanced, and controversial preparations are under way for new Jewish settlements on the occupied land." The "unofficial" Israeli program calls for settling Israeli Jews in the rich Gaza farmlands, outside the cities and the Arab refugee camps.

Two months ago the Israeli army fenced in about 5,000 acres in Southern Gaza, expelled the 6,000 Bedouin inhabitants, and destroyed their wells and homes. The reason given for this operation was "security."

Socialists condemn the seizure and continued occupation by Israel of Arab lands. At the same time, the economic integration of the occupied territories into Israel is setting in motion forces which may come to threaten the existence of the Zionist state. Tens of thousands of Arabs in the occupied Gaza and West Bank regions are becoming workers in the Israeli economy, although they are denied all political rights and suffer from discrimination. The creation of an Arab working class inside Israel, and the resulting class struggles, will undermine the Zionists' ability to maintain an exclusively Jewish economy and thus weaken the hold of Zionism on Jewish Israeli workers.

Bhutto on a Powder Keg

Thousands of Sindhi peasants staged a massive silent protest against President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Sanghar, Pakistan on March 31. The peasants walked out of a rally Bhutto was addressing.

Bhutto immediately cut off his speech and was whisked away by an army helicopter, leaving behind an empty stadium. The demonstration, according to Reuters News Agency, "was the most crushing display of public opposition to Bhutto since he took over power in Pakistan last December following the country's military defeat in the war against India."

The incident follows months of turmoil in Pakistan among virtually all social layers. In February striking policemen rioted in Lyallpur, cutting telephone lines and beating up people in the streets. Student demonstrators have been killed in clashes with police in the Northwest provinces, four prisoners were killed in Multan by civil armed forces who re-took the prison where the inmates had seized control in January, and at least one factory in Lahore, nationalized by the government, was taken over by the workers in protest against the continued presence of the old management.

Bhutto, sitting on top of the powder keg in Pakistan, was attacked on April 25 by opposition leaders for maintaining the "state of emergency" which gives the government wide powers of arrest with no recourse to the courts. The pretext for the continued "state of emergency" is that a state of war still formally exists with India. The opposition to Bhutto, led by the National Awami Party, takes on a rather pathetic character since the same opposition only last week gave Bhutto a unanimous vote of confidence in return for the suspension of martial law.



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Guerrillas in Bangla Desh

The state of Bangla Desh has called in Indian troops to deal with a flare-up of rebel activity by Mizo guerrillas against the Bangla Desh government. An Indian embassy spokesman in Dacca said that two battalions were sent into the Chittagong region, in southeastern Bangla Desh, to clear

out armed Mizos who had crossed over from neighboring Indian states and overrun some police checkpoints early in March.

Mizos have long been battling for greater autonomy from India. The Bangla Desh and Indian governments have reacted angrily to reports that Indian troops have never completely withdrawn from Bangla Desh, and are free to operate independently without seeking permission from local authorities.

These reports underscore the fact that the "independent" Bangla Desh is in reality a client state of India. They also indicate that national and class struggles in India are spilling over into the territory of Bangla Desh and undermining the stability of the new regime.

Dock Workers Fight Tories

5,000 dock workers in Liverpool, England, have issued the first major challenge to the new Industrial Relations Act. Voting on April 8 to continue "blacking" (refusing to unload) trucks from the Heaton's firm, in defiance of High Court orders issued under the Act, the dockers showed their determination to beat back both the "containerization" methods and the legal attacks used by the port employers against their union.

As in the US, containerization means that much of the loading and unloading work is done away from the docks, depriving the dockers of work and enabling the employers to weaken the organization of those who remain. A heavy fine has been imposed on the Transport Workers union in an attempt to force a halt to the dockers' boycott of container firms.

Socialist Worker, the weekly paper of the British International Socialists, has called for support from the entire British labor movement for the Liverpool dockers, a continued boycott of Heaton's in reprisal for its use of the Industrial Relations Act, and a continued refusal of all trade unions to register with the government as required by the Act.

Italian Impasse

Italian unions have announced suspension of all strikes until after Italy's general election May 7 and 8. The announcement was made by the General Confederation of Labor, controlled by the Communists; the Confederation of Labor Syndicates, mainly Roman Catholic; and the Italian Union of Labor, mostly Social Democratic.

The unions' agreement to subordinate the class struggle to electoral maneuvering reflects their weakness in the face of the deepening social crisis. While the unions have been able to cause widespread disruption through massive strikes, they have put forward no program to solve the crisis of economic stagnation under a workers' government.

Given the weakness of the Italian revolutionary left, the result of the impasse has been the growth of middle class anti-strike sentiment and the strengthening of the right-wing and neo-fascist groups. ■

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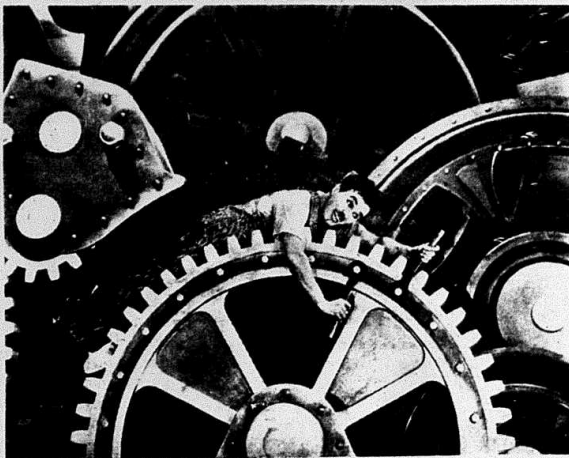
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Modern Times



Modern Times is a modern classic. The art and genius of Charlie Chaplin improves with age, and *Modern Times* is perhaps the finest example of his great talents.

Modern Times is enjoying a revival across the country -- as are many of Chaplin's classic films. His recent return to this country, after a 20-year exile provoked by anti-Communist witch hunts of the 1950's, has sparked a renewal of interest in Chaplin's works.

Like most of Chaplin's films, *Modern Times* is a one-man show. Chaplin wrote the script, wrote the musical score, starred in the lead role, and directed the entire production.

The basic themes are pure, vintage Chaplin. The main character is the typical "loser with a heart of gold" figure which dominates so many of his films.

In this case, the hero is a factory worker with an incredible ability for getting himself into jams with the law. Having freaked out on his assembly line job, and spending some months in a mental hospital recuperating, he wanders into the middle of a radical demonstration -- innocently holding a red flag which had fallen off a truck. This is more than enough proof for the cops, and he finds himself in the slammer, accused of being the leader of the march.

After finally being released -- for accidentally foiling a jailbreak -- our hero's luck takes an upward turn. He meets up with the film's other central character -- "The Gamine," a ragged young girl who is every bit the loser that he is, but considerably shrewder in coping with things.

After Chaplin's chivalrous intervention prevents her from being run in for ripping off some food, the two set off together to make their way in the world. The ups and downs of

their life together form the core of the film.

Chaplin wins a hard-to-get job in his old factory. Four hours later, the whole plant goes on strike. The hapless Chaplin manages to accidentally skull a cop with a brick during the picketing, and he's back in the joint as a dangerous commie.

He later finds a job as a night watchman, and gets robbed on his first night -- by some old buddies from the factory. They all get juiced on the store's vintage wine collection, and Charlie's back on the streets.

His girl then strikes it rich as a nightclub dancer, and it looks like they've finally made it. Two days later, some cops from the juvenile home show up to arrest her for running away from home, and everything goes down the drain again.

What dominates the whole series of episodes is Chaplin's basic humanity and compassion. On the surface, the film is simply a farce. But behind each of the slapstick episodes is a deep concern for human values.

The scene of Chaplin flipping out from the terrible pressure of the assembly line, for example, is incredibly funny. But in ten minutes of film, Chaplin has said more about the condition of the industrial worker than volumes of sociological analyses. The recent struggles over speedup at the Lordstown and Norwood GM plants underline the contemporary relevance of *Modern Times*.

This quality, more than anything else, is what makes Chaplin and his films so brilliant. He has used the cinematic medium to articulate the lives and concerns of millions of ordinary working people.

In the single character of the struggling little tramp, he has mirrored the aspirations, frustrations, and problems of an entire society; and there is no question where his sympathies lie. ■

