



## The McGovern Fraud

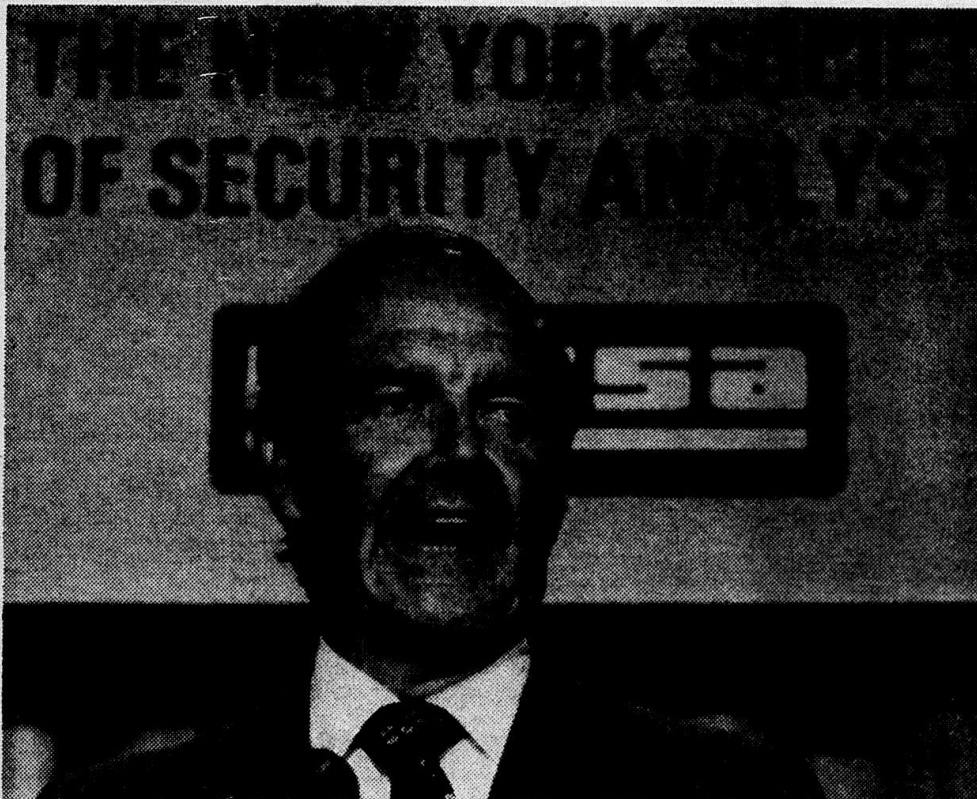
George McGovern, struggling to get his Presidential campaign off the ground after dumping his original running mate and selecting a new one, has adopted a strategy which exposes ever more clearly the hopelessness of achieving any significant social change in America through supporting capitalist party candidates.

McGovern's plan of battle for the November election against President Nixon is to "move toward the center" -- more plainly, to retreat from his previous verbal positions on critical social issues, positions which enabled him to build mass support during the primary fights in the spring.

In the course of these rampant backtracks, McGovern has exhibited his cynical contempt for the hopes and aspirations of the young activists who originally supported his campaign.

He has also exposed the fraudulent arguments of most of the American left, nearly all of which is supporting him either openly or quietly as a "genuine reformer."

Reports persist that McGovern's decision to move away from his pseudo-radical positions was made at a secret staff meeting held in early June, even before



McGovern assures a Wall Street audience that his supposedly "populist" proposals are in fact in the best interests of US capitalism

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Editorial

## Chile: Workers Must Arm



Last month Salvador Allende, president of Chile and leader of the Popular Unity Coalition that includes the Socialist and Communist Parties, declared a state of emergency in Santiago Province in the face of a strike by 150,000 shopkeepers who closed their stores in protest against the government.

The shopkeepers' strike is part of a growing mobilization of right-wing forces in Chile, aimed at crippling the half-hearted, vacillating reform measures of the Allende government. The even-

tual goal of the right is to eliminate Allende completely, instituting either a conservative or military pro-capitalist government, and suppressing militant workers' organizations and the revolutionary left.

While many on the left in this country have supported Allende's policies as a new "peaceful road to socialism," revolutionary socialists are completely opposed to such illusions. It has been Allende himself who has begun the work of the right, calling troops to expel peasants from oc-

cupied estates and demanding that workers produce more, moderate their demands for higher wages, and work harder.

Allende's anti-working class policies, and his refusal to institute workers' control and other revolutionary measures needed to overcome Chile's growing economic crisis, have begun to cause a growth of demoralization in workers and lower middle class forces. When Allende's support has been eroded far enough, the right wing will have little difficul-

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### McGovern and Wallace

In Coleman's article, "McGovern: An Illusion of Reform," (*Workers' Power* No. 61) the statement was made that "the delegates had little political objection to Wallace at all, but were merely terrified of his independent strength." The insinuation being that there are minimal, if any, political differences between McGovern and Wallace supporters.

I find that allegation to be difficult to justify on two counts. The first is that there are, in fact, political differences between the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and the conservative wing which showed themselves in the various platform fights, notably on the busing plank.

The second count is that even though major politicians were unwilling to denounce each other in front of the TV cameras and the convention delegates, the phony front of unity should not blind us to the obvious political fight for control of the entire party that has been going on.

While the big play in the press has been the fight between old-time Democrats and the new blood brought in by McGovern, the newly legitimate position of Wallace within the party intensifies and inflames that crisis. Wallace is a political headache to them whether he's within the party or not.

To say that there are no differences in the political conceptions of those

three factions is too easy unless the only thing that is meant is that they are all tied to the capitalist class. I don't believe that is what was being maintained in that section of the article; additionally, I believe it is a mistake to blind ourselves to the reality of what is, to the Democrats at least, a very difficult political situation.

Kay Stacy

### Categorical Denial

The Spartacist League categorically denies the assertion printed in the August, 1972 issue of *Workers' Power* under the heading "Comic Opera Sectarians Denounce Rank and File Caucus" that our supporters at the Labor for Peace Conference in St. Louis, "along with the 'Vanguard Newsletter' group, denounced the one-day work stoppage proposal as reformist, and demanded instead a 'general strike until the war is over.'"

This is a groundless lie manufactured out of the whole cloth!

1. The SL did not object to the IS proposal for a one-day work stoppage itself, but objected vehemently and abstained on the opportunist attempt to incorporate this proposal into an amendment to the conference (about which policy declaration the same issue of *Workers' Power* had not a word of criticism).

2. Nowhere in the written or verbal propaganda of the Spartacist

League will you or anyone find the formulation, "for a general strike until the war is over."

This accusation has the same character as if we "immoral" bolsheviks equated your position on Vietnam with, say, the openly anti-communist and social-patriotic views of the Socialist Party-SDF, and then attributed the SP's position to you both.

We demand public retraction of your attribution of the *Vanguard Newsletter* position to us, noting instead what our position is: "For Strikes Against the War and the Wage Freeze"

Nedy Ryan

### Rejoinder

As a co-author of the article in question, I apologize to the Spartacist League for reporting SL support for the Vanguard Newsletter position. This was, however, not a conscious attempt to slander the very "bolshevik" Spartacist League, but a misimpression of those IS'ers who participated at the conference and had the opportunity to view the work of the SL first hand.

What misled us was the similarity in the approaches of the VN and SL toward the Rank and File Caucus, and therefore toward those rank and filers at the conference itself.

While formally participating in the united front that the Rank and File Caucus represented, the SL representative reserved his unoriginal rhetoric for a rousing denunciation of a motion to attach the caucus proposal to that of the sponsors of the conference. This is a purely tactical proposition, which the IS opposed as well.

This talent for raising tactical questions to the level of principle in the interests of differentiating themselves from everybody else is the Spartacist League trademark and the *sine qua non* of sectarianism. The sectarianism of the League is what we were interested in demonstrating. We therefore thank

the SL for informing us of their actual position on the substance of the question and for the opportunity to further demonstrate the sterile nature of their approach.

Roger Cid

### More on Busing

Since 80 percent of the students now being bused for the purpose of integration are Black, I think James Coleman's statement that "McGovern is committed, in principle, to token reforms for blacks at the expense of the white working class -- which is what busing would represent" is an insult to the Black people of this country.

Studies have shown that children of the early grades, especially, do not object at all to integration, so that when Mr. Coleman speaks of "the expense of the white working class," he could not be referring to the white children involved. Is he pandering to the racism of their parents?

Marvin Mandel

### Correction

The previous issue of *Workers' Power* (No. 62) contained an obituary for Comrade Jim Charleson, written by the comrades of the Edinburgh, Scotland branch of the British International Socialists. In discussing his role in the early American Communist Party, the article mistakenly referred to the Lovestone-faction as having a portion of its base amongst longshoremen in New York while the Foster faction found support amongst garment workers.

In fact it was the Lovestone group which secured much of its working class strength from needle trades workers, while the Fosterites had more ties to the Party's industrial cadre, including longshoremen. ■

## BULLETIN

The raid on the quarters of the Israeli Olympic team— which was allegedly carried out by members of the "Black September" organization and resulted in the deaths of eleven Israelis and several guerrillas— occurred just as this issue of *Workers' Power* was going to press. A full discussion will be included in the next issue.

As we point out on page 5, in an article written before the raid took place, the Olympics were dominated by world politics even before this incident. The Olympic Games have always been a propaganda vehicle for the world's ruling classes.

At the XIXth Olympiad in Mexico City, the Games were played to international applause shortly after hundreds of students were machine gunned to death near the site of the events. Earlier in the current Games in Munich, police brutally suppressed anti-war demonstrators near the stadium.

The raid itself must be viewed in the light of similar terrorist actions and recent political developments in the Middle East. As we wrote in *Workers' Power* no. 61, on the massacre at Lydda Airport: "All the hijackings,

bombings, and terrorist raids carried out by the PFLP have failed to bring the Palestinian people one step closer to self-determination and the return of their homelands, which were stolen by Israel and Jordan in 1948..."

But it is insufficient (although absolutely necessary) to condemn acts of random terror against civilians by Palestinian guerrillas as anti-human atrocities having nothing in common with a revolutionary strategy against Zionism. At a time when the President of the United States— a mass murderer of millions of Vietnamese— has the gall to brand the possible murderers of a dozen people as "international outlaws, willing to use any means to achieve their goals" it is doubly crucial for socialists to affirm their fundamental and unwavering solidarity with the Palestinian victims of oppression.

Revolutionary socialists stand with equal firmness against both apologists for the terrorist murder of civilians and the pro-Zionist and anti-Arab hysteria that will be whipped up by the international capitalist establishment over this incident.

David Finkel

## Workers' Power 63

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**Editorial Board:** Roger Cid, James Coleman, David Finkel, Joel Geier, Sy Landy, Michael Stewart, Jack Trautman.

**Editor:** David Finkel. **Managing Editor:** Kit Lyons. **Art Editor:** Lisa Lyons.

14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$5. Bundles of 10 copies or more: 15¢ per copy. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Workers' Power*, which are expressed in editorials.

Published bi-weekly except semi-monthly in December and monthly in July and August by the International Socialist Publishing Co. at 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203. Second class postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. Send notice of undelivered copies or change of address to *Workers' Power*, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

*Workers' Power* is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and a subscriber to Liberation News Service.

*Workers' Power* is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and is microfilmed by Bell and Howell.



# VIETNAM- WHAT NEXT?



Paul  
Bern

The feverish pace of diplomatic maneuvers over the past few months indicates the strong possibility of some form of "settlement" in the making in Vietnam. Kissinger has visited Peking and Saigon. His North Vietnamese counterpart, Le Duc Tho, has also been to Peking, while Russian President Podgorny has made an "unofficial" trip to Hanoi.

These kinds of maneuvers have gone on before, and may in fact mean no more than earlier ones. But, given the international situation and the progressive deterioration of the Saigon regime, the outlines of a possible sellout of Vietnam by Russia and China are now discernible.

The complex mating game going on between China, Russia, and the United States needs some elaboration. Hanoi has no desire to play the part of the dowry. The North Vietnamese have been polemicizing against "Great Power chauvinism" and "planetary diplomacy," while begging for "unity of the progressive forces" around the world.

Podgorny's visit to Hanoi in June took place in a frigid atmosphere, cooled off by a planted story (by Russian journalist and trial balloonist "Victor Louis") in the English press stating that Podgorny had gone to the Vietnamese with a proposal for a cease-fire to go into effect before any political settlement was reached.

China is pursuing its policy of verbal militancy and diplomatic opportunism, and seems more concerned with Russian influence in North Vietnam and American troops in Formosa than with the success of the Vietnamese spring offensive.

Under these circumstances, Hanoi has only one card left; its military strength in the South. The need to establish this strength, as much as anything, explains the spring offensive. Although Tom Hayden, writing in *Ramparts* with his usual boyish enthusiasm, questions the actuality of the invasion, the North Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* has stated that mobilization has caused a manpower problem in the South.

The fact that the invasion strategy calls on North Vietnamese troops to neutralize the ARVN -- in order to allow the NLF forces to rout the Saigon militia in the countryside and thus destroy "Vietnamization" -- seems to imply that there had been either an improvement in the ARVN (Saigon Army) or a loss of popular

support by the NLF (National Liberation Front).

Nevertheless, it is clear that Vietnamization has (again) been zapped, not only in the northern provinces, but increasingly in the Central Highlands and Mekong Delta.

The NLF propaganda surrounding the spring offensive has had relatively little to say about the urban population in South Vietnam and its political groups in opposition to Thieu.

This opposition includes highly diverse elements but amounts to very little, has no program, no popular support, and no future. Ever since Nixon, in his eight-point program, offered Thieu's resignation as part of an election proposal, the opposition has believed that Thieu's days were numbered.

Thieu has no base of support beyond Washington, represents only the

militarization of Vietnamese life, and lives or dies with the intensity of the war. Indeed, the recent and continuing wave of repression in South Vietnam was foreseen before the offensive, as Thieu's response to his increasing isolation.

Yet the opposition was reported to have a "wait and see" attitude in March; one Buddhist monk stated that the time was not "opportune" for demonstrations.

In June -- when the NLF and North Vietnamese offensive was still advancing, when the economy had reached a state of collapse -- thirty-odd opposition groups demanded that Thieu return to the Paris peace talks! No peace, not democracy, but a return to the negotiating table! The complete bankruptcy of this "opposition," which refuses in any way to

present itself as an alternative to Thieu, illustrates again the tragic fact that no independent force for national liberation exists outside the Stalinist NLF.

Therefore socialists must support the military victory of the NLF against the United States and Saigon regime.

This political vacuum is in part a reflection of the deteriorating South Vietnamese economy. Distinguished by a flourishing black market, universal corruption, a bloated service sector, and a rate of inflation of 20 percent a year, the economy represents a leprous outgrowth of the American invasion. The withdrawal of American troops is completing its destruction.

The Saigon regime has attempted to soften the effects of American troop withdrawal by instituting its own mini-NEP -- devaluation of the piaster, attacks on the black market, custom reform, and attempts to keep capital inside the country.

These attempts had come to nothing even before the spring offensive. The offensive itself stopped the economy cold. At present business firms are failing and unemployment is growing, while imported goods rot on the docks.

The Saigon government is desperately looking for cash to maintain itself. Economists are comparing the situation to China in 1949, and fear mass banditry in the event of a cease-fire. Thus, from the standpoint of these economists, the slaughter must continue at all costs.

There is in fact no solution to the economic crisis which does not include a complete transformation of Vietnamese economic and political life. ■

## New Depths of Barbarism: US Bombs Vietnam Dikes

Yves Lacoste, Professor of Geography at the University of Paris VIII and member of the International Commission of Inquest into War Crimes, reports in *Le Monde's* Weekly Selection (August 17-23) that between April 16 and July 31, 150 US bombing attacks were made on "the totality of the hydraulic works" in North Vietnam.

Serious damage resulted in 96 instances, and the attacks are continuing at this time of year when heavy rains prevent proper repair. The International Commission studied in particular the attacks in the area of the Red River delta, where the majority of the population lives, where 58 of the 96 attacks occurred, and where the danger of floods is greatest.

The US government, after first denying bombing the dikes at all, continues to deny that the attacks were deliberate, and maintains that they were concentrated in the eastern part of the delta where they would do the least damage.

The attacks have, indeed, been concentrated in the eastern delta -- precisely where they would do the most damage. In the west, the rivers emerg-

ing from the mountains have cut numerous new beds and deposited most of their silt, providing high ground for construction of the villages.

But in the east, the most important agricultural area where most people live, a large proportion of the land is below sea level; in this area most villages would be flooded by a break in the dikes. It is just this part of the delta that has been the objective of most of the bombings, while if the bombs had been aimed at "military objectives" they would have been spread evenly over the whole delta.

The deliberate nature of the attacks on the dikes becomes even clearer on examination of the hydraulic system. A most striking example is furnished by the southern part of Thai Binh province between the Red and Trai Rivers. This area that serves as a kind of long gutter toward the sea, an area where 600,000 people live thanks to the dike system built along the rivers and along the coast to prevent the invasion of sea water which would render the land uncultivable.

The draining off of rainwater from this area is performed by the tide gates at Lan which are far from any

"military objective."

Bombings have hit the essential points of this complex hydraulic works, particularly the Lan tide gates, which were attacked nine times between May 24 and July 29, and, despite their complete destruction, three times more during the first week of August "undoubtedly to make repairs impossible."

The coastal dikes have been the subject of heavy bombardments from the Seventh US fleet. Water, now unable to flow into the sea, is beginning to accumulate in the rice paddies, where much of the harvest can be considered lost.

And more, a factory near Hanoi which manufactures almost all the material necessary for the repair of the dikes, of the tide gates, and of the other hydraulic works, was levelled on August 5 by a particularly precise and heavy bombing.

The murderous bombing of the North, designed to destroy the country and terrorize its people, has brought the US war in Vietnam to new depths of barbarism. Only the victory of the national liberation struggle and the complete expulsion of the US can bring these atrocities to an end. ■





Albert Shanker and David Selden

# AFT: SHANKER MACHINE LEADS RETREAT FROM MILITANCY

Joel Chaplin

The 1972 convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held in Minneapolis in late August, ended in the strengthening of the conservative leadership of President David Selden and Albert Shanker, President of the New York City local.

It was not that the delegates had retreated on social issues. On the contrary, the convention voted to join Labor for Peace -- a significant break with George Meany. An amendment to support mass demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia, however, was barely defeated.

After two years of struggle, the convention finally came out for limited and

paid parental leave, and the right to an extended childcare leave without pay and without penalty. After some dispute the convention also supported programs to counsel and provide information about abortion, birth control, and venereal disease to secondary students.

The convention supported the Equal Rights Amendment, on the condition that in those states where protective laws for women still exist, those laws must be extended to men by the Amendment, not repealed. It demanded that the AFT work to introduce and/or augment purely protective legislation for all working people.

But these gains were far overshadowed by the union's retreat from its traditional confidence and militancy.

Gains made in the 1960's through collective bargaining and strikes at the local level are now being eaten away by the financial starvation of local districts, attacks on teachers by state legislatures, and government wage controls. Facing bankrupt school boards, teachers hesitate to strike.

Union militants are thus extremely disoriented. Accustomed to solving local problems on the local level, they have little experience with state and national politics, except to give passive support to candidates in no way responsible to the AFT or the labor movement generally.

But the new situation requires that they must think in broader terms as decisions affecting teachers' wages and working conditions are increasingly shifting to state and national government.

It was inevitable that the delegates would eagerly support the proposal advanced by the union leadership which called for merger at all levels between the AFT and its traditional rival, the National Education Association (NEA).

The purpose of the merged organization would be to more effectively lobby in state legislatures and in Congress in behalf of all teachers.

Five years ago this idea would have been unthinkable because of the NEA's virulent anti-unionism. But today, when hundreds of NEA affiliates have themselves engaged in militant strikes, when most urban-based NEA affiliates favor AFL-CIO affiliation, and when united action with the much larger NEA is necessary for the AFT to win anything on the state or national level, then merger makes a lot of sense.

This strategy was vehemently opposed by the United Action Caucus, an unstable coalition of anti-merger forces, drawn primarily from medium-size and small locals in the Midwest and from left-oriented opponents of the union leadership.

The UAC and its presidential candidate Ken Miesen argued that the NEA was a company union, that merger would destroy the effects of years of AFT organizing, that the merged organization would be bureaucratic, etc. Beyond this, the UAC had virtually nothing to say about how to respond to the crisis facing teachers.

## Action Forum Proposal

*A third position was formulated by the Action Forum of the UAC -- a group of some 30 delegates which formed within the UAC in opposition to its position on merger and out of concern for the rightward drift of the caucus. This grouping maintained that it was shortsighted to oppose merger at a time when teachers face a common crisis and the differences between the two organizations were minimal.*

What was wrong with Shanker and Selden's strategy, according to the Action Forum, was not merger as such, but their purpose for the merger -- namely, to substitute legislative lobbying and public relations for union militancy.

As such, Shanker's strategy was no different from the disastrous policies of the old NEA or the AFL-CIO officialdom which relies on supposedly friendly politicians to solve labor's problems rather than relying on labor's own independent strength.

The Action Forum thus concluded that local militancy was not enough, but should be extended to the regional, state, and national levels.

*Merger would then become a more effective means of mobilizing teachers*

*in mass actions -- such as demonstrations and strikes -- to pressure state legislatures and Congress to support such teacher demands as greatly increased state and federal aid to the schools.*

Shanker's conception won. The delegates voted to encourage merger but not to engage at this time in mass actions. This decision was reflected in the results of the election, in which Selden and the Progressive Caucus slate crushed Miesen and the UAC by more than two to one.

The UAC had offered no real alternative to the incumbent leadership, and paid dearly for it. The convention thus served notice on the UAC that it would have to reconstitute itself on a new programmatic basis or face extinction as a credible caucus.

It was quite apparent that the caucus leadership was far too willing to oppose the Seldon-Shanker team on almost any basis, if they thought they could win the election. A few weeks before the convention, Miesen had even offered to withdraw as the UAC candidate in favor of John Ryan -- a leader of the Philadelphia local whose record on almost every issue was as bad as or worse than Shanker's.

Such opportunism provides no direction for the AFT. Moreover, there is little evidence to show that the UAC leadership has any intention of sinking real roots in the membership. Especially now, when national union policies are of increasing importance to a successful defense of teacher interests, it is all the more critical that opponents of the present union leadership at the very least wage a vigorous national campaign inside the AFT for a militant fighting union, not a lobbying machine.

The Action Forum of the UAC took the first step in this direction with plans to issue a monthly publication directed at union militants.

## Right Question, Wrong Answer

The AFT has been irresistibly drawn into the national political arena. Its problems cry out for national solutions, for governmental action.

It was therefore quite natural that the convention would endorse a Presidential candidate -- George McGovern -- for the first time in its history, even over the opposition of Shanker, who supports Meany's election line.

In reality, the decision to support McGovern is very much symptomatic of the membership's general demoralization and lack of confidence in its own independent strength. Thus, the membership seeks a "protector" in McGovern, much as Shanker's proposed lobbying-machine does in the Democratic Party as a whole.

The problem is that these "protectors" most often turn out to be attackers -- who like the Republicans, also defend corporate interests, campaign promises notwithstanding.

Thus it was McGovern and all the Congressional Democrats who actually spearheaded the legislation enabling Nixon to impose wage controls. McGovern himself has publicly criticized Nixon for not having instituted controls sooner.

And so year after year the labor movement finds itself in the unenviable position of supporting candidates for office over whom it has no control. McGovern is no exception.

Hopefully, it will not take teachers long to realize that they, as public employees most directly affected by governmental decisions, have the most to gain in the fight for a new party established by and responsible to a resurgent labor movement and its allies. ■



# Chauvinism Wins a Medal - TV and the Olympics

Ken Fireman

Since it's Leap Year, a breathless world is currently enjoying the great quadrennial spectacle of brotherhood and competitive pride, the Olympic Games.

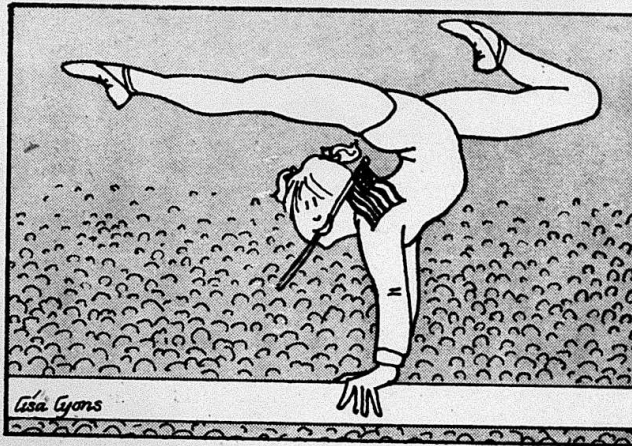
As this year's Games progress in Munich, Germany, Americans are being saturated with three hours of prime-time TV coverage each night.

The official line of the Olympics is that there are no nations at the Olympics, no politics, no "professionalism"; only individuals, competing for the love of the contest.

The reality, of course, has always been different. The "classic" example of Olympic politics, as every patriotic American sport fan knows, was the confrontation between Adolf Hitler and Jesse Owens at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin -- which Hitler tried to turn into a propaganda show for Nazi prestige and Aryan superiority, only to see Owens steal the show by copping four Gold Medals.

This story is told and retold every Olympic year, and flashes across the screen each night as an older and heavier Jesse Owens takes the air to advertise Kodak cameras.

This year, though, it is the Americans who have outdone themselves in the display of rabid chauvinism. This



is especially true of the performance of the ABC-TV commentators, whose blatant favoritism toward "our" athletes is surpassed only by their sexist references to women athletes from all countries as "that darling little girl" and "that cute pixie."

The patriotic orgy of Olympic television coverage seems to be politically motivated by a desire to revive American national pride. Any up-

surge of chauvinism, even over fairly trivial questions like sports, is useful to an administration which is trying to carry on a dirty, unpopular war and get itself re-elected at the same time.

The commentators got the most mileage from the issue of the judging of women's gymnastics. While the superior Russian and East German teams ran away with the team com-

petition, the TV coverage focussed on the battle for third among the US, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

Not until 17-year-old Olga Korbut ("that amazing little doll") performed a history-making backward full somersault from the uneven bars was the Russian team shown on American TV at all.

The American team lost its chance for a medal by making some minor mistakes in their acts, while the Eastern European teams scored well with relatively conservative but nearly flawless performances.

American commentators and coaches alike began accusing the judges of favoritism toward the Communist countries. This carefully orchestrated campaign reached its crescendo on the last night of the gymnastic events.

American star Cathy Rigby's personal coach stated on national TV that the "Communist-bloc countries" had rigged the competition, and called on "the Free World" to unite to "break this Communist domination."

But the biggest uproar was manufactured by the Americans over a boxing match in the light-middleweight division, between Valerie Tregubov

*(Continued on page 14)*

Bobby Fischer's victory over Boris Spassky for the world chess championship has been the occasion for the propaganda mills of both the US and USSR to play a side match of cold war chess.

The combat between two brilliant grandmasters has also become a political event with "national honors" at stake. In this respect the mental gymnastics of chess competition have taken on the same political significance as the Olympic Games.

When Fischer was about to withdraw from the match after throwing a tantrum over playing conditions, he received a call from presidential aide Henry Kissinger, telling him to win one for King Richard. Fischer has also received a White House invitation.

In the USSR, where chess is as popular as baseball is here, Spassky's losses have provoked a minor crisis much like the launching of Sputnik did in the US. *Pravda*, the official Communist Party newspaper, hints at cultural decay.

Soon the leading circles of Russian sports will call for the training of thousands of new chess players, as they did when the Soviet players did poorly in the 1959 world junior championship (and much like the way the US big press tried to push science after Sputnik).

Fischer is undoubtedly more comfortable in the position of cold war pawn. Notoriously right-wing, a religious fundamentalist, Fischer for years blamed all of his defeats on communist collusion and plots.

Meanwhile, Spassky, a Russian Jew who has consistently refused to

join the Communist Party for ideological reasons, must sit idly by while his seconds blame his defeats on the use of mind-blowing chemical and electronic devices by the US.

Each player, however, in many respects represents the way in which chess, and in a broader sense art, culture and sports, are organized by two rotten social systems.

In the US, chess is confined to the edges of society. The talented chess player is regarded from start to finish as a curiosity and a freak. When, like Fischer, the chess master turns out to be an eccentric, it supposedly confirms the theory.

Chess development is dependent

on the meagre resources of individual chess players or rich patrons. Fischer once dropped out of a match when the sponsor insisted that the players meet on Sunday morning, so that she wouldn't miss a concert!

Another time Fischer turned down the offer of a garment tycoon, who offered to finance his trip to an international tournament in return for advertising. The capitalist regarded the talented chess player as a commodity to be prostituted.

At one time, during the height of the 1950s' cold war, the State Department discouraged chess players from playing in Eastern bloc tournaments!

Despite the current interest in

chess, the long run prospects for chess in the US are somewhat bleak. In a society where mass spectator sports where the audience is passive, and not the development of active participants, is normal, chess will remain on the sidelines.

If US chess masters are eccentric, Russian chess masters are respected cultural figures; you can even get a chess degree from Moscow University. However, chess is not a means for intellectual enrichment of the masses of people, but for greater Russian national glory.

Spassky, like hundreds of Soviet youth, was trained in the Russian youth centers and chess clubs. There he received sound theoretical and practical learning.

Chess is used as an example of the "innovative Russian spirit." Masters of Czarist Russia are even lauded as great popular heroes. Every chess victory is advanced as a statement of superior Soviet culture. No wonder the present "crisis," it strikes at mythology.

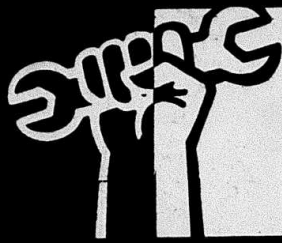
Less well-publicized in the Soviet Union today is the fact that the greatest Russian player of the 20th century, Alexander Alekhine, world champion in the '20's and '30's, was a counter-revolutionary aristocrat and Nazi collaborator!

Official society in the US has ignored chess; in the USSR it was used for nationalist ends; in China it was abolished during the "Cultural Revolution" as decadent. The US government has finally discovered chess, as a cold war maneuver -- a strange political fortune. ■

## Pawns in the Cold War - The Politics of Chess

Eric Langdon





# labor in brief

Karl Fischer

## 4,000 demonstrate to support national boycott of Farah slacks

More than 4,000 union workers and supporters marched through Brooklyn in New York City last month in a rally to build support for the boycott of Farah slacks.

Some 3,000 Farah workers — most of them Chicanos — at three plants in Texas and New Mexico have been on strike since May to back up demands for union recognition, to win the rehiring of several workers fired for union activities, and to oppose Farah's union-busting tactics.

The workers are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW), an affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

The Brooklyn rally had as its target the Abraham & Straus department store, a large retail outlet for Farah slacks. The rally was called by a coalition of New York trade unions.

Many rank and file Farah workers have expressed dissatisfaction with the support their strike has received from the AFL-CIO. Perhaps in response, the AFL-CIO has called for a nationwide boycott of Farah products, and recently called on affiliated unions to make financial contributions to the striking workers.



## "Gee-Mad" strikes again— strike against speedup looms in St. Louis

Wherever the Genral Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) — GM's crack team of speedup experts — have gone in the last two years, layoffs and speedups have come in their wake. And usually, bitter strikes have followed. It happened at Lordstown, and happened again in Norwood, Ohio.

The latest plants hit by GMAD's tactics are the GM Fisher Body, Chevy Truck and Corvette plants in St. Louis. Since GMAD took over, more than 1,000 workers have been laid off — more than at Lordstown and Norwood combined — and reports are cir-



culating that 300 more men are slated to go this month.

In the wake of these layoffs, the usual GMAD tactic of maintaining the previous line speed in spite of the reduced work force was implemented. As a result, an incredible backlog of over 10,000 unsettled grievances has accumulated.

The local union at St. Louis (UAW Local 25) took a strike vote last spring, which passed overwhelmingly. Local 25 in early September asked the UAW International Executive Board for strike authorization over the outstanding issues.

UAW militants have taken to contemptuously calling GMAD "Gee-Mad." From the St. Louis situation, as well as others, the reasons seem clear. The next shoot-out between UAW militants and GMAD seems slated for St. Louis this fall.

## TWU may strike Columbia to defend fired maids

Columbia University in New York City has tried again to fire 30 maids. Much to its surprise, their union, Local 241 of the Transit Workers Union, threatened to strike.

The leadership of 241, a local with a long-standing and deserved reputation as a company union, now finds itself compelled by rank and file pressure to take action in defense of its members.

Back in January, when the University first sent these women termination notices, the union stood aside. It was the Women's Affirmative Action Coalition, a women's group, which took up the mass firings (which affected workers in the lowest job classification — all women).

The firings discriminated against women because of the classification system itself. Maids (women), no matter what work they actually do, are in the lowest classification. Doing essentially the same work, (male) janitors are in a higher classification. Many of the women have more seniority than men, but firing hits the women first.

Weeks later, the union conceded that it ought to be concerned and sent a union lawyer to "help out."

Up until recently, the firings were being delayed pending the outcome of State Human Rights Commission hearings on discrimination charges.

Columbia, however, did not feel bound not to fire the women until the hearings came to an end and sent them termination notices again on August 18.

Both Columbia and the WAAC were taken by surprise when 241 threatened to strike if Columbia fired the women. That threat at least postponed the firings until September 8, and a strike may occur then.

## UFW organizes campaign against new Arizona anti-labor law

As a new law designed to break their union and hamstring their organizing activities went into effect last month, United Farmworkers in Arizona announced their refusal to cooperate with the new law and planned a counter-attack against its provisions.

The new law, regarded by farm growers as a model statute for breaking union activities, was signed into law by Arizona Governor Jack Williams on August 14.

*The law makes all boycott activities illegal, empowers state courts to issue sweeping injunctions to end farm strikes, and excludes large numbers of migratory workers from participation in union representation elections.*

The UFW was offered a seat on a seven-man farm labor panel set up by the new law to oversee enforcement of the act. In rejecting the seat, "The farm workers refused to place their lives in the hands of the executioners," a union representative stated.

The panel is expected to be stacked with anti-union representatives to ensure smooth enforcement of the new law, in accordance with the interests of the growers who forced its passage.

The union has also filed suit in Federal Court demanding that the law be nullified, on grounds that it violated the constitutional rights of farm workers, and has asked for an injunction preventing enforcement of the law until the suit is settled.

The UFW has also launched a petition drive calling for the recall of Governor Williams.



## Pennsylvania prisoners call statewide strike on Labor Day

Prison inmates throughout the state of Pennsylvania are organizing for a statewide strike of prisoners, scheduled to start on Labor Day, September 4, the first anniversary of the Attica uprising in New York.

The Prisoners Work Strike Committee is carrying out organizing for a "peaceful, non-violent statewide work strike" around a list of 41 demands. The demands range from a minimum wage of \$.75 per day, to an end to all mail censorship, conjugal rights for all prisoners, a series of demands concerning prisoners' health, and many others.



Several outside groups in Pittsburgh and other cities are planning support activities to rally sentiment behind the striking prisoners.

In a prelude to the Labor Day Work Strike, a strike at the Dallas Correctional Institute outside Pittsburgh on July 24 achieved "94 percent total success" (according to the Fair Witness, a local underground newspaper) and forced the warden of the prison to grant concessions to the 600 striking inmates.

## Teamsters strike health food producer in Cambridge

Workers at the Nature Food Center, a health food producer in Cambridge, Massachusetts, have been on strike since August 7. Workers are demanding union recognition, higher wages and increased fringe benefits.

In their efforts to win unionization, employees called in Teamsters Local 379 (a catch-all local with only a quarter of its membership actual drivers). Rather than go through a lengthy NLRB election, the union called workers out on strike immediately in an effort to force the issue of recognition.

The situation is typical of industry in the Boston area — a predominance of small industry which has made union organizing difficult.

Nature Food Center is a multi-million dollar concern. It has ridden the crest of the current health-food fad, through jacked-up prices and low labor costs, to become the largest health food corporation in the country.

The workers are asking for a national boycott of Nature Food Center products, which are distributed through 80 branches throughout the country. ■



# Phone, Postal Unions Plan Merger

Joe Norton

At its convention in Los Angeles in June, the Communications Workers of America passed a motion to begin negotiations intended to unite its 500,000 members with the 300,000 members of the American Postal Workers Union.

The motion was urged by CWA's President, Joe Beirne, and APWU's President, Francis Filbey. It passed almost unanimously. The APWU convention in August passed a similar motion.

The merger would make the new union one of the largest affiliates of the AFL-CIO. Both Beirne and Filbey emphasized the need for unity and strength in the communications industry.

The potential combined power of phone and postal workers is enormous. One can imagine the impact of a national telephone strike combined with a post office walkout such as occurred in 1970.

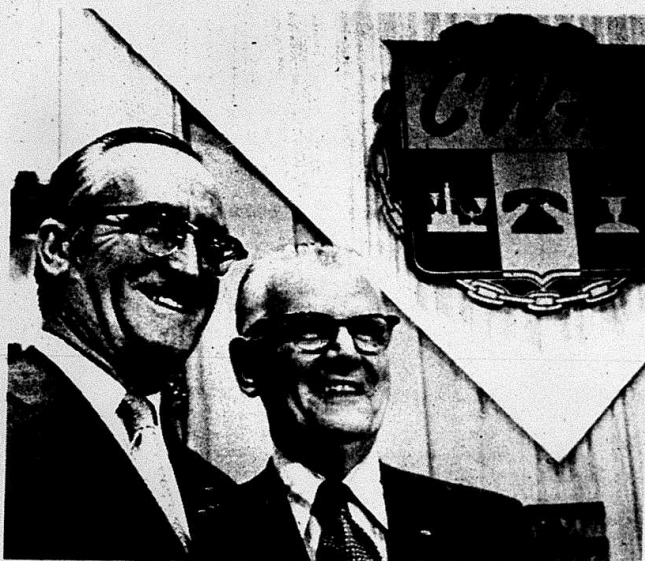
While we do not oppose unity, however, we must note that it cannot be equated with mere numbers. A larger union does not necessarily insure greater power to its members.

## Beirne Broadens His Base

In this case, the main effect of merger will be to give Beirne and his machine the power of a broader (and less politically organized) dues base; it will also enhance Beirne's position among labor leaders. It will not further the interests of the members of the proposed conglomerate union.

Even a merger of unions in all the communications media (radio, television, telegraphy, telephone, postal, etc.) as Filbey envisioned at the CWA convention, does not confront the real problem.

No union, no matter how large and all encompassing, can benefit its



CWA President Beirne (left) and APWU President Filbey at the CWA Convention

members unless it fights for their interests. It cannot do that unless it organizes the entire work force to carry on the fight, conscious of its interests as opposed to those of the owners of industry.

Beirne's rhetoric about "unity" and "strength" is in flagrant contradiction with his entire history. On the contrary, he has consistently demonstrated his determined opposition even to united action and real conflict with management even among phone workers.

Beirne's determination to maintain control of the power of his union was demonstrated most blatantly during the seven month strike of telephone workers in New York. In July of 1971, after six days of strike, Beirne

ordered all CWA locals nationwide to return to work.

The New York State locals rebelled; they stayed out and rejected the sellout contract. The rest of the country, under pressure from Beirne, returned to work and ratified the contract.

The position of the strikers in New York was momentarily strengthened by the cooperation of many telephone operators who respected the CWA picket lines. In New York, these operators belong to a company union, the TTU (Telephone Traffic Union).

Seeing control of the situation slipping away from him, Beirne acted against the strikers. The very organizers who were attempting to encourage operators to vote for the CWA in

an upcoming representation election, were dispatched to order the women to cross the picket lines.

The confusion occasioned by that action led to the loss of valuable support for the strikers as well as the loss of the representation election. The operators stayed in the TTU.

When, later in the strike, New York Tel began importing management strikebreakers from other states, Beirne refused to act. Instead of calling CWA members in those states out on strike, he allowed the New York locals to confront the full power of AT&T alone.

By these actions, Beirne helped New York Tel engineer the defeat of the strikers because the actions needed to win the strike required a kind of unity which threatened his own bureaucratic position rather than strengthening it.

## Unite the Ranks, Not the Piecards

Merger, in itself, is not the solution for the problems of the members of the CWA and APWU. The problem for both unions, as for all others, is the direction of its leadership - away from working class interests.

Those interests are not served merely by forming larger combinations of workers. They are served by a rank and file movement that consciously challenges the right of the ruling class to determine what portion of the fruits of labor shall be labor's reward.

Any intermediate action by labor, be it strike, merger or political endorsement, has value only insofar as it helps toward the building of such a movement.

It is difficult to tell at this point if the proposed merger will facilitate such a rank and file movement. Certainly, that is no part of Beirne's plan for "unity." ■

[Joe Norton is a member of CWA Local 1101 in New York City.]

## UAW, IAM; Teamsters, ILWU also plan mergers

Several large American trade unions are currently engaged in merger negotiations which could lead to significant changes in the makeup of the labor movement in the near future.

The most concrete of the mergers, at present, is between the Communications Workers of America, and the American Postal Workers Union (discussed elsewhere in this issue): The merger, which if concluded would create a massive union of virtually all workers in the communications industry, is expected to be formalized by both parties by the end of this year.

The 1.4 million-member United Auto Workers are currently engaged in merger discussions with the International Association of Machinists (IAM), 700,000 members strong. The two unions are long-time rivals in the aerospace industry; the UAW has organized most aerospace workers in

California, while the IAM is strong in the Pacific Northwest.

Both unions have seen their memberships decimated by layoffs in the aerospace industry in recent years, and concluded a "no-raid" agreement last year.

Should the UAW-IAM merger come off (discussions are only at a preliminary stage now), the new union would be 2.1 million members strong, and replace the Teamsters as the largest labor union in the nation.

But the Teamsters have also been busy on the merger front. Last month, the Teamsters announced that they would absorb the 40,000-member United Brewery Workers union in a merger. The two unions are currently direct competitors in many breweries and soft-drink bottling plants in the Midwest.

And the Teamsters have also con-

cluded an agreement with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the main dockworkers' union at West Coast ports. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimons and ILWU President Harry Bridges concluded the agreement at meetings last month. Final approval is up to a ratification vote among the 10,000 members of the ILWU.

Bridges said that the basis of the merger would be the setting up of a new "longshore-waterfront division" inside the Teamsters. The two unions have clashed in the past over the handling of container cargoes.

Finally, the Papermakers and Paperworkers Union has merged with the Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers. The new union, to be known as the United Paperworkers, will have 350,000 members. ■



## ELECTIONS UNDER CAPITALISM, PART THREE:

# Establishment, Power Elite or Ruling Class?

James  
Coleman

The dependence of the election process on money and on winning the confidence of business groups means that even before the voters have their say, political candidates must come to terms with "the establishment." The same is true after the elections are over.

Former Senator Joseph Clark -- not a radical, but a liberal in a minority in the Senate -- stated some years ago that in Congress "the power is exercised by minority, not majority, rule." As we saw previously, the political scientist Robert Dahl said the same thing about the government of New Haven, "and in all probability the United States."

What is the nature of this minority, often called "the establishment"? When the question is asked in this way, the answer is that there are many different "establishments." This fact has caused most social observers, especially bourgeois scholars, to call the American system a "pluralist" system.

By focusing only on the fact of different centers of power, they ignore the question of whether these different centers have similar interests -- and whether these interests are the same as those of the majority of the people.

### Multiple Establishments

Let us look at a few of the different "establishments" in American life. The sociologist C. Wright Mills, in his book *The Power Elite*, identified three: the heads of the biggest corporations, the top government leaders, and the senior military officers.

This was a good beginning, but Mills made the mistake of trying to show that the common interests between these elites were based on interconnecting membership, rather than focusing on the functions of their seemingly different activities in managing and maintaining capitalism.

Some of the more powerful "establishments" include:

**"The foreign policy establishment.** Over the years an elite of foreign policy advisers, officials and ex-officials, and technicians has been built up which changes very little despite changes in government. If a new administration wants to show it is "responsible" in foreign affairs, it listens carefully to -- or better, appoints -- the members of this group.

This "establishment" includes the Foreign Policy Association and the house organ of sophisticated State Department thought, the magazine *Foreign Affairs*. It is dominated by fi-

gures from finance and business, especially those firms with international connections.

**"International banking.** This group has close connections with the former. Of all business fields, it is the one most involved with US foreign policy. Powerful individuals shuttle back and forth between the two fields.

For example, the international banking firm, Dillon, Read & Co., contributed its head, C. Douglas Dillon, to become President Kennedy's Treasury Secretary. Robert McNamara, Defense Secretary under Kennedy and Johnson -- who had previously been President of Ford -- resigned from government to become head of the World Bank.

International monetary institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, settle the financial affairs of the big capitalist nations, continue the domination of the United States over its capitalist partners, and control the financial affairs of the "third world" nations.

**"The press and television.** The three major TV networks control most of the broadcasting in the United States. Through their news programs, they have giant influence on opinion. Basically they present very similar views.

Some differences of opinion among the networks are well publicized, such as CBS's greater willingness to criticize the Vietnam war. This different approach actually reflects differences of opinion within the business elite. But try to find an opinion favoring the strikers on any of the networks during any important strike.

Aside from the TV networks and the mass-circulation press (the news-magazines, the big-city daily papers, etc.), a few newspapers and magazines have great influence. The *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, and the magazines *Business Week* and *Fortune* are aimed at the leaders of business and government and basically present the views of highly respected business elites. They are very closely connected with government.

Although the US press is not government-controlled as in Communist countries, these close connections make these major newspapers "semi-official." Shifts in the official viewpoint can be reflected in the press with astonishing speed.

For example, within a few weeks in the winter of 1962-63, President Kennedy was able to swing the important newspapers and the respected columnists behind the previously unmentionable view that agreements were possible with the Russians. In 1972, shortly before President Nixon's China trip, blatantly pro-China propaganda such as had been unprintable for 20 years began appearing in many major newspapers.

**"The government bureaucracy.** This "establishment," within the government itself, actually consists of many planning bureaus and "regulatory" agencies. It has enormous power over economic life -- more, in fact, than Congress.

These "regulatory" agencies, which are supposed to maintain the "public interest," actually are headed and staffed by persons from business backgrounds or with pro-business

views. They provide private businesses, especially in older and poorly organized branches of the economy, with a degree of coordination which they would find difficult to achieve legally by themselves.

The completely pro-capitalist J. K. Galbraith was honest enough to admit, in his book *The Great Crash*, that such agencies "become, with some exceptions, either an arm of the industry they are regulating, or servile."

Walton Hamilton, a corporate lawyer who served on several government boards, was even more frank. "The functions of such an agency," he wrote, "may be very much the same whether set up and operated within industry itself or maintained as an arm of the government. If, for example, the old Bituminous Coal Commission or the Federal Maritime Board, or the Civil Aeronautics Board had been operated under private auspices, its conduct -- save for exposure to the anti-trust laws -- would have been much the same." [Emphasis added.]

Because these "regulatory" agencies actually make government policy in areas where supervision by Congress is difficult, their close links with business mean that they function as agencies for government planning by capitalism.

### "Two-Party System"

**"The political parties.** We have discussed the nature of the two major parties in an earlier article. Despite greater or lesser popular participation -- usually by the middle classes, or by the bureaucracy of the labor movement -- both parties are dominated by their own "establishments," with close ties to one or another section of the business community.

The different centers of power do pull in different directions on questions involving their particular special interests. They act together, however, whenever they face a threat to the interests of the capitalist class. Such a threat is known as a "national crisis."

Under threat of war, for example, the "nation" (in reality, the heads of all elite centers of power) "rises above party differences." For this it doesn't matter whether the war is threatened by someone else or by the United States. But the same process occurs in situations involving domestic class struggle -- for instance, at the threat of a national rail strike.

All the "establishments" mentioned above are fairly easily seen to be dominated by the monied few, and to represent their interests in politics. Even the Democratic Party would be unable to maintain a popular facade if it were not supported by another "estab-



"To a bigger and better industrial-military complex!"



ishment," whose nature and social role deserve close examination. This is:

**"The labor bureaucracy.** This is the only major "establishment" in America today that *seems* to represent the interests of ordinary working people. As the "voice of labor," the AFL-CIO leaders generally support "progressive" social and welfare legislation. Certainly the influence of the labor leaders, whether in calling major strikes or in providing the funds and support to help elect a candidate, is very great.

Looking at this fact, optimistic observers like Galbraith have concluded that labor is a "countervailing power," balancing off the admitted power of big business so that, when all is added up, the American capitalist system is more or less fair to everyone.

This was the message of Galbraith's book *American Capitalism*, published in 1952, and countless pro-capitalist writers have repeated it in the years since.

The apparent power of the working class, through the labor bureaucracy, is the *major* fact which convinces many that our system is more or less democratic. This, in fact, is the official line of America's official social-democrats, the Socialist Party.

If not for labor's apparent influence, the blatant operations of the other "establishments" discussed here would disclose American politics for the anti-democratic fraud which they really are. But the ability of labor -- and also other dispossessed groups -- to gain apparent recognition of their rights partially hides this reality.

### Countervailing Power?

We have already discussed the way in which a political party -- in America, the Democratic Party -- can *pose* as a "party of the people" in order to win votes. But the more basic question is *why the genuine efforts of the labor bureaucracy to make the Democratic Party "their" party have failed, and had to fail.*

Even if taken at face value, the pluralist theory of "countervailing power" contains a concealed elitist, class bias. It defines as "fair" a system in which the power of vast numbers of citizens (workers) is "balanced" by the power of an admittedly tiny minority -- business.

Pluralism does this by denying the fact that society falls into these two large groups. Instead, it defines society as composed of a large number of more-or-less equal groups.

But the theory cannot be taken at face value. For one thing, organized labor, the "countervailing power," represents a minority of workers. As C. Wright Mills argued in criticism of Galbraith's theory, "one has only to think of farm laborers and white-collar employees" (that is, specially exploited and poorly organized workers) to see that some interests are under-represented.

The idea that these interests will find representation from a government anxious to counterbalance the power of business is, as Mills pointed out, "more ideological hope than factual description."

Even the workers who are represented by the large, powerful unions are represented poorly. Socialists have long pointed to the undemocratic and anti-militant nature of the labor bureaucracy, and to the need for a rank and file movement to fight for and carry out a militant policy.

The unrepresentative nature of the

union bureaucracy has given every right-winger and many populists an excuse to denounce "big labor" -- ignoring the fact that these rotten unions are today the *only* protection workers have.

*So ordinary working people are largely without representation in a government system over-influenced by the "establishments" we have discussed.*

But even if the unions represented all workers and represented them well, there is a more basic reason why their assumption that they can "balance" the influence of business is wrong -- why government in a capitalist society can *never* act as an impartial referee between business and labor, and why the labor bureaucracy itself is forced to act against its own members' interests as long as it accepts the idea of functioning loyally within a capitalist economy and state.

*The reason is the capitalist econo-*



*my* itself. Within this economy, government *has to be* pro-capitalist government, and the labor leaders' defense of their members' minimum interests *has to be* limited by the needs of capitalism.

The way this works can be seen by a look at a crisis situation -- World War II. In this war the labor leaders, believing in the need for maximum production to defeat Germany and Japan, accepted a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war. They also stood by while many early gains of the unions, such as the abolition of piece-work, were partly undone.

Revolutionary socialists opposed these concessions, opposing the war itself as an imperialist war on the part of the United States and its allies as well as on the part of Germany and Japan.

One major union -- the Miners' Union -- also rejected the no-strike pledge and led a major coal strike in 1943. But by and large, the logic of the no-strike pledge was iron-clad: if you supported the war, you had to support the limitation of labor's rights and the erosion of its gains. The need for production came first.

(In passing, we take note of a basic political lesson: supporting one's "own side" in war, under capitalism, means supporting one's "own" ruling class -- supporting them even against one's own interests.)

But World War II was only an ex-

traordinary case -- a case of accepting the idea of defending one's "own" capitalism in a violent conflict with rival capitalist states. The same logic holds true when one defends one's "own" capitalism in peacetime.

For example, President Nixon's "New Economic Policy," with its limits on wages and its encouragement of speedup to spur productivity, has been argued for on the basis of the defense of American corporations against foreign competition. By accepting this idea, the labor leaders bind themselves to sacrifice their members' interests in the cause of making US capitalism more competitive.

In reality, the "threat" of foreign competition is only one part of the troubles of US capitalism, and not the most important part. More fundamentally, US capitalism as a whole is stagnant, unable to offset a tendency toward the decline of its rate of profit (that is, the amount of profit

In short, even if the labor leaders tried much more consistently to represent their members' interests in the political field, the American political system would remain a capitalist-ruled system despite their apparent influence.

What is true of labor is of course far truer of the other "establishments," which unlike the labor "establishment," do not represent the interests of sections of the working class even in a partial, distorted way.

The foreign policy "establishment" in defending the "national" interests of the United States is necessarily defending the interests of US capitalists, on whom the wealth and power of the United States depends.

The international bankers of course seek, first and foremost, the stability of capitalism as a world system, and secondly, the best conditions for American capitalism within that system.

For the newspapers, the "regulatory" agencies, and the political parties, the needs of the United States and the prosperity of business are understood to mean the same thing.

### Right to Rule

*What is true of the individual "establishments" is true of the political system as a whole. Political control of the private economy is very weak -- in reality, this "control" usually is largely an extension of the policies of the private businesses themselves. And since the motor force of the economic system is profit, any political leader or party must aim its policies at promoting business profit -- unless the leader or party is prepared to replace the profit "motor," that is, unless he is a revolutionary.*

For this reason, the various "establishments" are not really equal "interest groups," as Galbraith and the other theorists of "countervailing power" and "pluralism" liked to believe.

It is not even true that business, government, and the military form an interlocking "power elite," as C. Wright Mills argued. The corporations are central, pre-eminent over the other "establishments," and they and their supporters and dependents form a single ruling class.

Twenty years ago, in 1952, John K. Jessup, then Chairman of the Editorial Board of *Fortune* magazine, summed up: "Any President who wants to seek a prosperous country depends on the corporations at least as much -- probably more than -- the corporations depend on him. His dependence is not unlike that of King John on the landed barons at Runnymede, where the Magna Carta was born."

The comparison is apt. The feudal barons, although they insisted only on the King recognizing certain demands, were basically asserting their right to rule; and for this purpose they united, putting aside rivalries for the moment. So too the modern capitalist class always and above all asserts its right to rule, although at any one time it insists simply on getting whatever particular conditions serve it best.

So too in times of crisis this ruling class puts aside its very real but secondary rivalries and unites against potential threats to its power. ■

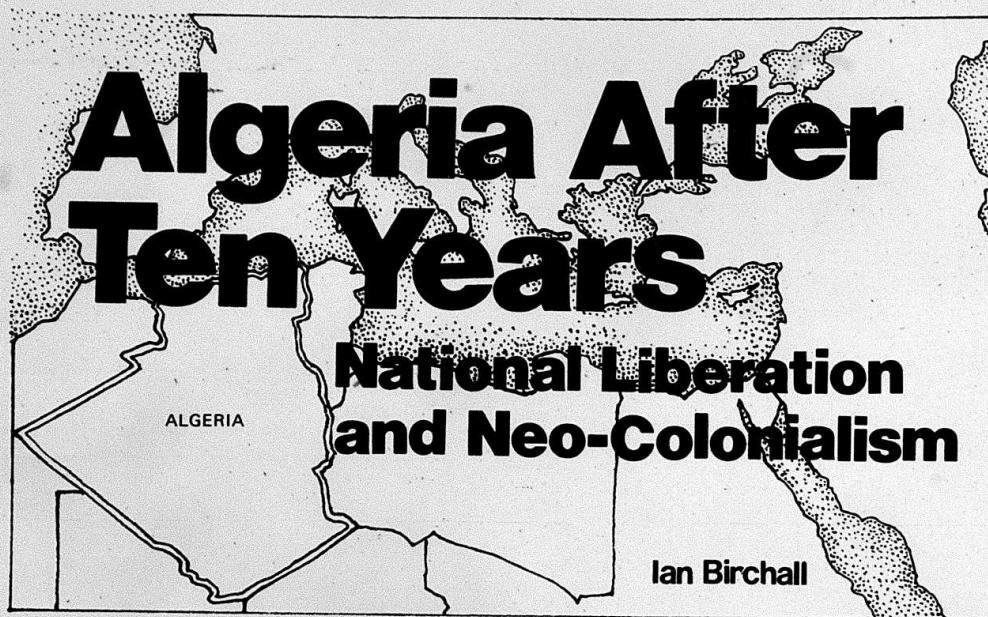
*[The conclusion of this series will discuss capitalist power over the President in office, and the nature of capitalist politics in moments of crisis.]*



# Algeria After Ten Years

## National Liberation and Neo-Colonialism

Ian Birchall



Ten years ago the Algerian war came to an end. The story of this war is rich in lessons for the national liberation struggles of today.

French forces colonized Algeria in the first half of the nineteenth century, and Algerian territory officially became part of France, sending members of parliament to Paris. This was a legal fiction to be much exploited later on.

### "Civilizing Mission"

French politicians often like to speak of France's "civilizing mission" in Algeria. Nothing could have been further from the truth. In 1834, a French general had noted: "Nearly all the Arabs can read and write: in each village, there are two schools."

But in 1954, when the war began, only ten percent of Algerians were literate.

Algeria had fewer doctors per head than a "backward" country such as Egypt, and the death rate among Algerian children was several times higher than among European settlers. In reality, French civilization meant smashing the native culture.

Since 1830 Algeria's population had risen from two million to nine million. But so little had the French developed the country's resources that it could still only produce enough food for two million.

Algeria remained an agricultural nation, producing wine and cereals, though fairly recently oil was discovered in the Sahara.

Of an Algerian population of nine million, the vast majority were agricultural workers and their families, many of them unemployed for part of the year, and almost all on the brink of starvation.

Those who had moved to the towns scarcely enjoyed any better conditions. One observer described their conditions: "... bands of men, women, and children and aged, almost totally naked, whom misery and fear of death has pushed towards the cities and who, each morning, search the garbage pails, disputing with dogs and cats the remnants of food, the rags and the empty tin cans..."

It was scarcely possible to speak of an industrial working class in Algeria at all. The tradition of independent working class organization was not strong. The French authorities had made Algerian trade unions legal only in 1932.

But, there were Algerian workers -- about 400,000 who had emigrated to France to find work and food. Money sent home by these workers supported two million Algerian people.

More important, even though these workers were the victims of low wages, appalling housing, and widespread racism, their experience in France contributed decisively to raising their level of expectations and aspirations.

Such was the stranglehold of France and the European settlers that the Algerian middle class remained small and stunted. As a result, the first attempts to organize against French oppression came from the working people.

### Messali Hadj

In 1926, Messali Hadj, an Algerian who had been a Paris factory worker and for a time a member of the Communist Party, founded the North African Star, which won wide support among Algerian workers in France.

Despite repression by the French authorities the Algerian nationalist movement survived and grew. In 1945 an Algerian rising was met by savage repression from the French government, which at the time contained Communist ministers. More than 40,000 Algerians were massacred.

In 1953 a split emerged in the Algerian nationalist movement, still led by Messali Hadj, who had now developed away from Marxism towards a nationalism inspired by the Muslim religion, although he still maintained a socialist rhetoric.

A group of younger nationalists, headed by Ben Bella, felt much more sympathetic to the kind of nationalism being developed by Nasser in Egypt.

It was this breakaway which constituted the FLN (National Liberation Front). The FLN forces were small -- a leadership of intellectuals with only

two or three thousand fighting men, not all of them armed.

The trade unions became satellites of the nationalist organizations. Messali's organization, the MNA (Algerian National Movement) was stronger among Algerian workers in France, but the FLN built a rival trade union federation in Algeria.

But the FLN's strategy was not aimed at the working class. The plan was first of all to build up guerrilla strength in the remote mountain areas, and then move towards the towns.

When they did begin to operate in the towns, the tactics were those of terrorism -- in particular, the throwing of bombs into European crowds.

By 1956, the FLN had gained control of several areas of the countryside, and had set up its own government there, covering taxation, education, and health.

The response of the French authorities was firstly to deny that there was a war at all, and secondly to increase massively the French troops in Algeria. By 1958, France had more than 400,000 soldiers in Algeria, greatly outnumbering FLN armed forces.

The French Army adopted the so-called "grid" system, involving heavy

concentrations of troops in the main cities and towns.

Eight large internment camps were built to imprison 6,000 Algerians. Torture was widespread: methods included electric shock treatment and the deflowering of girls with bottles.

During 1956, the FLN had built up great strength in the Algiers Casbah, a massive slum which served as a base for terrorism in the rest of the city. But in 1957, a force of paratroops under General Massu moved in and effectively smashed the FLN organization.

This was a serious setback to the FLN, who were forced back into the countryside.

### Loyal Left

Tragically, Algerians could not count on the support of French workers. There were elements of spontaneous anti-Algerian feeling among French workers. Young workers were conscripted to fight in Algeria and while they were away their jobs were taken by Algerian immigrants.

But France had two political parties which claimed to be Marxist and internationalist -- the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. Between them they got more than two-fifths of the votes in the 1956 elections.

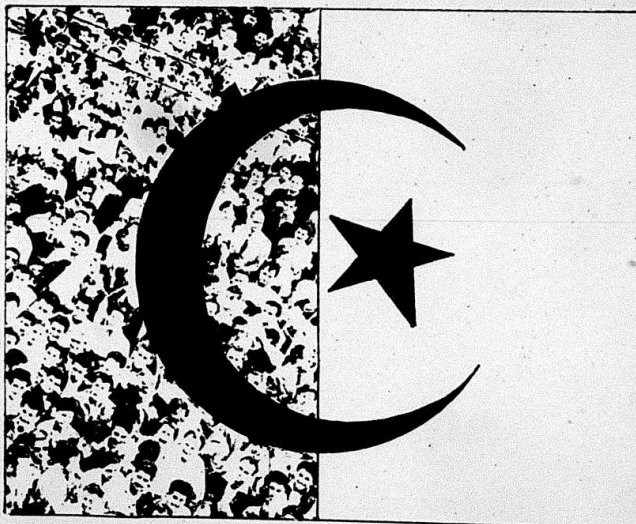
If these parties had taken a clear stand they could easily have dispersed any elements of working class racism. Unfortunately, they had other interests at heart.

These parties, far from taking the lead in an anti-imperialist campaign, remained the most loyal defenders of French rule.

Since the mass working class organizations had opted out, the only real opposition in France came from intellectuals, students and youth. Late in 1955 there were large demonstrations by young conscripts. They tried to obstruct troop movements by pulling the communication cords in trains and sitting down on the lines.

The Communist Party publicly discouraged its militants from such actions. It even forbade French and Algerian Communists to contact each other.

By May, 1958, the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) had been fighting for three and a half years. In purely military terms they were still nowhere near victory. But the war had brought the French state into deep difficulties.





[Continued from page 1]

Since the Second World War parliamentary democracy in France had staggered from crisis to crisis. The existence of several political parties, reflecting the fragmentation of the French middle class, meant that governments scarcely ever lasted more than a few months.

In the early months of 1958 incident after incident revealed the declining authority of the French government.

In February, French bombers, pursuing FLN guerrillas, crossed the Tunisian border and bombed the village of Sakkiat, killing 69 people, including 21 children. The government was sharply attacked by both right and left.

In March, a thousand Parisian policemen held an anti-parliamentary demonstration outside the National Assembly building.

For a month, from mid-April to mid-May, it was impossible to form a government in France at all.

And on the very day a government was at last formed, there was a rebellion in Algeria — this time by army officers and European settlers. These reactionary forces demonstrated and established a "Committee of Public Safety."

In effect they were refusing to accept the authority of the Paris government.

Among the leaders of the revolt were General Massu, whose brutality had smashed the FLN's urban guerrilla network in Algiers the previous year, and General Salan, who had served as a special correspondent with Mussolini's troops in Ethiopia, and had led the negotiations over the Indochinese opium crop at the end of the Second World War.

## DeGaulle's Return

Civil war in France seemed imminent. Pro-army elements in Paris could probably have mobilized more than 50,000 armed supporters, and most of the police would have joined them.

The only force on the left able to mobilize, the Communist Party, was in poor shape. It had suffered severe demoralization from the events of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and its supporters were hardly inspired by calls to defend the obviously corrupt and inefficient French parliamentary regime.

The party's strike calls went unheeded by most workers — at the Renault factory only a thousand of 35,000 workers came out on strike.

Supporters of Charles de Gaulle now started canvassing for his return from his self-enforced retirement. De Gaulle was able to win support from a broad range of political forces.

In fact, de Gaulle, who became prime minister on June 1, was the direct agent of the big French capitalists, the men who realized that today France could exploit Algeria economically without direct political rule, and that the war was unnecessary for French capitalism.

But the road was still long and winding. French public opinion favored a negotiated peace, but many within de Gaulle's own party did not.

A series of maneuvers and fake offers was necessary before de Gaulle was in a position to begin negotiating for independence for Algeria.

The FLN fought on. The leadership, recognizing their military weak-

ness, were keen to shift the struggle on to a diplomatic level.

But the Algerian workers and peasants were still confronted with the brutal realities of French power — forests and vegetation were destroyed by napalm, militants were interned and tortured. The FLN lost at least 140,000 dead during the war.

By early 1961 the FLN were able to renew the struggle in the towns of Algeria, and in October they decided to bring the Algerian workers in Paris into the fight.

A mass demonstration of at least 30,000 met the most savage police repression. Twelve thousand were arrested and interred in various sporting stadiums, and at least 50 were thrown in the River Seine and drowned.

The working class carried the main burden of the Algerian liberation struggle. Algerian workers suffered and died by the thousand.

But this did not make the libera-

assassination in France and Algeria.

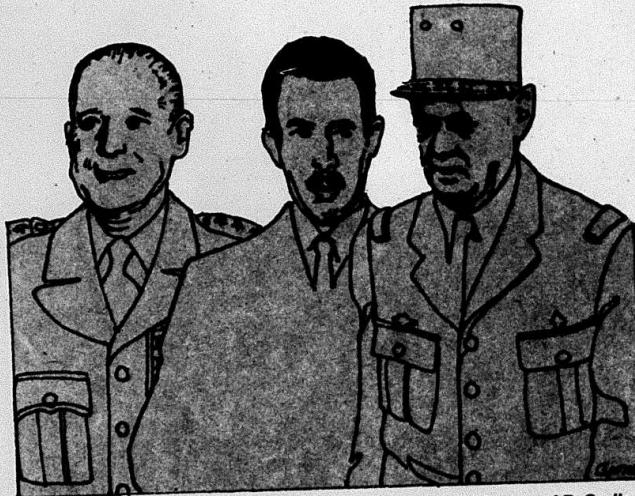
In February, 1962, a mass anti-fascist demonstration was called in Paris. De Gaulle, in order not to appear dependent on the left, banned it. The demonstration went on — and the police, most of whom probably supported the OAS, took the opportunity to kill eight demonstrators.

In March, de Gaulle signed the Evian agreements which gave Algeria its independence. The European settlers launched into a final frenzy of desperate rage. European women in cars deliberately ran down Arab children in the streets.

But the OAS was smashed, and the FLN took over the war-ravaged country.

The courage and devotion of the Algerian people had won the independence of their country. For a while Algerian "socialism" became the latest cult among the left.

But in fact the social revolution



Fascist General Raoul Salan, Algerian dictator Houari Boumediene and DeGaulle

tion movement a working class movement, let alone a socialist movement.

There was, in fact, no independent revolutionary socialist organization in the Algerian struggle. The Algerian Communist Party, after initial hesitation, sent its members into the FLN.

The few revolutionary socialists close enough to play any part in the fight took much the same position. While showing great courage in giving material and practical support to the FLN, they held the fundamentally false view that the FLN could transform itself into a political party which would have a program with a clear socialist stand.

In fact the FLN was nothing of the sort. Not only did it give its own trade union organization only a minor place in the struggle, but it used physical violence and terror against workers' organizations under the influence of the MNA.

As it became clear that de Gaulle was determined to negotiate a settlement with the FLN, the European settlers and their allies in the army turned to desperate violence. A settler revolt in early 1960 was followed by a military rebellion in 1961.

After the failure of the 1961 army revolt, the extreme right took its last gamble. The OAS (Secret Army Organization) was formed and embarked on a campaign of terror bombing and

that Algeria needed had not begun. Algeria faced independence with two million unemployed and more than four million others "without means of subsistence."

The new regime claimed it was following socialist policies. In particular, *autogestion* (self-management) in agricultural undertakings and a small section of industry received much publicity, and was said to be a form of workers' control.

In fact the workers' councils that existed had virtually no power. The directors of enterprises retained substantial rights, and seasonal workers, a large section of the Algerian labor force, were not allowed to participate.

The FLN smashed opposition in the Algerian trade unions and manned them with loyal government supporters.

Such was the demoralization of the Algerian people that when, in 1965, Ben Bella, FLN leader, was overthrown by a right-wing military coup hardly anyone seemed to notice, let alone fight for him.

In the succeeding years, Algeria has become a neo-colony of French and American imperialism. The Algerian working class still has a revolution to make. ■

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

ty in removing him and carrying through a wave of brutal repression.

Nevertheless, it is crucial that socialists call for a militant *defense* of the Allende government against the threat of a right-wing takeover. A victory for the right would be not only a defeat for Allende, but for the entire working class and the oppressed masses of Chile. It would mean the crushing of democracy and the basic freedoms which the workers need in order to carry forward their struggle.

What is most important, however, is that the Chilean workers and peasants struggle against the right with their own methods, not within the limits set by Allende and the bourgeois state. Allende's policies have proven impotent either to solve the crisis or to break the political power of the right.

In response to the shopkeepers, Allende threatened a government takeover of the shops to keep them running. But when the shopkeepers replied that if he carried out his threat they would go on strike indefinitely, he backed down. Thus the shopkeepers became a rallying point for all the forces of reaction, who began setting up barricades and fire-bombing houses.

It is the working class which has the power to break the back of any right-wing movement. An armed and mobilized working class could have kept the shops open and restored order — with a minimum of violence. The right has no fear of Allende's police and Army, for they know that the police act as agents of the bourgeois state and will support reaction at the crucial moment.

The correct response to the political crisis in Chile is the *arming of the working class and the formation of workers' militias*. Without the organized power that these militias would represent, the workers will remain almost helpless in the face of a further sharpening of the crisis.

The right wing is already armed — with all the weapons of the police and the Army. The workers and peasants must demand arms from Allende now, before counter-revolution has a chance to organize itself more fully. If the Popular Unity parties refuse to fight for such a demand, the masses must seek independent means to arm themselves for self-defense.

The future of the Chilean working class may depend in large part on its ability to mobilize itself against the right-wing offensive, independently and even in opposition to Allende's policies. ■







# international report

David Finkel

## UN Colonial Commission urged to declare Puerto Rico a US colony

On Friday, August 18, 3,000 Puerto Rican youth rallied at the United Nations to demand that Puerto Rico be treated as a colony by the UN. At present the US government maintains the fiction that Puerto Ricans democratically chose the "commonwealth" status.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Independence Party (PIP), was timed to coincide with hearings by the colonial commission.

Most of the speakers stressed the point that the UN will not guarantee independence, but should be used as an arena to gather support for the cause of Puerto Rican freedom.

Speakers included Juan Mari-Bras of the PSP, Ruben Berrios of the PIP, and James Foreman of the Black Workers Congress. Roy Brown sang independence songs.

The colonial commission in a fudge resolution later voted 10 to 0, with 8 abstentions, that Puerto Rico has the right to self-determination and independence, without ruling on colonial status.

[Thanks to Eric Langdon for this item.]



## Repression wave grows in Stalinist Yugoslavia

Word from Yugoslavia indicates increasing evidence that Tito is putting to use the training he received under Stalin in Moscow from 1930 to 1936. Another issue of the internationally known Marxist journal *Praxis* has been suppressed, this time for having protested the jailing for 2½ years of a Belgrade professor.

Some left-wing students have had their passports seized, and 3 Trotskyist students in Belgrade have been jailed for periods ranging from 1½ to 2 years.



A letter, printed in *Le Monde's* Weekly Selections of August 17-23, from some Croat emigre intellectuals reports that censorship, employment and university purges -- as well as purges from parliamentary, government and party posts, "preventive" arrests, and political trials -- are also hitting those accused of having supported last year's Croatian movement for greater "national personality" and further economic decentralization in favor of Croatia.

Croatia is the second richest of Yugoslavia's 6 republics. This movement, said to have received great popular support, reportedly provoked Tito to declare that the Party has no need of support from the popular masses, and that outside the Party there is no "salvation."

The Croat emigre letter connects the repression with the fact that this year, for the first time, the Yugoslav prime minister participated in a Comcon conference, and that Tito submitted to Russian pressure to allow (1) the repair and the supply of food and oil to the Russian fleet calling at Croat ports, and (2) Russian warplanes the right to fly over Yugoslavia "in case of war in the Middle East."

## Philippines squatters movement faces government crackdown

A militant "squatters" movement in the Philippines is facing a crackdown by the authorities of the city of Manila and the national government. The state is trying to drive 100,000 homeless people from shanties they have built over Manila's waterways.

1,500 demonstrators staged a sit-down late in August on a road leading to the Presidential Palace and conducted similar demonstrations at other office buildings.

As their homes are destroyed by wrecking and dredging machines, the squatters are forced to move to new areas assigned to them on the outskirts of the city, far from their places of work. At the same time, apartment buildings, warehouses, factories

and businesses built over the waterways are allowed to remain.

The official reason for the destruction of the squatters' shanties is the need to clear the waterways to prevent flooding. But the government of Ferdinand Marcos has done nothing to remove the buildings of the rich or to eliminate the real cause of flooding, such as large landowners' refusal to allow dikes in lowland areas of the island.

Demonstrations of the poor and dispossessed over issues of housing and other issues have increased in the last few years, and offer the possibility for a revival of the underground radical movement.



Maronite denominations.

After ordering the villagers out "to get out of the way of the fighting for a few days," the Israeli Army proceeded to dynamite all the homes and prohibit the villagers from returning. Soon thereafter a Jewish kibbutz and cooperative farm took over the land. This pattern was typical of the wholesale robbery of the Palestinian Arabs that occurred after 1948.

Today, the villagers of Beraam are demanding their village back. The Israeli government, despite the "constant and unchallenged loyalty" of these Arab Israelis, refuses for the usual reason -- "security" -- to allow them to move back to their homes.

The demonstration was held by the villagers of Beraam, supported by radicals of the Israeli "new left." Writers previously sympathetic to the villagers' cause backed out when it came to the question of holding a demonstration against the government.

Meanwhile, Rabbi Meir Kahane of the so-called "Jewish Defense League" held a counterdemonstration in support of the government's policies. According to the newspaper reports, the counter-demonstrators were "mostly Americans." As usual, it is the American Zionists -- not the Jewish Israeli masses -- who adopt the most reactionary positions in support of the Zionist Israeli state.

## Study details effects of US imperialism in Venezuela

A study of the Venezuelan economy, recently published in a Mexican journal (*Excelsior*, Jan. 9), shows the effects of the "underdevelopment" created and sustained by imperialist domination. Among other facts, the study shows that fully 1/3 of the population "is not integrated into the Venezuelan national economy." While the per capita annual income is \$900, 49 percent of the national income goes to 12 percent of the population, while the lower 45 percent of the people receive a total of 9 percent. Unemployment is officially listed at 10 percent, illiteracy at 25 percent.

The extent of US domination is shown by the fact that 53 percent of Venezuela's imports come from the US, while two-thirds of Venezuelan oil production is foreign controlled. The oil industry, which dominates economic and political life, employs only 1 percent of the labor force.

The grotesque distortions of the Venezuelan economy, as of the economies of other "underdeveloped" countries, is a specific feature of the capitalist development of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The

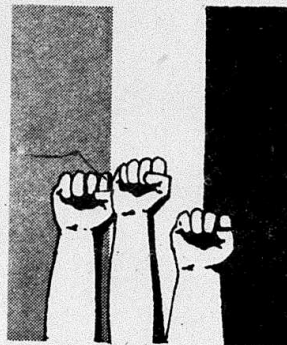
## Rising absenteeism foreshadows Italian workers' fall offensive

The possibility of industrial turmoil in Italy this autumn is underscored by reports of rising absenteeism among industrial workers, following the three-week summer vacation.

Management associations claim that regular absenteeism in the entire labor force -- including blue collar, white collar, and secretarial workers -- runs at 4 percent. This figure jumps to 20 percent, however, at some industrial complexes in northern Italy at the beginning of the work week.

The capitalists' association and their press also blames strikes and absenteeism for Italy's low labor productivity -- the lowest of the ten leading non-Communist industrial nations.

The unions, however, claim that poor housing and shoddy transportation, along with inadequate measures to protect industrial health and safety, are the real reasons for the Italian workers' economic militancy and absentee rates.



## 3,000 demonstrate in Jerusalem against Zionist repression

The August 23 demonstration in Jerusalem -- in which 3,000 Arabs and Jews marched through the downtown district chanting in Arabic and Hebrew: "Justice for Beraam and Ikrit!" -- illustrated the possibilities for a crack in the hold of Zionism on the Jewish and Israeli people.

Beraam and Ikrit were two villages in Galilee, near the Lebanese border, which surrendered without a fight to the Israeli Army in 1948. Both were farming villages with a total population of about 1,300, all Christian Arabs of the Greek Orthodox and



nationalist pro-capitalist forces in these countries are tied hand and foot to the imperialist system; only a socialist revolution, led by the working classes of these countries, opens a way out of their subjugation.

### Fischer vs. Spassky at Yankee Stadium

The championship chess match has turned chess into a million-dollar spectacle almost overnight. One American promoter has already announced plans to field a league of "major-league" chess teams, to play on national TV next year.

When questioned about the possibility of much boredom resulting as the players ponder their moves, the promoter responded by suggesting that the matches could be livened up by using scantily clad young women to represent the chess pieces on a giant board.

Only in America, as the saying goes, could a chess game be turned into a skin-flick.



But if chess really wants to go big-time, they should study the example of the most successful spectator sport of recent years -- pro football. One can see it now: Fischer vs. Spassky at Yankee Stadium, playing in a TV studio below the stands while a crowd of 80,000 watches the action on closed-circuit TV, and, of course, Howard Cosell at the mike.

"Boris Spassky, they say you're washed up. They say your openings are indecisive, your middle game inept, your end-game incompetent. They say you don't have the guts to go for the big gambit any more. What does Big Boris Spassky say?"

"Well, Howard, all I can say is this: just watch my Nimzo-Indian counter-attack in this game."

"Thanks, Champ... and now back to Dandy Don in the booth."

It is well to recall the old strategy of the Roman Empire for holding on to power: offer the masses "bread and circuses." The bread keeps getting smaller these days. But the circuses seem to proliferate. ■

[Thanks to Ken Fireman for this item]



# British Dockers Take the Lead

Norah Carlin

"We have lost the battle but not the war," says a leading shop steward in the London docks. This is an apt statement for the British working class, in whose fight against the Tory government the dockers have for six months played the part of shock troops.

These months have seen a great working class victory against the new anti-labor laws. But the dockers themselves, in a three-week national strike, failed to gain more than a few minor concessions from the government and bosses, and this defeat received enormous publicity.

The events of June, when the Industrial Relations Court backed down in the face of working class solidarity, were followed by the arrest and imprisonment of five dockers' pickets on July 21. After five days, even the TUC, the British unions' leading body, was prepared to call a general strike for July 31 to free them.

But by that time hundreds of thousands of workers, including printers, miners, busmen, airport workers, and machinists, were already on strike. The five were freed on July 26 by an about-face in the legal system. [See *Workers' Power* No. 62 for the background story on this legal maneuver.]

The sighs of relief of the union officials were deafening as they called off the general strike. The dockers' strike, with the official but reluctant backing of their leader Jack Jones, continued.

The main issue was, as before, container depots. Many of these are run by subsidiaries of vast companies which make huge profits by closing down old docks, sacking the dockers, transferring the work to poorly paid and badly organized labor in the depots, and redeveloping the old dock sites. It was around the picketing of such depots by dockers that the legal dispute had begun.

A Docks Delegate Conference called by the union on July 27 rejected the hastily concocted offer of the Jones-Aldington Committee (union leaders Jack Jones himself was co-chairman). This promised dockers a few hundred jobs in container depots, and offered \$2,500-\$10,000 layoff pay to all "unfit" dockers -- to include all dockers over 55.

British layoff compensation payments are meant to sound generous, to sweeten the pill of reorganization and unemployment, but a 55-year-old docker "retired" in a situation of serious unemployment and runaway inflation might have to live on this sum for ten years until he qualifies for the old age pension!

The dockers' strike was solid for over two weeks, but they faced major problems. One was the "unregistered ports" -- new wharves, often small but sometimes highly modernized, outside the jurisdiction of the National Dock Labor Board which guarantees dockers' wages and conditions.

Dockers' pickets covered as many

of these ports as possible, but met with strong resistance from the scabs. Employers were paying scab drivers \$50 a journey, hiring extra scabs, and even in some cases using the "voluntary" labor of women and children to shift cargoes.

The other main problem was the hysterical campaign by the press and television. The pickets' resistance to attacks by scabs and strong-arm police became the "scourge of violence," and the law and order merchants came out in full screaming force.

The climax came at the second Dock Delegate Conference on August 16, when thousands of angry dockers attacked delegates and Jack Jones had a glass of water thrown at him during his press conference. According to the media, democracy was about to collapse.

faculties which its members are now determined to overcome for the future.

A regular shop stewards' organization within this section of the Transport and General Workers' Union has existed for only a few years, since the last Labor government's dock reorganization.

The union gives the stewards very little power; they cannot, for example, negotiate with the bosses as shop stewards do in many other industries. The achievements of the National Port Shop Stewards' Committee were all the work of their own self-organization in the last year, since the level of layoffs in the major ports became really alarming.

The Communist Party, which has had a large nominal membership in the docks for decades, has for many



Militant dockworkers harrass union bureaucrat Jack Jones

This second delegate conference in fact accepted a few paltry additions to the Jones-Aldington offer and called off the strike. The voting was 53-30, but because of the way delegates are elected it was actually the minority that represented 30,000 of the country's 41,000 dockers.

This is because delegates represent ports, not dockers, and while the ports of North Cornwall, with a total of 22 dockers, have one delegate, the Royal Group in London, with 4,000 dockers, has two.

The National Port Shop Stewards' Committee, drawn from eight ports including London and Liverpool, refused to accept this undemocratic decision and recommended that the strike should continue. But mass meetings in every port except Liverpool and Manchester rejected this advice and voted to return to work.

The press and television campaign certainly played a major part in breaking the will of the mass of dockers to fight on. But the National Port Shop Stewards' Committee faced certain dif-

years provided little political leadership. In 1968, for example, it was unable to prevent a pro-racist march by London dockers.

CP members have predominated on the National Port Shop Stewards' Committee, but the Party appears to have lost prestige with militants in the outcome.

The lessons of this experience for the British working class are vital. First, that class solidarity can defeat the bosses' legal system, and that only mass action will push the union leaders into joining in. Second, that only a really strong and politically conscious rank and file organization can win specific battles against the bosses.

Third, that even in specific battles class solidarity is still essential, for the millionaire press and "impartial" television will exploit divisions in the working class to the full in order to smash a strike. And these lessons are relevant to the working class not only in Britain. ■





# Sisterhood Wasn't Too Powerful This Year

Anne Goldfarb



"Everyone's doing her own thing this year, like supporting McGovern," explained one demonstrator trying to account for the small size of the third annual Women's March for Equality in New York City on August 25.

The low turnout was the most newsworthy aspect of the march, supposed to be the culmination of nationwide actions commemorating the day women got the vote 52 years ago. Crowd estimates ranged from one to five thousand, but even the most optimistic fell far short of the previous two years.

The listless atmosphere contrasted even more sharply with August 26, 1970, when tens of thousands of women jammed the parade route with an enthusiasm that astonished even the march organizers.

Many of the women's movement's demands are winning greater support than ever before. A recent Gallup poll revealed that for the first time a clear majority of women and men favor legalizing abortions.

But while the women's movement has succeeded in winning widespread sympathy for its demands, it has largely failed, as August 25 illustrated, to mobilize women to fight around these issues.

The radical women's liberation movement has collapsed, unable to develop successful actions or reach agreement on program. Like the rest of the New Left, radical women have become disillusioned or cynical. The only surviving semi-radical national organization, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC)

is a shell kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. As in the anti-war movement, the collapse of the "youth radicalization" leaves the YSA in the women's movement holding on to its bureaucratic apparatus without any base.

WONAAC conferences this year have been repeated battles between the SWP and an equally bankrupt amalgam of radicals with no program or strategy, fought together on little more than hostility to the YSA.

The only women's groups that have grown recently, in fact, have been NOW (National Organization for Women) and the Women's Political Caucus. NOW, which sponsored most of the August 25 events, reflects the aspirations of middle class, mostly white women, concentrating on job advancement for professional women and changing advertising's "image" of women.

The Political Caucus, often described as the political arm of NOW, focuses on winning bigger roles for women politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties -- and on roping the rest of the women's movement into supporting major-party candidates.

Few of the concerns and needs of working class women have been taken up by the women's movement. Instead of fighting for free abortions and birth control, the movement has demanded only legalization of abortion, refusing to challenge the medical establishment for fear of alienating conservative women.

Rather than trying to extend pro-

ductive labor legislation to all workers so it could not be used to discriminate against women, the women's movement has led the fight to destroy the laws, often the only protection women and men workers have from rotten job conditions.

In New York City, the women's movement has done nothing about the city's attempts to impose fees in public child care centers and has paid little attention to the city's thousands of underpaid women or men workers. It has ignored the need to involve black and Puerto Rican women in what has become virtually an all-white movement.

For the last three years, the pre-demonstration meetings for August 25 in New York City have been taken up almost entirely with fights over the demands of the demonstration and the speakers at the rally. Virtually no wing of the movement has paid attention to the job of mobilizing women to join the march.

Instead, NOW relies on friendly reporters at the *New York Times* to publicize the day's actions. Even the more radical groups, who succeeded in defeating NOW's attempts to keep them off the rally stage, failed to see the need to go beyond the struggle within the movement to a campaign to draw working women, trade unionists, or women welfare victims into the march.

*If the women's movement's failures resulted only in small demonstrations every August, little would be at stake. But the weakness of the movement nearly brought about the defeat*

of New York's liberalized abortion law last spring. NOW's feeble lobbying and WONAAC's pitifully small student-oriented demonstrations left the field wide open to the massive pressure exerted by the Catholic Church.

Neither group was willing to do the work needed to mobilize into activity the huge base of support that exists for the liberalized law. Only Rockefeller's veto saved the law, and "Right to Life" groups are already organizing for a new anti-abortion drive next year.

Meanwhile, Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate Shriver's close connections with Right to Life has had no effect on NOW's strategy of turning to the Democratic Party. The Women's Political Caucus is bent on taking the women's movement down the same dead-end road that has destroyed countless reform movements in the past.

The middle class women's liberation movement has raised many crucial ideas that have been ignored by generations of radicals and trade union militants. But this movement's leadership is unable to break from the direction in which the movement is now heading and unwilling to turn to the vitally important task of building a working class women's movement that can be an integral part of the struggle for socialism.

The present course can only condemn the movement to irrelevance and collapse like the women's rights movement before it. ■

## Olympics

[Continued from page 5]

of Russia and Reggie Jones of the US.

ABC did not show the first round of the three-round bout, and ABC commentator Howard Cosell introduced the fight by saying only that the Russian had won the first round.

They aired the second round, which appeared even, and the third round, which Jones appeared to win. (We say "appeared," because judging a close fight from a TV screen is always chancy.)

Tregubov was given the decision by the judges on a close, split vote. The crowd in Munich didn't like the decision, and booed it roundly. The crowd is also a lot farther away from the action than the five judges, who sit at ringside.

And old Howard Cosell flipped

out. He screamed about the "injustice" of the verdict for ten minutes, then appeared on camera with a tearful Reggie Jones and his coach to hoke it up some more. And for the next three nights, as boxing competition continued, Cosell continued to rant about the decision.

Since no fighter in recorded history has ever believed he actually lost a fight not decided by knockout, Jones' attitude was natural but hardly convincing.

Three days after this bout, the International Olympic Committee -- reportedly under pressure from the Americans -- fired two of the boxing judges. Cosell shrilled his approval of this long and loud.

That night, a bout between an American and a West German fighter took place. The German fighter was so superior that even Cosell conceded the match to him. He seemed to land three and four punches to every one landed by the American, who often missed badly with wild uppercuts.

But, lo and behold, the recently altered team of judges awarded the

decision to the American. And Howard Cosell, who was so outraged earlier by the close vote against Reggie Jones, had nothing but praise for this apparent robbery of the German fighter.

The following night even this was topped, as an American lightweight fighter was awarded a unanimous decision over a Thai opponent who appeared to have completely outclassed him. Cosell went berserk with delight as the scoreboard showed that each judge had given every round to the American.

This attitude continued into the wrestling competition, where almost every ruling against an American was called "highly questionable." A Turkish referee who supervised the Chris Taylor - Alexander Medved free-style wrestling match was bounced from the games after the Russian won the close match.

The American wrestling coach, in an interview, described an American win by saying, "Our guy beat a Polack." This was a little too heavy for ABC, which apologized the next night.

This incredible display of partisanship by the American sports-broadcasters has set new standards for blind chauvinism at the Olympic Games. In fact, it was more like listening to broadcasts of Indiana high school basketball than top-level international competition.

This is not to deny that other nations approach the Games in a chauvinistic manner. But the US is clearly in a class by itself.

The TV coverage provided by the Canadian network (the CBC) illustrates the American arrogance. Their reporting provided some news that American viewers never learned.

As always, the Canadians' eagerness to show up the US provided a useful corrective. Before the start of one swimming event, the CBC announcer wondered out loud "whether the American would false-start this time, like they did in the last two races." ABC never told us that.

It's really a pity they don't hand out medals for political backstabbing at the Olympics. The American Olympic Committee and their TV-network shills would win going away. ■



# McGovern

[Continued from page 1]

McGovern's victory in the California primary which locked up the Democratic nomination.

He even attempted to moderate his position on the Vietnam war -- the key issue of his candidacy -- by stating during the convention that he would favor leaving a "residual force" of American troops in Southeast Asia until American POW's are released by Hanoi.

Only when angry McGovern delegates threatened to bolt, and anti-war demonstrators staged a sit-in at his hotel, did the embarrassed candidate retract the statement.

Much sharper, if less well publicized is McGovern's change of line on issues of tax reform. While still hoping to use this issue against Nixon in the campaign, he dropped most of the proposals which had earned him the label of "populist" and reverted back to straightforward Democratic Party election-year promises.

Instead of his original cash benefit proposal, McGovern now proposes a "program of public service employment for those who are able to work" -- a feeble attempt at a Keynesian solution to the deepening crisis of unemployment. As the *New York Times* analyst correctly notes, McGovern's revised income-supplement package "will clearly fit into the mold of what liberals have been discussing for nearly a decade."

In addition, he proposed to lighten the income tax burden on super-rich individuals by dropping the maximum individual income tax rate to 48 percent.

## Murderers for McGovern

On August 22, after suffering a sharp setback in the polls for his clumsy and cynical behavior during the Eagleton crisis, McGovern kicked off his campaign with a fence-mending visit to Lyndon Johnson at the LBJ Ranch in Texas. Despite his widely stated anti-war views, McGovern was anxious to win the support of the man who was driven out of office by a mass anti-war movement.

After the meeting, McGovern told the press he was happily reminded of "the passion of the former president, and his very great love for this country. . . . I will continue to treasure his friendship, his counsel, and his support."

He added that LBJ was "one of the great patrons of education" in American history, and asserted that he would have supported Johnson for re-election in 1968.

After Johnson replied by endorsing his presidential campaign, McGovern responded by "gratefully" accepting the support of this mass murderer, the most hated symbol of America's aggression in Vietnam.

The following day, August 23, McGovern took his road show to Chicago to meet with Democratic Kingpin Richard Daley. Mayor Daley, of course, saw his hand-picked Illinois delegation dumped at the Miami Beach convention in favor of a reform slate headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson

and Alderman William Singer.

McGovern ordered his forces in Miami Beach to support the reform delegation against Daley, although only after attempting to engineer a compromise which failed only because Daley arrogantly rejected it.

"We will work closely with Mayor Daley," McGovern stated after the meeting. "We welcome his support and his endorsement."

Having thus proven the depth of his commitment to party reform, McGovern went on to privately pledge to Daley his support for the entire Democratic ticket in Illinois -- including Cook County District Attorney Edward Hanrahan, up for re-election this fall.

Hanrahan, a notorious law-and-order official who is credited with engineering the police raid which murdered Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in 1969, is currently on trial in Chicago for "conspiring to obstruct justice" in the investigation

plain which of these he appreciated most -- Lynch mobs, literacy tests, or segregated schools.

But Shriver's law-and-order appeal, like McGovern's endorsement of Hanrahan, was by no means a simple regional appeal. It is part and parcel of a major theme in the whole McGovern campaign, in which the candidate (in a "campaign white paper") attacks Nixon's law enforcement record as "long on tough talk, short of performance."

The message is not lost on the makers of public opinion. The *Wall Street Journal* of August 29 hailed this statement as clear evidence that "law-and-order is an idea whose time has come."

Urging McGovern to take this position further, the *Journal* editorial argues that "Senator McGovern and his backers are in the unique position of being able to discuss law-and-order realistically for a constituency which is unlikely to heed discussions of the subject by other candidates."



McGovern treasuring Johnson's friendship

of the murders.

Indeed, Hanrahan had become such an embarrassment that Daley had originally withheld his support for his re-election (Hanrahan won the primary anyway by running a purely racist campaign; Daley then announced his support for him "as a good Democrat").

## Robert E. Shriver

For sheer, good-old-fashioned politicking, however, McGovern was upstaged by his newly appointed Vice-Presidential nominee, Sargent Shriver. On August 23, the same day McGovern was prostrating himself before Daley in Chicago, Shriver was beginning a Southern tour in Georgia and Louisiana.

In reporting his activities, the *New York Times* commented that Shriver "sounded more like Robert E. Lee than Abraham Lincoln."

During his speeches, Shriver stressed American patriotism and strong "national security" and made a blatant appeal to white prejudices by attacking "welfare chiselers" and street crime. He also boasted that six of his ancestors had fought on the side of the Confederacy during the Civil War.

He went on to say that he had been raised in Maryland, with "an understanding of Southern qualities." Shriver, like most Northern liberals, identifies white racism and conservatism as "Southern qualities" and tries to win support by pandering to them.

One can only hope that, on his next visit to Harlem, Shriver might ex-

plain that in other words it is the liberals, who have won a degree of confidence and trust from those oppressed and brutalized by "law and order," who are also in the best position to shove the law-and-order message down their throats.

While Nixon and Agnew are well-known as the candidates who advocate repression in defense of private property and the existing order, McGovern and Shriver are able to propose the same measures in the name of a broader "public interest."

For the same reason, conservatives are eager to force liberals to take the lead as "friends of labor" in imposing wage controls and other restrictions on the working class. Key to McGovern's strategy is his desire to give his willingness to play exactly this role.

The irony of the rightward turn of the McGovern campaign is that, in adopting this strategy, McGovern is quite probably blowing his only chance of defeating Nixon in November.

With Nixon holding a large lead and portraying himself as a "consensus" President in opposition to McGovern's "radicalism," McGovern's only real hope would lie in stressing, rather than removing, the pseudo-radical themes of his early campaign.

It was McGovern's speeches against the war, the military economy, and the tax system that won him key primaries in the spring and permitted him to rise out of the obscurity that had marked his campaign at the start. It was through these issues that McGovern successfully differentiated

himself from issueless candidates like Humphrey and Edwin Muskie.

But now, with the nomination won, McGovern seems destined to turn himself into the new Muskie -- the colorless, gutless wonder of the Democratic Party center. This road will lead McGovern back to the obscurity from which he emerged.

But in reality, the change in McGovern is not a "transformation" at all, but rather a logical evolution. The men and institutions of power which dominate the capitalist parties make it certain that any Presidential candidate, not matter how "left-wing" he may be at the start, must come to them for support sooner or later. They have the organization, and they have the money.

And when he comes, they have their price. McGovern is paying that price and will continue to do so through November -- and beyond, should he upset Nixon at the polls.

## Housebroken

McGovern's new respectability will not win him the support of the major sections of big business. Nixon commands much more confidence and loyalty in corporate circles than does a candidate so recently associated with "radical" causes and anti-corporate rhetoric.

Indeed, as McGovern accommodates to the right, the big capitalist press -- the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* in particular -- find it less necessary to take him seriously. As the pressure of McGovern's popular liberal and radical base decreases, the inner circles of power are beginning to regard his campaign as a pathetic joke.

But they have guaranteed themselves that, if through some chance of fate, McGovern becomes President, they will have smoothed off all the rough edges. They will be prepared to control him, and to make him serve their interests, in the same fashion that every American President has done. ■



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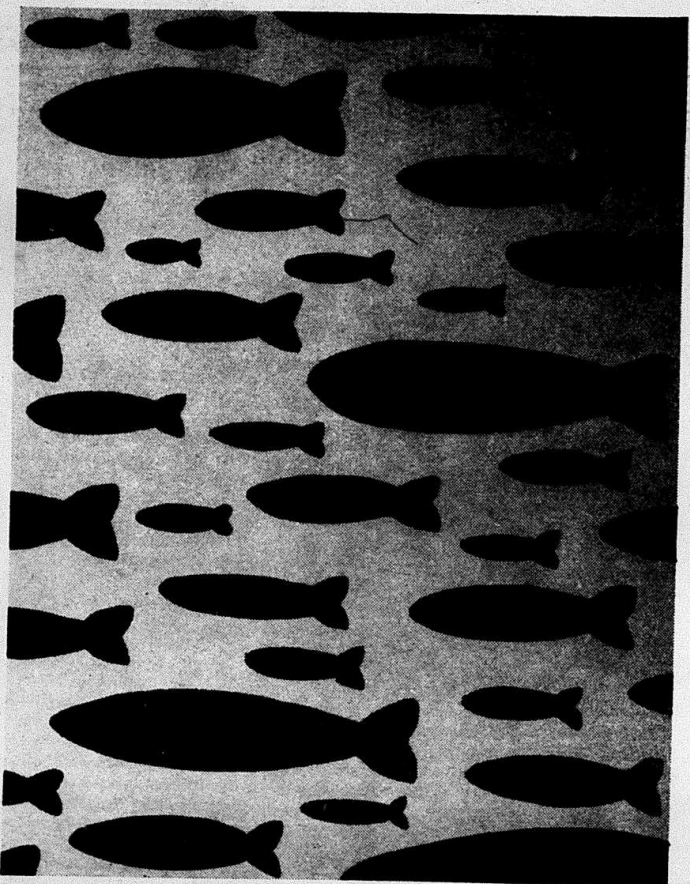
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