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My Lai & the Generals



**The Sports Revolt • Can Sell-Out
Who Owns The Banks?**

**Laos • April 24 • Leavenworth 10
Women At Work • Construction**

April 24: All Out to End the War

The catastrophe of the Laotian invasion has shown the fraudulence of Nixon's claims to securing an early end to the war and the bankruptcy of his "Vietnamization" policy. The apathy which gripped masses of people, who tried desperately to believe that the war was ending, is beginning to break up.

There is growing recognition that Nixon is no more capable of ending this war than Johnson was before him. The credibility gap of the Nixon regime widens, and with it comes the understanding that the American people have no one but themselves to rely upon to end the war.

The new anti-war upsurge also stems from the continuing decline of the economy and the festering of unsolved social problems at home. These are now universally recognized as either caused or exacerbated by the war. Even the construction workers who a year ago were the symbol of "hardhat" support for the administration, have been forced to fight Nixon and are beginning to move against the war as well. As a result of these pressures more and more sections of the labor movement are coming out in opposition to the war.

The opportunity now exists for rebuilding a militant, mass anti-war movement. To aid this development workers and radicals must renew their efforts to make the spring anti-war actions massive and successful. The largest and most important of these demonstrations will be the April 24th marches in Washington and San Francisco. Many trade union officials are endorsing the April 24th demonstrations, and in a few places some of the unions will attempt to mobilize their members to take part.

A rebuilt anti-war movement will dissipate and fragment (and wind up in the tow of the Democratic Party "doves") just as quickly as its predecessor, if it confines itself to the strategy of holding biannual peace marches (or to the equally bankrupt strategy of small bands engaging in aimless adventures and terrorism). The alternative strategy proposed by the International Socialists, of linking the war to the domestic struggles of workers, blacks, women and students, is now more than ever realizable.

The increased participation of the labor movement points in the necessary direction. It is the potential power which workers have on the job in the productive process, not just their numbers as a greater body count for a non-disruptive march, which must be tapped to up the ante on the government's designs to continue the war.

The anti-war movement must demand of the union leaders who are now gracing its platform that, if they are serious about fighting the war, they must bring to bear the economic power of the labor movement to end it. They must take the question before their memberships and mobilize their rank and file in working class actions against the war.

The unions should organize for a one-day general work stoppage as an immediate first step, with massive peace rallies that the black and student community should be asked to participate in. The anti-war movement cannot accomplish this yet — but the labor leaders can.

Simple demonstrations have failed; now the cessation of production must be used as a weapon. Rank-and-file militants will be willing to lead these actions — if they have union protection.

To fight for work stoppages against the war, workers should organize to place this demand upon the leaders in their unions, and radicals should join them in making this a vocal, fighting demand at the marches.

The greatest snare that a rebuilt anti-war movement could fall into is that being laid for it by the Democratic Party. Over and over again the anti-war movement has collapsed because it has failed to provide an alternative to the dove politicians — who over and over again steal its base.

Whenever there is a chance for an American victory the Democrats are silent; when defeat and popular opposition emerge, they are quick to try to place themselves at the head of the movement, to channel it into forms which are no threat to American imperialism.

It is the Democratic Party which started the war in Vietnam under Johnson, and it is wholly committed to the status quo of the capitalist system and its imperialist imperative. The Democratic doves wish to end the war in Indochina solely to salvage as much as possible of America's empire in the rest of the world.

If the anti-war movement is not to be a tail to the liberal section of American imperialism, it must break with the Democrats, and engage in independent political action — breaking through the bi-partisan imperialist system. Most important is that the anti-war movement put the labor officials on the spot — demanding of them that they do the same, building towards an independent party of the working class which can unite the other progressive movements whose needs are trampled upon by American imperialism.

The leadership of the anti-war movement, however, has no intention of embarrassing its new-found friends among the union officials by placing these sorts of demands upon them — even if they are the only way to end the war. Nor do they intend to give up their disastrous course of trimming the politics of the anti-war movement so that the "respectable" Democratic politicians can continue to be its spokesmen — and to reap the rewards of anti-war sentiment.

Radicals must do the job. They must turn their backs on the dead-end strategies of the past and start to organize a radical, working-class oriented wing of the anti-war movement. The place to start is the mass demonstrations of April 24th.

Radicals should be mobilizing to build for April 24 with a program which stresses work stoppages against the war and independent political action, which is uncompromisingly anti-imperialist and which links the war to the domestic economic and social crisis. To settle for less in the never-ending search for a "short-cut" will only prolong this already interminable war. ■



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My Lai:



photo by Ronald L. Haebler

TRY THE GENERALS

James Coleman

The verdict of an Army court that Lieutenant William Calley is guilty of first-degree murder, and the court's subsequent life sentence for Calley, has provoked an unprecedented controversy. In the few days since the verdict, several draft boards have resigned, a number of Southern Democratic congressmen have declared opposition to the war for the first time, and right-wing groups have scheduled pro-Calley rallies in a number of cities.

The right wing has attempted to use the Calley verdict to rally public sympathy into support for extreme anti-Communist positions — the American Legion had sent word to its members days in advance of the verdict, urging them to send protest telegrams to President Nixon if the verdict were guilty. But the huge outpouring of sentiment cannot be explained only in these terms. In factories and shops, the verdict has been discussed more than almost any other recent news event, and the nearly unanimous feeling has been one of sympathy for Calley — sometimes from a pro-war standpoint, sometimes from the feeling that Calley is being made a fall guy for those really to blame.

My Lai is Vietnam

All these conflicting sentiments reflect a crisis in the official effort to deny the real nature of the war being fought in Vietnam. It is true that similar atrocities have happened in every war. What makes Vietnam and My Lai different is, first, the increasing opposition of a majority of Americans to the war — which gives atrocity charges a potential for crystallizing opposition which they would never have if the war had broad support — and second, the fact that the killing of enemy civilians is not incidental to a war fought mainly against opposing armies, but on the contrary, a basic part of a war being fought against the whole Vietnamese population.

Because the U.S. is fighting an army which has active backing from most of Vietnam's people, the war cannot be carried on without destroying villages, poisoning crops, herding the villagers into concentration camps or killing them outright. Thus, incidents like My Lai are not only moral outrages, they also reveal the truth about the war which the U.S. would like to hide.

My Lai was revealed not by the Army command — which tried to cover up as long as possible — but by veterans, and then by newsmen who verified the story. Once this happened, the government had two options: either baldly to

take political responsibility for the massacre, or to cover up the typicality of My Lai by sacrificing the field commanders who carried out the action. Nixon and the Army thus had no real choice except to prosecute Calley and the other My Lai officers.

The political meaning of the verdict is two-fold. First, there would have been no trial, and certainly no verdict, without the anti-war movement, and even more, the broadening anti-war sentiment among millions of Americans. It has been this public disaffection which has caused Nixon and the Army to repeatedly wash their hands clean by prosecuting one or another soldier who shot a civilian or a prisoner, and finally to try Calley with full public fanfare.

This political situation of mounting disaffection from the war and increasing dissatisfaction in other areas also explains why the "responsible" newspapers, both liberal and conservative, have all endorsed the Calley verdict. Conservative newspapers saw Calley's guilt as individual, liberal papers blamed "the war," but both liberal and conservative papers, and the Administration as well, saw a guilty verdict as necessary to show that the American system was innocent. In addition, once the verdict was given, it was necessary for the "responsible" newspapers to support it in order to uphold the authority of the courts.

The second, more important, significance of the trial and verdict is that it has opened an enormous can of worms. To deny that incidents like My Lai are woven into the fabric of the war, the

Army had to charge Calley with individual responsibility for his actions, and doing so, gave official sanction to the doctrine that individuals are in the last analysis responsible to the law and their consciences rather than to their commanders. The Army did not intend this conclusion to be drawn, but if it was to disclaim its own responsibility for My Lai, it could not help introducing the doctrine of individual responsibility.

The result has been that many people who remained reluctantly pro-war, or who at least felt that their country should be supported even in a questionable action, have been unwillingly projected in questioning the war. The institutions and traditions which they supported — unquestioning patriotism, the authority of the Army, obedience to commanders in the field — have been declared open to challenge. These people are now prevented by the Army itself from relying on the questionable doctrine that the government must be supported even in its errors.

In a situation in which one of the few remaining arguments for the war has been the duty to back one's country even when it is wrong, the verdict — revealing that one can now be sentenced to life for just this unquestioning obedience — has been a massive, unintended blow against the possibility of justifying the war. One of the draft board members who resigned was reported in the *Detroit Free Press* as saying that he quit "not because he thinks the Army treated Calley harshly, but because he can no longer in conscience ask young men to go into situations

where they may be asked to commit murder." Thus the verdict has opened a new phase in public opposition to the war.

The public response to the verdict has centered around the sentiment that Calley should be freed. Though we agree that Calley has been made the scapegoat for the entire conduct of the war, WE DO NOT ALIGN OURSELVES WITH THE DEMAND TO FREE HIM. To take this position would be to seek to make ourselves acceptable to the sentiment which wishes to believe that he did nothing wrong. Politically, much of this sentiment hopes to rescue its own belief in patriotic obedience, or its support for the war, by declaring that Calley's actions were acceptable because done in the line of duty.

We disagree. First, Calley can be held accountable for his actions. He is far from the virtuous young man his defenders make him — one point of his defense was that because the My Lai villagers were Communists, he didn't see them as women and children. The fact is that he ordered a massacre of unarmed prisoners.

The fact that such incidents become almost normal in a war against the Vietnamese population is another reason for opposing the war — but it in no way justifies or excuses the incidents themselves or the commanders who order them. Calley acted, not as the individual moral monster which the prosecution tried to make of him — but as the agent of the system which is carrying out the suppression of the Vietnamese people. He could have acted differently, even though at the risk of his career: other soldiers, some standing beside Calley at My Lai, did so.

Miscalculation

Moreover, to publicly excuse Calley would have the political effect of publicly excusing the atrocities which flow from the war, and thus the war itself. Instead, we should go beyond the Calley verdict — which reflects not only the Administration's need to respond to anti-war feeling, but also its continuing ability to displace the responsibility onto the shoulders of minor commanders — and raise the demand to TRY THE REAL WAR CRIMINALS — to bring home the responsibility for the war to those who started it and command it.

From Nixon's viewpoint, the My Lai trial has already proved to be a disastrous miscalculation. Intended to pla-

(continued on page 13)



'Excellent! Our honor stands intact!'

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LNS

NIXON VS. THE HARDHATS

The End of the Affair

Jack Trautman

Act four in the "dump-on-the-construction-workers" script has been performed. Things are going according to plan.

In Act one, Nixon demanded that the contractors and the unions voluntarily come up with a plan to end the "wage-price" spiral in construction. He meant the unions should moderate their demands.

Leaders of the 17 construction unions threw the ball back to the President and refused to cooperate. Instead, they invited him to force a settlement, so they wouldn't have to bear the responsibility to their rank and file.

In Act two, Nixon took the hint and suspended the Davis-Bacon Act, which had required contractors in federally-funded projects to pay union wages.

Act three saw the unions "courageously" defending their members by negotiating a sell-out of wages and working conditions with the Associated General Contractors. This set the stage for Act four.

Enter Nixon again. He signs a law setting-up "wage-price" boards and reinstates the Davis-Bacon Act. He has

moved away from his hard-line position; the unions have won a "victory."

Pulling the strings behind the scenes was the Associated General Contractors, the bosses' organization. The AGC held its annual convention in a little-publicized meeting between March 5-11.

At the convention the contractors heard speakers address them about the "evils" of unionism and the "stranglehold" construction workers have over the nation's largest industry. They applauded Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act which they have been trying to repeal for years.

The dominant theme of the convention was the issue of a wage-price freeze. President-elect John E. Healy II said — this concern "has dominated everything at the convention so far." Two-and-a-half weeks later, the gentlemen of the AGC got what they wanted.

Wage-price curbs may sound fair. Both labor and management are supposed to make sacrifices. But, the only thing real about the program is wage controls. As to prices, salaries, bonuses and stock options, the government merely established a committee to de-

velop "criteria for the determination of acceptable" price levels and salaries.

Moreover, while labor is invited to sit on the wage committees they are strictly barred from overseeing management in any way. The *Wall Street Journal* quoted one otherwise unnamed "industry source" as saying "We don't see too much happening for a while on prices."

Not so on wages. Boards are to be set up for each union to review all collective bargaining agreements (including those already negotiated but not yet put into effect). If the boards find the agreement to exceed 6 per cent over the life of the contract, they will notify the government. (This is to be the case regardless of increases in the cost of living or productivity gains.)

The government could then decide to give national publicity to the "offender," or to tell government agencies about the agreement, which in turn could suspend the contract. Moreover, the Secretary of Labor could be authorized to again suspend the Davis-Bacon Act. (In other words, the Davis-Bacon Act is allowed to remain in force only

so long as it does no good.)

This was the information released by the government to the press. Nixon calls this approach "wage constraints" rather than "wage controls," because the boards are not to be directly setting wages. But Nixon is double-dealing here, too. As construction union lawyers pointed out, he has a lot more waiting on the bottom of the deck.

Under the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 — which permits the imposition of wage controls — the Secretary of Labor could impose a fine of up to \$5000 or obtain court injunctions. It would also be possible to delay the granting of wage increases indefinitely — in other words, direct controls.

AGC Offensive

The AGC offensive does not stop at wage controls. That is just the beginning. The convention called for passage of a Construction Labor Relations Act, which would include the following:

- (1) Repeal of the Davis-Bacon Act;
- (2) The prohibition of hiring halls (which would greatly weaken the unions);
- (3) Mandatory multi-employer/multi-craft bargaining units (which would increase employer bargaining power);
- (4) Requiring union bargaining representatives to negotiate binding agreements without submitting them to a vote by the rank and file (making it easier to get away with sell-outs);
- (5) Elimination of "featherbedding" (which would mean speed-up and increasingly unsafe working conditions in an already extremely dangerous occupation);
- (6) Provision of federal manpower training funds to all qualified programs, whether or not they include union participation (greatly increasing the work force in an industry that already has an abnormally high unemployment rate — 11.1 per cent);
- (7) Protection of foremen from "harassment" by unions.

This program, if successful carried through, would mean virtual destruction of the unions and a reduction of construction workers to semi-slavery. In order to get it accepted, the AGC is planning a massive public relations campaign.

Their stated aim is "to properly place before the American public the role of the general construction contractor. This should include the diversity of experience required and the nature

Newark: AFL-CIO Must Fight

The attempt to break the Newark Teachers Union is continuing after a cowardly retreat by the AFL-CIO, which called off its threatened general strike because, in its words, "significant progress" had been made in the negotiations.

Since then, the state-appointed mediator made his recommendations for a settlement, which were accepted by the union. But the Board of Education re-

fused to even make a response. Instead, it suspended over 300 teachers, and as we go to press, 8 teachers have been arrested for violating a permanent injunction against a strike, and more arrests are threatened.

In the face of these attacks, teacher unity and determination remains strong. As one teacher put it, "The next time they had better come with guns. No more teachers are going to be locked up. No more sacrificial lambs. If they want to come back, bring the National Guard."

But if the teachers are going to win, they will need the united support of the labor movement. This means that the AFL-CIO is going to have to recover its courage, and carry out the general strike it threatened before.

Also, the national AFT, which has been strangely silent during the Newark strike, must take the offensive, with nationwide demonstrations and job actions — not only in support of the Newark teachers, but also in defense of teachers and quality education throughout the country. ■



Angry Newark teachers led away by detectives

of the risks he assumes. It is important to demonstrate that the abuses of hiring halls, featherbedding and restrictions on output are not willingly accepted by the contractor. It is recognized that the program will require the services of public relations professionals."

One of the points of attack of the employer-government campaign will be the racist practices of the unions. Until now the employers and government have collaborated in maintaining racism in the construction industry and in housing. Now they will try to use a legitimate issue as a lever against the unions, trying to pose as the "friends" of black workers while they play the traditional American game of pitting white and black workers against each other for the greater profit of the employers.

Union militants can ignore the issue of racism only at their own peril. They must take the offensive and fight to open skilled jobs for black workers as part of their program of struggle against the employers and the government.

The escalated offensive against construction workers is not an isolated development. It is part of a general offensive on the part of management and the government, whose purpose is to decrease the power and earnings of workers.

The wage-price boards that Nixon has established in construction have set the stage for an attack on other workers who will be demanding far more than the 6 per cent Nixon has set as an acceptable raise in wages. Wage controls will not be applied across the board — that would be too politically damaging, and unnecessary in any case. But where workers in important industries have the muscle to force substantial wage increases, Nixon is ready to step in.

Steel

In particular this means the steel industry. When Nixon blew up at the steel price increases a couple of months ago, corporate heads were not very upset. They pointed out that Nixon's show of anger would legitimate his later attack on steelworkers during the steel negotiations. By his efforts against construction workers, Nixon has indicated

what he can and will do to other workers and how far he is willing to let them go.

The attack has already spread quietly beyond construction workers. The Labor Department, the military and other government agencies have been failing to comply with the O'Hara-McNamara Service Contract Act of 1965. This law is the Davis-Bacon Act for janitors, guards, laundry workers, cooks, porters, and other service employees who work for private employers under contract to the government.

There are 1.5 to 2 million of these workers. Many government installations have imposed wage freezes. Often, service contractors who have been found guilty of unfair labor practices continue to be awarded new contracts by the government. There is every indication that things will get worse not better.

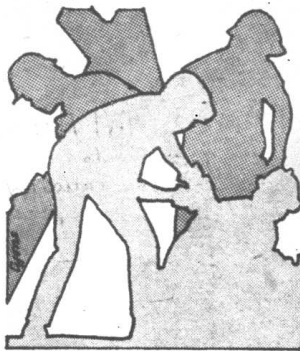
Sorry About That

In the meantime, the construction union leaders have reacted to this latest outrage in the same manner as they have operated throughout the whole show — inadequately and disgracefully. In a way, the show was put on for their benefit.

Back in January, when Nixon asked for voluntary restraint, the union bureaucrats responded: "We weren't elected to recommend wage freezes." When Nixon suspended the Davis-Bacon Act Meany's response was "What America needs is full employment at fair wages and decent conditions, not punitive action against workers." But there was never any hint that these union "leaders" would actually lead a struggle for an anti-inflation program based on labor's interests.

Instead, the bureaucrats simply turn around and say, "Sorry boys, we tried to fight it." In addition, when Nixon introduced wage controls, he "reinstated" the Davis-Bacon Act (except when it would be effective). This has enabled the bureaucrats to claim a "victory" although Nixon and the AGC got exactly what they wanted in the first place.

Thus, the official union response to Nixon has been quiet and tentative (while the bureaucrats look over their shoulder



to see where the rank and file is). They have said they will fight wage controls "with all the legal power at our command." But there is no legal power at their command. What Nixon did was perfectly legal.

The way to fight back is with inaction — massive demonstrations and strikes: refusing to accept the rules. But the presidents of the unions have said they will abide by the law. Furthermore, they have not, at least so far, even turned down the invitation to sit on the boards.

Accepting a place on the boards will only mean collaborating with the attack on construction workers. Once the officials accept Nixon's framework they will be forced to keep wages down. They would thus be put officially in the position of acting as bosses toward their members. Even if they consistently voted against all the positions the boards took (which is hardly likely), their very presence would put them in the position of having to be responsible for the board's decisions without giving them any measure of control. Union members must demand NO SITTING ON THE BOARDS.

During this period an element unexpected by Nixon, the contractors or the union bureaucrats has emerged: the growth of a militant movement among construction workers. Pro-Nixon sentiment has become transformed into vehement anti-Nixon sentiment. There has

been close to a press blackout on this development, but construction workers have been appearing in demonstrations in various places around the country.

In Newport, Rhode Island, for example, 2000 demonstrators showed up during a Nixon visit to the Newport Naval Base. They included about 1500 construction workers. Several hundred workers, joined by students, pushed past barricades and met an onslaught of Department of Defense Police in full riot gear, backed up by a fire truck with a water cannon and a Marine Corps platoon. Workers and students together chanted, "more wages, no war."

After Nixon's suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, demands began to pour in to union officials from all around the country calling for a march on Washington. The construction unions obtained a permit for such a march to be held April 20, four days before the big anti-war demonstration.

They planned for the march to be composed just of upper-level officials. But as soon as word got out, workers from all over the Eastern half of the country began to make plans to join the march. It had prospects of becoming a monster, far out of the hands of the union bureaucrats, and the government. So the officials took their first excuse — the reinstatement of the Davis-Bacon Act — to call it off (while keeping the permit in case the demand should be too great).

This climate of opposition is growing among workers. It was such a mood of angry rebellion among steelworkers that incited I.W. Abel, president of the United Steeworkers (USW), to publicly declare that Nixon's 6 per cent guideline would be unacceptable to the Steelworkers in their negotiations.

Abel was the same man who a few years ago proposed the USW give up the strike weapon and submit to compulsory arbitration in all cases. He can no longer get away with even proposing such an idea. This new mood of anger and militancy among workers, if organized into an independent, militant movement of the rank and file, can be successful in rolling back the Nixon-AGC offensive. ■

Rx for Death

Tom Condit



Chloromycetin is a powerful and effective antibiotic made by the giant pharmaceutical firm of Parke, Davis & Co. Because of its severe side-effects, it isn't prescribed by doctors as often as other drugs, and tends to be restricted to certain specialized uses. A package

insert, required by the Food and Drug Administration warns doctors of "serious and fatal" blood diseases which can result from use of Chloromycetin.

Italy, however, doesn't have a Food and Drug Administration. There, Parke-Davis' package insert says: "The fact

that therapy with Chloromycetin is remarkably without secondary reactions is very significant...In the few cases in which reactions occur, these are generally limited to slight nausea or diarrhea and their severity rarely requires suspension of treatment."

Parke-Davis efforts to push Chloromycetin in countries where there is no effective governmental protection against false claims in drug advertising reached such heights of dishonesty in Latin America that the U.S. State Department (hardly known for its crusading proclivities) felt compelled to send a letter to Latin American physicians warning them that the Spanish language package inserts omitted references to fatal side effects and recommended use of the drug "where the FDA knows of no data to substantiate its effectiveness."

The greed and dishonesty involved in these campaigns is not an isolated incident. Merck's antirheumatic drug Indocin goes to American doctors with warnings against side-effects such as hemorrhage of the esophagus, stomach and intestines; retinal disturbances and blurring of vision; gastrointestinal bleeding; toxic hepatitis; comas, convulsions and psychotic episodes. Merck further

warns that the drug should be used only in moderate to severe cases of arthritic diseases after "other measures of established value" fail.

But in Australia, Indocin is marketed with the warnings about side-effects weakened or omitted, and is recommended for use in relieving pain and inflammation following dental surgery as well as for bursitis. It seems reasonable to assume that Merck would follow the same practice in this country if they weren't afraid of the federal government stepping in to stop them.

In fact, of course, firms like Merck and Parke-Davis did carry out the same kind of sales campaigns in this country in the past, and still do whenever they can get away with it. In ordinary life, selling someone something you know could kill them and urging them to take it when they don't need it without warning them about dangers might be called murder. When it's done solely for money, to bleed as many dollars out of the sick as possible, the right name is premeditated murder for profit.

Last we be sued for libel, we hasten to say that we're not accusing Merck and Parke-Davis of murder. We're simply accusing them of business as usual, capitalist style. It's long since past time they were put out of this business.



Coming Out of Laos on The Skids

Michael Stewart

The recent invasion of Laos reads like a script for a new movie in the "Mash," "Dr. Strangelove" tradition. Unfortunately, it wasn't a movie, and it wasn't very funny for the people involved.

The invasion began with the traditional news blackout, so as to prevent the enemy from knowing what was going on. Unfortunately, everyone knew and was talking about the invasion for a full week in advance.

Once the invasion was underway, it was announced that its aim was to cut the enemy supply lines as far as the city of Tchepone, until the rainy season came in early May. At first, the invasion seemed to follow the script of the earlier invasion of Cambodia, with the ARVN forces meeting little resistance.

Glorious victories were claimed. A section of pipe was put on display, reportedly just ripped out from an enemy pipeline — tangible evidence of the success of the invasion. (Unfortunately, it was later disclosed that the pipe didn't come from Laos at all, but from some other long-forgotten battlefield.)

Then the invasion force bogged down, ten miles from the city of Tchepone. Army spokesmen denied that the ARVN forces were stalled, and insisted that everything was going according to plan. In a futile effort to paper over this obvious lie, it was announced that the city of Tchepone never had been an objective anyway.

At that point, the North Vietnamese troops pulled out of Tchepone, letting the South Vietnamese army "take" the city — after which Tchepone was again declared to be the objective of the invasion. Indeed, President Thieu even had a campaign song written up, extolling the virtues of the great victory in Tchepone.

But no sooner had the Tchepone hymn hit the streets than it was announced that the ARVN troops were leaving the city, although merely to take up positions on higher ground; the better to hold the city with.

"Troop Rotation"

Unfortunately, these new positions didn't turn out so good, and Saigon's forces had to pull back again. It was at this point that the real military ingenuity of Saigon's and America's generals was demonstrated. The troops began a whole series of "tactical maneuvers," "mobile maneuvers," and "troop rota-

tions," all designed to confuse and frustrate the enemy. To the uninitiated, all this "rotation" may have looked like a retreat, but after all, what do we know about military tactics?

In the end, the victorious army literally ran back to Vietnam for the victory get-together (which was periodically broken up by enemy mortar and rocket attacks).

Now again, this may have looked to you like an utter rout. After all, they weren't supposed to leave until May, and they did leave a lot of tanks and armored vehicles behind, and there were those soldiers who were flown out hanging on to the skids of the helicopters.

According To Plan

But, as late as March 23, Secretary of Defense Laird was claiming that the whole invasion was going exactly as planned. Nixon went on television to declare the whole thing a success. Why, the enemy used up so much ammunition and supplies while mauling the South Vietnamese troops, they won't be able to win another spectacular victory for at least another three months. If that's not a set-back, nothing is.

Of course, what is not discussed is how their "success" has set back the South Vietnamese army. Reports of allied losses have had wide divergences. CBS reported that half the invasion force had been killed, wounded, or lost. Of those who made it back, reports have offered ample evidence of the demoralization of the troops.

The *New York Times* of March 28, in reporting discussions with returning Saigon troops, indicated that there is worry now of mass desertions, as troops would rather risk punishment for desertion than risk death fighting the NLF. And contrary to Nixon's report that 18

out of 22 battalions fought well, the *Times* article gives numerous examples of how the troops literally ran away from the advancing enemy forces.

The significance of the Laos campaign is that it proves conclusively, once and for all, that an imperialist occupying force cannot depend on a local mercenary army to carry out its aims in the face of a national liberation struggle. The idea of Vietnamizing the war has been a hoax all along.

Indeed, it was precisely because of the failure of the Saigon regime, when it was a Vietnamese war, that forced the US to take over the fighting in the first place. Even with massive air support from the US, the best South Vietnamese regiments were routed by the NLF and North Vietnamese troops. The Saigon government is as much built on sand today as it was ten years ago.

Nixon has insisted that the Laotian "incursion" was a victory which will speed US withdrawal. In a sense, he is perfectly correct.

The invasion was a tremendous success — for the "enemy." And because of the US-Saigon debacle, Congressional doves are beginning to make serious noises about forcing a complete US withdrawal.

When the invasion of Laos began, the dove politicians in the Democratic Party voluntarily imposed an embargo on all criticisms of the war and of Nixon. However, once it was evident that the invasion was a failure, they came out of the woodwork and have been vociferous in their denunciations. The reason for their delay is clear: if the invasion had been a success, they would have had nothing to complain about.

We are glad that there is so much anti-war sentiment in the Democratic

Party now, for it will make our job that much easier. However, we make a distinction between their opposition to the war and ours. The International Socialists have always maintained that the doves oppose the war only because the US is being defeated, because the war is too costly, and because it detracts from America's imperialist adventures elsewhere — most notably in the middle-east and Latin America.

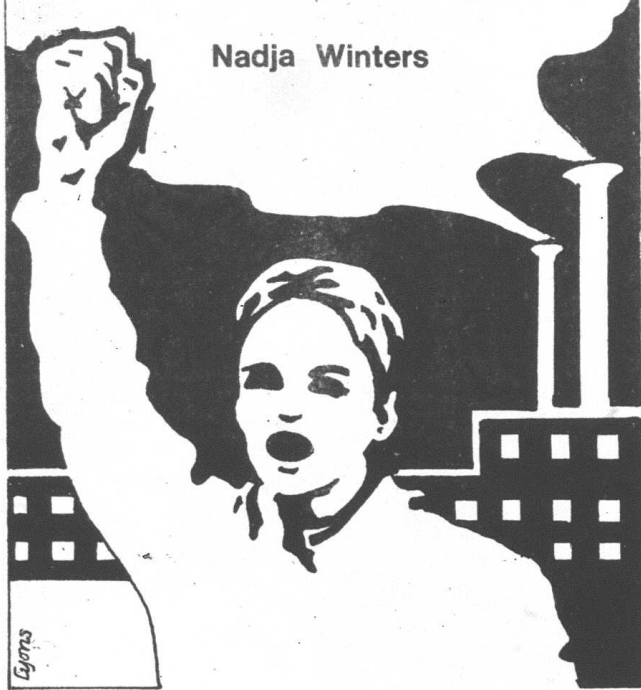
We, on the other hand, welcome the defeat of the US, as we welcome the defeat of imperialism everywhere. We believe that the anti-war movement, in distinction to the Democratic Party doves, must make it clear that it opposes the war because it is an imperialist war. It must not only call for immediate withdrawal from Indochina, it must also condemn the imperialist policies which caused our intervention there in the first place.

If this is to be a major theme of our opposition to the war, we must not allow the Democratic Party liberals to take leadership of the movement. Unfortunately, one of the leading groups in the anti-war movement, the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance, has done just that. Many of the doves are listed as prominent endorsers of the April 24 demonstrations, and even Vance Hartke was the featured person in one of the main ads boosting the marches. This sort of publicity tends to make the demonstrations the property of the doves, not the movement, and permits them to frame the political content of the demonstrations. Instead of allowing this to happen, the movement must take a clear position in opposition to the Democratic Party, which, in spite of the off-again, on-again doves in the Congress, is a party of imperialism and war. ■



WOMEN AT WORK

Nadja Winters



On March 13th in Los Angeles, the AFL-CIO held a conference called "Women at Work." It was the first of its kind in this country in recent times, and reflected beginning attempts of organized labor to recognize the growing concern of women about their role in society. The idea of the conference and the planning that went into it were the responsibility of a committee called Women in the Workplace, headed by Ruth Miller of Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The conference was obviously not meant to be attended by more than a small fraction of the women in the AFL-CIO in Los Angeles. There was room for only 400 people and the registration fee was an outrageous \$7.50. Rank-and-file women were present, however, who had had their fee paid by their union. These women had been encouraged to come by local union leadership.

Two Themes

There were two dominant themes throughout the conference. One was the issue of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and protective legislation. The other was discrimination against women within the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The AFL-CIO has been a major force in opposition to the ERA because it would be used to nullify all protective legislation for women. Almost every speaker spoke of the threat the passage of the ERA would pose to working women — most of whom have nothing besides protective legislation to safeguard their present standard of wages and working conditions. Speakers called for the extension of legislation to men.

At a time when employers are striving to make labor as "productive" as

possible, long hours and no breaks are a real danger to working women. The Women's Liberation Movement was condemned by Myra Wolfgang, Vice President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, for supporting the ERA and for its middle-class nature. However, it was pointed out later that there are sections of Women's Liberation which do not support the ERA and which see the necessity of speaking to the needs of working women and the working class as a whole.

Myra Wolfgang seemed to condemn the Women's Liberation Movement not only because it was middle class, but also because it seeks to change social roles — something, she implied, working women couldn't be bothered with. She pointed out that women need protection on the job even more than men because of the role in the family and the burden it places on them — but she didn't seem to want to change that role.

Just as protective legislation should be extended to men, so must the responsibility for children and the home. Men must share equally with women these important tasks. It is unfair that a working woman must be forced to do two jobs — one for her employer and another for her husband when she gets home. Changing social roles is not "middle class," it is a part of the fight for human dignity for which working people are continually struggling.

Lip-Service

The AFL-CIO spokesmen seemed to give only lip-service to the demand for extension of protective legislation to men. They do not really seem willing to fight for voluntary overtime, shorter hours, or living wages.

Winning an extensive labor code extending the present protective legislation to men and improving the standard of that which exists will not be an easy task, particularly when this very legislation is being taken away right now through the use of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. The only way it can be won is through mass mobilization of the ranks.

This conference was obviously not called with this task in mind. The only action vaguely pointed to was writing your congressman, hardly the most effective thing working women, when organized and united, could do. Organization must begin now of groups of rank-and-file women determined to keep their rights and to extend them to men. Mass action by working women could have a tremendous effect on pressuring the state to comply with their demands.

Extension of protective legislation to men is absolutely necessary because the laws as they stand now have been used to discriminate against women. The AFL-CIO spokesmen seem to disregard this important fact. For example, they were irritated that the UAW tried to get rid of hours limitations for women. But women were not hired in auto plants for many years because they could not work compulsory over-time; when GM decided to disregard hours limitation because of Title VII, they began hiring women.

Thus, women had been denied jobs because of protective legislation. Both hour limitations and no hour limitations hurt women workers. The solution is *voluntary overtime for all workers*. No one should be forced to work long hours to hold a job. Everyone should have the choice of overtime or no overtime.

In addition to the issue of the ERA and protective legislation, the conference also dealt with the lack of women in the leadership of the unions. It was noted that women were discouraged from running for offices and were not given such opportunities as stewards classes.

Some tried to argue — especially the men present — that the major problem was that women were lazy and apathetic, and didn't care to get involved. This attitude provoked hostility especially among the younger women. The officials then quickly turned around and blamed the unions, although since they were not blaming themselves, it was unclear who they thought was at fault.

Several women speakers, who had

"made it" in the unions, told of their experiences and said any woman could do it, if she really tried. One woman was very frank about the tricks you needed to learn. When she advanced she met the hostility of the men with a cup of coffee, and koochy-kooed up to them. It works wonders, she said. The similarity of my advice to the way men often make it in the unions was very clear. It was the feminine version of "kissing ass."

The official purpose of the conference was to encourage women to struggle for positions of leadership. But the present leadership did not acknowledge any responsibility for the discrimination women have faced in the AFL-CIO. No one talked in terms of the mass of women in the AFL-CIO; they can't all "make it" as union officials.

Pat on the Back

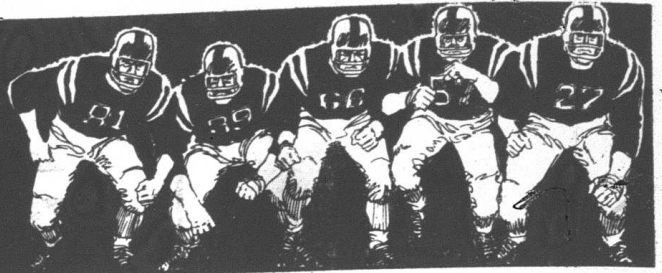
It is obvious why mass action against discrimination by working women was not mentioned. Any motion on the part of the women in the unions would immediately threaten those leaders — mostly men — who are responsible for the low level of involvement on the part of women. The conference was mainly an occasion for the leadership to pat itself on the back about the good things they did for the women in the unions.

Most women will never even hear about the conference. The women present will go back to their locals, encouraged and enthusiastic. Maybe something will get started in some places, but most will either become demoralized or be assimilated into the bureaucracy, and forget the needs of those women they left behind. Nevertheless, whether or not something concrete develops out of this particular conference, the fact that the AFL-CIO felt compelled to call it is evidence of the growing unrest among working women.

Rank-and-file women must organize independently of the leadership to struggle against both discrimination in the unions and super-exploitation and oppression on the job and in society at large. At the same time, all sections of the Women's Liberation movement must recognize that the mass of working class women must be organized into the movement if any real progress toward the liberation of women is to be made. Women's Liberation must give all possible encouragement and support to the struggles of working women. ■



Bread and Circuses



THE SPORTS REVOLT

Rick Sortun

"I tried to reach these young men. I tried to appeal to their pride -- and they had a lot of it at one time -- but they are lost. I can fight the other problems -- race, unrest, everything -- but the indifference, the lack of interest. That's the real infection." -- Jim Owens, head football coach at the University of Washington. (Sports Illustrated, "The Desperate Coach," August 25, 1969, et seq.)

The plight of Jim Owens is shared by many other coaches at all levels, confronted with the revolt against authoritarianism and racism in sports. Ironically, that revolt has broken out just at a time when sports are enjoying their greatest national popularity. Sports are supposed to be outside the realm of social and political strife. But athletes, like other students and working people, have been affected by their deteriorating conditions of life and "work" in America.

Americans are regarded as rabid sports fans, but few can ever satisfy their enthusiasm for sports except as spectators. Even in high school, few are able to participate in organized team sports. Once people start working there is even less of a chance to be involved in athletics.

There are some bowling and softball leagues organized at the workplace or in the community. But many other sports like fishing, hunting, boating and camping are limited by geography, time and money. In larger cities, with college and professional sports, it often costs too much for most people to go, even if enough tickets are available.

Television thus becomes the major way working people "participate" in sports. Through the detachment of television, players lose their humanity and appear as actors in an unreal drama or spectacle. The games have been oriented to the "interests" of spectators and their pocketbooks, and the result has been the exploitation of athletes and fans alike.

Instruments

Athletes have lost the sense of playing for their enjoyment or the team and are treated as instruments to be used by coaches, school officials and businessmen. Athletes become instruments, as working people have been the instruments of corporation owners and managers.

Where the corporate owners seek the highest profits they can make, the coaches seek the most victories possible, whatever the price. The price of success in sports, as in other areas of society, is more often extracted than freely given. Athletes, like workers, are used for others' ends.



Both athletes and workers do get something in the bargain, but no more than is necessary to keep them hustling and loyal to the coaches or company -- and what they do get is dependent on how much they fight for it. The fact that athletes must fight for their humanity and dignity, and are beginning to do so, should not be surprising once the nature of sports today is understood.

The athletic field or floor, particularly in football, is perhaps the most regimented, brutalizing institution in our society, outside of the Army and the workshop floor. And while the athletic revolt has been sporadic and carried out in isolation, it has already produced some noteworthy examples of struggle and solidarity.

The most significant struggles against racism and for democracy in sports have been led by blacks, despite the fact that (in the wake of earlier struggles) sports have been one area of our society where blacks have been allowed significant success. Black athletes, because of fewer opportunities outside of sports, have more to lose by challenging their bosses. Nevertheless, more conscious of their oppression and exploitation generally, blacks have carried their society-wide fight into athletics.

It is the social force of the black liberation movement that has enabled black athletes to question the present basis of sports. Black player protests and boycotts of racist athletic departments and schools have received wide support from other social movements concerned with human liberation.

The most spectacular player revolts have all broken out on the campus. There have been numerous political and "job action" incidents in big time col-

lege athletics around the questions of racism, dress and behavior codes. The political and social activities of players, such as the participation of athletes in anti-war demonstrations, have been another focus of controversy.

But currents of unrest and a growing militancy have also begun to spread among professional athletes. In the last several years, many professional athletes began organizing and have formed "unions." These unions to be sure do not have the character of an industrial union, but they face many of the same problems.

There are players who are anti-union and the equivalent of free riders, scabs, rate busters and the like. Here, as in industry, the unions must go beyond bread and butter issues and fight for better working conditions and control of their work.

As backward as most athletes have been about social and political matters, they are increasingly compelled to confront the nature of their work and their society. The unionization and increasing militancy of pro football players is a sign of awakening. The revolt goes well beyond what can be observed on TV and read about on the sports pages, so don't be surprised or angered if some day when you have a ticket to a game of some kind, you find the players have struck.

Allies

Athletes will need allies in their fight to reclaim athletics. A revolution in athletics is what is required, but it cannot succeed in the absence of complimentary changes in society at large.

There are many who scoff at the idea that athletes are exploited and oppressed. But even though pros are relative-

ly well paid -- for as long as they can play -- their bosses and owners are reaping tremendous profits from their labor.

Athletes must be supported when they attack the dehumanizing aspect of their sports. Just as working people cannot surrender their sense of social justice and solidarity with a punch of the time clock, neither can athletes surrender theirs when they put on a jock strap.

The organizing drives among athletes will need the support of the labor movement as well. In the case of a players' strike, would the ticket takers, food vendors, bus drivers, T.V. and radio crews, etc., support their struggle and vice versa? It was exactly that case that the Teamsters put forth, among other benefits to be gained from unionization, when they tried to organize the N.F.L. Players Association into an affiliate.

Unity

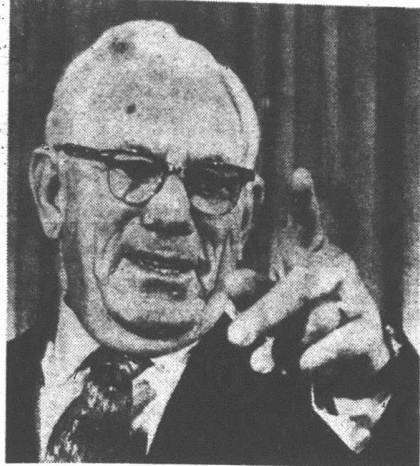
At the same time, the future success or failure of the athletic revolt depends most of all on the players themselves. Success can only be achieved through unity and the realization that the athletes themselves are in fact capable of really changing the nature of sports. Individual militant athletes cannot survive without the organization and support of their teammates.

The divisions that exist among athletes, e.g., between "stars and superstars," blacks and whites, men and women, are maintained artificially by those who control sports. For the most part the players themselves have a potential bond that only needs to be unleashed to be realized.

Of course there is competition between athletes, but the players are less concerned with winning at any cost than they are with the satisfaction of self-discipline and a job well done. It is the coaches and others controlling sports who argue that it doesn't matter how you play the game, it's whether you win or lose that counts.

One thing is clear about the structure of big time sports: it cannot survive, in its present state, the proud and questioning athlete -- just as industrial employers cannot tolerate too much free thinking, much less militancy, on the part of those who suffer from their imposed subjugation and exploitative discipline. Once athletes and workers realize that they will have taken a big step toward freeing themselves and transforming society. ■

[Rick Sortun played college football at the University of Washington in Seattle, finishing up with the Rose Bowl in 1964. Rick then played for 6 years in the N.F.L. with the St. Louis Cardinals, quitting after the 1969 season. He is a member of the Seattle branch of the International Socialists.]



I. W. Abel

Cans Sold Out

Steve Farrow

At the beginning of its 30-day strike against the can industry, officials of the United Steel Workers adopted a list of demands which they called "big and complete," a proposal which "doesn't leave out much." When the contract was ratified March 14, the terms of the final settlement were almost identical to the original demands. USW officials call the settlement "tremendous" and "very substantial." A close look at the settlement, however, reveals that it contains far less than the official hullabaloo claims.

Wages and COL

Two aspects of the contract have been widely publicized: wages, and the cost-of-living clause.

Over the three years of the contract, average wages will rise by 85 cents an hour; 50 cents an hour immediately, and 12½ cents in each of the second and third years. The new cost-of-living clause, which will not take effect until 1972, guarantees 25 cents an hour in the last two years of the contract, plus additional money if costs rise faster than the formula provided for in the contract (1 cent an hour increase for every 0.4 per cent increase in prices).

By 1973, the total pay package will have increased by about \$1.10 an hour. Improved pensions are also included in the contract: after 30 years, the fund will provide \$255 per month.

USW officials have been loudly claiming to have increased wages by 30 per cent. Unfortunately, this apparently impressive increase has already been offset by inflation.

Workers covered by USW contracts were once protected against inflation, but their cost-of-living clause was bargained away by union officials ten years ago. Without such a cost-of-living clause, can workers were losing at least 50 cents an hour to inflation by the third year of the last contract. Thus the entire pay "raise" which can workers will receive in the first year of the contract — 50 cents an hour — is catch-up money, money which has already been eaten up by past inflation.

The first year of the contract contains no "new" money — money which could be counted as increased "real" wages causing an improvement in the can workers' standard of living. Even worse, the new cost-of-living clause does not take effect until 1972, so the first

year's "raise" will be as unprotected against inflation as were the raises in the last contract. The "catch-up" money will not catch up to inflation, and can workers will fall further behind.

By the third year of the contract, when wages will have increased by \$1.10 an hour, over half of this amount will already have gone to pay for past inflation. Supposing that future inflation holds at roughly the current rate, "real" wages will have risen by perhaps six to seven per cent over three years, a far cry from the claimed 30 per cent increase. (Even this increase disappears if it is remembered that can workers have lost some 70 cents an hour to inflation since 1962, the year the escalator clause was given away.) The fact that the USW officials got almost everything they asked for in the contract, only shows how little they are willing to demand from the can companies.

When USW officials, like President I.W. Abel, label a settlement like this "tremendous" and "very substantial," they mark themselves as men who are accustomed to see elephants where there are only peanuts. As loudly as USW officials may carry on, there is no denying that they have short-changed the rank-and-file can worker.

"Poorly Written Manual"

Even at the official level there was significant opposition to ratification of the new settlement. Rank-and-file members of the USW do not have the right to vote on their own contracts; in can this right is restricted to the Container Industry Conference, a council composed partly of local union presidents, as well as officials of the international union.

If top officials of the union expected the Conference ratification meeting to be routine, they got more than they expected. The meeting lasted for a stormy six hours during which local presidents took the opportunity to attack I.W. Abel for negotiating a bad contract. Specific charges included Abel's failure to make a decent wage settlement, and to gain a four-day work week.

The most bitter attacks concerned details of the contract dealing with working conditions. As one local president said, "What good is it to negotiate a big wage increase if they take it away from you with a poorly written manual." When the Conference finally voted on

the contract, over one-third of its members were opposed to ratification.

The Conference vote is mainly significant as a reflection of increasing rank-and-file pressure on the local presidents from militant can workers. Enthusiasm for a strike ran high among the rank-and-file: in one 1,600 member local the strike vote was 1,435-to-0.

With initial strike support this high, few can workers would have been willing to accept a bad contract. If over one-third of the Conference members felt pressured enough to vote against the contract, it is likely that an even higher percentage of rank-and-file can workers would have voted down the settlement, if they had been given the opportunity.

Unlike wages and the cost-of-living clause, there are aspects of the new contract which have been given almost no publicity, and about which USW officials are close-mouthed. The major one was pointed to by the local president who observed that a "poorly written manual" would nullify the effects of a wage increase by worsening working conditions. Under USW procedures, working conditions and overtime are handled by each local, and are negotiated before the national contract.

The terms of these local settlements have not been publicized, but it is likely, as the bitterness at the Container Industry Conference meeting shows, that concessions were made on working conditions in order to get the wage settlement which the officials wanted. It is known that the USW's top officials, led by Abel, concentrated only on the wage increase and cost of living, and abandoned hotter issues such as the right to strike over local issues, and a shorter work week.

Steel Next

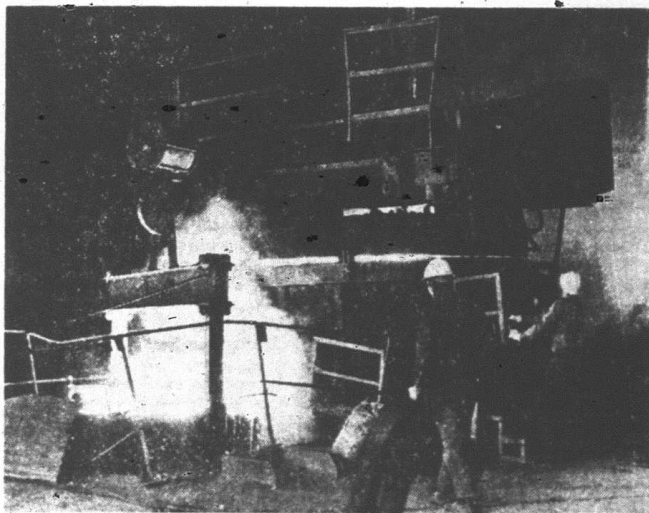
The can strike was only the first of four strikes for the USW in 1971. Next will come copper, and aluminum, followed by what could be the longest and toughest of the strikes, that against the basic steel industry. So far in 1971, USW top officials are batting zero, for a big zero is about all they were able to negotiate for their rank and file.

The settlement in can is vitally important to other USW members, especially steel workers, because the can contract usually sets the precedent for the steel contract. USW officials expect that it will be the model for steel again this year. They will not fight for any more, although they also realize they can't afford to win any less.

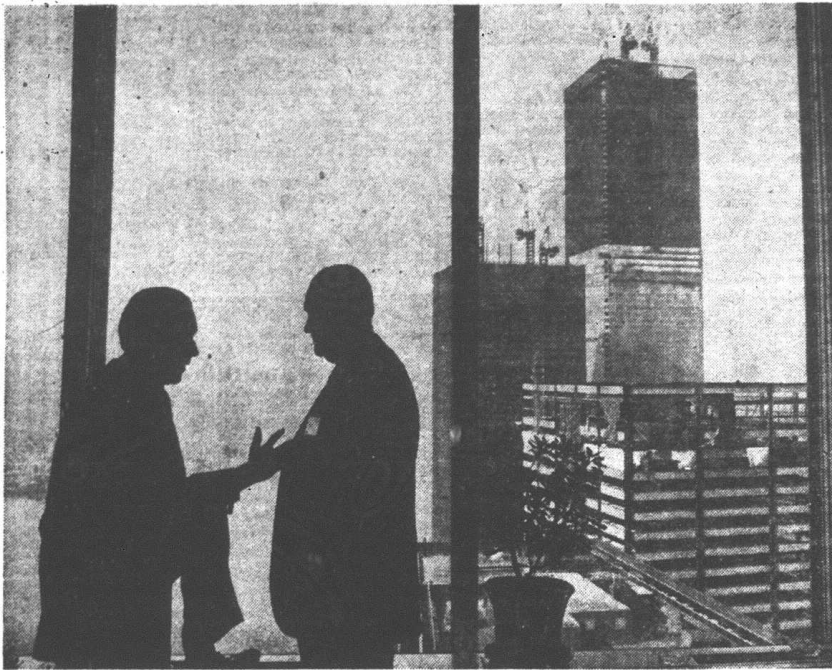
In the terms of the can settlement, steel workers can read what their own contract may be like, a contract in which wages don't catch up to inflation and working conditions are made even worse. If anything, the provisions in the steel contract governing working conditions will provide even less protection for steel workers than those in the can contract, since the steel industry's major concern in 1971 is stepping up productivity, or the output-per-man-hour. The steel companies will attempt to do this by speeding up the work rate, or laying off workers, or both.

The performance of the USW officials in the steel strike will be a carbon copy of their performance in can, unless rank-and-file steel workers prevent them from playing this role. They won't change roles voluntarily. USW members will have to force them to fight for a better contract.

If nothing is done, steel workers will be handed a contract as poor or worse than the one can workers got. But if rank-and-file workers organize independently of the officials they can start a fight for a better contract and a better life for themselves. ■



Steel ranks must organize to avoid a similar sell-out



The New Philanthropists And The Banks

Charles Leinenweber

From time to time in the business news, you will read how with considerable fanfare and tub thumping, David Rockefeller and his Chase Manhattan Bank are making low-interest loans to black small businessmen, to help them get started. "Indeed," you say, "they must be great philanthropists."

Do not be misled. The greatest philanthropists are America's blue and white collar workers, who make low-interest loans not to small businessmen, but to the nation's largest banks — like Chase Manhattan. Chances are your money is being used by David Rockefeller or someone like him, at this very instant.

"How could this be?" you say. "I never lent anything to David Rockefeller. I don't even know him." Look at the stub from your last paycheck. You will see that along with tax and social security, there is also a deduction for retirement, or pension. This is the amount that you loaned to the big banks last week.

Pension Funds

In 1955, pension fund assets in the United States totaled 27.4 billion dollars. In the next ten years they tripled, to 85.4 billion dollars. By 1967 they stood at 100 billion, and it is estimated that before this decade is out they will reach 280 billion.

Pension funds are the fastest growing segment of the type of assets that make a bank truly powerful: trust assets. It is with trust assets that a bank wields power in the corporation world, by buying up huge quantities of stocks and bonds. Commercial bank trust assets now account for forty per cent of all trading on the New York Stock Exchange.

What the company takes out of your paycheck for retirement, they send to the bank. Approximately three-quarters of all pension funds are managed by banks — and in more than eighty per cent of the cases, the bank has sole discretion over what to do with the funds, including what stocks to buy and how to vote them.

Through the device of the pension fund, America's philanthropic working people not only enrich the banks, but

contribute to their own exploitation. Their loans help establish the banks in the corporation world, through stock ownership and shared, or interlocking directorships. The very banks that they unwittingly lend money to, return to rule them.

Interlocks

The company doesn't send your money to just any bank. Three of the largest banks — Morgan Guaranty Trust, Bankers Trust, and Chase Manhattan, all of New York — handle one third of the nation's bank-managed pension funds. Half of Chase Manhattan's 14 billion dollars in trust assets come from pension funds.

With its trust assets, Chase Manhattan buys large chunks of stock in a variety of corporations. Five per cent of common stock, which entitles the holder to vote for directors, can be enough to control a corporation. At least, it enables the holder to exert tremendous influence. Chase Manhattan holds over five per cent in dozens of corporations, small and large.

Its holdings are both diverse and convenient. In 1967, Chase Manhattan held between five and ten per cent of the common stock of the following corporations: Boeing, and United Aircraft, along with Pan American and Eastern airlines (plus Western and Northwest, smaller airlines); National Steel, Allegheny-Ludlum Steel and Reynolds Metals; Texas Instruments and Sperry Rand; the Pennsylvania Railroad (later merged) and Pacific Inter-Mountain Express.

Big holdings by banks among corporations that are potential customers for each other or potential competitors, help to integrate American capitalism. In 1967 Chase Manhattan also held over five per cent of CBS, Cummins Engine, Addressograph, Con Ed, J.C. Penney, and Safeway Stores.

These are all big corporations, several of them near-giants. But what of the super-giants? Even on the highest level banks are extremely important, although their holdings are proportionately smaller: Few super giants have as much as five per cent of their stock held by a single institutional or individual investor. But the banks' importance can be

judged by the numbers of directors that they share with corporations.

Chase Manhattan interlocks with AT&T, IT&T, U.S. Steel, General Electric, Standard Oil (N.J.), Standard Oil (Ind.), Chrysler, Goodyear and R.J. Reynolds tobacco. Chase Manhattan also interlocks with Burlington Industries, General Foods, Singer, Celanese Corp., International Paper, and Federated Department Stores.

Looking at the same picture from the point of view of the corporations, the importance of the banks appears even more dramatically. U.S. Steel, for example, has nine director interlocks with banks: two each with Morgan Guaranty Trust, Chase Manhattan and Chemical Bank, which rank first, second and eleventh in the nation, respectively, in terms of trust assets; and one each with First National City (New York), the Mellon National Bank (Pittsburgh), and First Pennsylvania Banking and Trust (Philadelphia), which rank fourth, sixth and twentieth.

The reason for the interlocks is that every corporation, no matter how massive, is financially dependent on the banks. When profits are low, as now, corporations become even more dependent. To keep their credit lines secure, they must maintain close ties and strong relationships to the banks, and this is reflected in the makeup of boards of directors.

A corporate officer who crosses the banks will never win. When Norton Simon, the ultra-rich California tomato king, recently tried to gain control of Wheeling Steel, the first mistake he made was to challenge First National City's handling of Wheeling's pension fund. When he crossed First National, he suddenly found himself at odds with Chase Manhattan and several other big banks. His credit lines cut, Simon had to withdraw. Jimmy Ling, the highly-publicized, aggressive head of the L-T-V conglomerate, came up against the banks when he tried to take over Jones and Laughlin steel. The banks ruined him.

Secrecy

A bank's deposits are a matter of public record. Trust assets, however, have been kept secret, until recently when the

Patman Committee, a congressional committee, forced banks to reveal them. It is not unusual for people in the higher reaches of American capitalism to be so secretive; in fact, it is the rule.

Before the Patman reports, no outsider really knew how extensive or how concentrated their holdings were, and we still know very little. Liberal scholars quite typically assumed, in the absence of hard data, that banks were declining rapidly in importance, that corporate stockholdings were more and more widely dispersed, and that the corporations themselves were therefore becoming miniature democracies, managed by disinterested professionals.

In fact, as Robert Finch and Mary Oppenheimer show in their article, "Who Rules the Corporations?" [*Socialist Revolution*, Summer 1970 and September-October 1970], the assets of financial institutions have steadily increased in proportion to national wealth, decade by decade, since the Civil War. In 1890 they amounted to fourteen per cent of all national wealth; in 1929, thirty per cent; by 1965, nearly half.

Banks account for approximately half the assets of financial institutions. Insurance companies, on which there is very little revealing data, account for about one-quarter. The linkages between insurance companies and banks are mysterious, although obviously very close. Chase Manhattan, for example, shares seven directors with three major insurance companies, Equitable, Travelers and Continental.

Insurance companies and banks link up to coordinate corporate investment policy. There are rumors of possible formal mergers between four of the top banks and top insurance companies, including Chase Manhattan with Travelers. If carried out, the result would be that four banks would hold more than thirteen per cent of the nation's financial assets, 114.8 billion dollars. But as Fitch and Oppenheimer point out, "these mergers would only formalize already existing interlocking relationships."

Concentration in banking is more marked now than at any previous time. Four of the top seven banks by trust

assets were formed by mergers in the '50's and '60's. In 1922, celebrated as the heyday of finance capital, the five leading New York banks held thirty per cent of their city's deposits. By 1962, the five New York leaders held seventy per cent in the city, along with fifteen per cent nationally. Liberal scholars long ago declared it unfashionable for radicals to consider the banks as institutions of power. And all along, they were the ones wearing double-breasted suits.

Private Trusts

The pension funds that Americans lend to banks comprise about thirty per cent of their total trust assets of some \$250 billion. The rest are made up of private trusts. These represent the fortunes of America's strategic capitalist families — fortunes sustained by the unification of industrial and financial capital.

Pittsburgh banker Thomas Mellon purchased Gulf Oil and developed Alcoa out of his financial empire; the Rockefellers built their financial empire out of Standard Oil. Fitch and Oppenheimer write:

"By merging industrial into financial capital, through the trust department mechanism, the great capitalist families have been able to avoid dissipation of their estates. And at the same time they have gained a measure of social control over industrial capital by merging it with other trust department assets under their institutional control. This vastly increased the importance of their wealth in qualitative as well as quantitative terms."

The funds that you provide for needy Rockefellers, Mellons and du Ponts, are

combined with their own fortunes to increase their economic power.

The answer to the question, who owns the banks, is a secret. The Patman Committee in 1964 published a report entitled the *Twenty Largest Stockholders of Record in Member Banks of the Federal Reserve System*. In five volumes, the report covered nearly fourteen thousand banks.

The vast majority of American banks are small, local banks. The stockholders in these local banks were not shy about their holdings, and the committee had no trouble finding out who they were. They were small town aristocrats, judges, doctors and so forth, members of old, moderately substantial local families, who derived some measure of wealth, prestige and community power from their associations with the bank.

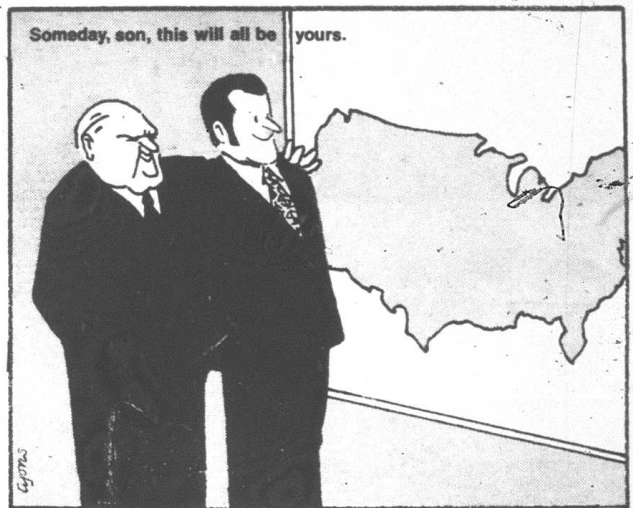
Among the top five stockholders of the Citizens National Bank of Downers Grove, Illinois (\$15 million deposits), are Edward A. Volderberg, Robert C. Brogmus and Myrtle Walgreen. No doubt they are paragons of Downers Grove society.

Who Owns the Banks

But among the top five stockholders of Chase Manhattan (\$16 billion deposits, \$14 billion trust assets) are Cudd & Co., Sigler & Co., and Don & Co. *Who are they?*

As the Patman Committee entered the rarified atmosphere of the big banks, the one hundred that control half the nation's deposits, the twenty that control half the trust assets, they were given not names of people, but names of nominees.

Cudd & Co., Don & Co., and so forth, are legal inventions to disguise the identities



of the actual owners. The addresses of the nominees are banks. Thus Cudd & Co. are Chase Manhattan, Sigler & Co. are Manufacturers Hanover Trust, and Don & Co. are Commerce Trust, Kansas City.

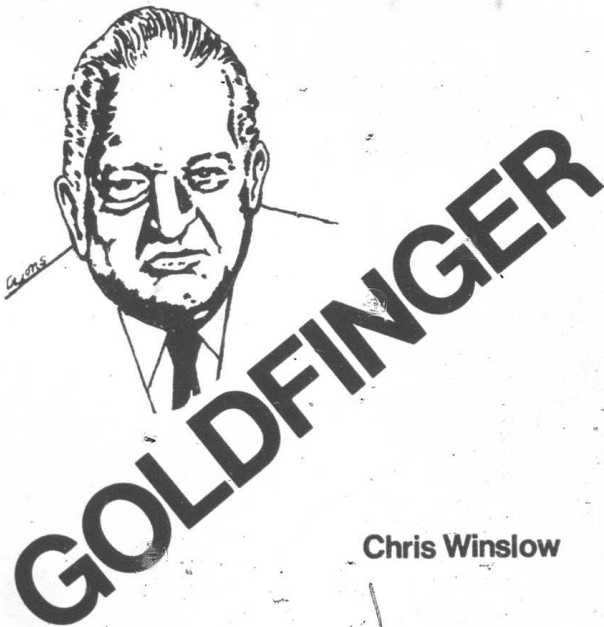
In some cases the nominee and the bank address may stand for a family fortune or group of fortunes. In other cases it may stand for the bank itself; all big banks own substantial amounts of their own stock and each other's stock, and these amounts are increasing. In such cases it is necessary to find out what family fortunes control the bank.

American capitalism is as much a

family business as it ever was, despite all that is written about managerial control and dispersal of ownership. And the big banks, more importantly than ever, are still family banks.

The nation's six biggest banks, and their families are: Morgan Guaranty Trust (Morgan family); Chase Manhattan (Rockefeller); Bankers Trust (Morgan); First National City (Rockefeller, Stillman); United States Trust (Whitney); and Mellon National (Mellon).

The Robber Barons neither died nor faded away. They are with us now, more sophisticated perhaps, and thriving on the aid of America's new philanthropists — you. ■



Chris Winslow

On March 3, obituaries announced the sudden death of Charles W. Engelhard, one of the world's richest men, in Florida. Some obituaries noted that Engelhard had provided the inspiration for Ian Fleming's sinister character "Goldfinger," but they left the connection unexplained.

Engelfinger, who was only 54 when he died, traded up a small jewelry-supply business into one of the world's largest interlocking networks of firms special-

izing in precious metals. He also dealt with precious metals in their liquid form — international finance. His empire was founded on the exploitation of near-slave labor in South Africa — and he was a respected American liberal.

Engelfinger inherited his father's business after World War II. He broke into the big time by exporting gold from South Africa. Since this was illegal at the time, he melted down the gold and cast it in the form of trinkets,

which were shipped to Hong Kong and re-cast. Ian Fleming, who knew him, later used this technique as the basis for "Goldfinger's" smuggling.

But Engelfinger's major business was melting down human labor. In time he grew to be the second-largest owner of South African gold mines, with major interests in platinum, uranium, and other precious metals. All these, in South Africa, are mined by black contract laborers who live in walled compounds and sweat their lives out in deadly conditions for less than a dollar a day.

To back up this system, and suppress the black workers who form the entire basis of South Africa's economy, the South African government has ended all political freedom for the 80 per cent of South Africa's population who are non-white, and nearly all freedom for the remainder who are white. The party in power has tried to separate the races entirely. The opposition regards this as impractical but has been able to offer no real alternative since it, too, supports the use of the blacks as a slave-labor force with no political or trade-union rights. (The white sections of the working class have so far refused to make common cause with the more numerous blacks.)

Foreign Aid

Engelfinger did not rest content with benefitting from this system. In 1960, the shooting of demonstrators by police at Sharpeville touched off fears of black revolt in South Africa. British and American firms made plans to pull out of the country. Engelfinger headed up a successful campaign to keep the firms there.

Together with the banking firm of

Dillon, Read & Co. (whose head, C. Douglas Dillon, was President Kennedy's Secretary of the Treasury), Engelfinger organized the loan of more than \$200 million to South Africa's government from eleven American banks (including nearly all the nation's largest banks) and American-controlled international finance institutions. Engelfinger himself contributed \$30 million dollars.

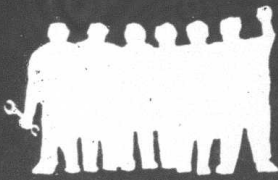
The loans stabilized South Africa's economy; the British and American firms decided to stay. Today, foreign investment is heavier than ever and black opposition has been nearly wiped out.

A Long-Time Friend

At home in New Jersey and Florida, Engelfinger was a major financial backer of the Democratic Party. He was an influential figure behind the scenes in the Democratic Party in New Jersey. He played a role in securing the Vice-Presidential nomination for Hubert H. Humphrey, a long-time friend, in 1964, and he contributed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

President Johnson, another friend, appointed him to represent the United States at the Independence celebrations of Zambia — an African country whose major wealth is its copper mines — in 1964. Although in 1965 and 1966 student and black groups exposed his South African operations, he was unconcerned, and rightly so: in 1966, he was granted the New Jersey chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews' "Humanitarian of the Year" award.

This is the kind of man who is the backbone of our society. ■



CONTRACT BLUES

One of the problems with the use of the labor contract by American organized labor is that, since the 1930's, very little effort has been made by the official labor leadership to acquaint the ranks with the actual and potential function of the contract. Most workers labor under a contract that is a major factor in the way their lives have to be led, yet many are unaware of what the contract contains and have found that their leadership makes little effort to get copies of the contract into their hands.

Even when copies are supplied, knowledge of the actual meaning of a contract's content is sometimes hard to come by. Contracts are too often written by lawyers in a special version of the English language. To understand it without difficulty, one must not only be a lawyer, but be one of the lawyers who wrote the particular contract, and even they have trouble.

In fact, it has become the practice for the bargainers from both sides to write important contract clauses in such a way that they can be interpreted in the favor of either side. The result in those situations where a master contract covers a number of workplaces is that the unclear clause gets interpreted differently in each plant or workplace depending upon the strength of each particular local union. In periods in which there is a scarcity of work, the plant with the united rank and file gets short workweek assignments while the plant in which the workers are not together works overtime — the workers in the weak local work cheaper and under their brothers and sisters in the other workplaces.

Stuff It

In an increasing majority of industries the bargaining agreements are not only hard to understand, but they are also long and involved, with indexes and tables of contents that are inadequate. To find what the contract has to say on a particular subject it is often necessary to read twenty and thirty pages and sometimes more. Most workers are very aware that contracts are necessary but there is deep anger at how the contracts are used against them:

The current design and misuse of contracts too many times results in the following incident: a worker approaches an elected union leader, and explains his or her grievance only to have the leader open the contract, study it a moment and then answer that nothing can be done because it is not covered by the contract or that the contract language makes doing anything for the grievant impossible.

In turn the aggrieved worker gets resentful against the leader, tells or feels like telling him or her to "stuff it" and does not soon again bring a grievance to the official union. The result is that

the workers lose a lot of what protection it is possible for the contract to afford.

Another way of exposing the same problem is to point out that poorly assembled and written contracts are a major aid to the employers in their fight to stop workers from establishing better working conditions. The clearest language in most contracts, though still much in need of improvement, is in the clauses relating to wage-money items.

This goes along with the fairy tale that all the rank and file is interested in is how much is in their checks at the end of the week. A handy excuse is thus supplied for all the poorly-written, legalistic clauses that affect how the work has to be done.

Three Categories

Working conditions divide into three main categories: (1) *Environmental* — all matters involving the general cleanliness and safety of the workplace, from the air that is breathed, to the clutter or neatness of immediate work areas and the size and decency of eating and toilet areas, to the safety of the machines and tools being used and first-aid facilities; (2) *Relief* — all things connected with physical and mental rest from both labor and routine on the job, whether it be relief and lunch periods, cleanup time or the right to transfer from one job to another within the workplace; and (3) *Production Decisions* — the right of employees to have voice in the decisions of production whether it be in the establishment of production quotas or assembly line speeds, or in the establishment of the way a particular worker (or group of workers) goes about getting out his or her production each day.

The third category is of course the one over which there is most fighting between workers and the people who manage them while they produce.

Workers need the power to keep the employers from conducting speedups and increasing workloads, and they need the power also, as individuals if need be, to work out their own motions and routine that they will use while performing the operations that create the product or service.

Decisions

Nothing enrages a worker more than when someone in management comes along and wants to make changes in the way the worker is getting out his or her production. It gets said a million times each day: "if the SOB will go away and leave me alone to do it my way then I'll give them the production they want, but if they keep on messing with me then to hell with it."

It is to the advantage of the employers to keep workers making as few decisions as possible, even decisions of the smallest kind. And of course, it is to the advantage of the people who labor to win the power to make more and more of the decisions connected with the work process, now, today and every day, otherwise the job increasingly becomes impossible and one that kills.

Sit in on the negotiation of any contract and the number one interest of management is to get language keeping their right to make all decisions connected with production, both in an overall sense in the management rights clause and in all the other clauses where control over production is maintained. If labor leaders approach this fight for more contractual decision-making rights for workers, the correct way must necessarily involve their rank and file. At present, most labor leaderships seek to involve the ranks — if they do so at all — only at contract renewal time and their concentration is on wages and fringes and seldom on conditions.

It is possible for the leadership to involve the ranks in the fight for better

conditions every day of the life of the contract. If the contract contains, for example, a clearly written grievance procedure that does not handcuff the on-the-job power of the union ranks, then the ranks can go out each day and win grievances. And, when they win grievances they establish precedents. The things that have already been won through the grievance process during the life of a contract are the things that can most easily be put into the master contract in the next negotiations.

World War II saw the end of most of the direct rank-and-file involvement in the daily grievance process. Prior to that time there was a direct participation that was established by the initiative of the ranks themselves in the early 1930's. In fact, it was that initiative that organized thousands of local unions independent of the AFL and made possible the formation of the CIO.

Now, almost forty years later, labor's ranks have been cut out of the official daily on-the-job life of the unions, cut out for so long that an entire generation of workers have never witnessed the process by which people like themselves were able to mobilize around the grievance procedure. They have never seen how it is possible for them to use it and improve upon it as an important tool in the fight to make their jobs liveable.

Unfortunately the official leadership of labor is doing little to demonstrate how to do this to the ranks and so they are endangering the very power and life of the unions.

[Socialists like those in the U.S. are at times critical of specific union programs and officials because we don't agree that some of the ideas they contain or operate on are winners. But, criticism aside, we know that the unions are the only organization that American workers presently have to defend themselves from the employers and the government.]

We therefore believe that the ranks must be involved in all the transactions conducted daily between their employers and union leaders. One of the things necessary to this is that the new generation of younger workers in particular become well informed about all the basic technical aspects of both grievance and contract negotiation and related matters of representation on the job and contract administration.

Toward that goal, in a forthcoming issue of *Workers' Power* this column will devote itself to those questions, beginning with an examination of how workers lose the rights they are supposed to have as American citizens, from the time that they punch in until they punch out, due to the failure of too many collective bargaining contracts to bring them the most basic rights spelled out in the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights.]



A REVIEW

R.F. Kampfer

WATERLOO

It's very rare that a war movie is able to show just how much luck, bravery, skill and stupidity play their parts in determining the outcome of a battle. *Waterloo* is such a movie. Seeing it would be a good introduction for anyone who wanted to study the art of war.

The battle itself was fought with incredible bravery by the rank and file, and clumsy incompetence by the generals of both sides. Both Bonaparte and Wellington alternated between brilliant feats of strategy and the most elementary mistakes.

The battle opened when Wellington and his British and Belgian troops carelessly became separated from Blucher and his Prussians. Bonaparte quickly sought to take advantage of this by crushing his opponents one at a time. He closed in on Wellington, then threw away his initial advantage by sending away 30,000 men under separate command to keep Blucher at bay.

Wellington's plan was to hold fast against Bonaparte in hopes that Blucher would be able to rejoin him and fall on the French flank. Since he had no way of knowing just where the Prussians were, how fast they could move, or what troops were opposing them; it was very possible that his whole army would be wiped out before they arrived.

It would have been much safer to postpone the battle by retreating until he could reunite his forces. One thing that made him reluctant to do this was the fact that many of his troops were Belgian and not enthusiastic about fighting for England. Leaving the defensive positions would have made it easier for them to desert.

The rain came to Wellington's rescue. It turned the ground to mud, mired down Bonaparte's artillery, and delayed the battle until the ground hardened. Once the battle did start, it became clear that this would be a war of attri-



tion. Massive waves of French troops threw themselves against the unmoving British lines. The slaughter was great on both sides, it was just a question of which would crack first.

Then Ney led an all-out charge of the French heavy cavalry, straight for a drainage ditch that cut in front of the English position. Bonaparte was allegedly incapacitated with dysentery when Ney made this blunder. The decimated horsemen shattered themselves against the British squares. Desperately Napoleon sent in his finest infantry, the Old Guard. It was too late.

The Prussians arrived just as both British and French were reaching the end of their strength. Blucher had slipped around the French blocking force, and Napoleon could not communicate with it. "I should have burned Berlin," he said; but he wouldn't get another chance. His dreams of dynasty were over.

Director Sergei Bondarchuk has turned the battle into a movie accurate enough to be used as a training aid for new officers. The picture contains no implicit political message. One

would not wish for the victory of either the British or French empire.

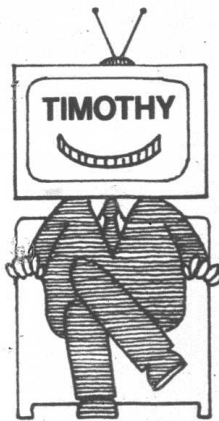
During the peninsular campaign, Wellington scorched the earth of southern Portugal to starve the French, not caring what happened to his allies the Portuguese. He openly despised his soldiers and called them the scum of the earth — but he fed them regularly. Napoleon said he loved every soldier like his own son — but he rarely paid them and forced them to loot for their rations. During the Egyptian and Russian campaigns he callously abandoned them.

Christopher Plummer and Rod Steiger give good portrayals of the super-aristocrat Wellington and the over-emotional Napoleon. They are the only characters not completely overshadowed by the events they are involved in, although the minor roles are also well played.

The real star of the movie is what looks like an entire division of the Russian Army. During World War II it was said that a whole brigade of Marines was reserved just to make Hollywood movies about the Corps. The Red Army seems to be going in for films in an even bigger way.

In this picture they show that they have not lost any of their old skill in mass infantry and cavalry maneuvers. Bondarchuk experiments with a few camera tricks in filming them, but without contributing much to the film. Some of his back-projection shots are rather clumsy and make it obvious that the stars are not really participating in the charges.

The ethics of depriving thousands of extras of their jobs by using soldiers, especially soldiers that are supposed to "serve the working people," is highly questionable. But if movie-making keeps the Red Army out of Czechoslovakia or Poland, it is worthwhile. ■



Richard Lyons

Whenever Timothy was angry, he Was all smiles. The corners of his head Turned up, and it was difficult to see Just what he thought or hear quite what he said.

He threw once a glistening new Mahogany color-console out the door Of the TV dealer's shop and the dealer too Because the network evening news at four

Offered the unplain truth in compromising Evidence, and still he did not want His facts to come unvarnished... An uprising Caused his face to brighten with a grunt

Of displeasure, and the mention of war Constricted his lips into a hardened grin Until his laughter crashed through a

closed door With his face behind it, if the word got in

That blood was flowing for some old hoary Abstraction. Timothy rolled and rocked In smiles of agony because he knew glory Was a mouldy cover-up and was always shocked.

But it didn't matter. No one ever looked Or listened. The smooth news kept up A steady roar. Statisticians booked Bets on how much blood fills sorrow's cup.

Each time he tried to be absurd, he lost To his surprise, but took each loss the same, In smiling failure, the inevitable cost Of trying to beat the world at its own game.

My Lai

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

cate and confuse anti-war sentiment by finding a scapegoat, the trial has opened Nixon to protest both from the anti-war and the pro-war side.

The initial response to the right-wing pro-Calley campaign has been slight — only 500 people came to a Detroit rally called by two right-wing groups April 4. Despite the wide sympathy for Calley, the public remains anti-war.

The rights only rallying cry — aside from sympathy for Calley personally — is the call for a "victory" which cannot be won. Thus in the long run, the suspicion of the Army and government which the verdict has provoked is likely to increase the opposition to the war.

Within the army, in addition to strip-

ping away the official justifications for the war more than ever before, there is a more particular significance to the verdict as well. Since the war started, in isolated cases, at great personal risk, individual soldiers have refused to behave as Calley did; more recently, out of simple self-preservation, whole units have refused to go into battle. Whether for moral reasons or from motives of survival, any refusal to take part in a suppressive war is justified. But the Calley verdict has created a new situation — the Army itself has admitted that certain actions are impermissible and punishable. This will provide a

point around which the opposition within the Army can organize refusals to take part in actions against civilians.

Politically, the anti-war movement must take advantage of the new unease about the war which the verdict has provoked. A large turn-out for the April 24 mass demonstrations is important to counter the right-wing exploitation of the issue. In addition, those who are building the demonstrations should try to mobilize the very broad group whose response to the Calley verdict has been to question the war. As stated elsewhere in this issue, such an effort should aim at the working class

and should link the war issue with the daily struggles of that class.

Local groups can aim leaflets at factories, and in doing so, they should speak directly to the Calley issue by pointing out that the real responsibility for My Lai lies in the political nature of the war as a war against Vietnamese self-determination. In this way, the fury of America's working people at the use of Calley as a scapegoat can be linked with their growing opposition to the war, and the verdict which provided a temporary rallying point for the right wing can be turned into a blow against the war. ■

DISCUSSION ARTICLE:

Gay Liberation And Society

James Coleman

The Gay Liberation movement, whose explosive growth was described in our last issue (*Workers' Power*, no. 31), is first of all a movement of homosexuals for their own rights. Gay people are fighting for what should be the simplest of rights — the right to attend their jobs, walk on the street, speak to their friends, live with those they love, without hiding what they are.

The support for such a fight by members of an unpopular minority is a test for anyone who claims to fight for freedom in general. In the past, most sections of the socialist movement have ducked this issue — to the point where some socialist groups, when their own members were arrested in raids on gay bars, have expelled these members rather than defending them against their victimization!

But the fight for gay liberation is not just a fight for minority rights. This struggle leads in the direction of a more humane society. In fighting the oppression of homosexuals, the Gay Liberation movement is also fighting against a culture which is oppressive to everyone.

In this society, people are forced to compete against each other instead of working together. "It's a dog-eat-dog world," we say — or as it was put by Bertolt Brecht, the German Communist poet, "I would be kind, and not such a bastard, but circumstances won't permit it."

The basic fact of our society is that a small class holds all the power — over the factories and shops, over the social institutions and government — and we all have to fight each other for the crumbs that fall from their table.

What's this have to do with private life? People like to think they come home from work to a private world, where kindness and not dog-eat-dog is the rule. But people no more decide how to live at home than they "bargain freely" with their employers. The same system which keeps us fighting each other at work makes us fight each other at home.

The schools and churches teach us that men are supposed to be "breadwinners," women "homemakers." Women are supposed to obey men. Women have to take care of the home, cook for the man, raise the kids — but their husbands are supposed to make all the decisions.

The decision where to live has to be

made for the convenience of the "breadwinner" — most often, for the man. Men like to go out with their friends, but they want the wife to stay home — and she has to, if there are kids, because many men won't be bothered to take care of kids.

Men decide when to have sex — the wife is supposed to go along. As a result, many women come to hate sex — for them, every touch is a battle lost, out of tiredness and the desperate hope that maybe this time it will be different.

None of this is because men are greedy — although men do gain concrete benefits from this situation, which encourage most of them to support it. Rather, we are forced to live like this because the economy is sex-divided. Women are used for housework so that this huge part of the economy doesn't become a social responsibility — which would mean businessmen would have to pay for housework instead of reaping profits from commercial production. Also, women are used as a reserve labor force — not all jobs are open to them, and on the average, they earn only 60 per cent of a man's wages.

The ideas of men as "breadwinners" and women as "homemakers" help make men and women accept this state of things. And (surprise, surprise) the schools, the newspapers and the churches, all aligned with those who rule society, teach that the division between men and women is a law of nature and can't be changed.

People often try hard to achieve love and understanding in the family. But the different roles of men and women most often mean that they don't understand each other, that they are more or less at war with each other, and that the myth of the home as a haven from the competitive world outside will remain — just a myth.

All this is part of the basis for Women's Liberation; women will have to fight both against their domination by men, and against their exploitation as houseworkers and cheap labor — and ultimately for a socialist society in which both can be ended. But this situation is also the basis for Gay Liberation. In teaching people that the family is a "law of nature" — and within the family, the different roles of males and females — it is necessary to make people fear and hate everything else.

In reality, there is nothing "unnatural" about homosexual feelings. Nearly

everyone at times feels some warmth, and even love, for people of their own sex. (We are not yet talking about sexual attraction.) In ordinary life, this warmth is usually expressed as friendliness or playfulness — men put their arms around each other's shoulders after a football game, or punch each other to show friendliness.

Women are more open about emotion — partly because being "more emotional" is one of the stereotypes about women, and partly because a woman's relations with men are often so humiliating that she turns to other women for understanding. But most people feel awkward if these emotions go beyond casual friendliness. Most people, of course, are even more hostile to the idea of physical love between the same sex.

What makes people ashamed to feel, not just sexual attraction, but any strong emotion toward people of their own sex? The reason has nothing to do with "nature" — rather, people are trained to feel this way. Growing up, boys are taught to be ashamed of any strong emotions they have toward other boys; they are taught to be aggressive in going after girls.

Those who are gentle, or shy, or fond of other boys, are made to fear they're "queer." Girls are taught not to show interest in a boy before he shows interest; if they do — or if they are too intellectual or assertive — they are told they'll never get a man. People can and often do have different feelings — deep attraction to their own sex, non-dominating or non-submissive attitudes to the other sex — but are taught that these feelings are not "manly" or "womanly."

Schools and churches help teach all this. So do parents, who above all want their children to grow up "normal" — that is, conforming to the prescribed sexual roles. The youths who, for whatever reason, feel a definite sexual attraction for their own sex, are made to feel ashamed, wicked, or sick; the greater number who feel a tentative sexual attraction, or simply warmth and affection, become afraid to show it. This doesn't just affect feelings about one's own sex. Fear of emotion makes boys treat girls as "pieces of ass;" women's fear of not being attractive to men makes them play degrading roles. Many people do not and cannot fit these roles at all. These roles are favored by soci-

ety and they are based in a sexual division of labor which is deeply oppressive.

There's nothing warm or human about any of this. Our natural abilities to feel warmth and love for our own sex, for men to be gentle and think of women as people and not "pieces of ass," for women to be dignified and independent toward men — all this is twisted out of shape. After this, any real warmth or love, even between men and women, much less the same sex, is gained in spite of what we've been taught.

How can this be changed? Behind these humiliating roles — humiliating for both men and women — lies the competitive society to which the roles are adapted. Moreover, so long as the family is the unit in which most people live, any other way of living — such as homosexual love — will be socially disapproved.

This means that an end both to the humiliating roles of men and women, and to the repression of gay people, can't come just by changing people's ideas, or by a few people adopting alternative life-styles and hoping their example will somehow spread. In the short run, the women's movement and the gay movement will have to challenge the institutions of oppression — in the long run, Gay Liberation, like Women's Liberation, requires a revolutionary solution.

It's also true that some people have had bad experiences with homosexuals — some have had the experience of homosexuals trying to force sex on them. We oppose this — just as we oppose men forcing sex on women. But the use of force by the homosexual man results from a society which denies him ways to find sex openly. As the gay movement makes it possible for gay people to live more openly, gay people will be able to find each other more easily — and in fact, straight people will find homosexual advances less frightening.

Social Relationships

The social relationships of this society are enslaving — not just to homosexuals and women, but to everyone. By seeking liberation for gay people, Gay Liberation is seeking a change in the way people look at the relations among men and women — and in the actual relations, too. The gay movement, beyond fighting for gay people's rights, helps us all to find the ability to feel love for our own sex — which our teachers and churches made most of us afraid of — and it also helps challenge the social relationships which make women dominated and humiliated by men.

Thus Gay Liberation is linked to Women's Liberation. Although particular organizations may deserve criticism or opposition, at bottom both these movements aim at equality between the sexes and full freedom in sexual and social relationships. Both are steps toward the kind of society socialists fight for — a society based on the free development of every man and woman.

We add that this can never be accomplished without a complete overturn in which the majority of the people — the working class — takes power. In turn, for all who struggle against exploitation, acceptance of the freedom of the woman and the homosexual is part of the commitment to a society where all are truly free.

[This article represents a minority viewpoint within the International Socialists. James Coleman is a member of the I.S. Gay Caucus.]

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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

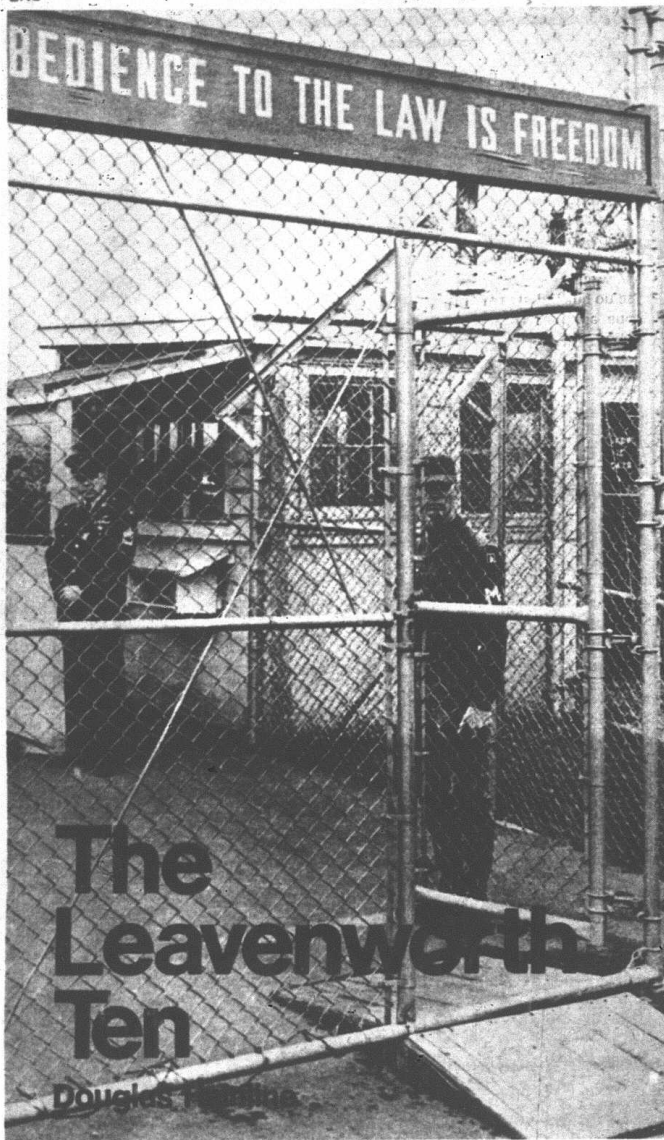
Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society 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.



A savage repression against radical military prisoners at Leavenworth has been unleashed by Army authorities there. Ten of the most articulate radical-prisoners have been thrown into Maximum Security Cells and threatened with a court-martial for "conspiracy to introduce contraband" into the prison.

The "contraband" in question is "unauthorized books and magazines," the repression is explicitly political. None of the ten are charged with disobedience to orders, inciting to riot, or any of the usual frame-up indictments.

Nor do the books and magazines which are the object of the military inquisition represent any immediate threat: they are not publications urging mutiny, or giving instructions on how to make weapons, or describing methods of escape. They include the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, as well as assorted topical-publications of various radical groups.

Why has the Army responded to some radical literature with such hysterical "overkill?" The Leavenworth administrators are not political Neanderthals who are reacting mindlessly to the stimulus of the Red Flag. Rather, they are some of the most politically sophisticated officers in the Army's "confinement specialist" pool.

Leavenworth has long been regarded by many stockade-wise prisoners as easier time than most stockades. More in the public eye, and staffed by "professional" penologists, Leavenworth subjected its victims to fewer arbitrary torments than many stockades in remote areas, which are often staffed by inept temporarily-assigned sergeants and officers who view the prisoners with contempt and hatred.

The Leavenworth authorities have been fully in step with the recent Army experiment in allowing minor improvements of the soldier's life. For instance, correspondence rules were liberalized this fall, and the Commandant has tried to pose as the "friend" of the prisoners.

But the Army's "liberalization" is in part a response to the growing "radicalization" among its rank and file, and that radicalization has been going on at Leavenworth. Leavenworth has always had a high concentration of "politicals" (deserters, Vietnam refusers, non-cooperators), as well as "hard" prisoners (rapists, murderers, and similar types), because it gets all military prisoners who receive sentences of more than six months.

In the past, most of these "politicals" have been "individualist" radicals, pacifists, deserters, rather than revolution-

aires oriented toward organizing a mass movement. Their attitude on coming to Leavenworth tended to be, "Now I've done my act of conscience, so I'll just serve my time and get out."

Furthermore, racial divisions among Black and white soldiers exist at Leavenworth as they do everywhere else in the Army. While these divisions sometimes lead to racial violence, which is an annoyance for the authorities, they also serve to keep prisoners from directing their energies against the prison system itself — and thus are viewed by the prison staff as a lesser evil to Black/white unity around revolutionary politics.

(Which is not to say that there is a conscious plot at the Pentagon to foster race hatred among the troops; rather, the more perceptive and cunning sergeants and junior officers who are in charge of the troops simply learn how to manipulate racist attitudes on both sides to serve their own ends.)

But the last few months at Leavenworth have seen a change. Instrumental in this change was the arrival, over several months time, of a group of Black and white radical prisoners from Fort Lewis. They included several militant, articulate and conscious revolutionaries who view their imprisonment as simply one more opportunity to spread the good word.

Some of these men eventually became parolees, which gave them the privilege of receiving any books and publications that were sent to them. Almost simultaneously, several enrolled in a night school course given in the prison by a local college, taught by a retired "lifer" who hadn't kept up with the new "sophisticated," "liberal" turn by the Army.

Poor fellow. At the end of every class session he faced a barrage of unanswerable questions from some of his students, who challenged his every assertion about "the land of the free." All he could do was keep repeating, dazedly, "In all my years of teaching, I've never run into anything like this." No doubt.

Radical literature was circulating, semi-formal discussion groups were turning over the questions of the day, even the official indoctrinator of the system was being politically fringed. The revolutionaries were competing in "the free market-place of ideas," and they were cleaning up. Unable to defeat them in the "market-place," the forces of repression, desperate to smash the growing radicalism, decided a little state intervention was in order.

Frame-up

And so it was that in early March, in the words of one of the victims, "They just rounded up anyone they thought was against the government." Ten victims were chosen, put into isolation cells, and now are faced with a court-martial for the increasingly popular charge of "conspiracy."

Does the government have a case? At first glance, it would seem not. Passing "contraband" among prisoners in different custody grades goes on all the time at all prisons. Such "contraband" usually consists of narcotics, "pornography," candy, home-made weapons and similar items.

When "caught," offenders are often not even formally punished. When formal punishment is applied, it is almost always administrative in nature: the "offenders" are reduced a custody grade or two or otherwise denied privileges.

Moreover, given the nature of the "contraband" in this case, even assuming the men are "guilty," one would

think that only a hopelessly blind idiot could even conceive of resorting to a court-martial. Imprisonment at hard labor for "introducing books?" It is as if the Commanding Officer at Leavenworth were searching for some new method of destroying what's left of the Army's already badly damaged public image.

And yet, this line of reasoning overlooks the fact that the Army has gotten away with even more atrocious outrages in the recent past. For example, two privates at Fort Ord were sentenced to four years at hard labor for giving out an anti-war leaflet to their fellow basic trainees.

The only thing that restrains the military is publicity, and not every frame-up gets it. If they can carry out their assassination in the shadows, they will. Clearly, this is what the authorities at Leavenworth have in mind.

The Army's hopes of avoiding national attention are based on the fact that none of the accused are affiliated with any organization, nor have any ties with powerful and influential public figures. They are just ten rank-and-file militants carrying on their work under extremely difficult circumstances.

Free the Leavenworth 10

The new spirit of resistance that is growing within the military has the potential to become a powerful ally of the anti-war movement. Moreover, revolutionary currents have begun to surface in one prison after another around the country. The anti-war, radical and black liberation movements cannot afford to abandon the Leavenworth Ten.

Specifically, demonstrations around this case must be organized on every campus and in every city. Letters of protest should be written to the Department of the Army in Washington, D.C. A committee to defend these men has been formed in Berkeley, California. For further information, write: 1610 Grove Street, Berkeley, California, 94709. ■

[Douglas Hainline is a member of the International Socialists who was in Army stockades at the Presidio of San Francisco and Fort Lewis, Washington, where he met several of the accused.]

Bulletin

As we go to press, it was announced that the Army has backed down from its threat to court-martial the ten radical prisoners at Leavenworth.

Instead, "administrative hearings" were held — at which the accused were denied counsel and had not even the minimum guarantees of bourgeois legality (rules of evidence, right to confront accusers, etc.). At these hearings, three of the men were cleared, but seven were sentenced to permanent detention in Maximum Custody, plus having varying amounts of their time-off for good behavior taken away.

A previously-unused wing of the prison was re-opened just to hold the seven, whose ideas are so dangerous that the Army has decided to strictly segregate them from the other prisoners.

A struggle is now being waged to reverse this decision, which has in effect sentenced these men to permanent solitary confinement (until their sentences expire) solely for the crime of being political radicals.