

WORKERS' POWER

No. 65

OCTOBER 13-26, 1972

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Norwood Defeated- All UAW Must Fight GMAD

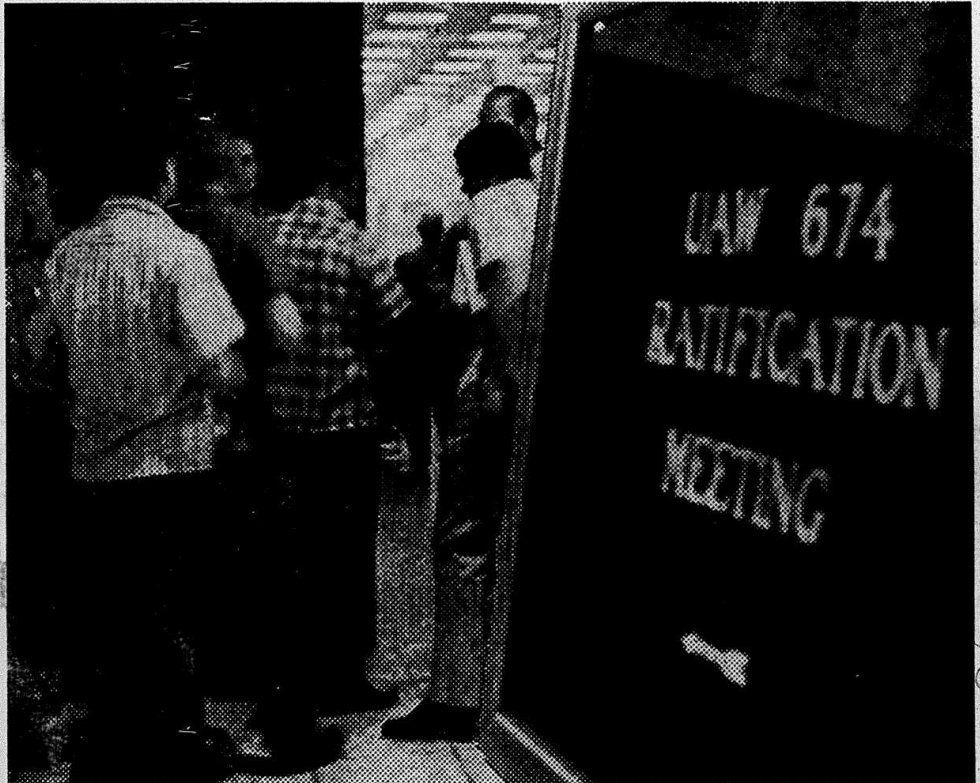
The longest strike against General Motors in the giant corporation's history has ended in a massive defeat for the members of UAW Local 674. After 174 days on strike, this isolated local has taken the brunt of the heaviest blow inflicted on the American working class under Phase 2 of the "New Economic Policy."

In many ways, the extent of this defeat is even greater than those suffered by the New York telephone workers in 1971 and the longshoremen earlier in this year.

The Norwood workers are returning to work without winning a single contract demand, without a shred of security or protection against the threat of further action by the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) to break the local completely.

But the impact of this rout will be felt not only by the local membership, or only by the entire UAW, or even only by the organized trade union movement. The effects will be felt in the coming months by every sector of the American working class, as the "productivity" drive leads to even more intensified speedup and worsening working condi-

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Bosses' Parties: No Choice



On Election Day some 30 or 40 million voters will vote to reelect Richard Nixon to the White House. The same number, more or less, will vote for George McGovern, while a smaller number will support the Wallaceite candidates.

The truth is that none of these candidates, or any other candidates of the capitalist parties, offer a real choice to the American people.

The new Congress that will ride to victory on the coattails

of Nixon's probable landslide victory will, no doubt, launch a whole new series of repressive anti-labor measures.

We can also expect to see an even more vicious attack on specially exploited workers and oppressed people. The apparatus of violent repression against black and brown communities will be strengthened.

Issues like busing will be exploited to mobilize racist sentiments against black people and to drive down the quality of ed-

ucation provided to all working class children. Small but hard-won gains in the area of women's rights will come under attack.

The Democrats, unwilling and unable to offer any strategy to fight the ever more vicious and repressive programs of big business, offer nothing but these programs with a thin sugar coating. It was the Democrats -- in fact, the liberal "welfare state" Democrats -- who began America's massive imperialist aggression in

(Continued on page 4)





NEWS

FUND DRIVE OFF TO A FAST START

The International Socialists' second annual Fund Drive is off to a promising start. As we go to press early in the first week of the drive, \$1,581, or 10 percent of the total, has already been received.

The drive began September 27, and runs through November 22, a period of eight weeks. To remain on schedule, 12½ percent of the total must be raised each week of the drive.

Each local branch of the IS is responsible for raising a portion of the total quota from its membership and sympathizers, and from fund-raising activities.

The drive requires a great sacrifice of time, energy and, of course, money on the part of our members. So special thanks must go to the New York, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles

branches for beginning early in order to have their first payments arrive in the first days of the drive.

The money collected in this drive is needed for expansion of our resources and our activity. Increasing the quality and number of our publications, more frequent and extensive speaking and organizing tours are high priorities.

The membership of the IS will provide the great bulk of funds for this drive. In order to reach our goal, however, we will need a contribution from you who read *Workers' Power*, and who share our commitment to revolutionary democratic socialism, to socialism from below and workers' control.

[Checks may be made out to Joel Geier or to the International Socialists, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amount Raised	% of Quota
Austin-			
San Antonio	\$ 75	\$ 0	0%
Ann Arbor	100	0	0
Boston	400	0	0
Champaign	125	0	0
Chapel Hill	60	0	0
Chicago	1,200	150	13
Cincinnati	60	0	0
Detroit	2,500	800	34
East Bay	2,000	0	0
Knoxville	40	0	0
Lansing	60	0	0
Los Angeles	1,500	180	12
Madison	500	0	0
New York	3,500	431	12
Pittsburgh	45	0	0
Portland	200	0	0
Rochester	60	0	0
Riverside	40	0	0
San Francisco	600	0	0
Seattle	850	0	0
MAL's	150	0	0
Nat'l Office	1,500	0	0
TOTAL	\$15,565	\$1,581	10%

Detroit takes the lead with 34%



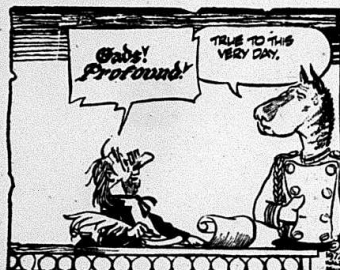
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International Socialism and the I.S.**

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Pogo



Workers' Power 65

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BILLY DEAN SMITH MUST BE FREED

Rose Veviaka

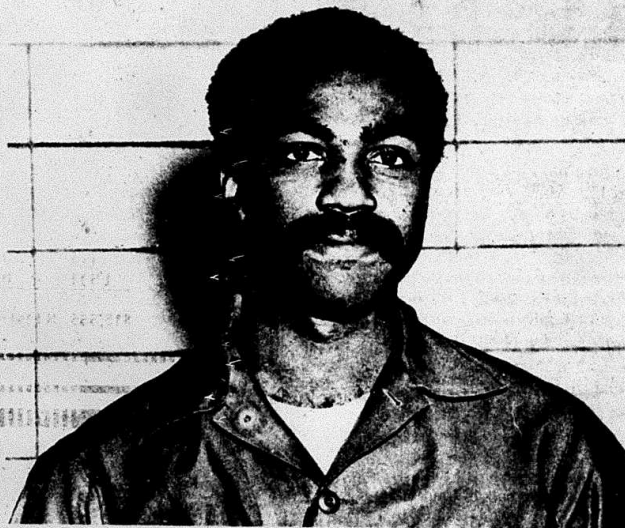
Billy Dean Smith is a black GI who is being framed with the "fragging" of two white officers in Vietnam. The only evidence produced by the military has been a grenade pin found on his clothing (something commonly found in the pockets of Vietnam GI's and later proved not to correspond with the grenade used in the fragging) and a pair of black leather gloves which the military termed "suspicious."

Based on this "evidence" Smith has been locked up in a 5' x 9' isolation cell for 23 hours a day at Fort Ord, California, since March, 1971. Meanwhile Lt. William Calley, a convicted killer of 22 Vietnam civilians is confined to a four room flat on base with full visitation rights.

Billy Dean Smith is innocent but was found guilty by the military before a crime was ever committed. He is a militant, outspoken black man who was in total opposition to the war in Vietnam and racism in the military - and the military was out to get him.

The framing of Smith is not an accident but is an attempt to terrify into submission the growing number of GI militants, especially blacks and latins.

This point was made by Dave Bailey, a black Vietnam Vet and the Harlem organizer for the Vietnam Veterans against the War, at a recent public forum sponsored by the International Socialists. Bailey explained that the GI



in Vietnam doesn't want to fight for something he doesn't believe in and, like almost everyone else, few GI's any longer support the Vietnam War.

35 - 60 percent of all field troops are non-white. Military racism abounds. Large numbers of black and latin GI's are no longer willing to risk their lives in a war they don't support for an institution that only degrades them.

Bailey stated that although much of the rebellion has been led by non-white GI's over questions of racism, a

far more generalized anti-army rebellion is growing.

Billy Dean Smith is a symbol of that rebellion. The mounting cases of "fragging" in Vietnam and elsewhere are symbolic of how deep and desperate it is.

The attempt by the military to frame Billy Dean Smith with so little evidence is indicative of how far the military brass will go to regain control over a rebellious army.

Billy Dean Smith faces life imprisonment before a "military justice"

system that is one of the few things that makes the civilian bourgeois courts look just. The same man that charged him, the commanding officer of the base, appoints the prosecuting attorneys, the military defense attorneys and the jury of officers.

This will not be a trial by his peers but by the very men that are the objects of fragging. Requests for a jury of his peers drawn from a basewide lottery have been denied.

After the trial any appeals must be directed to the commanding officer who, not being a lawyer, sends the appeal back to the prosecuting attorneys for their opinion. Billy Dean Smith has little chance of receiving justice from a court as well stacked against him as is the military court.

His only chance lies in building a movement outside the courts, military and bourgeois, to free him. A broad national defense committee must be set up to spread support beyond California.

The Vietnam Vets Against the War should take the lead in this bringing non-vets into the defense work as well. Most importantly the tremendous potential support from masses of working class vets who have returned from the military and found whatever jobs are available in factories and shops, must be tapped, as well as support from all working people. ■

[To obtain information and to extend support, contact: Billy Dean Smith Defense Committee, 6430 Sunset Blvd., Suite 521, Hollywood, CA 90028.]

Private Michaud vs. the Marines

[The following is a statement by Thomas Michaud, Private, US Marine Corps, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, September 19, 1972. Michaud is being tried by court-martial for desertion as an act of resistance against the war. His story is similar to thousands of working class youth trapped in the capitalist system and channelled into the military.]

I make this statement as an individual because I am being tried as an individual "defendant" today. However, I want also to try to speak for thousands of my fellow war resisters who, for obvious reasons, cannot be heard today. At the same time, this state-

ment is of my twenty-three years of existence, containing my thoughts on the war, my moral dilemma as a war resister, the nature of my "crime" and related questions.

I was born in New Britain, Connecticut on April 22, 1949. My mother, Juanita, my father Willard, and my older brother Danny, and younger sister Carol composed my family.

My father left us when I was two years old. My mother and some relatives gave me reasons as to why he left. But for myself, I can't make any judgment on this until, if ever, I can speak to my father directly.

After my father left, my mother had no choice but to put us three kids

in a Catholic orphanage, until she either remarried or we grew old enough to care for ourselves. It turned out to be the latter.

We stayed in the orphanage for nine years. The School, as I'll call it, was located in Lowell, Massachusetts. For those nine years, though we were in the same orphanage, my brother Danny and I were separated from our sister. Sure, we got to see her at lunchtime, but only through a twelve-foot wire fence.

Our mother's visits were infrequent, mainly because she held down two jobs in order to meet fee payments to the orphanage. She worked as a ma-

chinst for the so-called "defense" industry.

Leaving the School was a shock at first because there we had been isolated from an aggressive larger society. So, having to face it for the first time at age eleven was deeply disturbing. For the first time, I was really exposed to how some people dominate others through their greater material wealth.

I didn't accept that arrangement then, and I still don't. After our family was reunited, we moved quite a bit during the next few years and I had lots of trouble adjusting to regular school life.

I found most of the subjects a bore.

[Continued on page 11]



Editorial

[Continued from page 1]

Vietnam.

It was also the Democrats who sold out the struggles of the black civil rights movement in the 1960's, stood by as black militants and other dissenting movements were clubbed, gassed and shot down in the streets, and first raised the demand for wage controls which Nixon has carried out.

Probably a majority (perhaps a small one) of American workers will cast their traditional vote for the Democrats and McGovern. A large number will switch to Nixon, however, despite his completely anti-labor record. Many working people distrust McGovern and his promises for many reasons, and prefer to bank on Nixon's promises of a repressive but peaceful "stability."

But workers who vote for either McGovern or Nixon, or for the conservative and racist Wallaceites, are cutting their own throats. They will be voting for four more years of capitalist exploitation, capitalist imperialism and racism, and capitalist waste.

As we have argued in Workers' Power, the International Socialists believe that the pressing urgent task of the workers' movement in the United States is to build its own independent party, a labor party based on a rank and file program to defend the working class against the capitalists' offensive.

A labor party in the US would take up the demands for full employment, for thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay, and the total repeal of all anti-labor laws. It would also fight for the end of American imperialist foreign policy, and for the rights of all oppressed people in the US. The fact that no such independent force exists today is the real tragedy of the 1972 elections.

The International Socialists believe that the only way for American workers, radicals and socialists in this election to register the demand for an independent party is to cast a vote of opposition to the capitalist parties and their system. This means a vote for socialist candidates -- the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or Socialist Labor Party (SLP). By voting for these candidates, working people can express their rejection of the meaningless "choice" and the miserable prospects offered to us by this capitalist system.

As political parties, neither the SWP nor the SLP offer a viable strategy for American workers. The SWP, once a revolutionary working class organization, has degenerated into a sect whose activity is mainly directed toward dying middle-class radical movements. Submerging itself in the middle-class radical milieu, the SWP has become largely indifferent to the workers' movement and has failed to fight for a serious pro-labor political alternative to the capitalist parties.

The SLP, on the other hand, is nothing more than an electoral sect. It carries on no activity in either the working class movement or the radical movements. Its only activity is its election campaigns. It is a sign of the complete and total political collapse of the SWP that the campaign message of the SLP is often more clearly anti-capitalist than that of the SWP itself!

Neither the SWP nor SLP will be able to offer any political leadership in the on-going struggle to build a fighting, independent rank and file labor movement in this country. But as the only socialist candidates in the field, they do provide an opportunity to register our demand for such a movement.

International Socialists Southern Regional Conference

Time: October 13, 14, 15, 1972
Place: Highlander Center, Near Knoxville, Tennessee
Cost: \$9.75 per person, paid to the Center, gives you a bed for Friday and Saturday nights, three meals on Saturday, and Sunday breakfast. Fee in advance is not necessary.

AGENDA

Friday Night

Registration: 9:00 - 10:00 p.m. and will register throughout conference

Southern Struggle Songs

Presentation: The Southern Miner

Discussion

Saturday Morning

Presentation: Southern Labor

Discussion

Saturday Afternoon

Presentation: Southern Political Economy and the Black Liberation Movement

Discussion

Saturday Evening

The International Socialists and Its Program

Sunday Morning

The National Struggle

WORKERS' POWER CONFERENCE: LABOR'S RANK AND FILE REVOLT

Speakers

Ron Tabor

National Industrial Secretary, International Socialists

Pete Kelly

Co-Chairman United National Caucus of the UAW

Edith Fox

UAW Committeewoman, Member UNC

Louis Smith

Chariman of Justice, Opportunity, and Betterment

Joe Naebeck

Leader United Action Caucus of the Communication Workers of America

Alfredo Pena

Teamster and Carpenter

Rose Veviaca

Telephone Operator

Vivian Rivera

Workers' Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party

Steve Zeluck

United Action Caucus of the American Federation of Teachers

Time: Saturday - Sunday, November 11 and 12, 9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Place: Washington Square Methodist Church, 133 West 4th St., New York City

Sponsored by the New York Branch of the International Socialists, 17 East 17th St., New York, NY 10003. Phone (212) 989-1410.

Union listing for identification only.

Labor In Brief

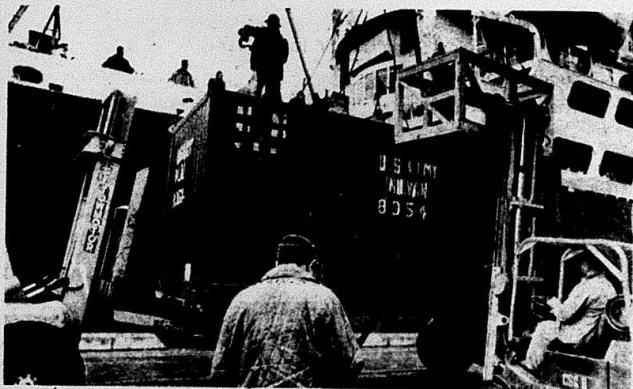
Ken Fireman



Maritime Union heads eat out of management's hands

Big shots in the maritime industry recently gathered in Seattle's plush Washington Plaza Hotel for a "Unity Dinner." The delegates, 500 strong, with representatives from up and down the West Coast including British Columbia, were the top men in management, the unions, and government.

The banquet was sponsored by the



National Maritime Council. Luckily for the delegates, Seattle's waterfront, the scene of several industrial disputes in the last year, was quiet.

Only the day before the big dinner, a New York Federal Judge had ordered striking Masters, Mates, and Pilots back to work. And earlier a Seattle judge had ordered an end to an International Longshore Workers Union (ILWU) "go slow" against the Sea-Land Corporation.

As it happened, the Masters, Mates, and Pilots were also out against this huge container shipper. Sea-Land has not been in Seattle long, but they've already become a by-word for pushing men out of work.

In addition to taking over or driving out of business several smaller, local shipping lines, Sea-Land is constantly trying to reduce the number of men in its own operations.

Its policies on the docks are repeated at sea. The Masters, Mates, and Pilots went out demanding two deck officers on each of three shifts on Sea-Land's giant new container vessels, the 33-knot, 946-foot SL-7's. The company wants one deck officer only.

With all the union brass in town, the rank and file seamen and longshoremen might have expected a word in their favor. Not a chance. Harry Bridges, President of the ILWU, even came up from San Francisco a week early to quiet down Seattle's dockers.

At the "Unity Dinner" itself, Tom

Gleason, head of the International Longshoremen's Association, which includes the Masters, Mates, and Pilots Union, sat down with Paul F. Richardson, the President of Sea-Land, under a huge banner, "Use American Ships."

The featured speaker was Paul Hall, the President of the Seafarer's International Union, and the top man in the AFL-CIO's Maritime Trades Department.

Did Hall speak up for the ranks? No, he told the assembled big-wigs that he wanted labor to take the lead

in "accepting technological advances" (read productivity and layoffs).

He also said, speaking for the unions, "We realize we haven't always done right by American industry. There have been times when we tied up the shipping industry. In many instances we acted irresponsibly. We're going to correct that."

Some "unity." They should have invited Nixon and the Judges. Hall also took the opportunity to praise Nixon as a "hard-nosed maritime guy." He must have discovered this drinking cocktails on the Presidential Yacht.

[Thanks to Calvin Williams for this item.]

Flint, Michigan: Auto workers prepare to take on GMAD

The next showdown between auto workers and the Assembly Division of General Motors (GMAD) may come in Flint, Michigan, where Buick Local 599's 8,500 members have voted 4% - 1 to authorize strike action over unsatisfied grievances on 1973 model cars.

The strike deadline will be October 12, assuming no agreement is reached by October 6 and the International sends a five-day letter of authorization. It remains to be seen whether the International will sit up and take notice as GMAD's operation centers in toward Detroit.

Auto: UAW leaders ignore job safety on the line

It is a sad commentary on the state of the union movement when a worker facing unsafe working conditions has to appeal anonymously to the capitalist press for aid. Yet that is just what happened in a recent case in Detroit, the heart of UAW territory.

The *Detroit Free Press*, in its "Action Line" feature (a department which uses the influence of the press to aid individuals cheated by business or ignored by the government -- to increase its circulation, of course) of July 3 carried the following letter:

"I work at Chrysler's Warren Stamping Plant at Nine Mile and Mound Road. I'm calling on behalf of several maintenance workers who have been injured when they slipped on the oil on the basement floor. Can you do something?" - An Anonymous Employee.

The *Free Press*, unlike the UAW which had done nothing about this and thousands of similar and worse conditions in every auto plant, was able to promise "That hazard and some others will be gone by August 24."

It is certainly a fine state of affairs when the *Free Press*, which acts as the mouthpiece of the auto industry and enemy of the union on every important question, is able to pose as the friend of the worker and the little man while the worker's own organization rolls over and plays dead.

And as the American economy continues to stagnate, things get worse. Chrysler's "Job Enrichment," which *Life* touts, in reality has meant only more speedup and less job safety. Even the foot-dragging UAW Vice-President for Chrysler negotiations, Douglas Fraser, was recently forced to attack "Job Enrichment" as a bitter joke. (see *Workers' Power* No. 64).

And if the auto giants do introduce new work processes, these will be no answer. The proposed changes might

boost productivity without speedup -- but only for a short time. Then, the constant need to boost productivity would force a renewed speedup.

It is the profit-need of capitalism -- not simply outmoded technology -- which makes work a daily hell.

Steelworkers and Machinists hold bitter conventions

In recent weeks the national conventions of the United Steel Workers in Las Vegas and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in Los Angeles have illustrated the depths of the crisis facing American labor in the current period.

Neither convention saw the emergence of a solid rank and file opposition to the leading bureaucracies of the International unions, although considerable debate occurred over the question of endorsing Democratic Presidential candidate George McGovern. Differences inside the unions over a strategy to fight the employers' offensive were largely masked by this debate.

The IAM, having lost 140,000 members and gone \$5 million in debt over the last four-year period, conducted its convention in an atmosphere of sharp division and some bitterness. This especially came to the fore over the issue of protective legislation, supported by American delegates but opposed by Canadians.

The leadership's proposal to meet the union's financial support by cutting strike benefits from \$40 to \$25 per week was resoundingly defeated, although President Floyd Smith almost caused a riot by initially announcing from the podium that it had passed.

The Steelworkers finally voted to endorse the position of I.W. Abel and AFL-CIO President Meany against any endorsement of a presidential candidate. At both conventions a small minority of delegates spoke for independent political action and a labor party, representing the slow but important growth of sentiment inside the trade unions for such a step.



Delegates waiting to speak at the Machinists Convention in Los Angeles

Ranks Must Demand Acts

Spread the Fedders Strike Isolation Means Defeat

Roger Cid

On February 24 of this year, 2,800 production workers struck the Fedders Corp. facility at Edison, New Jersey, after the expiration of the old contract in early February. The management of this air-conditioner manufacturing concern offered Local 483 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) a dirt-eating contract including among other atrocities the elimination of 7 paid holidays, the reduction of piece-work rates, automatic firing of any employee absent for 15 days in one year, loss of night shift differential.

Fedders generously offered no wage increase for the first two years of a 3-year contract, and a nickel an hour for the third. The workers, seeing the offer for what it was, struck and have been on the bricks ever since.

Despite its relatively small size, this strike is a significant one. Why? Because it is a stark example of the many strikes that are being smashed because of their isolation. In fact, the circumstances surrounding the Fedders strike made it well worthy of analysis.

*Fedders workers at Edison make between 40 and 70 cents less than the workers doing similar work at Westinghouse, GE and Whirlpool.

*Since the strike began, Fedders itself has settled with locals at four of its other plants, granting substantial wage increases.

*The workers' demands, which management absolutely refuses to consider - 7 percent wage increases in each of the next two years, improved hospitalization, medical and pension benefits - are within the miserable limits set by the Pay Board.

*For the quarter ending last May 31, Fedders' sales and profits fell sharply, and the situation is probably worse for them today.

The specific circumstances of the Fedders strike are only part of a much bigger picture. In virtually every industry, weak local unions and poorly organized workers have seen their attempts to win improvements through strike action isolated and smashed.

Most of these strikes never make the papers or the mass media. For most of its duration the Fedders strike has been practically blacked out, ex-

cept for the local radical press. Yet it is against the Fedders workers, and other workers in similar positions, that the full force of the government and corporate offensive is directed.

The success of this phase of the offensive will determine the extent to which the corporations move to cripple the strongest industrial unions in the next round of contract negotiations.

The key to the Fedders situation and for all these defeated strikes is not to be found in Edison, NJ nor for that matter in the US, but in the slowly but inevitably emerging crisis in American and world capitalism.

Having reached the limits of stability induced by inflation-producing arms production, the world economy is now struggling under the costs of obsolete plant and equipment and a growing burden of debt.

Aside from a deteriorating international monetary system and a not-so-creeping urban rot, the crisis has been brought home to the capitalist class generally, and to the individual firm particularly, through the profit squeeze of the past three years. Apparently, this has been enough to convince Fedders that it would have to cut wages, increase efficiency, and weaken the organization of its workers if it planned to make the grade in the coming period.

Fedders' strategy for accomplishing these goals is now quite clear: isolate the Edison workers by settling with the workers at their other plants, beat the former into accepting a rotten contract and then use this as a pattern and example for all their workers in the next round.

Since the workers themselves have

had little experience with this strategy, and it was almost guaranteed that the IUE bureaucrats would be unwilling or incapable of countering it effectively, the defeat of the strike is virtually certain.

Unfortunately workers with stronger organizations and greater traditions have also fallen victim to similar offensives on the part of "their" employers. The Lordstown and Norwood workers are the best known examples, the first victims of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD).

If this ruling class offensive continues, without an effective counterattack on the part of the labor movement, the working class will find its hard-won gains and organizations on the rocks.

The response of the IUE bureaucrats has been predictable, and not much different than that of the "leaders" of other international unions. The best interpretation of their dismal showing is that they are doing the best they can (given their limited outlook and talents), while they fervently pray that prosperity will return to take them off the hook and restore their cosy relationship with the magnates of the industry.

Another view, more cynical but equally close to the truth, is that they desire a long, losing strike to allow the workers to blow off steam and to prepare them for some form of shackling to government wage-control machinery.

Either way the course of action of the leadership is disastrous for the union, which has already been severely weakened by runaway shops and a sad history of jurisdictional conflict in the electrical industry.

The days when militant yet isolated strikes were sufficient to win relatively long-term concessions from employers are over. Every worker must realize that each defeated strike represents a direct threat to his or her own interest.

A systematic "spread the strike" strategy must be applied. At the most obvious level, every effort must be made to convince transportation workers to refuse to deliver material to the struck facility.

In the case of Fedders a formal refusal on the part of these workers to cross the picket line was not sufficient, since the railway workers delivered the material to the general vicinity of the plant. From this point it was taken inside by supervisory personnel.

Without the support of their own organizations, the railroad workers were hesitant to exercise their class right to refuse to handle all material destined for or coming from the struck plant.

A fight throughout the entire labor movement for a revival of the secondary boycott and a mandatory refusal to deliver material to struck plants, and generally handle scab goods, is an immediate necessity.

Within the confines of one company all locals, regardless of international affiliation, must move toward coordinated bargaining and common contract expiration dates. This is, of course, only the first step toward corporation-wide actions to defend and extend the rights and gains of the workers of any one division or plant.

Such an approach is clearly in order at Fedders, since the workers at the different plants, some organized in different internationals, are allowing themselves to be picked off one at a time. In auto the recent call by the workers of UAW Local 25 in St. Louis for a coordinated strike of all GMAD-managed plants is a step in this direction.

This strategy points toward industry-wide or region-wide action, the united activity of the workers of a given industry or area against wage-cutting, layoffs, speedup and other aspects of the capitalist offensive.

This is the point at which these actions would become major class battles which could rally massive working class and allied forces to the banner of the struggle. Such class-wide alliances become possible when the organized industrial workers are able to strengthen and deepen the scope of their own militant struggles, in opposition to their own union bureaucracies.

This strategy is not a recipe, but a general approach, and therefore cannot be applied blindly regardless of time and place. It requires drastic changes in the labor movement at all levels, since the inexperience of the rank and file and the conservatism of the union officialdom will have to be overcome.

Strike committees will have to be built to force the bureaucrats to implement the necessary tactics or enable the rank and file to carry them out themselves.

Rank and filers in non-striking locals must insistently propose concrete solidarity actions in support of those on strike. And not least, the present roost of bureaucrats must be flushed out and replaced by rank and file leaders prepared to do what is necessary to beat back the ruling class offensive and prepare the workers for one of their own.

Above all is the need for coordinated industrial and political action to break the combined anti-labor forces of the corporations, the government, and the courts. The urgency of building an independent workers' party, based on a rank and file program, which can mobilize the entire working class in support of all threatened strikes, has never been greater. ■



to Support Isolated Strikes

Norwood

David Finkel

[Continued from page 1]

tions.

American workers are being taught a bitter lesson by General Motors and other corporations. This lesson is that individual union locals and unorganized workers are being set up for the kill through the isolation of their strikes, in preparation for an even deeper thrust against the power of the strongest industrial unions themselves. (Another example and general discussion of this development can be found in Roger Cid's article in this issue of *Workers' Power*).

At Norwood, the bitterness of this lesson is sharpened by the fact that the isolation of the strike was assured by the conscious, deliberate policies of the International bureaucracy of the UAW.

The UAW leaders in Detroit took the bargaining power away from Local 674 by moving the negotiations to Detroit, by refusing to mobilize the most minimal degree of publicity and support for the strike, and failing even to threaten the calling of sympathy strikes at other plants run by GMAD.

Every single one of these plants faces the same crisis as Norwood. Every one is being left by the UAW "leaders" to face the entire power of General Motors all by themselves.

GMAD Offensive

Since 1971, when GMAD took over the management of the Norwood plants, over 700 workers had been laid off indefinitely by the company. Production rates had remained the same, despite the reduced work force, by increasing the amount of work each remaining employee had to perform.

The strike action by Local 674 began only after it became clear that GMAD was determined to force the strike. The corporation had picked the Norwood local as its prime target, following its successful earlier campaign against the work force at Lords-town.

The struggle that began in April ended on September 27, when the new contract was "ratified" 3-1 by the Local 674 membership, most of whom had no opportunity even to learn the terms of what they were voting on.

When the 4,000 workers were called upon to vote on the settlement worked out between GM and the International, both they and their elected local union leaders were apparently deliberately kept uninformed about its contents. All they really knew was that the agreement guaranteed some minor improvements in some peripheral local plant issues (on the general level of more coffee machines and restroom facilities).

The ratification meeting at the Cin-

cinnati Convention Center took place in an atmosphere of confusion and demoralization, which assured that whatever was presented would be approved by a rank and file which saw no hope of winning anything through a longer strike.

Local President Richard Minton and Plant Chairman Jim Young made no recommendation for acceptance of the contract when they presented what they knew of it to the ranks. But most of the members wouldn't have heard anything they said anyway,

speed, production quotas, manpower requirements, or recall of laid-off Norwood workers.

The stated reason for this incredible state of affairs was that General Motors has not decided what types of models the Norwood plants will produce when they re-open! This means GMAD will have an absolutely free hand in setting standards for the 1973 models!

Word now has it that one of the three Norwood assembly lines will be shut down, throwing an unspecified

members of Local 674 have been told by their officials that GM is expected to challenge the right to unemployment benefits of any laid-off Norwood workers not called back. The grounds for this challenge will be that the workers were responsible for the layoffs themselves because of the strike.

If there is any "consolation" for the Norwood rank and file, it is the fact that they did not engineer or submit passively to their own defeat.

No More Norwoods!

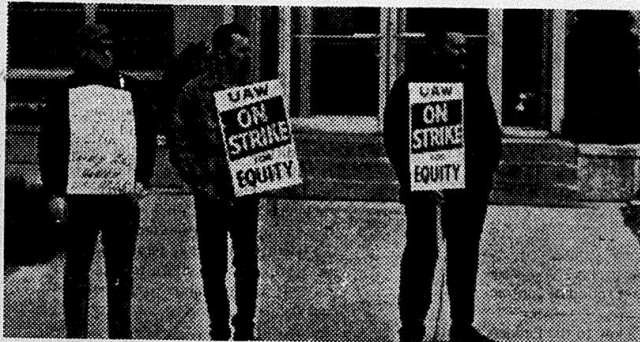
The 4,000 members of UAW Local 674 fought a heroic battle against the entire GM empire. It was not they who sold out the entire labor movement by letting GMAD run amuck, trampling every basic right won by the unions in years of struggle and bloodshed.

The consequences of the Norwood debacle, and the attacks that will soon follow against other locals and other unions, are the sole responsibility of the craven, cowardly traitors who inhabit the UAW bureaucracy in Solidarity House.

Lehnard Woodcock, with his army of international representatives and flunkies, will never carry out a single step of the program needed to reverse the tide and destroy GMAD's speedup campaign. They will only prepare new disasters for the rank and file.

An urgent campaign must be mounted by militants throughout the UAW around the demand: **No More Norwoods! No More Isolated Strikes! UAW Must Strike All GMAD Plants!** The lessons of Norwood must become a rallying point for the entire UAW rank and file.

Only when the ranks/construct their own leadership to smash the International bureaucracy will the UAW become once again a militant instrument to defend the rights of auto workers and once again set an example for the entire working class.



since the microphones were not working and nobody heard much at all. Many workers who attended did not even know whether the contract had been ratified.

The mood of workers leaving the meeting was one of anger and dissatisfaction. "We're right back where we were when we first walked out," was the sentiment expressed by more than one of the disappointed strikers.

It was not until the following day that the real terms of the settlement hit the front pages of the Cincinnati press. In reality, no agreement whatsoever was reached on any of the key issues of the strike: assembly line

number of workers on the street permanently.

Having defeated the strike, GMAD is now gearing up to follow up its advantage by grinding the workers' faces into the dirt. No date has been set for re-opening, so the workers can starve for a few weeks without even receiving the minimal strike benefits they were getting.

There is not even a guarantee that the plants will re-open at all. The threat of plant closures -- to which the UAW International has no response -- is the classic device used to break the militancy of local unions.

To top off the entire package, the

UAW leaders talk big, sell out Norwood as GMAD runs riot

The aftermath of the Norwood settlement has seen a pathetic display of militant verbiage -- after the fact -- by officials of the UAW International.

UAW President Woodcock himself was quoted in the *Detroit Free Press* as being "disturbed and upset" about the settlement which was negotiated by his very own flunkies under his personal supervision.

After a three-hour "emergency" meeting of the UAW GM Council -- two days after the strike ended -- Vice-President Irving Bluestone issued the following decisive statement, which no doubt curdled the blood of the toughest GMAD executive:

"If GM now targets in on any local union and attempts to drive that un-

ion into the ground, the Council is going to do something about it."

The impact of this less than terrifying threat will not be enhanced by the fact that the Council has done precisely nothing while GM romped and stomped all over Local 674.

Who knows -- perhaps the "something" Bluestone promises to do about local isolated strikes is to prevent the locals from going out at all!

Various contradictory statements about the settlement -- none of them substantiated -- were also attributed to Local President Richard Minton. Minton, who won the respect of local members for his opposition to International policies and defeated a back-to-work slate during the strike, is al-

most certainly disgusted with the outcome but has made no clear-cut public statement.

Bluestone's rhetoric will be put to the test soon enough. No fewer than three locals at plants under GMAD management -- at St. Louis, Missouri, Framingham, Massachusetts, and Flint, Michigan -- have taken strike authorization votes over the very same issues as Norwood.

At St. Louis alone, 1,000 disciplinary layoffs and 12,000 grievances have already piled up. The St. Louis Local 25 has called for coordinated strikes against GMAD plants. The locals under the GMAD gun have become the vanguard of the UAW.

ELECTIONS UNDER CAPITALISM, PART FIVE:

Democracy, Fascism, and Revolution

James Coleman

When capitalism enters a period of crisis, the vicious underside of the capitalist system of democracy comes to the top. Capitalist democracy, "bourgeois democracy" as Marxists call it, allows a certain number of freedoms as long as the capitalist economic system is operating efficiently. These freedoms have been won by the people in years of struggle.

The citizen has the right of free speech, the right to form political organizations, etc.

But in fact, the bourgeoisie, the ruling class of capitalist society, is always ready to rip off the mask and suppress these freedoms.

When the built-in tendency of capitalism to instability and stagnation leads to a crisis, the bourgeoisie is ready to junk its own system of democracy.

Since 1914, capitalism has been in crisis. In two world wars, fought by rival powers for world domination, the world's rulers washed Europe and Asia in the blood of 100 million soldiers and civilians.

Since World War II, the even bigger conflict between two social systems, capitalism and Stalinism, has threatened to produce a third world war.

For twenty-five years, from 1914 to World War II, the capitalist economies of all countries were in collapse. Workers and capitalists fought a long battle across the face of Europe. In the United States, millions of workers joined unions, tens of thousands joined the Socialist and Communist Parties.

The working class lost this worldwide battle because the Socialist and Communist Parties provided no revolutionary leadership. They pursued policies which led to the destruction of the workers' movement and the slaughter of World War II. After World War II, the crisis of capitalism gave way to a long period of quiet -- a period which is now ending.

After World War II, the United States was the strongest capitalist economy in the world. New international monetary rules safeguarded this position. Government intervention, in the form of massive arms spending, helped keep profit rates up.

The tendencies to economic crisis were postponed in the US. And, because the US economy was the strongest, capitalism was propped up and revived in Europe.

But today, the world capitalist economy, including the US economy, has entered a time of increasing insta-

bility. The monetary system is shaky. Inflation has hit not only the US, but also the European countries and Japan.

US corporations cannot modernize. Production, on a world scale, is beginning to slow down.

A severe crisis, creating hardship for millions of working people, and involving attacks on the unions, is more and more likely.

Today the lessons of the past must be rapidly learned if the failures of the past are not to be repeated.

In times of capitalist crisis, social conflict grows as the built-up fat of the prosperous years is stripped off. Strikes and protests increase. The rulers attempt to exploit the divisions among sections of the working class, such as using white racism to divide blacks and whites.

In place of the stodgy politics of the fat years, attempts at reform by populist coalitions and fringe movements grow. Underneath the cries of these demagogues, however, something more important happens. *The mass of the people begin to glimpse dimly the possibility of a different type of society.*

The sharpness of the crisis forces them to consider more than patchwork reforms -- to consider the possibility of completely ending war, unemployment, race oppression, and economic exploitation.

Today, in the United States, this process is beginning. Not only students and blacks, but larger groups -- especially young working people, black and white -- begin to ask questions.

They begin to see that America's postwar prosperity brought a certain

amount of security for the more organized sections of the working class -- but not real dignity, real democracy, or the end of race oppression.

Today, the "American dream" of the 1950's begins to look like a bitter joke. Today, people begin to see that it is not really the mass of American working men and women who control the United States, but the capitalist class, through the Democratic and Republican Parties. And in the world's richest economy, basic social problems remain unsolved.

Today, people begin to look again at the basic ideas of socialism: *that capitalism only reproduces capitalism -- war and exploitation -- sometimes more, sometimes less, but never basically changed. That the majority of society are the working class, whose needs are not met by this system.*

That the working class has the ability to take power, to change society to meet the needs of the vast majority. And that a revolutionary party can help lead the way.

Today, these ideas are not yet believed by very many people. But they begin to get a hearing.

In past periods of crisis, reform efforts have grown. They will grow in the United States as the crisis deepens. Some of the reformers are themselves bourgeois politicians, sincere in their hopes of streamlining the system. They remain committed to serve capitalism and its ruling class, and so they cannot fight for real changes.

Such a man, for example, is George McGovern -- his need for business support prevents him from even talking of basic change.

Other "reformers" are demagogues. They echo the frustrations of groups

threatened by the crisis, but without offering real solutions. George Wallace in 1972 was an example.

Just like McGovern and Nixon, Wallace depended on business backing. He made political capital by exploiting the racial fears of whites. Instead of blaming the corporations for inflation, he pointed at false targets like the salaries of government bureaucrats.

The bourgeois reformers are too committed to capitalism to defend the people's interests or call for real change. To the last man, they fear real mass movements. They will outlaw a strike to save profits, and they will club or shoot protesters and rioters to preserve "law and order." Terrified of both the right wing and the working class, they bow down to the right wing as it gains strength.

Social Democrats

In addition to the bourgeois reformers, there are reformers who call themselves socialists. In Europe, Japan, South America and elsewhere, mass Social-Democratic parties exist. In these countries, they have mass support among workers. They stand on a program of ending capitalism through an election victory and a "peaceful transition to socialism."

Social-Democratic parties have been voted into power in the past -- in Europe in the 1920's and 1930's, and again after World War II. A coalition of Social-Democrats and Communists is in office in Chile today. Nowhere have the Social-Democrats actually ended capitalism or brought socialism. Time and again they have betrayed their followers.

These parties are too tied to the conservative upper levels of the trade union movement to take decisive, revolutionary action. They support their own ruling classes in war and attempt to reform capitalism in peacetime.

Inevitably they become the mere servants of capitalism. In moments of revolutionary crisis, they collaborate with the bourgeoisie against the workers. Today, most of the world's Communist Parties follow a similar road, for their own reasons.

In France, for example, Social-Democrats and Communists worked for an end to the general strike in 1968, and earlier in 1936. In Germany, a Social-Democratic government shot workers and murdered revolutionaries in 1918. Today, Chile's government refuses to arm the workers to defend against an expected right-wing grab for power.

Both bourgeois reformers and Social-Democrats are hypnotised by the dream of peaceful change. More basically, they are hypnotised by the



claim of bourgeois democracy to be a truly democratic system, one which can be changed by majority vote.

The truth is that no new social system, such as socialism, was ever voted into existence. The workers, the majority of society, could make a peaceful revolution . . . if the rulers allowed it. But the truth is that every ruling class in the world resorts to violence if necessary to save its power.

In fact, every ruling class resorts to violence at the first sign of a threat to its power. For example, in 1970 the Polish government shot down strikers even though the strikers asked only for lower food prices - even though the threat to the ruling bureaucracy's power was only a future possibility.

And in the United States, police raids and government frame-ups killed, drove into exile, or jailed all the leaders of the Black Panther Party during 1969-1970. (Today those who still live are free, but freed by juries, not by the government.)

When the threats to capitalist power grow, and cannot be controlled, the bourgeoisie itself throws out the system of bourgeois democracy. The bourgeoisie organizes and unleashes right-wing gangs, or collaborates with those who do; it collaborates with the military.

The capitalist class is willing to collaborate with dictators, and even to submit to dictatorship itself, if the dictators will crush the labor movement and preserve capitalist control of the economy.

This occurred in Germany and elsewhere in Europe in the 1930's. Less extreme forms exist in Greece, South Africa, and other countries today.

Fascism

This is the system of *fascism*, which means the end of all political freedom and, above all, the violent smashing of trade unions and workers' organizations, in order to preserve capitalism. Fascism is the most barbaric form of capitalism.

Fascism, as well as less extreme forms of dictatorship, are always the last resort of the capitalist class when its power is threatened. Marxists point out that bourgeois democracy is really "the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

Democratic forms are only a *tool* of the bourgeoisie to preserve its dictatorship over the economic basis of social life. The fact is that in times of extreme crisis, the bourgeoisie is ready to abandon this tool for a sharper one.

This is why it is a disaster for the working class and the oppressed groups which are part of the working class to follow the more reform-minded of the two big parties of capitalism. It is particularly a disaster that this course has been chosen by the organized leadership of the labor movement, which has the ability to chart a different course.

In ordinary times, neither capitalist party actually carries out a program representing real gains for workers and oppressed people. In times of crisis, neither of them even defends the basic rights of the working class. Revolutionaries, therefore, call for an independent Labor Party to defend the working class and fight for its needs.

Today, the need for such a party is seen by a small, but growing, number of workers. Many of those building rank and file organizations see the need

for a Labor Party, but do not yet see it as possible.

With few exceptions, the labor leaders will hold back from forming a labor party. A mass labor upsurge will be needed to supply the push.

Such a step would light up the American political sky like lightning. It would signal a new era of labor revolt. It would be a beacon to all oppressed groups struggling for economic and social justice.

But it would still be only one step forward. Such a party, if it did not give rise to a revolutionary leadership, would not be able to meet the challenge of the crisis and decay of capitalism. If it became or remained dominated by the timid trade union bureaucrats, it would become another defender of capitalism.

The British Labour Party, for example, once seemed to represent the hopes of Britain's workers. Revolutionaries who had no illusions about the Labour Party, still cheered when it won power in 1945. They were right to do so, for the working class had put its own party into power.

But in the six years it held office, the Labour Party did not change Bri-



tain in any basic way. By its second term of office, 1964-1970, the Labour Party was so committed to aiding a sick capitalist system that it began the wage controls and productivity agreements which the present Conservative government has continued in a more vicious form.

Why didn't the British Labour Party replace capitalism with socialism, instead of playing doctor to the sick system?

Just the break from following capitalist parties to forming a Labor Party is a huge step. But it is not enough. As pointed out earlier, the bureaucracy which leads the labor movement cannot see beyond the capitalist system.

It defends the profits of the capitalists as the only way to get a few scraps for its own membership. Therefore when capitalist profits are threatened, it comes to the aid of the capitalists, even if this means putting down its own members.

In calling for a Labor Party, revolutionaries make clear the need for a program which would challenge the control of the capitalist class. Only such a program could keep an American Labor Party from going the way of the Labour Party in Britain.

An American Labor Party, formed out of a mass rank and file upsurge,

will probably be much more radical than in Britain. Even so, most of its members will not at first accept a revolutionary program.

Not only the leadership of the labor movement, but the rank and file today see no clear alternative to capitalism. Without an alternative, they are forced to accept the limitations of capitalism.

For example, when the Frigidaire Co. in Dayton, Ohio, offered its workers the "choice" between layoffs and a cut in wages, the workers voted for wage cuts. It was a miserable "choice," but when jobs depend on profits, the workers could see no other choice.

As long as workers can see no alternative to the capitalist profit system, the gains they can win are limited indeed. In a time of crisis, they become less and less.

In their struggles, workers can realize their enormous power. But as long as they accept the confines of capitalism, their strength is shackled. This would be true even with a Labor Party.

To help see beyond the empty alternatives of capitalism, a new type of

system of bourgeois democracy for the anti-democratic fraud that it is. At the same time, such a party takes part in elections. It does so to bring its program to larger numbers of people and to point out the inadequacy and the betrayal of the capitalist candidates and the electoral system itself.

Such a party goes beyond electoral action. It takes part in every struggle for justice and reform, especially in the struggles of the working class. It attempts to popularize a program representing the real needs of the working class.

The revolutionary party attempts to unify the separate struggles of each group of workers, and of oppressed groups such as blacks or women, into a single united class struggle. It fights against subordinating the interests of one group of workers to those of another.

The revolutionary party attempts to educate the most far-seeing workers to understand that their class, the working class, is the one force which can take control of the political and economic power of society and rule society in the interests of all struggling and oppressed people.

Most importantly, in times of increasing crisis, the revolutionary party seeks to give bold leadership to defeat the efforts of the bourgeoisie to stop the workers' movement. It tries to teach the working class to hurl their mass force against these efforts. It tries to gain the leadership of the workers' struggle, in order to bring the working class to political power.

And the revolutionary party does this in the conviction that a new type of state can be created. This state will be controlled not by capitalists or by a self-appointed elite, but by mass organizations of the working class.

Fight for Socialism

Today in the United States there is no revolutionary workers' party. In Europe, the greater political and economic struggle of the last several years has made the formation of revolutionary parties the order of the day.

In the United States, the work of the International Socialists in the rank and file movement and in other movements is laying the basis for a revolutionary party.

The creation of a revolutionary party, like socialist revolution itself, does not happen automatically. It is the result of scientific study of revolutionary theory, and of years of marching in the daily battles of workers.

But the creation of a revolutionary party is a natural outgrowth of the stagnation of modern capitalism, its creeping decay, its growing possibilities of a new barbarism through social collapse or a third world war.

Nearly twenty years ago Seymour Lipset, one of the gutless academic theorists of capitalism, declared that "the fundamental problems of industrial society have been solved." Today the hollowness of such claims is evident.

Industrialism has created the scientific possibility of well-being and equality for all the world's people. The social system of capitalism, which subordinates human need to profit, is what prevents this from being achieved.

Only the fight for socialism - the international rule of the working class - can lay the basis for achieving the freedom and beauty which mankind's conquest of nature has made possible. ■



1905



Review

Jack Trautman

[1905 by Leon Trotsky, Vintage, \$2.95, 488 pp.]

1905 by Leon Trotsky is his account of the first of three revolutions that culminated in the seizure of state power by the working class in Russia in October, 1917 -- the only successful socialist revolution in world history. Translated into English for the first time, the book is a valuable aid to the understanding of revolutionary processes.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was the "dress rehearsal" for 1917, when the workers through their own mass institutions and their own revolutionary party overthrew Tsarism and capitalism in their own name (for a discussion of 1917 see *Workers' Power* No. 65). The central lesson of 1905 was the ability of the workers to organize and act as an independent revolutionary class, to shake society to the very roots.

It is commonplace among bour-

geois (and some self-professed socialist theorists) that the working class is incapable of ruling itself and society, that someone more enlightened must help it out.

Trotsky's history, written by a participant in those events, amply demonstrates that such notions are bunk. Time after time the workers proved that -- ignorant and uneducated by academic standards -- they were the only class able to act intelligently, decisively and progressively.

The liberals were busily trying to persuade the reactionary tsarist regime to please grant a few freedoms. While they did this they made sure -- as liberals always do -- that their actions did not go too far so they could retain their "influence."

Mass Strike

Meanwhile the workers -- having learned a lesson drawn in their own blood on Bloody Sunday, January 9 -- scorned pleading with the authorities. Instead, they exercised their power to bring the society to a grinding halt.

Going out on a political strike, the workers were demonstrating both their own power and their opposition to the regime. Demands for a Republic, for civil liberties, for amnesty, for the eight-hour day -- and for socialism itself -- were formulated.

The workers' action brought the tsar's government to its knees. A hastily drawn-up constitutional manifesto was issued. But, understanding the

worth of a mere piece of paper, the working class continued to rely on its own strength as the protector of its interests.

The movement was more widespread than any that had yet been seen in history. The liberals and intelligentsia were even pulled in -- following the lead of the workers as "juries refused to sit, lawyers to plead, doctors to attend patients."

The society began coming to a halt as the railroads shut down, the telegraph ceased to function, the bakers stopped baking, and so on. The government was powerless.

Dual Power

Out of this chaos arose a new authority. The organized working class began taking the next step: taking things over. These workers who had always been considered mere beasts of burden demonstrated that they were capable of running the society in a better, more humane way than their educated "superiors."

Food was provided for those who needed it. The censorship was ended: workers did not allow papers to submit their copy to the censors. At the same time, they refused to permit a government-inspired proclamation calling for a riot against the revolutionary leaders to be distributed.

Recognizing that democracy was a nice luxury for liberals but was an economic necessity for the workers, the working class fought tirelessly for its rights and those of others.

A government crackdown in Poland was met with a general strike that forced the government to step back. Attempts to suppress dissent in the army were met with demonstrations of support by the workers.

These and other actions on the part of the Great Russian working class, including defense of oppressed nationalities and suppressing riots fomented by the Tsar against Jews, Armenians, and oppositionists, became standard practice in the course of development of the revolutionary movement. They helped to create the basis of unity of workers of all nationalities that was necessary to overthrow the existing order.

The most significant accomplishment of the workers in the 1905 revolution was their creation of a *new form of government*. With no precedent to guide them, the working class created a new institution to coordinate its struggles, the soviet (workers' council, in English).

This institution gradually became a new political authority whose proclamations were voluntarily followed by the workers who were ignoring the established government. It was a workers' government.

Workers' Democracy

The soviet is the most democratic government ever devised. *"The soviet is the organized power of the mass itself over its separate parts. It constitutes authentic democracy, without a lower and an upper chamber, without a professional bureaucracy, but with the voters' right to recall their deputies at any moment. Through its members -- deputies directly elected by the workers -- the Soviet exercises direct leadership over all social manifestations of the proletariat as a whole and of its individual groups, organizes its actions and provides them with a slogan and a banner."*

The actual running of the means of production and communication lay in the hands of the soviet. As time passed its authority spread beyond the workers to soldiers and sailors and peasants, as well. It was becoming a rival governmental authority, followed by the workers because it was *their organ*, created by them and controlled by them.

The tsarist regime had no choice but to try to destroy the soviet -- the two could not coexist. And so, on December 3, 50 days after the Petersburg soviet came into existence, the government arrested it.

With the strike wave ebbing, with the predominantly peasant army still not won over to the cause of the revolution, and with a vacillating leadership, they were able to get away with this act.

But in Moscow, the soviet under Bolshevik leadership called for armed resistance to the government and it took days of fighting to subdue the revolutionaries.

The revolution was temporarily defeated but it had shown to the working class and to the world their own power and their ability to exercise leadership. The revolutionary triumph over tsarism and capitalism had only to wait twelve years. ■

[A second article will discuss Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution, which is developed in 1905 as well as many of his other works.]

[1905 by Leon Trotsky can be ordered from I.S. Books, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]

Michaud

[Continued from page 3]

Maybe this was because seven hours a day in a classroom wasn't my idea of education. In fact, I spent three years in the eighth grade, day-dreaming out the window - yearning for excitement and self-education.

I finally got out of the eighth grade and was allowed to go to trade school the following year. My mother hadn't wanted me to go, saying that I would not make it there if I couldn't make it in the other school. But an uncle, whom I had grown close to, persuaded her to let me go.

By this time our family had moved onto an old, run-down boat and my interest in boats and their construction grew steadily. I spent a lot of time in the boatyards, watching the workmen and anxious to help any way I could.

That fall, I went to Vinal Tech, really wanting to succeed. But at the first sign of trouble, my mother took me out. I worked around the shipyards for about six months before deciding to go in the Service.

My mother thought it would do me some good; you know, "make a man out of me." I thought, I'll have to go in sometime anyway - besides, there was very little employment for me on the outside.

I had the same basic reasons as most enlistees, I suppose. Like, trying to escape present surroundings and not having any other way to deal with it. Some guys figure at least they won't have to worry about money for a change. And, the idea of becoming a "hero" and a Man appealed to a lot of us.

Tell me, where does a young man go, with no education or job? He sees the military as an escape-hatch - but then finds out, too late, that it too has him under control twenty-four hours a day.

As I'm accused of the "crime" of Unauthorized Absence, let me try to explain what I was "running away from" and who is really at fault.

Let's look at Marine Boot Camp. The Marine basic training program challenges every assumption a recruit has about himself, reducing him in three weeks to a state of nearly total non-being. It then begins to "rebuild" him - the Marine Corps way.

It's not that the Marines produce rabid killers; rather, they try to produce men who will kill, not only without question, but without feeling as well. As I underwent this training, I too began to believe that this was what becoming a real man was about.

Also, there was a lot of racism in boot camp; little things, but always there. Like, on the rifle range where the D.I. told us to, "aim at the target like it was a Gook." Later, wherever I served overseas, I saw how the Marines tried to reinforce the concept of white American supremacy.

And the War. It became evident to me soon after arriving in Nam, that we really were trying to bomb the Vietnamese back into the Stone Age.

What a litany of waste this war recalls; hundreds of thousands of Indochinese killed, millions more made refugees packed into miserable concentration camps; all those American brothers wasted in the bush, each VA hospital another chapter from Dalton Trumbo, and more, and more.

Who is responsible for this holocaust? Is it the Vietnamese who want to unite and liberate their country? The low-ranking GI's who unwittingly served as executioners for the genocidal policies of the US in Indochina? The self-retired vets who learned the truth about the war while in uniform and chose to end their participation in a blatant imperial adventure?

Or is it those American "leaders," visible or hidden, who have sought to impose their political "solution" on another third world country? You, who are responsible know that your latest ploy, Vietnamization, has failed, despite an Air War that has slaughtered thousands of innocent civilians.

My separation from the Marines in 1969 was my way of protesting the war. Now, I demand in addition to withdrawal, a universal, no-strings amnesty for all war resisters and an open, extensive investigation of US war crimes policies in Indochina.

We must recognize that the responsibility for this war and crimes committed in the name of the American people, lies with the civilian and military policymakers. When individual soldiers, like myself, come to realize the truth about the war, we likewise have a responsibility to refuse continued participation.

In July, 1969, I made my stand; I refused to take part in any more killing. Like many thousands of American war resisters, I'm about to enter prison for my beliefs. Yet, I still feel I made the right decision. ■

[For further information or to make contributions, write: Free Tom Michaud Committee, 608 Court St., Jacksonville, North Carolina.]

Israel: The truth about the Six Day War

One of the most important myths fed to the Israeli masses concerning the 6-day war of 1967 has just been seriously shaken. The certainty that the Jewish State was threatened with extermination in May-June, 1967, had taken on the quality of a dogma, that no one could question without appearing to be either a traitor or out of his senses.

But this spring and summer the real story was broken by General Matutaihou Peled, the first to open fire and today professor of Modern Arab Literature at the University of Tel Aviv. During the 6-day war he was chief of the Bureau of Logistics and one of 12 members of the Army General Staff.

He bowled over his audience at the politico-literary Tsavta club at Tel Aviv by saying, "The thesis according to which the danger of genocide hung over us in June 1967, that Israel was struggling for its physical existence was only a bluff, born and developed after the war." (Haaretz, March 19, 1972).

General Peled continued his charge on March 24, in publishing a long study in Maariv, the most widely read Israeli paper, where he wrote: "There is no reason to hide the fact that since 1949 no one has dared, or more exactly, no one has been able to put in question the very existence of Israel... It is publicly notorious that the Arab leaders themselves, perfectly conscious of their lack of power, didn't believe

their own threats... All the stories circulated about the terrible danger we were in because of the tiny size of our territory, an argument advanced after the war was over, were never taken into consideration in our calculations before the hostilities.

"When we proceeded to mobilize all our forces, no sensible person could be found to believe that all that power was indispensable to 'defend' ourselves against the Egyptian threat. That power was necessary to definitively crush the Egyptians militarily, as well as their Soviet patrons politically.

"To pretend that the Egyptian forces massed on our frontiers were in position to threaten the existence of Israel constitutes an insult not only to the intelligence of everyone capable of analyzing this kind of situation, but above all an insult to the Israeli army."

General Peled accuses the government of manufacturing these stories to win popular support for further annexations. His analysis was disputed only by one general. All the others who entered the debate confirmed in one way or another the views of General Peled.

Once again the words of the Zionists themselves have confirmed the views stated by the Independent Socialist Clubs (now the International Socialists) in 1967. The myth of "war for national survival" was created to win popular support for new acts of aggression and expansion. ■

The Nobel War Prize

Some of Nixon's billionaire friends are collecting money to promote his next candidacy. In addition to running for President he is also running to be elected Nobel Peace Prize winner.

No doubt Nixon's chums may be able to buy that election as well as the American presidency, at cheaper cost too. This blatant huckstering is how things get done in capitalist elections.

Nixon the bomber of Vietnam, responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and American GI's, the maiming of millions, the chief war criminal of a war replete with massacres, atrocities and countless war crimes - What better candidate could there be for the capitalists' Nobel Peace Prize?

How about letting the Vietnamese,

or the American, GI's vote on it? No doubt they would vote another award for this war criminal - if they could ever get their hands on him.

Nixon has as much claim to the Nobel Peace Prize as he does to the American Presidency, after helping ruin this country with unemployment, inflation, taxes, and driving off young Americans to death in putting down a just war of national liberation. Which doesn't mean he won't get the Prize - after all, money talks.

The only worthwhile thing about this disgusting show is that more workers will wake up to the fact that the way to end war is not through peace prizes or vague disarmament talks, but only by overthrowing the systems that produce imperialist wars. ■





Lieut. Gen. Lanusse

Argentina in Crisis Back to Peron?

The serious economic crisis in Argentina is rapidly weakening the government of General Lanusse. The major devaluation of the peso (60 percent last March, 5 percent in July) is only one symptom of the enormous difficulties in which the regime is floundering.

Now, with a general election announced for early next year, every class in Argentine society is, in one way or another, expressing its discontent.

The weak native Argentine bourgeoisie, constricted by the domination of foreign (especially North American) capital, is concerned with growing working class militancy. The working class, suffering under an increase in taxes which were high enough before the present crisis, grows more militant despite the increased repression of the past few months.

A bloody example of this repression, which becomes progressively more violent as the internal situation disintegrates, was the assassination of 16 revolutionaries as a result of an alleged escape attempt from the prison of Trelaw last August 22.

Massive evidence indicates that this "escape attempt" was a phony story planted by the government to cover its murder of the 16, who had surrendered peacefully after an earlier escape a week before.

Two days later the people of the industrial city of Cordoba battled with police when the victims were buried;

when the powerful trade union federation CGT was declared subversive and banned it responded by appealing for a 24-hour strike.

With increasing workers' strikes and demonstrations, economic difficulties and the threat of a coup by the most right wing segments of the army, the government has plenty to worry about. General Lanusse has exerted himself for several months - without success up to now - to create a kind of "sacred union" around himself, capable of reuniting the Argentine bourgeoisie, the radicals, and the Peronists in a "Great National Concord."

Even today, eighteen years after the fall of Peron (Argentina's dictator from 1945-1955), the Peronists represent a serious political force. Their party includes a million members and has, in the eyes of the poor as well as a considerable percentage of the national bourgeoisie, over time, surrounded itself with the myth of an idyllic past.

The Concord of General Lanusse has scarcely any hope of seeing daylight between now and the election in March, because of the antagonism of its various components. But the Argentine bourgeoisie continues to search for a national solution, one which it hopes would assure relative prosperity and sustain it in the face of a grasping US imperialism, while easing social conflict in an overall "national reconciliation."

The bourgeoisie looks back nostalgically at its "Golden Age," when under the rule of the demagogue Peron

it was able to enrich itself as never before. Each time that the social crisis escalates the rumors of a return of the former dictator, in exile in Madrid, grow in force.

But this vision of Peron as a savior is quite illusory. For while he may well return from his prolonged exile this will not bring back the circumstances which made possible the economic, social and political reforms which made up the Peronism of 1945-1955.

The particular situation of Argentina in the Second World War allowed the growth of Peron's power to coincide with the most prosperous period the country has ever known. During the war, Argentine neutrality allowed the country to develop its foreign commerce and its internal productivity while opening up for the first time the possibility of escaping from the hold of US imperialists on the economy.

This was the period of nationalizations, of the repurchase of foreign industries, of the beginning of industrial planning and of politics on the grand scale.

The flourishing economy allowed Argentine capitalism to buy social peace by the corruption of the union hierarchy on the one hand and, on the other, social reforms which for a time improved the miserable lot of the working class. Finally the skilled use of demagoguery and the spectacular style of Juan and Eva Peron transformed these admirers of Mussolini into popular heroes.

But times have changed. Now the USA has regained control of the economy and the bourgeoisie has no means of escaping it. Moreover they cannot afford to ease social tension by according even partial satisfaction to workers' demands through economic reforms and social legislation.

Neither Peron nor any other representative of the ruling classes can indulge in this today without risking the total collapse of an already weakened economy. The proof is seen in the galloping inflation of recent months, of which a major cause was the decision in March to raise salaries 15 percent without increasing electricity rates after a particularly bloody riot in Mendoza.

Only an economically secure bourgeoisie (the best example is the US itself) can successfully corrupt the workers' aristocracy, the union bureaucracies. The feeble Argentinian bourgeoisie can only try to preserve the fragile "equilibrium" while avoiding any movement which would risk breaking this equilibrium and its own neck with it.

Thus, while Peron might return to the country he cannot in any case restore anything resembling Peronism. Consequently in the face of a weak and backward-looking bourgeoisie the future of Argentina depends on the only two forces which remain in the field: the army and the proletariat. ■

[Adapted from a translation by Paul Benjamin from the French revolutionary newspaper, Lutte Ouvriere.]

Free Hugo Blanco!

On July 12, Hugo Blanco, a militant Peruvian Trotskyist, was arrested in Buenos Aires and thrown into prison. This is only one more instance of the repression which Blanco has faced for the last ten years.

As a young revolutionary intellectual Blanco devoted himself to the organization of the peasantry. During the winter of 1962 and spring of 1963 the peasant associations which he had organized in the Convencion valley (near Cuzco) decided to take over large tracts of uncultivated land which had been stolen, for the most part from Indian communities, by the landed classes.

In this battle for the land the peasants soon clashed with the army and police who came to the aid of the landlords. In the course of one of these encounters Blanco was captured and accused of the murder of two policemen.

After 3 years imprisonment he was brought to trial on August 30, 1966,

along with 28 members of the association, before a military court. The trial was held at Tracna, a small isolated village, to avoid demonstrations. The prosecutor demanded the death penalty for Blanco.

Soon a worldwide campaign was underway to demand his freedom. In the face of this upsurge in international public opinion the military judges reversed the death sentence and condemned Blanco to 25 years imprisonment.

The political situation in Peru changed as a coup d'etat brought the generals into power. They released a certain number of well known political prisoners hoping that they would rally to the regime; some in fact did so. The "anti-imperialism" displayed by the junta brought it the support of the Peruvian left and the warm approval of Castro.

But Blanco stood fast. Isolated from the Peruvian left, isolated from

his own organization, he nevertheless continued to denounce the new regime and its leader, Juan Velasco Alvarado. Stung by Blanco's persistent opposition to his "national revolution" Alvarado finally deported Blanco on September 14, 1971.

Unable to enter Panama, Blanco was then sent to Mexico where after much delay the government finally accorded him a visitor's permit and a work permit good for one year. Blanco soon realized that this permit would not be extended. On June 12, he decided to leave for Argentina.

Under pressure from Peru, and doubtless aware that Blanco was aligned through the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International with a guerrilla group in Argentina, the Argentine government arrested him one month later. He was to have been expelled from the country at the end of July.

At the present time it appears that

Blanco is still imprisoned in Buenos Aires. The delay is due in some measure to the hostility of the Chilean government, where Blanco has asked to be sent.

Allende's Chile is reluctant to take him, in part through the pressure of local Stalinists, in part because they do not wish to displease their neighbors in Peru. Cuba has refused him for the same reasons.

But an opposition is growing. Even in Argentina, where repression is rampant, leftists, intellectuals and political groups, including the Socialist Party, have begun a campaign to demand Blanco's freedom.

In Peru, according to the paper *In-Idio*, there is also a movement demanding not only his release but the retraction of the deportation order against him. For this inadmissible situation cannot be allowed to continue. The international campaign for the freedom of Hugo Blanco must resume. ■

international report

David Finkel



Tanzania: Nyerere's regime battles growing working class unrest

The African nation of Tanzania has recently been in the news because of the invasion apparently launched from there into neighboring Uganda by Ugandan exiles. However, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere faces trouble at home - from Tanzania's organized workers.

Tanzania has been plagued by wildcat strikes in a number of industries. These have been on the rise for more than a year. In August, the government fired 31 workers who were leading a series of work stoppages at a large textile plant. In aluminum, milling, the tourist industry, and a shoe factory, wildcats had also been frequent.

Tanzania has a long history of trade union unrest. The Federation of Labor, organized in the 1950's, was at first closely linked to the nationalist party, TANU. After the country achieved independence from Britain in 1961, two wings developed in the Federation of Labor.

One was closely linked with TANU. The first President of the Federation of Labor, Michael Kamaliza, became Minister of Labor in the TANU government and worked for even closer government-union ties.

The other wing moved away from TANU. Partly this wing identified with the pro-Western forces in the international labor movement, and disliked TANU's left-wing rhetoric. On the other hand, this group gave a voice to the disappointment of organized workers who found that independence did not much change their lot in life.

This wing of the Federation, led by C.K.S. Tumbo and others, followed a shifting course. Tumbo raised demands for the denial of citizenship to Asians, a demand President Nyerere properly opposed. Tumbo later attempted to organize an opposition party, which was declared illegal. Tumbo was not allowed to live in the capital.

In 1964, the anti-Nyerere forces in the Federation of Labor apparently attempted to link up with mutineers in the Army to organize a coup d'etat. The Federation was dissolved and replaced by a government-controlled "national union". At the same time, the ruling TANU party declared Tanzania a "democratic" one-party state - TANU being the one legal party.

Under the "national union" arrangement, wages were held down, "productivity" encouraged, and strikes were illegal. But of course walkouts continued. In 1971, new laws gave workers "a voice" in airing grievances, but no real control. Instead of calming things down, this concession only led to demands for the firing of managers,

changes in working conditions, etc.

These incidents led up to the firings in August, which were intended to warn all workers that wildcats were not allowed.

According to Nyerere's theories of "African socialism," all this was not supposed to happen. Nyerere believed the class divisions of capitalism did not exist in Africa, and that by preventing the rise of a rich government bureaucracy or an African capitalist class, class conflict could be avoided.

These theories have been praised as a "humanistic" form of socialism by many Americans who believe Marxism to be "too doctrinaire."

But experience has proven that the government effort to keep wages down and production up in order to obtain capital leads inevitably to class conflict. The theorists of socialism through benevolent dictatorship have yet to take this into account.

Uganda: Hitler's new admirer— Dictator Amin lauds genocide

Anyone who found any "progressive" or "anti-imperialist" significance in military dictator Amin's order expelling Uganda's Asian ethnic minority received a rude shock when Amin amplified on his social views in recent statements to the press.

Amin proclaimed himself an admirer of Hitler (after the manner of the unlamented former dictator of South



President Amin

Vietnam, General Ky) for Hitler's treatment of the Jews of Germany and Europe. Amin stated that Hitler, realizing that the Jews constituted an "alien intrusion" into the national life of the countries where they had lived for hundreds of years, developed the correct solution: genocide.

Defending his policy of expelling Asians from Uganda and his threats to put in concentration camps those who fail to leave before the deadline, Amin stated that the same thing should be done to the Jewish people in Israel. He proposed that they be removed from Palestine and transported for resettlement

to Britain.

As socialist opponents of Zionism have pointed out, it was the murder of European Jewry and the refusal of Britain, the US and other "civilized democratic" nations to admit the surviving Jewish refugees which gave the necessary impetus to the reactionary Zionist scheme of transplanting Jews to Israel to form a Jewish nation in the first place.

But there is a lesson here for supporters of Zionism as well. The viciously reactionary, racist, anti-Semitic dictator Amin came to power in 1971 through a military coup which was directly supported and guided by Israeli advisors.

Israel was acting as the junior partner of Britain in helping overthrow Uganda's previous ruler, the "left-wing" Milton Obote. Once again, Zionist policy and anti-Semitism feed off and reinforce each other.

"Showpiece of Democracy" meets crisis with wholesale repression

The imposition of martial law and the suppression of all democratic freedom in the Republic of the Philippines constitutes another blow for "democracy" American style.

Officials in the government of Ferdinand Marcos have stated that martial law and rule by decree "may continue for as long as two years to allow the Government to control subversion and carry out social reforms."

Needless to say, similar promises have been made by US-backed dictatorships in such countries as Spain, Greece, Brazil, and Indonesia - not to mention the well-known example of democracy in South Vietnam.

The "subversion" which the government aims to crush is attributed to "Communists, backed by an unnamed foreign power." To prove its own unimpeachable anti-"Communist" credentials, the government announced through the Central Bank of the Philippines that "all lawful business transactions remain the free undertaking of the parties involved. This is particularly true insofar as the country's foreign creditors are concerned."

No doubt it is also "particularly true" of the programs in progress to drive homeless squatters from lands to be occupied by capitalist skyscrapers in Manila.

While the Nixon administration has made no official response to the declaration, its reaction is no doubt one of quiet but smug satisfaction.

Marcos has promised actions which are expected to go far toward allaying apprehension evidenced among Americans with regard to the future of the American economic stake (\$1 billion or more) as a result of recent Philippine Supreme Court rulings (*New*

York Times, September 27). These rulings have challenged the right of Americans to own land in the Philippines.

Workers' Power readers may remember from their eighth grade micky-mouse "social studies" classes that Filipino democracy is directly patterned after that of the United States.

Thus the suppression of democracy the minute that popular militancy grows and the courts happen to rule against certain powerful property interests should be a warning to American workers of what can happen here.



Ferdinand Marcos

Peru: Communist Party leaders pledge support to military junta

The Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party released a document on September 10, 1972 to the press in which "total support" to the military junta ruling the country was stated.

The party also demanded the "prompt nationalization of fishing, mining and foreign trade" but made absolutely no mention of arming the working class or the peasantry. Nor did it demand any type of soviet or workers' control of the means of production.

According to the statement "the actual process taking place in Peru is deepening and entering a new phase" in which a "social sector of the economy" will soon be formed.

Such capitalist state ownership of a portion of the means of production, the Peruvian people was assured, was not incompatible with the objectives of the Communist Party.

The CP of Peru urged its membership to "continue supporting the present revolutionary process and push forward and adopt a more positive attitude toward the government (our emphasis)." Apparently, a section of the rank and file do not consider the present collaborationist policy of the party the correct line toward a capitalist military regime.



Anti-Nixon

I've been reading *Workers' Power* the last few months and I have gotten the feeling that *Workers' Power* is for Nixon!

I know that's not true from the statement of principles in the back of the paper, but it disturbs me to see so many articles against McGovern when there are no articles about what Nixon is doing to screw the working class.

If *Workers' Power* is for a workers' party, why doesn't it expose both of the capitalist parties. Why isn't it balanced out more, especially in an election year?

It is too influencing to eliminate McGovern and leave Nixon remaining on the totem pole. Neither one of them is out to solve the problems we have, they're both out for big business.

Since Nixon has been in office, more people have been fired and laid off than ever before and for no legitimate reason. Speedup and bad working conditions have gotten much worse.

It seems like a systematic manipulation to remove people who speak out from society. It's not just from industry, but a whole range of people are being silenced. And once they're removed, anything they try to do afterwards is ignored.

A complaint from one of *Workers' Power's* readers.

Peter Justice

[Editor's Note: The editorial in this issue states our opposition to all the capitalist parties and makes it clear that Nixon's re-election will lead to new attacks on all working people. In attacking McGovern and the Democratic Party, we have tried to show that it is precisely their failures and broken promises which have opened the way for the success of Nixon and even more reactionary forces. No one should conclude from this that we favor Nixon in any way.]

Correction

In my article "Uganda: Fighting Poverty with Racism" (*Workers' Power* No. 64), it was stated that Britain had refused entry to the Asians facing expulsion from Uganda.

This was a mistake. Britain did originally refuse entry, and at that time few newspapers denounced the racism of this refusal. This was the political point of the paragraph in question.

Later, India - the ancestral home of most of the Ugandan Asians - also refused entry. At that time Britain agreed to allow the Asians to enter -

still with much red tape.

It remains true that Conservative, and even some Labour politicians in Britain, try to use the issue of non-white immigration to divert workers' attention from the real problems of unemployment and a stagnating economy.

James Coleman

Buying Off the Reformers

Readers of "Weeding Out the Reformers" (*Workers' Power* No. 62) might be interested in a footnote on another aspect of that process: buying them off.

Former Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee was a well-known foe of monopolies and industrial pollution during his political career. Last month he became chairman of the Island Creek Coal Company.

Island Creek is America's third



new I.S. Christmas cards

coming soon

largest coal company, and is owned by Occidental Petroleum, which had revenues last year of \$2.6 billion.

Island Creek is a key component of the new "fuels trust" being assembled by major oil companies to control all sources of oil, gas, coal and nuclear fuel. Like all coal companies, Island Creek also has a rather unsavory pollution record.

When the *New York Times* asked Gore by phone how his new job squared with his political "principles," Gore could only reply: "I recognize the irony of the situation."

Of course, it's always possible that Gore's appointment could mean that Island Creek Coal is planning to launch a major change of corporate policy. It could herald an end to all strip-mining operations, enforcement of mine safe-

ty provisions, no more dumping of sludge, and a move to separate Island Creek from Occidental, thus beginning the breakup of the fuels trust. I'm personally not planning to hold my breath.

Tom Condit

Gay Teachers' Caucus

Workers' Power No. 63 regards the approaching merger of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association as a positive step, even though undertaken for bureaucratic reasons.

One unlooked-for result of merger may be to spur the development of a civil rights movement among homosexual teachers.

At the recent NEA convention, a Gay Teachers' Caucus was formed under the leadership of John Gish, a 35-year-old English teacher from New Jersey. This caucus presented a gay rights proposal to the convention, which failed to pass. Gish intends to reintroduce it next year.

A sizeable minority of teachers are homosexual. Gish point out that many are known to be gay and are tolerated as long as they remain "discreet." "But I'm tired of lying to them," Gish says. "I'm tired of using women to accompany me to proms so that a 'proper' image is preserved. I'm tired of listening to anti-gay jokes in the faculty room."

Merger of the two teacher organ-

izational Socialist members present polarized discussion around their trade unionist politics."

In what has become standard treatment of minority positions in NAM political reports, the content of the IS "trade unionist" proposal is not mentioned.

The same issue of the NAM paper contains no fewer than four articles on the McGovern campaign, including a National Interim Committee (NIC) statement and a letter from a NAM leader in New York. Not one of these articles takes a position of political opposition to McGovern or the Democratic Party.

One article is by a member of McGovern's staff; another states "we must respect the validity of the choice to support McGovern"; Leon Blum's letter says McGovern "is articulating the needs of the workers and the poor in general"; the NIC statement urges chapters to remain outside the McGovern campaign - it is incredible that in an avowedly "socialist" organization such a statement should be necessary - but also explicitly instructs them not to explicitly oppose him as a capitalist, pro-imperialist candidate. ("establish non-antagonistic relationships with local McGovern workers").

Although considerable sentiment for principled opposition to the Democratic Party was voiced in NAM plenary convention sessions (not merely by IS'ers but by many delegates opposing the role of the New York City West Side chapter's support of Bella Apzug), this point of view is not even represented in the NAM paper!

I would like to point out that the "trade unionist" IS proposal called for a fight for independent political action by the labor movement and oppressed groups, toward an independent political party of the working class in opposition to the Democratic, Republican and Wallaceite parties.

This so-called "trade unionism" is far more advanced than NAM's capitulation to the existing consciousness of most workers, who continue to believe that the Democrats represent a lesser evil or alternative to the Republicans.

While a crucially important minority of workers are open to a concrete discussion of a political alternative to the parties of imperialism, racism and exploitation, NAM makes no attempt to crystallize them into a political tendency or to provide leadership beyond abstract rhetoric about "mass movements founded on class unity."

It is the "trade unionist" IS which raised the obligation of socialists to fight for an anti-imperialist, working class political alternative to destroy the capitalist parties, while the "revolutionary" NAM "non-antagonistically" trails behind the McGovern campaign (which, as he moves further to the right, is regarded by the establishment itself as a pathetic joke).

The real content of Easton's objections to our so-called "trade unionism" is NAM's absolute hostility to any program for industrial workers and other sections of the working class - as it exists in reality, not in the minds of NAM's "new working class" theoreticians - to take the lead in a struggle for revolution in this country. That is why she cannot tell the difference between trade unionism and revolutionary politics.

David Finkel

izations may mean that Gish's caucus, if it grows, will spread within the present AFT locals as well as in the NEA. The result would be a step forward for a large number of teachers whose lack of organization has previously forced them to accept discrimination.

Chris Winslow

Open Letter to NAM

[The following letter was submitted to the newspaper of the New American Movement (NAM).]

Barbara Easton's report on the NAM convention (*NAM*, September 1972, p. 5) states that in the "composition of the working class" workshop, "the facile tone of the discussion was partly caused by the way the Interna-

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Basic Problems of Theory of the Contemporary USSR by Kuroda Kan'ichi, 40c.

I.S. Books

The New Left of the Sixties, Ed. by Michael Friedman of the Independent Socialist Committee.

Just published. This book contains many articles from *The Independent Socialist*, former monthly newspaper of the International Socialists, dealing with the struggles and political questions raised by the "New Left." It includes sections on the Peace and Freedom Party, the Black Power Movement, and SDS and other student organizations. It discusses in some detail the ideologies that characterized many of the New Left tendencies. \$4.00.

Lenin's Moscow by Alfred Rosmer.

Translated by Ian Birchall of the British International Socialists. First time available in English. This book is a moving eye-witness account of the Russia of 1920.

"Rosmer's insistence -- argued clearly, simply and with irrefutable documentation -- that Stalinism had nothing whatsoever in common with Leninism or with the working class was of vital relevance to those struggling to free the working class from the grip of bureaucracy." -- Ian Birchall. \$4.00.

The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Fourth International

The founding statement of the Fourth International, written in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, discusses the method of transitional demands as an essential vehicle for unifying the struggles of workers in this period and pointing out the road to workers' political and social power. Although the Fourth International collapsed, this pamphlet is essential reading for militants as background for the rebuilding of a world revolutionary movement. \$5.00.

Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Not even any part of the working class freed itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos and all national minorities; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

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

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

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

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

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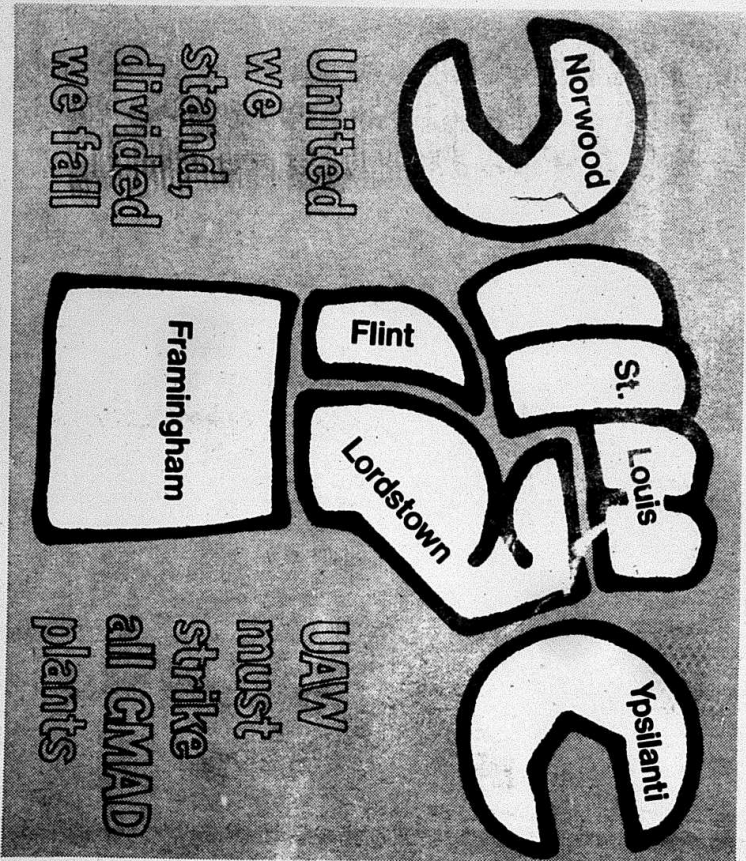
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