

# Workers' Power

BIWEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

NO. 84 OCTOBER 19 - NOVEMBER 1, 1973 154

## DUMP NIXON, JAIL SPIRO; IMPEACH THE SYSTEM!

His ringing cries of "I am innocent, I will not resign if indicted" were still echoing on TV screens across America when Spiro T. Agnew stepped forward to resign the Vice Presidency of the United States.

Pleading "nolo contendere" to one charge of tax evasion, Agnew was let off with a \$10,000 fine and three years "unsupervised probation"—thus becoming the beneficiary of the most spectacular case of plea bargaining anyone can remember.

### Mr. Law and Order

The undisputed leader of the right-wing of the Republican Party, Agnew rose from obscurity on a stairway of Law and Order. He made his name a household synonym for racism and repression, and was gearing up for a shot at the Republican Presidential nomination in 1976.

But even the most self-righteous champion of law and order has got to eat, so on the side Agnew carried on a systematic program of tax evasion, extortion and bribery, asking for and taking kickbacks amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars—both as Maryland's chief executive and as Vice President.

*It's quite a sight, all in all:* Ordinary people, the poor, blacks, political prisoners, are sent to prison for the most trivial offenses. Many rot in jail for years without even being convicted.

Others are pressured to plead guilty to crimes they didn't commit because the court has no time to give them a fair trial. Others are shot down in the streets before they ever see a judge.

But Spiro T. Agnew, Vice President of the United States, well-known proponent of public morality and capital punishment, well-known opponent of crime in the streets and plea bargaining—guilty of wholesale high crimes and misdemeanors, of non-stop

lying to the people and abuse of the public trust—Spiro T. Agnew gets off with a slap on the wrist.

Why did Agnew get off for big crimes while others pay with their lives for petty ones? Partly because he's white, rich and famous, of course, but there is a more important reason: the Justice Department was willing to let Agnew off so easily in order to get him out of the way in a hurry.

Attorney General Elliot Richardson said they wanted to avoid "a prolonged and potentially disastrous period of anguish and uncertainty." Senator Ted Kennedy said that Agnew "deserves the compassion and respect of the nation" because he prevented further crisis by resigning.

It's no wonder that politicians like Richardson and Kennedy

were anguished about the Agnew caper, that they are grateful he agreed to drop quietly out of sight. They were afraid that if the case dragged on, too much of the truth would come out.

The truth is that Agnew was just a kind of front man for Mr. Big. The real criminal is the whole system of capitalist politics.

In the first place, as Agnew himself pointed out in his own defense, the routine graft and corruption Agnew indulged in is standard practice in American political life.

The contractors who gave bribes to Agnew are the mainstays of big city political machines. These machines work for Democrats as well as Republicans. This sort of thing goes on every day.

*[Continued on page 10]*



## Fourth War In 25 Years Explodes In Middle East



The 25-year war in the Middle East has exploded once again: The armies of Israel, Egypt and Syria have shattered the armed truce in force since 1967. This time, the fighting is already bloodier than the last time around, with no end yet in sight.

At this writing, Israel's armored columns invading Syria are driving toward Damascus, with the announced intention of destroying the Syrian army. If this is accomplished, Israel's full force will be turned on the Egyptian units who have re-

gained a portion of the Sinai territory seized by Israel in 1967.

Meanwhile, Israeli planes have bombed Arab cities, killing at least 87 Egyptian civilians and wounding scores more. So far, there are no reports on the fate of Arabs living in the occupied territories under Israeli military control, or Palestinian Arab refugees living in camps in Jordan and Lebanon.

If the Palestinian population attempts to resist the Israeli Army, in the Gaza strip or the West Bank of the Jordan River, the response will undoubtedly be a brutal repression or even massacre of the Palestinians by

Israel. Even the entrance of Jordan into the war may provide a pretext for massive Israeli bombing of the refugee camps.

Amid the conflicting reports and claims, one fact stands out clearly: the dream that Israel could establish "peace" in the Middle East by seizing Arab territories, bombing Arab villages whenever commandos attacked an Israeli target, and creating a huge military apparatus to dominate the whole region, has once again collapsed.

Israel's six-day war of conquest in 1967 did not bring peace to the Middle East. Robbing the Palestinian Arabs of

*[Continued on page 12]*

**Teachers Fight Record Fines p.3**



# Editorial

## Agnew Democracy Home and Abroad

Friends and foes alike are describing Vice President "Honest Spiro" Agnew's resignation as a "national tragedy" and praising him for "averting a Constitutional Crisis"—in other words, for quitting before the whole truth could come out.

Actually, Agnew's performance wasn't much as an act of statesmanship. It did, however, complete what one of his lawyers called "a sweetheart of a deal" to keep Mr. Law and Order out of a nice, cozy cell in the Federal penitentiary where he belongs. But Agnew's real crimes, like Nixon's, go far beyond the terms of reference of any court of capitalist law.

As Maryland governor, Agnew was quite within his "legal" rights when he kept black leader Rap Brown in prison even though a Presidential Commission admitted that Brown had played no part in provoking riots. That, after all, is the face of American democracy—sweetheart deals for rich crooks, prison for protesters and the poor.

As Vice President, Agnew made a fine mouthpiece for the same American-style democracy in foreign policy. He denounced the anti-war movement against the murder in Vietnam as "an effete corps of impudent snobs" and called for "removing them from society with no more concern than removing rotten apples from a barrel."

Agnew was also a great friend of the military junta in Greece. His friend and financial backer Tom Pappas worked hand in hand with the CIA to help bring the colonels to power in 1967. In 1971, when Congress banned further military aid to Greece, Agnew promptly toured Greece and paid tribute to Greece's invaluable role in defending the "Free World." No doubt, he would have been ready and willing to perform the same service for the new regime in Chile whenever it became necessary.

The Agnew-Nixon foreign policy is cut from the same cloth as the corruption and deceit of domestic politics. The same corporate profit system is at the root of both.

## Workers' Power Is On Your Side!

A teacher on the picket line at Detroit's Northwestern High School told a Workers' Power reporter this week: "I usually won't talk to the press or the TV -- they only say what they want to. But I'm glad to talk to you -- you people are on our side."

Workers' Power is not shy about its position -- in contrast to the daily papers, TV and radio, we fight on the side of working people. But building a newspaper that tells the truth is not an easy task. We urge you to support Workers' Power by contributing to the International Socialists' annual fund drive, now in progress. See page 14 for details.

## Puerto Rican Militant Jailed; Appeal To Follow

Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano has been sentenced to four years in prison. The New York bombing frame-up against Feliciano finally resulted in a conviction on the charges of possession of a bomb, possession of explosive materials with intent to use against persons and property, and possession of a gun.

Not-guilty verdicts were returned on charges of attempted arson and reckless endangerment. Feliciano was convicted of possessing a bomb, but not of planting it.

Just prior to sentencing, several people spoke in court to plead leniency for Carlos. Among them were a bishop from Puerto Rico, the President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and Carlos' employer at the Narcotics Detoxification Program at Lincoln Hospital, where he worked throughout the trial.

Although Carlos could have received a sentence of up to 22 years, the so-called "lenient" sentence—four years with credit for the seventeen months he spent without bail—is no victory. *There is no victory if Carlos has to spend a single day more in jail.*

"I am twice innocent," declared Carlos after the sentencing. "First because I did not do these things; second because the U.S. invasion of my country, Puerto Rico, gives me the right to fight back."

An appeal is being filed, as a low bond is being attempted. **NOT ONE MORE DAY IN JAIL — FREE CARLOS FELICIANO!**

[Send contributions to: Committee to Free Carlos Feliciano, Box 356, Canal St. Station, New York, N.Y. 10013]



## Workers' Power 84

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14131 Woodward Avenue., Highland Park, Michigan 48203.

Subscriptions: \$3.50 per year. Supporting subscriptions: \$5. Institutional subscriptions: \$5. Foreign: \$5. Domestic first class (sealed): \$7. Foreign first class: \$10. Foreign air mail (unsealed): \$15. Introductory subscriptions: \$1 for 3 months. Bundles of 10 copies or more:

15¢ per copy. Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *Workers' Power*, which are expressed in editorials.

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

*Workers' Power* is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and is indexed in the Alternate Press Index and micro-filmed by University Microfilms. International Standard Serials Number (ISSN): 0019-0535.



# Teachers Ignore Fines, 6 Week Strike Goes On

Jim Woodward

"All we do in there is turn out fodder for the factories. That's the real 'irreparable damage' -- not the fact that the kids might miss six or eight weeks of school."

This sentiment, expressed by a teacher on the picket line at Detroit's Northwestern High School, portrays the bitterness of that city's 10,500 public school teachers as their strike against the Board of Education enters its sixth week.

The teachers feel that they have no choice if they are to reverse the deteriorating quality of education for the students, as well as declining working conditions and standard of living for themselves.

## Impartial Justice?

For two weeks now, the teachers have held firm in defiance of a court injunction ordering them back to work. Judge Thomas Foley, while noting that the school board was primarily responsible for the continuation of the strike, held that students were suffering "irreparable damage" and imposed heavy fines on the Detroit Federation of Teachers and its officers.

The DFT is being fined \$11,000 per day of the strike, and has been ordered to reimburse the Board for its operating expenses during the strike.

Since the Board has, with little success, tried to keep the schools open during the strike, these expenses run well over one million dollars.

For its pig-headed stand, the Board of Education was fined nary a penny.

As the strike has worn on, the determination of the teachers has increased. This sharply contrasts with the situation one year ago, when the DFT leadership signed a contract which provided for no wage increase

and did not even guarantee a full year's employment.

This year the teachers have realized that if they don't fight now, they'll be defeated time and time again. In part, the cost of living escalation has brought this home to them.

In addition, working conditions have gotten so bad that teachers feel that they can do little more than baby-sit for the students. The anger of rank and file teachers on this and the salary question has forced DFT President Mary Ellen Riordan to take a militant and aggressive stance in the strike.

A picketer at Cass Technical High School told a *Workers' Power* reporter the story of his brother, a new teacher who was assigned to teach science class at one of Detroit's worst schools.

Since he was provided with no tools or equipment, he begged some tools from the telephone company and bought supplies with his own money.

For this dedication, he was asked to resign -- for embarrassing the school board.

In this atmosphere, the Board of Education has raised the issue of "teacher accountability." The board's demand would remove the question of teacher evaluation and discipline from the jurisdiction of the union's grievance procedure, giving the board absolute power to fire teachers on any whim.

Last year teachers dropped their fight for a salary increase when the board agreed to drop its accountability demand. This year the board is trying to pull the same neat trick, but now teachers are not prepared to be taken in so easily.

The Riordan leadership has realized that another defeat like last year's would make it look very bad in the American Federation of Teachers, and might well mean the end of several careers as local bureaucrats. In the past year there has been much dissatisfaction with the



Riordan leadership among rank and file teachers.

While teachers have closed ranks in support of her during the strike, a defeat would very likely send her back to the classroom.

[As *Workers' Power* goes to

press, Riordan has announced that she is willing to accept binding arbitration on the issues of class size and salary, but not on the question of "accountability." It is not at all certain, however, that rank and file teachers will vote to allow even this limited binding arbitration if Riordan is able to sell it to the Board of Education.]

## National Significance

Potentially, the Detroit teachers' strike has significance far beyond the city limits. If the DFT is successful in fighting the injunction, teachers in other Michigan communities will be encouraged to stand up to the courts themselves.

Teachers in several smaller communities, including Highland Park and Hamtramck, ended their strikes without contracts because they felt they couldn't fight an injunction by themselves.

Further, the situation in Detroit has the potential, if it continues much longer, to involve other sections of the labor movement. A rally in support of the teachers on October 11 drew 10,000 members of the AFL-CIO, the UAW and the Teamsters. ■

## Community-Teacher Unity Can Fight City & Board Lies

Despite efforts by the Board, the courts and the press to divide the teachers from the black community, the teachers enjoy wide support from black workers and parents.

This is due more to the fact that Detroit is a union town, with many parents themselves in the UAW or other unions, than to the half-hearted efforts of the DFT leadership to win community support.

It is also clear to black parents that the many black teachers in the school system are con-

cerned about the quality of education black students receive. This is why those elements of the black community, such as the weekly *Michigan Chronicle*, which have been trying to turn black parents against the teachers, have had such limited success.

But so long as the DFT itself doesn't aggressively and openly fight the inferior education black students are given, the possibility of black parents turning against the teachers remains.

The DFT could build a real

coalition with parents' groups to fight for quality education if it would put more emphasis on such demands as ending racism in the school system, along with smaller class sizes and adequate facilities.

This coalition could challenge the entire political structure which keeps the schools in their present rotten condition. By running independent black and labor candidates, it could combine the teachers' fight on the picket line with a struggle against the racist strike-breakers.

## O.F.T. To Take On Oakland School Board

On October 15, the teachers of the Oakland public schools may vote for the first teachers' strike in Oakland's history. Limited to a 1 percent raise over the last three years, the teachers are demanding at least a 12 percent salary raise, which is what the school superintendent got.

In addition, they want lower class sizes, adequate supplies and textbooks and a duty-free preparation period for elementary teachers.

The superintendent vows to keep the schools open, and is preparing to staff them with substitute teachers and even parents in the event of a strike.

Joint strike preparations by the 700-member Oakland Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and the more conservative but considerably larger Oakland Education Association have resulted in unified action at the school site level.

The teachers have received widespread community support. This support has been greatly aided in the black community by the teacher union's successful organizing of instructional assistants (teacher aides).

The aides, who are the lowest paid, most poorly treated of all school employees, are demanding a 60 percent wage increase, job security and other benefits.

Yet a number of problems exist. Organizational rivalries between the teachers' union and the Association threaten this developing unity.

The Association leadership, fearing the militancy and aggressiveness of union members, have called their own strike vote meeting rather than agreeing to the union's request for an all-teachers strike vote meeting. Pressure from the union and the Association membership may reverse this decision.

Furthermore, the school administration was able to get the organizations representing the classified employees (custodians, secretaries, culinary workers, etc.) to delay their negotiations

until after the teachers have broken off their negotiations.

This tactic has, for now, dimmed the possibility of a unified all-school employees strike, which had previously been expected.

Nevertheless, custodians and culinary workers affiliated with AFL-CIO will honor teacher union picket lines, and may even strike themselves later on.

With school employees represented by separated and even competing organization, however, the danger always exists that one or more may decide to settle separately with the administration, leaving the others to fend for themselves. ■

# KENNEDY ON NONVIOLENCE: Guns for the Growers, Pacifism for the Farmworkers

Derek  
Briscoe

Ted Kennedy, a hero to the United Farmworker leadership and to much of its rank and file, brought a warning, along with his support, to the UFW convention. Non-violence, he said, was the key to the UFW's success.

Without it, claimed Kennedy, the UFW would lose the support of the majority of the American people -- meaning, of course, the support of liberal politicians like himself.

Under the terms of the new union constitution, the Farmworkers are sworn to non-violence. For Cesar Chavez and much of the UFW leadership, this commitment comes from deep-rooted and sincere personal belief.

## Kennedy "Pacifism"

For the Kennedys and other liberals to endorse non-violence is something very different. It was under President John Kennedy that the brutal, repressive "special war" in Vietnam began.

Under the same JFK, Cuba was invaded. And in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the liberal custodians of US imperialism were prepared to risk slaughter-

ing millions to protect a strategic advantage.

To this day liberal spokesmen regard that near-holocaust as "John Kennedy's finest hour."

Robert Kennedy, for whom the UFW name their medical program, was one of the architects of the Vietnam war. Later, for tactical reasons, he came out against going on with it, but Vietnamese blood was on his hands.

From his brother's policy of murder, Ted Kennedy has never differentiated himself. In fact, for a man remarkably empty of talent or ideas, the Kennedy name and image are his only claim to fame and a possible Presidential bid.

**Kennedy's non-violence is a line which he preaches to the civil rights and black movements, and to people fighting for justice like the UFW. You will not find him preaching the virtues of non-violence to the Pentagon, the FBI or the police.**

Along with Kennedy's non-violence he does the idea that if enough benevolent liberals like himself are elected, the state will protect the well-behaved

protester from those who would repress protest with violence.

The ranch workers already are learning how false that hope is. Juan de la Cruz is only the latest farmworker to be murdered by goons for striking and picketing.

## Violence and Self-Defense

Following his murder, the UFW leadership pleaded with Attorney General Elliot Richardson to send in FBI men and Federal marshalls to protect the non-violent farmworkers against Teamster-grower goons.

The FBI is not a non-violent organization, so in effect the UFW was advocating non-violence for the workers but not for the Federal Government!

**Non-violent groups in the civil rights movement have also appealed to the FBI to protect them against Southern racists. The FBI never did!**

What the FBI did instead was bug Martin Luther King's phone, so J. Edgar Hoover could spread dirty stories about his personal life around Washington.

For the job of the state, and especially a secret-police agency like the FBI, is to protect the

propertied classes, not to be neutral or to administer an impartial justice.

We believe that the farmworkers should place the blame for violence exactly where it belongs -- on the growers, the sheriff's deputies, the state troopers and the Teamster goons in the fields.

**The farmworkers' movement can put an end to this violence. To do this, what's needed is a union so powerful, and so well organized, that none of the pro-grower forces would dare to attack it.**

The fastest way to get rid of violence is for the union to protect itself from these forces, whenever this is necessary to allow the union to continue its work of organizing in the fields.

The same thing is true in society as a whole. In this society, organized violence is inflicted on working people every day -- on the job, by the police and the courts, by rotten working conditions and racism and unemployment and even starvation.

To get rid of the organized violence of this society, we need a workers' movement which is strong enough, and well enough

organized, to take power and eliminate the institutions which exploit and oppress us.

**In other words, we believe that the only way to put an end to violence and brutality as facts of everyday life is through the fight for socialism.**

If there hadn't been a violent Civil War in this country, if black people hadn't risen up to overthrow their slave masters, blacks would still be slaves.

If Mexican peasants and workers hadn't fought for Independence, Mexico would still be a colony of Spain.

If auto workers, steel workers or miners had followed policies of "non-violence," there wouldn't be unions in this country at all!

## Liberalism vs. Mass Action

**Any laws or policies which restrict the rights or actions of the farm workers only add to the violence which the farmworkers face.**

This is, unfortunately, just as true of the UFW leadership's principle of "sworn non-violence" as it is of the vicious anti-farmworker laws which are now on the books in many states.

Liberals like Ted Kennedy want to restrict the farmworkers, even though this means more violence directed against them in the long run. The reason for this is that Kennedy wants the union to be dependent on him for support, rather than on its own independent strength.

**So from the likes of Kennedy, the sermons to workers to remain nonviolent and to rely upon the state really mean: do not threaten us; confide in your enemies.**

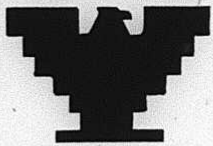
Today, too many workers still believe the state and the courts and police can be neutral or impartial.

Under pressure they will grant some reforms, or try to keep a movement from getting out of hand by making concessions. As soon as they regain the upper hand, they will try to destroy the workers' movement.

Kennedy's threats must not be allowed to hold back the farmworkers' fight for justice.

The farmworkers have proven that they can mobilize thousands of their members and supporters for mass action in the fields and the communities -- on their own, with or without the liberal politician "friends" of the union.

If the farmworkers or their leadership make an appeal to the rest of the labor movement and the Chicano people of Southern California to defend the picket lines, they should turn out in force. ■



## Farmworkers Paper Cuts Story On Black Auto Workers Fight

On September 4, Venustiano Quirin, editor of *El Malcriado*, newspaper of the United Farmworkers of America (UFWA), asked that issue No. 18 be recalled. Advance copies of that issue had been sent to subscribers around the country.

In his words:

*"Due to a controversial article included in the paper the Union has asked us to recall or destroy the issue. The article involves the current UAW strike which sheds an unfavorable light on their leaders. Since the UAW has been our ardent supporter, I feel it was poor judgment to have the article printed.*

*"Please refuse acceptance of the papers . . . or destroy them immediately."*

The "controversial" article contains only subtle criticism of the UAW leadership. By mentioning the recent wave of wildcat strikes and implying the workers had legitimate grievances it cast doubt upon the UAW's ability to defend its members.

Woodcock, Fraser and their cohorts refused to support the wildcats and finally organized

goon squads of local officials to accomplish the breaking of the strikes.

The UFWA article didn't even hint at that. *El Malcriado* said that black workers wanted the union to take a tough stand against racism. In a backhanded way this indicates that the UAW hadn't taken such a stand in the past.

In searching the article these were the only points of controversy that could be found. Even this mild criticism of the bureaucracy was enough to make the UFWA recall the whole issue of its newspaper.

The same auto workers bureaucracy which breaks its members' strikes in order to control its ranks attaches strings to their support of the UFWA. It is because of the lack of a rank and file movement which can support the Farmworkers, financially and more importantly through solidarity actions, that the UFWA looks to Meany and Woodcock for help against the growers and their allies.

The UAW has given the farmworkers \$130,000 and has promised \$10,000 a month for the

duration of the strike in grapes. One of the reasons why the strike in the fields was called off was that the 1.6 million dollars which the AFL-CIO had given the UFWA had run out.

The retraction of this article by the top UFW leadership was a violation of the principles on which the farm workers' movement has been built.

Only with massive rank and file support can the UFWA reach its potential as a militant, democratic organizer of farmworkers. The Farmworkers Union is one of the few unions in the United States which is organizing the unorganized in any significant way, strengthening the entire labor movement by not only bringing new members but by providing an example of union democracy through its ranch committees and other democratic structures.

The retraction of this article weakens the farm workers' struggle. The farm workers' most reliable support comes from the rank and file of labor, including (for example) Teamsters who oppose their own bureaucracy. The UFW leadership's sup-

pression of this article, in effect, commits them to supporting the UAW bureaucracy against rank and file auto workers. That bureaucracy demands a price for its financial aid: no hint of criticism of them or their policies is to be allowed.

All workers should demand that their unions give immediate and massive support to the farmworkers. Not only should unions contribute financially but they should mobilize their ranks not to handle scab goods. "That most bureaucrats will not do this can be seen in the pressure Woodcock put upon *El Malcriado*."

It is up to the ranks of labor to defend the farmworkers and organize the kind of support which proved successful in 1970, when boxcars of grapes got lost and scab goods rotted in warehouses because of a massive boycott.

This kind of organization can not only win for the farmworkers and help organize the unorganized, it can also throw out such people as Woodcock who demand total, uncritical obedience for their support. ■



The AFL-CIO's recent decision to set up a new Department of Organizing and Field Services has been billed as the start of a bold new campaign to organize the unorganized. In fact it is just the opposite.

Although almost four decades have passed since the mass struggles that built the CIO, the majority of the work force is still unorganized today. Indeed, the percentage of union members has been declining, not increasing.

But AFL-CIO President George Meany is quite unconcerned about that fact. "To me, it doesn't mean a thing," he proclaimed in 1972:

*"I have no concern about this, because the history of the trade union movement has shown that when organized workers were a very tiny percentage of the work force, they still accomplished and did things that were important for the entire work force."*

*"The unorganized portions of the work force have no power, for the simple reason that they're not organized."*

Meany, in fact, wants them unorganized and powerless.

#### UFW Supporter Eased Out

At the time the AFL-CIO was set up, its original Department of Organization was conceived of as a strong, centralized department, probably to be headed by Walter Reuther. But Meany didn't want Reuther to have the job.

A Reuther opponent, William Kircher, finally was appointed in 1965. But as head of the Department of Organization, even he did too much organizing to suit Meany.

Kircher turned out to be a strong supporter of the farm workers, and at times clashed openly with Meany. Some regional directors, under Kircher's supervision, were of considerable help to the United Farm Workers.

Now Kircher has been retired to head the Washington office of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. He supposedly retired for reasons of health -- but the obvious suspicion remains that Meany eased him out for doing too much to aid the UFW.

#### Crackdown

The Department of Organization under Kircher included sixteen regional directors, mostly defeated international union presidents and other relatively second-rate bureaucrats.

Within the new Department of Organization and Field Services, there will only be seven regional directors; they will be given greater power and responsibility, and the AFL-CIO plans to appoint higher caliber bureaucrats to these posts -- but not in an effort to expand the organization of the unorganized.

The new department will be charged with coordinating the Committee on Political Education (COPE), and the Community Relations, Civil Rights and Legislative Departments.

Its real aim is to crack down on unruly Central Labor Councils and State Federations. Meany clearly wants no repit-

# Organize the Unorganized? Meany's Man, William J. Usery, Won't Even Try!

Kevin Bradley

tion of his difficulties with the Colorado State Federation, which he put in trusteeship for supporting McGovern in the last election.

The new set-up will mean less organizing of new workers. One organizer interviewed by the *New York Times* who insisted on being anonymous said, "Our organizers in the field will be doing lots of things that have nothing to do with getting workers to join unions."

Meany admitted as much when he said the new set-up would give the Federation "less organizers and more representatives." This isn't surprising -- considering his lack of interest in organizing the unorganized.

One section of the work force that has fought to organize in the last several years has been the farm workers, led by Cesar Chavez. Back in 1972 Meany commented to the *Washington Post*: "We have poured into California since 1959 close to \$3 million trying to develop a farm workers' union that would be effective. Now we haven't succeeded. We've got a union out there that makes a lot of noise, but in my book it's not what I would call a solid, effective union."

"That union (the United Farm Workers) is not a union in the sense that it makes contributions to the working of this organization. In other

words, it's a union that gets funds from us that are given to us by other unions."

The type of person picked to head the new Department testifies to the kind of role Meany wants it to play.

Meany has offered the directorship of the Department to William J. Usery, now head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. If Usery takes the job, he will be the number three man in the AFL-CIO (behind George Meany and Lane Kirkfield) and have a good chance to become Meany's successor.

Usery left the Machinists' Union in 1969 to work for the Nixon Administration, first as Undersecretary of State and then as head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Usery explained his role as a mediator last May 11 in an important speech delivered to the Pacific Coast Labor Law Conference.

The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service was established by Congress 26 years ago, in Usery's words to get "labor and management to reach understandings with the minimum possible impact on commerce."

In the last few months the Mediation and Conciliation Service intervened in nearly half of all strikes affecting interstate commerce, with the following aim: "All of us have known for years that strikes and lockouts

are put-downs -- not just to the workers and investors, but to our system of economic freedom."

"The Federal Mediation Service has been carrying the word about strike avoidance for more than a quarter century. And we have had, as you know, considerable success."

This year alone Usery directly helped to limit strikes and force low settlements on workers in the rubber, Westinghouse, West Coast cannery, Sun Oil and Dow Chemical bargaining.

Probably Usery's most important intervention was in the 1973 Philadelphia teachers' strike, which almost led to a general strike.

The lesson of this strike, as Usery saw it:

*"One of our jobs will be to avoid the worst in collective bargaining, as practiced abroad. As a case in point, I am convinced that we must avoid the general strike syndrome that has at times strangled Italy and France."*

*"We came dangerously close this year to a test of the effectiveness of the general strike as a weapon in the United States."*

*"It happened in Philadelphia. I was there. Unions committed themselves to a general walkout in support of the striking teachers."*

*"There had been a great deal of speculation as to whether the unions could have made good*

*their strike threat. That, to me, is like speculating on whether the robber with a gun in your belly will really have the nerve to pull the trigger."*

*"There is no doubt in my mind that if the union movement had succeeded, there would have been great pressures to do it again -- and again -- and again. And there is even less doubt in my mind that had the general strike test failed, the union movement would have worked deliberately to see that it never failed again."*

*"So I am determined to do all that is possible, now, to put the general strike idea to rest in America -- in peace and forever."*

#### "No Strike" Usery

Here we see the concerns of a far-sighted individual out to protect the interests of capitalism -- hardly the type of man you'd want to head your labor federation. But consider the following recommendation by George Morris of the Communist Party, writing in the *Daily World* of September 13:

*"It appears that another top union official, W. J. Usery Jr., who took the office of director of the Department of Mediation and Conciliation, finds it hard to conciliate his labor background with the Watergate crowd. Usery comes from the Machinists. That union's leaders have quit the Nixon wage-freeze deal and have denounced the Abel no-strike deal in steel."*

*"It is reported that Usery has been offered directorship of the newly set-up Department of Organizing and Field Services in the AFL-CIO. If the name of the new department means what it says, Usery could be far more useful to the labor movement in the past offered."*

Thus the labor editor of the *Daily-World* is promoting "No-Strike" Usery for the Director of Organization of the AFL-CIO solely on the grounds that he's from a union that walked off Nixon's Pay Board.

#### Class Enemy

Usery has actually played a unique role for the Nixon Administration. As a former union member, he is much more successful in persuading unions not to strike than a former businessman or professor would be.

For the same reason Nixon appointed Peter Brennan to head the Department of Labor. Nixon wants to incorporate as many union officials as possible into the state apparatus in order to keep the unions in line.

When labor bureaucrats go to work for a corporation or the state, they have left the labor movement. They aren't simply collaborating with the other side, they have become part of the other side.

William Usery shouldn't even be considered for head of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization; he should be considered a class enemy. His calls not to strike, to heed the "public interest" and not to put down the "system of economic freedom" -- commonly known as capitalism -- should be treated with contempt.

The new Department of Organizing and Field Services should be headed by a fighter, not a strike-breaker. ■



UFW is leading fight to organize farmworkers but has received only token assistance from AFL-CIO

# Black Children Threatened By Crackpot Racial Theories



The fight over segregation in Los Angeles city schools has only just begun. Los Angeles School Board members were embarrassed into repudiating theories of racial inequality, but the fracas revealed an ugly undercurrent of crackpot genetic inferiority theories spreading over the land.

Background to the fight is the legal battle over school segregation in the sprawling Los Angeles Unified School District. Lower courts have found that a deliberate policy of keeping Black and Chicano students separate from Anglos, and providing them with inferior education conflicts with the Constitution.

The desegregation suit, being pressed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and other groups, is tied up in the courts, while Black children continue to be miseducated.

In going over the briefs, ACLU lawyers found that School Board attorneys had implied that different racial groups might have different abilities -- in other words, are biologically inferior.

This is the same kind of theory once pushed by the Nazis, who used crackpot science to justify killing Jews, Gypsies, Poles and others.

*Argued L.A. School Board counsel on April 1, 1969: "Ethnic groups may have distinctly different mental abilities."*

Even if such theories are unproven, said the School Board lawyers, "We are agnostic in this regard." In other words, we're not sure, but there just may be something to it.

## "Scientific" Racism

This is not an isolated incident. Recently, William Shockley, a physicist (but no geneticist or anthropologist), has been going around the country urging more intensive research into racial differences -- with the clear implication that Blacks and others are inferior and thus should be put in their place.

Psychologists Arthur Jensen and William Herrnstein have revived the idea that intelligence equals score on IQ tests and that IQ differences are inherited.

Hence not only racial minorities but the unemployed and the poor are supposedly mentally defective, rather than mis-educated, oppressed and exploited.

The next step, of course, is to argue that working class children are also "defective," and require only an inferior education.

Fighting against this poison is the increasing impatience of Blacks, Chicanos, Indians and others at their continued oppression, and the failure of all

the liberal programs of the Sixties to end that oppression (as if band-aids could cure cancer).

Racial theories allow the government, school boards and the whole capitalist system to get off the hook, ending even their pitifully feeble efforts to improve the position of oppressed minorities.

Historians John and LaRee Caughey, and ACLU lawyers Marvin Schachter and Ramona Ripston presented a statement to the school board, demanding that it repudiate the theory of racial inequality that its lawyers had flirted with.

They caused quite a stir, and the resulting publicity forced liberal Board member Julian Nava to put forward a two-part motion recommending the Board to "promoting equality," and repudiating the theory of racial inequality.

The commitment to equality passed unanimously, but the board continue to resist the integration suit.

Conservative board member J.C. Chambers abstained on the racial inequality question, arguing that it ought to be left to scientists.

Other board members voted for it -- some reluctantly, as they publically stated. They give the lie to their own words, however, by defending the entire racist and oppressive school system. ■

Several black workers have won a federal court decision which, if upheld in the appeals courts, will require the Detroit Edison Company to pay more than \$4 million in damages for its blatant racial discrimination in hiring and promotions.

In addition, the utility will have to pay retroactive wages to workers it discriminated against.

Detroit Edison's racism is of long standing, and until recently the company was apparently little concerned about concealing it. In the past, blacks were often told quite bluntly that no black could apply for certain jobs.

Those who did apply for promotions were invariably passed over in favor of white workers, many of whom were not as well qualified.

The company's new public

image is to flatly deny any racist practices. It defends itself through out-and-out lying. A Detroit Edison spokesman maintained, for example, that there were 19 blacks in "top management positions" with the company.

Those "top management positions", it was discovered, included the top sixteen hundred jobs in the company.

Also involved in the pattern of discrimination are two local unions: Local 223 of the Utility Workers and Local 17 of the IBEW. The judge found that the locals had cooperated with the company in continuing its racist practices.

An official of Local 223, for example, once told a black worker who had been denied a promotion for which he was qualified, "You should be satisfied with the job you have." Local

223 was ordered to pay \$250,000 in damages.

Those able to collect damages from the company and the union will include not only black workers who were denied certain jobs because of their race, but also those who would have applied for jobs if it had not been for the company's discriminatory practices.

The utility plans to appeal, hoping to have the decision reversed or at least hung up in a long string of red tape. While fighting the court's ruling, the company will undoubtedly use it to try to play off white workers against black, to the disadvantage of both.

If this is to be prevented, white workers will have to learn that it is in their own interest to join with black workers in fighting racism and discrimination. ■

# Utility Company Must Pay Back Wages And Damages For Racism

In a speech to businessmen, GM's analyst (who will remain nameless) acknowledged: "The criticism that it is more profitable to pollute than preserve is not completely unfounded. This arises to a certain extent because of the nature of the market economy in the US.

"In order to fulfill the interest of stockholders and follow the precepts of good corporate stewardship industry has found itself in the position of trying to maximize stockholder return. Following this goal has generally been in conflict with the expense associated with efforts at environmental improvement."

If GM had manufactured a clean automobile, he said, it "would have amounted to corporate suicide."

The analyst ended his talk by maintaining that no one should be forced to pay large sums of money just to make sure that some old lady with a heart condition doesn't become uncomfortable on the busiest corner of Los Angeles on the day with the worst air pollution rating in the year.

This same logic nets GM billions of dollars profit at the expense of the health of the workers who build its cars.

This is the barbarity of capitalism -- that no capitalist dare take human needs into consideration in his corporate planning. If he consider the health of consumers, or of the workers in his own plant, he might be leading himself and his company to ruin. ■



Can capitalism exist without polluting our environment? An analyst in the Treasurer's Office of General Motors' New York headquarters has paused from counting GM's profits long enough to consider this question, and answer -- no. The company that falls behind its competitor in the race for profits is ultimately doomed to failure.





# Labor In Brief

## New UTU sellout: train crew sizes to be reduced

The United Transportation Union (UTU) has opened the door for a major defeat for railroad crewmen on the question of crew sizes. Under an agreement signed with the Chicago & North Western railroad, the union agreed to allow smaller train crews in return for a wage increase.

The question of crew sizes has been the major issue in railroad contract negotiations in recent years, with the railroads attempting to reduce the size of the standard crew from three to two. The smaller crew carries with it larger safety risks, in addition to the additional work that each crew member must perform.

On first glance, the C&NW agreement looks sweet: the railroad promised not to lay off any present employee, and increased the pay for remaining crewmen by almost \$11.00 per day.

In fact, trading off working conditions for a juicy pay increase is almost always an unwise choice. What is given in pay can be lost very rapidly through inflation and the pro-

tection work rules are gone forever.

The UTU claims that the Chicago & North Western was a special case: two-man crews have in fact existed there for more than ten years. Thus, the UTU points out, it was simply accepting the status quo in return for a "fat" pay boost.

*In so doing, however, the UTU has dangerously weakened its case throughout the rest of the railroad industry. For, the railroads will say, if two men can run a train on the C&NW, they can do it on other railroads too.*

In this way, the coast is clear for an across-the-board sellout by the UTU on this issue. Railroad workers will have to fight on their own if their union leadership decides to give up on this issue.

## Retail Clerks strike against cost-of-living council

Despite urgings from their union leadership, six thousand members of Philadelphia Local 1357 of the Retail Clerks waged -- and won -- a three-day strike against the Cost of Living Council.

The Clerks appear to have learned something from their

bout with the CLC's predecessor -- the Pay Board. In early 1972, the Clerks ratified a 20-month contract calling for a first-year wage increase of 19 percent.

In June of that year, the Pay Board cut the raise back to 6.6 percent, costing the relatively low-paid clerks about \$20 a week.

In the new contract negotiated with the A&P, Acme, and Food Fair chains last month, the clerks regained the wage rates lost to the Pay Board the previous year, and won additional raises effective January 1, 1974.

*At that point, Wendell Young, president of Local 1357, urged a return to work, reporting that he had assurances that the CLC would accept this contract. The clerks, however, were not about to accept anyone's word for it and shocked both Young and the food store managements by voting to strike until the contract was approved by the CLC.*

The CLC, for its part, acted with unusual speed, and within a few days had approved Local 1357's contract.

Although this strike is one of only a few against the government's wage controls, it indicates the steps that must be taken if the attack on workers' living standards is to be defeated.

## Black & white woodcutters continue strike in South



The strike of woodcutters against paper companies in Mississippi and Alabama has gone into its fifth week. Up to 3,000 black and white woodcutters are demanding higher pay, accident insurance, standard measures to eliminate cheating, and union recognition.

Since the strike began, the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association has set up about seven new locals and has drawn more woodcutters into the strike.

The paper companies, rebuffed in their attempt to end the strike by federal court action, have gone into state court in Alabama and obtained an injunction prohibiting picketing in that state.

Because of the wide geographical area over which woodcutters work, the GPA decided that breaking the injunction would only allow its membership to be picked off one-by-one by county sheriffs, and has halted Alabama picketing while appealing the injunction in federal court.

Charlie Gillespie, an official of the GPA, noted however that the lack of pickets has allowed more scabs than usual to work.

Gillespie also told *Workers' Power* that rank and file workers at the paper mills are generally sympathetic to the woodcutters' strike and that many did not want to cross GPA picket lines. The leadership of their unions, however, particularly of the United Paperworkers, has prevented any actions of solidarity.

Black and white woodcutters remain firm in their solidarity and determination to win the strike. They plan a march through Waynesboro, Mississippi to a wood yard in that town on October 12, and have the help of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in organizing that demonstration.

The woodcutters are among the lowest paid of all American workers and have been waging their battle against the compan-

ies with no strike benefits or welfare support at all. Contributions of food, clothing, or money are urgently needed and can be sent to the GPA, PO Box 53, Eastabuchie, Mississippi, 29436.

## Business sets up new undercover pressure group

Another example of big business control of the government is in the making.

Over one hundred of the largest US corporations are quietly getting together to plan how they can make their economic power more directly felt. Their aim is to exert pressure for governmental action favorable to big business in areas such as labor legislation, tax "reform," pension regulation, environmental laws, and foreign trade.

The scheme is backed by such firms as Chrysler, Ford, GE, TWA, and US Steel. They are setting up an organization called the *Roundtable*, through which the top executives of such firms will exert pressure more directly than they have in the past on government functionaries, Congressmen, and the like.

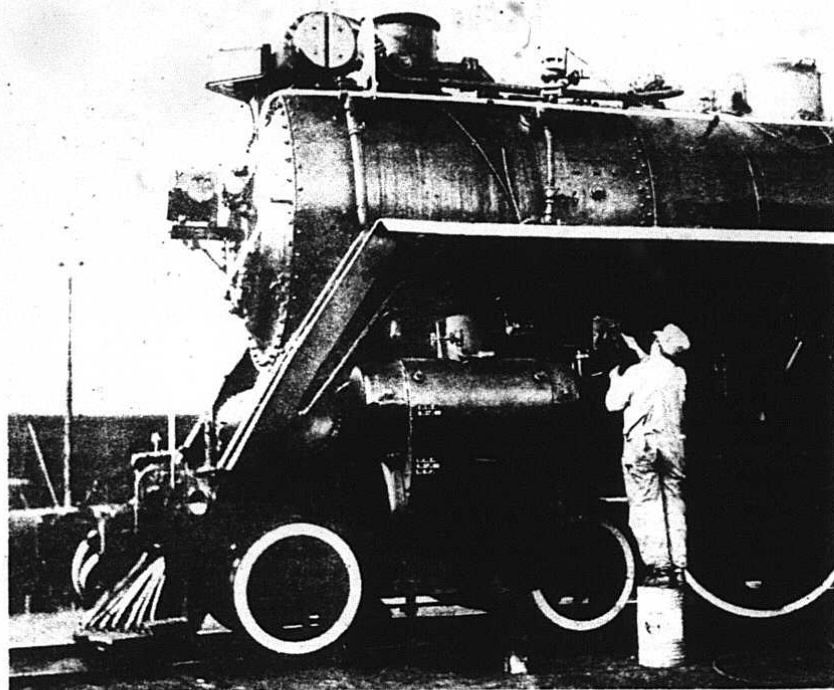
As for now, the *Roundtable* is staying pretty well undercover in an effort to avoid being identified with the "Watergate atmosphere" surrounding the government.

## Rank and file notes

Workers at the Westinghouse plant in Tampa, Florida have decided to affiliate with the United Electrical Workers (UE). The representation election, which occurred last December, has just been certified by the NLRB. This is the first union organizing victory in a major electrical plant in about twenty years.

George Meany is maneuvering to expel the Brewery Workers from the AFL-CIO because of that union's merger negotiations with the Teamsters. An expulsion could well come at the AFL-CIO convention which begins October 18. Meany hopes to split the Brewery Workers in the process, inviting individual locals to remain as directly affiliated local unions when their international is expelled.

About two hundred waitresses and other restaurant employees, many with twenty years' experience, will lose their jobs when new terminal facilities open at Newark airport. The operators of the new restaurants want only young, mini-skirted waitresses, and in addition hope to avoid union organization of the new facility. One waitress who was losing her job commented, "In this country when you get past 40 you might just as well buy a gun and shoot yourself."



Steam locomotive engineer. He's gone now. When the railroads changed to diesels, thousands were thrown out of work. Today thousands more will lose their jobs unless rail workers fight back.

# CHILE IN DEFEAT: THE



## CHILE'S FATE: UNDER THE IRON HEEL

Marilyn Danton

While Chile no longer makes front page news, the daily terror dished out by the four-man military junta that overthrew Allende's Popular Unity Coalition on September 11 continues for leftists and workers. News leaks through the curtain of censorship reveal concrete evidence of the slaughter taking place.

The military men have killed upwards of 20,000 persons, mainly workers: 600 massacred at the Technical University in Santiago, 500 killed in the strafing of the Sumar Textile factory, thousands shot down in cold blood simply for being in the streets.

### Massacre of Militants

The list could go on and on. Huge sports arenas hold thousands of political prisoners who wait for execution or life imprisonment in one of the many concentration camps set up in remote areas of Chile.

The activities of the junta make clear the focus of the counter-revolution: to destroy the working class movement. In the first days of the coup, the military razed the occupied factories.

Among the targets were the Sumar and Cristaleria plants in the Vicuna MaKenna Cordon, and the Cobre Cerillos plant in the Cerillos Cordon.

They carried out massacres in the squatters settlements of Lo Herrida, La Legua, and Neuva Havanna on the outskirts of Santiago. The aim of the junta is to kill off the militant leadership of a generation of workers.

### Total Control

The banning of workers parties and unions, the takeover of the universities, the burning of books and the anti-foreign, nationalist hysteria are all part of the military junta's aim of taking total control of every detail of life in Chile.

This repression, this terror that borders on fascism, is the direct result of Allende's poli-

cies. Aiming only to reform Chilean capitalism, not to destroy it, Allende adopted a policy of vacillation and capitulation to the Chilean capitalists and their armed defenders, the military.

### Upsurge from Below

When the workers and peasants elected Allende president in September, 1970, they thought that their day had come. They thought that the government was their government.

They acted accordingly. Workers seized factories, landless peasants and Indians seized land. Believing they were on the road to socialism, the workers and peasants felt that they now controlled Chile.

This was an illusion, an illusion that Allende and the Communist Party tried to maintain throughout the three years they were in power. But in those three years, the workers began to understand that they could not rely upon Allende to lead them to socialism.

The working class no longer

abided by the Popular Unity's admonitions to "move slowly." They seized more factories, 1,000 by the day of the coup.

They set up their own organizations, the cordones in the factories, as independent centers of power. In essence, they began to threaten the heart and guts of capitalism in Chile.

It was this threat, not the rhetoric of Allende and the Popular Unity Coalition, who tried to quiet and disarm the workers, that led to the coup and counter-revolution.

The problems of inflation, monetary crises and national economic competition hit the less economically developed countries like Chile the hardest. These countries are the weak links of the international capitalist system.

Chile was in economic trouble for many years before 1970. With little real growth, growing industrial and agricultural inefficiency and high inflation, even major reforms could not solve its problems.

Eduardo Frei, the Christian

Democratic Party president before Allende tried to introduce the mildest of reforms. These only worsened Chile's economic situation.

As conditions worsened and the workers and peasants took to the streets in strikes and demonstrations, it became clear that a more radical solution might be necessary.

### Road to Disaster

Against this backdrop, Allende and the Popular Unity Coalition came to power. Calling their pro-capitalist program a "peaceful road to socialism," they introduced major reforms. These included full nationalization of the US owned copper mines, partial nationalization of other US and Chilean owned business; some division of the land among the landless peasants.

But to no avail. Though they enraged some of the capitalists, these reforms did not touch the basic problem, the capitalist system.

The reforms Allende did bring about only opened up the

The US Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, has launched a vicious smear campaign against the revolutionary left for opposing the policies of the CP in Chile.

Appealing to the broad sentiment of opposition to the coup, the *Daily World* editorial of September 29, "Unity Against the Junta," declares: "Attacking the Communist Party of Chile, even under cover of anti-imperialist phrases, is pro-imperialist in its consequences."

An accompanying cartoon portrays revolutionary newspapers which have exposed the CP's betrayals in Chile as the "Anti-Soviet Writers' Section of the CIA."

This, of course, is the standard method of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist parties for dealing with political opponents in the labor movement.

This reactionary stance is only a small example of the response of Communist Parties around the world. Everywhere,

these parties are deliberately repeating the policies which led to the Chile bloodbath.

Fidel Castro declared that the Chilean army was reactionary, but on the other hand the Peruvian military regime was progressive because the army officers "came from the humble classes." Isn't this what Allende and the CP said about the "professional" Chilean army?

As for the People's Republic of China, its embassy -- along with the American -- is one of the two that have refused to admit political refugees trying to escape murder at the hands of the generals!

Perhaps the most amazing performance was that of the Communist Party of France. At a public meeting, the CP's Secretary General George Marchais was challenged by a leader of the revolutionary group *Lutte Ouvriere* to state whether the Communist and Socialist Parties, if they were elected,

would dissolve the police and army high command and arm the workers.

His answer: "The events of Chile cannot in any way modify our strategy."

Those who cannot learn, or who purposely falsify, the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them.

But while this will always be true of the Communist and Socialist Parties, it doesn't have to be so for the workers' movement.

"Strange as it seems to those unfamiliar with Chilean politics, the Communists not only played by the democratic rules but had been a force for moderation and compromise within the Allende coalition, repeatedly critical of the more revolutionary Socialists."

[*New York Times*, Sunday, October 7, 1973.]

## Communist Parties Reject Lessons Of Chile Bloodbath



# SLAUGHTER GOES ON

real problems: they began to cut into the power of the capitalist class. But the real threat to the capitalists' rule in Chile was the independent activity of the workers.

The capitalists did not sit still. They began to organize. They carried out the October Bosses Strike, laid off workers, refused to plant crops, took their money out of Chile.

With their ally, US imperialism, they sabotaged the economy of Chile. The middle classes and small shopkeepers, who were severely affected by the growing economic crisis, began to mobilize against the government.

Polarization between the right and left, between the capitalist class and the working class deepened. Allende's "middle road" was possible no more.

Without a clear socialist alternative, the way was open for the horror of the coup.

The capitalists normally prefer to rule through constitutional means. But when they are threatened by the growing independent and revolutionary activity of the working class, they will resort to anything, including totalitarianism, to maintain their rule. This is what happened in Chile.

## Revolutionary Regroupment

The historic defeat of the Chilean working class comes at a time when the problems of international capitalism are beginning to open the possibility of revolutionary situations. Chile is only the first; there will be others.

There must be a revolutionary regroupment in the workers' movement in Chile and throughout the left in Latin America. The right was successful in Chile because it was organized, because it had leadership. The workers failed because they lacked organization and leadership.

The revolutionary workers trapped in the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) which supported Allende's policies to the end must form a new workers' organization that can provide a revolutionary perspective for the Chilean workers as they build the resistance.

The Communist Party will attempt to stifle opposition by calling for unity on the left against the fascist junta. The MIR may return to guerrilla terrorist activity against the dictatorship. Both are dead end strategies for the Chilean workers.

The only way to fight totalitarianism is through the fight for workers democracy, the fight for socialism.

Again there is no middle road in Chile now, or tomorrow. The workers' movement and the left in Latin America must learn these crucial lessons or follow the Chilean left down the road to disaster. ■

Since the military takeover in Chile, at least one reader has written to us agreeing that Allende's "parliamentary road to socialism" is not the answer. However, they ask, what is the alternative?

After all, if the Army and the police are so powerful and so firmly under the control of the ruling class, it seems it is going to be equally difficult (or impossible) to end their power -- whether through peaceful reform or revolution.

The armed forces certainly can seem to be all-powerful, especially in a situation of bloody counter-revolution and massive repression like that occurring in Chile today.

But if socialists adopt the correct tactics in a period when the fighting spirit of the workers' movement is on the upsurge, then the hold of the upper-class officers and "career brass" over the army itself can be destroyed.

## Workers in Uniform

The rank and file of the armed forces are, after all, either workers or peasants. In Chile, much of the army was drafted. In the US today, most of the recruits are young workers, especially from the Black and Latino communities, driven to the Army by unemployment and the promise of learning a skill.

In Vietnam, hatred and disgust for the war among American troops -- even without direct socialist agitation -- led to rebellions, fraggings, large numbers of desertions, and refusals to obey orders to attack the Vietnamese.

That does not mean that soldiers will automatically oppose their officers when told to kill Vietnamese, break strikes, or (in Chile) to bomb factories occupied by workers. Far from it.

Army training aims to make workers in uniform forget their class roots and to obey orders blindly, whatever their own individual feelings.

This is what lies behind all the bullshit of Army life, why armies are kept in barracks 24 hours a day, cut off from their families and former workmates except for short leaves.

## Soldiers and Officers

An individual soldier who disobeys an order faces the most severe punishment. In peacetime he is likely to face months or years in a military prison. When the ruling class declares war, the penalty for "insubordination" may be death.

The key problem for any mass movement of workers really challenging the ruling class

# Breaking State Power Needs Soldier And Worker Unity

Paul Foot

for power is how to break the hold of the officers in the army over the rank and file. This can be done, but only if the workers can prove to the soldiers that they can ignore their officers' orders -- and get away with it.

The revolutionary movement has to prove that it is growing in strength and that it really means business -- that it means to take power away from the ruling class, in the army as elsewhere, once and for all.

Every time the movement hesitates, or tries to compromise with the ruling class, it strengthens the hold of the officers. When the rank and file soldier no longer believes that the officers will lose their power to punish him, he keeps his head down.

## Workers' Militias

In Chile, one of the worst crimes of the so-called "Marxist" parties was to compromise with the leaders of the armed forces, to the extent of inviting them to become ministers in the Popular Unity government. These officers had already thrown sailors who supported the socialist organization into jail.

In effect, the leaders of Popular Unity were saying to the rank and file in the armed forces that the officers' power to en-

force military discipline was inviolable!

A genuine revolutionary socialist workers' party would have acted quite differently. It would have repeatedly argued for strengthening the workers' organizations which had begun to develop, uniting all the workers in each district with delegates elected by the workers in each factory.

A revolutionary party would have organized -- secretly at first -- among rank and file soldiers and urged them to send their own delegates to the meetings of workers' delegates. It would have suggested that the soldiers use their numbers to control the activities of the officers -- 10 soldiers with guns are more powerful than one officer.

Finally, the revolutionary party would have made it clear that, whatever the official government leaders might say -- the only way to safeguard the gains of the workers was to create armed workers' militias based on the factories.

In Chile many of these developments actually began to happen -- partly spontaneously -- but were sabotaged because the Socialist and Communist Parties demanded that the workers rely on the Constitution to defend them.

Even so, the army did not feel powerful enough at all times to overthrow Allende's government.

When Allende was elected in 1970, some officers were willing to plot with ITT to overthrow him. But at that time, most officers and capitalists feared the unity and determination of the workers.

As late as the end of last June, the officers feared the reaction of workers and soldiers to a coup -- with the result that the first attempted coup failed.

## Revolution or Reaction

The splits between different groups of officers would have widened and the rank and file could have organized alongside their fellow workers, if the workers' leaders had pushed to extend the revolutionary struggle: the occupation of all factories, the building of workers' militias, the organization of workers' councils and soldiers' delegates, the guarantee of land to every agricultural laborer in the countryside.

Instead, the established leaders of Chilean labor invited generals into the government and gave army officers complete control over "law and order." The ruling class regained its own unity, and organized the counter-revolution. ■



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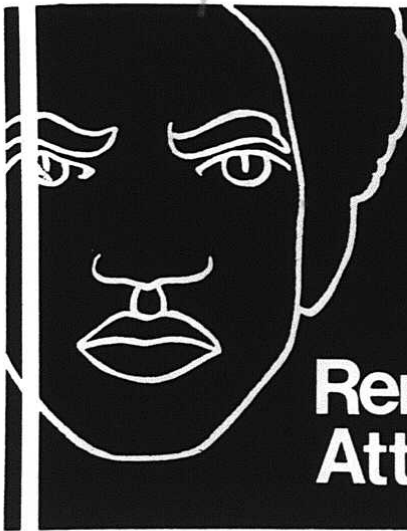
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# Open Letter From Comstock Prison: Remember Attica!

On September 13, 1973, we the below-named men confined here at the Great Meadow Correctional Facility at Comstock, New York, attempted to hold and observe a Memorial to commemorate the deaths of the men who were killed and slaughtered at the Attica Correctional Facility, September 13, 1971 in their attempt to correct and alleviate the lack of concern and care relative to the men who were confined in prison; and most especially, the lack of empathy on the part of the prison officials in their treatment of those confined in prison as less than human.

*Those deaths were in vain.* Many if not all of the conditions complained of then, are existing today; we are still forced to exist in an atmosphere wherein our human qualities are denied us, and we are treated as less than human beings.

## Mind Control

Attempts to control our comprehension of our loved ones and our friends, our beliefs and non-beliefs, political and reli-

gious; interference with our communications from and to our families and attorneys, and with the courts and public officials; the ever-present attempts to silence our voices when bringing forth complaints of specific matters; the denial to allow us to better ourselves before being released into the society that sent us to prison initially; the attempt to robotize us and make us stereotypes to appease the jailers' egos; the lack of proper medical care and treatment -- among others, these are the things which caused the Attica rebellion to come about and which still exist today.

On September 13, 1973, during our free time in the yard, we held a memorial to honor the deaths of our friends and acquaintances, our fellow inmates.

However, the prison officials first turned up the radio loudspeakers so that the speakers could not be heard, and thereafter when complaints and requests were made to turn off the loudspeakers in order that the speakers could be heard, the Administration ordered that the yard be closed completely and that all men be confined to their cells.

As a result of the attempted

Memorial, numerous men were thereafter placed into a keeplock status, that is confined to their cells for disciplinary action.

*On the 15th of September, 1973, eleven men were taken from their cells and placed in what is euphemistically called Special Housing Unit F-Block, but in reality known as the "Box" and Segregation Unit. This Unit and portion of the prison is/was where many men have been beaten senseless and gassed, and where one man recently died.*

Many other men were taken and placed into what is known as Idle Company, a strictly made punishment company, and all such men were charged with attending the Memorial commemorating the Attica rebellion and deaths, which was being commemorated throughout the country especially in New York State.

## Conspiracy to Riot?

The men who were placed into the "segregation" unit were charged with being ringleaders in a "conspiracy to create a riot." The Memorial which we had held in the yard was a peaceful one in the full sense of the word.

In fact, it was stressed that the purpose of the memorial was to review the progress since the

Attica rebellion, and to present what was being done in the courts to achieve further beneficial programs for the total inmate population.

Each and every man who was instrumental in causing progress within the prison, and who was successful in initiating specific programs and were in the process of launching additional beneficial programs, were swooped up maliciously, and placed in the segregation unit or the idle company unit in the Administration's attempt to curtail activities.

Black, whites and Puerto Ricans united in solidarity, but the prison feared such UNITY and immediately cracked down. Their divide-and-conquer philosophy was being questioned, and they reacted as usual.

## Human Rights Denied

What was it that we were attempting to do. Simply put, to pay homage to those friends, acquaintances, and fellow inmates who were slaughtered in their attempts to better the conditions they were forced to exist under.

**Just as people in the free world remember their friends, relatives and Anniversaries throughout the years, we attempted to do such and were punished -- we were denied that human aspect of life and (the right) to act as human beings.**

This was construed by the Administration as being a threat to the security of the prison. However, they are always conveying to the public at large the allegation that we are being accorded human rights.

These oppressors, these tormentors, are attempting to show that they are the oppressed and victims. They are attempting to convince the public at large that they are paragons of virtue and above reproach, but surreptitiously they remain in fact cold-hearted and demi-gods.

To further cover their misdeeds and their natural vindictiveness toward us, they have taken to intercepting our communication between concerned individuals in the free world, and harassing us in all ways imaginable.

We are at the present time denied full and hot meals,

suffer interference with our legal communication, verbal use, and denial of proper medical treatment, among others.

Our mail is unnecessarily delayed, our monies are "miscalculated" and taken from us without authority or permission, in their attempts to deny us to supplement the little they allow us to have at our own expense.

When money is miscalculated we cannot purchase stamps, and if we do not have stamps in our accounts we cannot keep in touch with our loved ones.

We have appeared before a "Superintendent's Hearing," a Court of Star Chamber, and we have been denied to face our accusers.

Accusations made against us by specific individuals in written reports have been denied us, and we have all been found guilty as charged and "sentenced" to terms of confinement in their dungeon for up to sixty days.

*Some men have had their release from prison taken from them; and the very statutes which were enacted for the protection of the inmate confined in prison have been violated in toto by the very persons who have been placed in the position of enforcing them.*

## Solidarity

We are requesting you, the public, to come to our aid, petition the Governor, the Commissioner, your legislator, to recognize September 13th each and every year as a day of infamy, never to be forgotten and to be remembered for all time to come.

This is our only recourse, and we need your assistance desperately. Without your assistance we can and may perish, as so many have in the past. Thank you. ■

Lorenzo Catanzaro GM28676  
Christopher Escobar GM30337  
Louis Martinez GM30188  
Rabb Charles Parker GM30933  
Abeeka James Young GM29770  
Samuel Sprague GM29858  
Michael Oben GM28572  
George Nieves GM29702  
Richard Dhoruba Moore GM30125  
Robin Palmer GM30299  
Maljib David Wheeler GM29187

# Black Prisoners Fight Murder Frameup

Three young black activists at Angola State Penitentiary, Louisiana, defendants in the case of the Angola Four, have been re-indicted on a murder charge by a West Feliciana Parish grand jury.

The new indictments follow the quashing by a state district court of the original indictments

because of racial discrimination in selection of the grand jury.

Herman Wallace, Gilbert Montegut, and Chester Jackson are charged along with Albert Woodfox in the April, 1972, murder of Brent Miller, an Angola State Penitentiary guard. All are from New Orleans.

Woodfox was tried separately and found guilty by an all-white jury. His case is now on appeal in the State Supreme Court.

The Four charge that they are being singled out for prosecution because of their "involvement in educating other inmates about racism and economic exploitation at the prison."

The killing occurred in one of the inmate dorms 20 minutes after armed guards broke up a petition drive by inmates seeking to speak to the warden. The petition drive was the second

attempt by inmates in two weeks to protest grievances.

The petitions centered on such grievances as a 96-hour work week at two cents per hour, inedible prison food, and other such grievances which give the Angola prison the distinction of being known as "one of America's worst prisons."

After the murder was discovered, inmates were herded into a yard, stripped, and searched for weapons. It was here that the three young black organizers were singled out for the murder charge. Later a fourth inmate, also active in prison organizing, was charged with the killing.

Supporters of the Four argue that "the evidence against the Angola Four has from the very beginning been both flimsy and questionable. Even the then District Attorney, Richard Kilbourne, at first protested the

indictments for lack of evidence."

Hescow Brown, the state's chief witness, claims that he was within a foot or two of the four defendants as he watched them kill the guard.

Earlier he had testified that he was at the prison's blood plasma center at the time of the killing. The defense has two witnesses to place him at the plasma center as he had originally stated.

Woodfox's attorney, Charles Garretson, pointed out during his trial that the bloody fingerprints found close to where the guard was killed fitted neither Woodfox, the slain guard, nor any of the other defendants.

Supporters also argue that the state has gone along with the indictment in order to "crush any inmate movement in Angola."

Attorneys for Wallace, Montegut, and Jackson have been successful in getting the trial moved from the small rural parish of West Feliciana to Baton Rouge. Trial is expected to begin in late November of December.

In the meantime a Committee to Free the Angola Four has been formed. It is composed of mothers of the defendants and their supporters. Dennis Walsh, coordinator for the group, stated that "protests will continue until the charges are dropped and until the right to speak, to organize, and to petition is returned to the inmates." Contributions and support are badly needed. ■

[For further information contact the Committee to Free the Angola Four, 1719 Polymina St., New Orleans, LA 70130.]

# Middle East Explodes Again

David Finkel

[Continued from page 1]

more of their land did not make them give up their demand to recover what was stolen from them.

Smashing the armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in 1967 did not convince these regimes to give up their long-term goal of destroying Israel and taking over Palestine for themselves. Instead, it only increased the hatred of Israel among the masses of all the Arab countries.

Even Israel's policy of helping Jordan's King Hussein smash the Palestine liberation struggle in 1970 did not put the "refugee question" to rest. In short, *Israel's policies have produced not peace but war.*

Since 1967, a myth has grown up that Israel's military machine was invincible, that Israel could capture any Arab city within days or hours. Already, this war has shaken that myth.

This time, Egyptian and Syrian soldiers have stood and fought against Israeli counterattacks. Even in the face of all-out Israeli bombing, Egyptian tanks have established a solid beachhead in the Sinai. It will require a bloody assault—or a full-scale invasion of Egypt itself—to remove them.

Another military victory for

Israel seems very likely. But the cost will be great, and the long-term consequence of this war is likely to weaken Israel's political position and possibly even its support from the United States.

American diplomatic support for Israel has remained steadfast, while the Soviet Union is backing the Arabs' claims. The United Nations is incapable of even calling for a cease-fire—at least until it becomes clear which side is winning.

But while the U.S. continues to make good its promises to defend Israel and replace its lost warplanes, the war has been privately described by Washington officials as "a firecracker that just exploded in Nixon's face."

Nixon's displeasure at this new war has at least three causes. First of all, it comes at a time when Washington's detente with Moscow makes Nixon anxious to avoid clashing with Moscow at all costs. Israel's bombing of the Russian embassy in Damascus, killing over 30 Russians and destroying the building, was a deliberate effort to smash the detente which Israel sees as a threat to its security.

Second, both U.S. imperialism and Israel have been politically weakened in the last few years. The United States has been defeated in Vietnam, while Is-

# ZIONISM, NAZI STYLE



The cartoon printed above, portraying Arabs as bloodthirsty savages, appeared in the right-wing *Detroit News*. It is more than just an ordinary, run-of-the-mill piece of racist trash. In fact, the drawings of the Arabs could have been taken directly from Nazi cartoons illustrating the anti-Jewish filth published in Hitler's Germany!

It is no great leap from the concentration camps of Europe to the anti-Arab hysteria of today. The tide can also turn the other way. The publication of such material should be a warning to Jewish, as well as to Arab people: the racist poison of Zionism breeds the racist poison of anti-Semitism.

# I.S. On The Mid-East War

The war in the Middle East pits the Zionist state of Israel against the nationalist Arab regimes in a war of conquest. The International Socialists do not support either side in this war.

Despite the claims of both, neither side is fighting for a just peace. Neither side supports the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. Neither side represents a progressive political force, nor is either side fighting a war against imperialism and colonialism.

Both Zionism and the nationalism of the regimes of Sadat, Khadafi, and Hussein are counter-revolutionary forces which must be overthrown.

In 1967, Israel claimed to be fighting for "national survival" against an Arab invasion. But five years later, Israeli general Matitiahou Peled openly admitted that this was a conscious fraud to whip up support.

Far from being attacked in 1967, Israel launched a blitz-

krieg war against Egypt and Jordan. In 1973, Israel is fighting to hold the plunder of 1967, the conquered territory to which it had no right in the first place.

Many radicals will support the Arab countries, on the grounds that these countries are fighting a "defensive war" to regain their territories or because they claim to oppose U.S. imperialism. This, however, is an illusion.

The Arab regimes, especially Egypt and Jordan, are partners in Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people. In 1948, when the Zionists grabbed up half of Arab Palestine, Jordan's King Abdullah stole the rest.

As for Egypt, its aim is not to liberate the Palestinians in the Gaza strip, but to incorporate them into Egypt and subject them to new national oppression.

Furthermore, Sadat aims to use this war to create "Arab unity" on the most reactionary

basis — to secure political domination over the Arab world in alliance with the right-wing ruler Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

The rulers of Egypt, Syria and Jordan have never recognized the legitimate national rights of the Jewish people of Israel. Their aim is to reconquer Palestine for their own benefit.

There will be no progressive results from a victory for either side in this war. A just peace can only be won if workers and revolutionaries, in both Israel and the Arab countries, organize against the war aims of their own rulers and for an independent revolutionary movement fighting for genuine national liberation and socialist revolution in the Middle East.

Such a movement must be built now if there are not to be even bloodier and more reactionary wars in the future. For revolutionaries on either side to support the victory of their own side in this war will only set back

this cause for years to come.

To begin building such a movement, Jewish and Arab workers should begin to demand:

I. End Zionist Expansionism—Unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories!

II. Return the lands stolen from the Palestinian Arabs by Israel and Jordan!

III. Defend the Right of Self-Determination — for the right of the Palestinians, and the Jews, to choose either a democratic unified Palestine or their own free, separate nations!

IV. For Socialist Revolution in Israel and the Arab Countries—end Zionist expansionism, nationalize the oil companies in the Arab countries under workers' control, throw U.S. and Russian imperialism out of the Middle East!

V. For a unified Socialist Arab Middle East Federation with full national rights for the Jews and all other national minorities!

rael's raids against Arab villages, commando killings of Palestinian leaders in downtown Beirut, the shooting down of a Libyan passenger plane, and the hijacking of an Iraqi airliner in an attempt to capture George Habash, have become increasingly indefensible and embarrassing to the U.S.

## The Oil War

Finally, and perhaps most important, the war broke out at a time when the threat of an oil shortage in the U.S. this winter was capturing almost as many headlines as the Watergate and Agnew scandals.

Publications like *Newsweek* magazine have been whipping up a panic over the nationalization of foreign oil companies in Libya and threats by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia to cut off oil supplies if America continues to support Israel.

In reply, Nixon has reminded Arab countries that the CIA overthrew Mossadeqh of Iraq, who nationalized American oil companies in 1953—and subtly hinted that he might be prepared to do the same thing again.

In this climate, American oil companies—who have always been pro-Arab—have been making more open anti-Israeli noises than any time since the early 1960's. And, with America tied down in Vietnam, Russian influence in the Middle East and its support to the Arab regimes has quietly expanded.

Israel does not enjoy the same overwhelming balance of military and political force that it rode to victory in 1967.

The greatest tragedy of this war is that the Palestinian Arabs no longer have their own independent national liberation movement. Their organizations have been destroyed by Israeli raids, by the treachery of the Arab regimes, and by the slaughter in Jordan in 1970. Without such a movement, the Palestinian victims of Zionism will gain nothing from this war.

If Israel's 1967 victory failed to bring peace, there is even less chance that it will do so this time. All the issues of the conflict—especially the robbery of the Palestine Arabs which has turned Israel into a national oppressor—remain unresolved. Military force will never succeed in ramming "peace" down the throats of the dispossessed.



For further reading on the Middle East:

*The Class Nature of Israeli Society*, Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, Akiva Orr \$35  
*The Other Israel, The Radicals Case Against Zionism*, ed. Arie Bober \$2.50

Order from: I.S. Book Service, 14131 Woodward Av., Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Enclose 5% additional for postage on mail orders.



# international report

David  
Finkel



## France: Mass March Backs Workers' Control



Workers meeting at the Lip factory after they had taken control

The town of Besancon, France was the scene of a massive solidarity march held September 29 in support of the workers who seized and held the LIP watch factory from June until August 14 of this year.

The occupation was sparked by the threatened closure of the plant. The workers took over, produced the watches under their own control and sold them in factories all over France to support themselves.

The LIP occupation, one of the first struggles in many years pointing toward real workers' control, has caught the imagination of all French workers. 80,000 people joined the march

to support the LIP workers against the riot police who stormed the factories and threw the workers into the street.

The solidarity march was preceded by protest strikes and student strikes which closed colleges, high schools and even junior high schools in the area.

The marchers included Renault workers from Paris, miners from Lorraine, peasants fighting an army takeover of their land in Brittany, hospital and postal workers, and teachers.

### "Workers Power"

The union leaders, who reluctantly supported the mass mobilization, tried to confine the march to slogans calling for "serious negotiations" or "responsible behavior" by the bosses.

But thousands of workers, who had not come hundreds of miles for those mealy-mouthed demands, drowned out the leaders with calls of "Workers' Power - at LIP and everywhere" and "Only One Solution: Revolution."

The union leaders also failed in their attempts to prevent revolutionaries from participating in the demonstration.

*The LIP workers have gained enormous sympathy and provided a powerful example. They proved by their occupation that workers' control can maintain production on a democratic basis, with no interference from the profiteers. The demonstration showed the government and the bosses that the LIP workers will not be beaten without a fight.*

## Notes

With the spectre of starvation facing several African nations, the Ethiopian regime is maintaining silence on the 50,000 victims of starvation there.

Starvation is sweeping the country because of drought conditions and a feudal structure in agriculture.

The government's mouthpiece, the Ethiopian-Coptic Church, explains the starvation as "the punishment of God for the sins of humanity." The government, which refuses to seek outside aid, has arrested students who protest its policies, killing some and throwing others into concentration camps.

The area north of Addis Ababa in the Wollo province, a dry plateau region, has become a wasteland. An estimated 670,000 persons are in need of help if they are not to face death from hunger.

\*\*\*

Despite vigorous opposition from African representatives, the Rhodesian Parliament has put into effect a death penalty or life imprisonment for anyone sheltering, or refusing to turn over, guerrilla freedom fighters.

Rhodesian security forces are also hunting down 30 guerrillas who took 93 persons from villages in the northwest part of the country. The French paper *Le Monde* reports that civilian "hostages" taken by guerrillas from the villages have been released.

This, however, does not stop the white-supremacist regime from using very possible terrorist device to catch and exterminate the guerrillas.

\*\*\*

The World Bank has offered the Chilean junta 180 million dollars in economic aid.

Aid to the Allende government was refused by the World Bank two years ago -- not for openly political reasons but because Chile's acute economic difficulties made her a "poor risk."

By systematically blocking all financial aid and credit to Allende's government, the Bank deliberately increased the suffering of the Chilean people and weakened the government.

With the junta in power, the World Bank ignored Chile's economic problems and cheerfully advanced the blood money to keep the generals in power. ■



## Guinea-Bissau Independence

The struggle for freedom from colonialism continues in Africa. While the recent murders of black miners in South Africa captured world attention, a life-and-death struggle against Portugal has been taking place in the territory of Guinea-Bissau.

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) has declared the formation of an independent republic in the territory. Luiz Cabral, PAIGC deputy secretary-general, was named President of the 15-

member State Council of the new nation.

The new republic has been recognized by 25 nations in African and the Arab Middle East. The British foreign office has declared that it will not recognize Guinea-Bissau.

### Portuguese Terror

*"We have effective control over two-thirds of Guinea-Bissau," stated the PAIGC's secretary-general Pereira. "This means an administrative control of schools, hospitals, justice and trade, and we are also responsible for the armed defense of the liberated cities, which is being done by local armed forces."*

"Our Portuguese enemies have reduced their military activities to bombing and helicopter operations. They make no more attempts to reoccupy the territory, but rather they burn down crops and terrorize the population."

Regarding the parts of the country still under Portuguese domination, Pereira declared: "They are mainly urban centers and entrenched military encampments. Those we cannot as yet attack since we suffer from a lack of heavy weaponry such as tanks and cannons." ■



Gough Whitlam

The Australian Labor government, reacting to rampant inflation, has begun to openly set the stage for wage controls.

Prime Minister Whitlam, who only recently pretended only to want price control powers, quickly "accepted" the demands of other parties that he request power to curb wages as well. He then went on TV to ask the Australian people to grant them.

Australians will vote in a December 8 referendum. They will be asked to vote separately on giving the federal government power to control prices and incomes.

The parliamentary caucus of the Labor Party has made its token protest. The big unions, and union federation leader Bob Hawke, openly oppose the government.

In view of Australians' historic reluctance to vote yes on any referendum and trade union opposition, it will be hard to get wage controls approved by this route. Still, Whitlam has other Constitutional channels open.

The challenge facing Australian labor is to build a political movement that can smash through any attempt to tie down the unions and to make the workers pay for inflation. ■

Ron Flaherty

## AUSTRALIA: Wage Control Spreads



# NEWS

## Fund Drive at 15%

The International Socialists annual Fund Drive entered its second week slightly ahead of schedule, with 15 percent of our goal collected. The Louisville Branch deserves special recognition for raising their *entire quota* so early in the drive.

The purpose of the drive is to enable us to expand our work in building the movement against capitalist and Stalinist exploitation and oppression, which will create a socialist world. We participate in the growing struggles of rank and file workers throughout the US, of black people and

other minorities for their liberation.

Our newspaper, *Workers' Power*, our pamphlets and publications, our speakers and organizers all are important elements in building the movement for revolutionary socialism. All require finances to make them possible.

If you have not yet sent a donation to the drive, do so today. Send a check, payable to the International Socialists, or a money order to:

International Socialists (or IS), 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.



## Scoreboard

BRANCH	QUOTA	COLLECTED	%
Bloomington	\$ 250	\$ 0	0
Champaign	100	0	0
Chicago	1,100	0	0
Cleveland	900	120	13
East Bay	1,500	250	17
Detroit	3,000	635	21
Ellensburg	150	0	0
Louisville	200	200	100
Los Angeles	900	0	0
New York	2,400	0	0
St. Louis	250	0	0
San Francisco	500	150	30
Seattle	1,200	0	0
MAL's	650	100	15
Nat. Office	2,000	800	40
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$15,100</b>	<b>\$2,255</b>	<b>15%</b>

## Women in History

Two important new books dealing with the role of women in capitalist society and the women's liberation movement have recently become available.

The first is Werner Thonnessen's *The Emancipation of Women, The Rise and Decline of the Women's Movement in German Social Democracy 1863-1933*.

The revival of the women's movement in recent years has generated renewed interest in the origins of the socialist theory of women's emancipation. In this book, Werner Thonnessen shows how this theory developed and how it changed with the fortunes of the working class movement as a whole.

Developments in Germany over the past century have been of immense importance for socialist theory and practice everywhere. The debate on reform and revolution at the turn of the century, the defeated revolution of 1919, the development of the vast German Communist Party and the collapse of the working class movement with the advent of fascism have been crucial stages in the rise and temporary decline of the socialist movement.

Thonnessen now shows that the development of the women's movement in Germany has been equally important, and that a knowledge of its rise and decline up till 1933 is essential if earlier mistakes are not to be repeated.

Werner Thonnessen has worked for many years as an administrator for IG Metall, the German metal workers' union. Now assistant general secretary of the International Metalworkers' Federation,

Thonnessen has written many journal articles on trade union subjects.

The author of the second book, *Hidden from History*, Sheila Rowbotham, has been active in the socialist movement for ten years and is known to women's liberation-activists in this country as well as in her native Britain. She is the author of *Women, Resistance and Revolution* and will publish later this year another book, *Women's Consciousness, Man's World*.

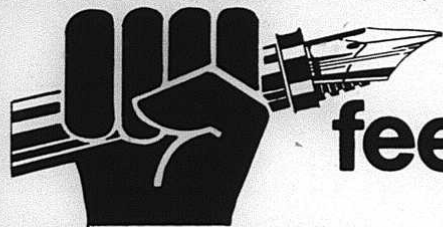
*Hidden from History* is a study of the changing position of women in England from the Puritan Revolution until the 1930's.

Rowbotham brings together a mass of material on birth control, abortion and female sexuality; on the complex relationship of women's oppression and class exploitation; and on the attempts to fuse the struggles against these two.

The book is a product of her involvement in the women's liberation movement. It concludes that feminist socialism is both urgent and possible, but depends on "our capacity to relate to the working class and the action of working class women in transforming women's liberation according to their needs."

Both books are published by Pluto Press (London) and are available through the IS Book Service. Each is priced at \$3.95, plus 5 percent for shipping on mail orders.

[Order from: IS Book Service, 14131 Woodward Ave., Highland Park, MI 48203.]



## feedback

### UAW Strike-breaking

[The following letter was sent to Leonard Woodcock following the crushing of the strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue stamping plant in Detroit. The author organized the struggle that built the UAW at Fleetwood in the 1930's and is a long-time union militant and revolutionary socialist.]

Dear Brother Woodcock:

It was with revulsion that I learned that the top officers of our Union -- International Secretary Treasurer, Emil Mazey; Vice-Presidents, Douglas Fraser, Erving Bluestone and Kenneth Bannon; International Board members, George Morrelli, Kenneth Morris, Bard Young and Marcellius Ivory -- helped mobilize and lead upwards of 1,000 goons, 250 of whom were International Representatives and 750 of whom were Local Union Officers and Committeemen, in a successful effort to break a legitimate strike.

I accuse all of these top officers of our Union and all those who participated in the Mack

Avenue operation of strike-breaking.

The strike at the Mack Avenue plant was legitimate in that the workers had serious long standing grievances the Local leadership had made little effort to resolve. As a result of the breaking of that strike more than 80 Local 212 UAW members have been discharged -- several with more than 20 years seniority.

I suggest the International Union take immediate steps to have the discharged workers reinstated to their jobs.

I don't condone the conduct of the three or four WAM members who precipitated the strike, but you shouldn't resort to red-baiting everyone involved in the work stoppage because of the irresponsible action of a few publicity seekers.

The danger to our Union is not from the action of a handful of publicity seekers but rather it is from the failure of the Union leadership to resolve the grievances of the workers, not only in Chrysler but throughout most UAW shops, and the strike-breaking of this leadership to cover up their own failure.

John W. Anderson  
Retired President, Local 15

### Letter from Australia

We were pleased to see an adapted version of our conference report appear in *Workers' Power*. There are many supporters of the IS in the group; however we have no formal ties with the IS, something which might have been inferred from the fact that the article appeared in the IS News section.

Your editing creates the impression that the Socialist Left faction in the Australian Labor Party is a revolutionary opposition. This is hardly the case, although there are revolutionaries in it.

Our perspective for the creation of a revolutionary current in and around the left wing of the ALP demands transcending the present leadership and politics of the Socialist Left.

We will continue to read *Workers' Power* with comradely interest.

Ron Flaherty, for the Political Committee of SWAG, Melbourne





INTERESTED?

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about the International Socialists.

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Louis, MO 63161

# Detroit Mayorality Race

Kay Stacy

[Continued from page 16]

sistent under-evaluation of tax-  
able assets; the deathblows to  
communities that urban renew-  
al has meant; the chaos in the  
school system -- both from un-  
der-funding and from periodi-  
cally exploding racial tensions --  
and the disastrous state of the  
city hospitals and health  
clinics, including drug clinics.

## Needed: a Labor Mayor

Detroit needs a *black pro-  
working class mayor*, a mayor  
who will not only take on the  
corporations to make them pay  
their fair share, but one who  
will respond directly to the  
brutal conditions facing work-  
ers in the plants. This is a far  
different strategy than relying  
on the UAW bureaucracy to  
deliver the passive votes of their  
members.

Detroit needs a mayor who  
will make all overtime volun-  
tary -- by law; who will provide  
the money and manpower that  
will make the Occupational  
Health and Safety Act a real  
force that protects workers'  
lives and limbs in the plants;  
who would organize and lead  
a mass campaign to abolish the  
STRESS killer unit and end po-  
lice terror and corruption in  
the community.

Such a mayor will never be  
elected by depending on big-  
money handouts to finance a  
billboard, TV and radio cam-  
paign.

No mayor could take office  
on this kind of program with-  
out organizing and mobilizing  
masses of people behind him,  
to provide a fighting force to  
push progressive laws and pro-  
grams into practice.

And this -- organizing masses  
of people into an independent  
active fighting force -- is exactly  
what Coleman Young, like all  
capitalist politicians no matter  
their color, has no intention of

doing. This is why he represents  
no real solution at all.

Richard Hatcher, black mayor  
of Gary, Indiana, was elected on  
a program that included taking  
on US Steel -- the company that  
controls Gary -- to make it re-  
sponsible to the community  
and its needs.

Hatcher makes periodic  
speeches about blacks "possib-  
ly" having to leave the tradi-  
tional parties and form their  
own independent political force.

But unwilling to do more  
than make occasional speeches,  
about a year and a half ago  
Hatcher was forced to admit  
defeat in his fight against US  
Steel.

*The company, Hatcher said,  
had too much economic power,  
and threatened to move to Latin  
America. Meanwhile housing  
and social services in Gary con-  
tinue to deteriorate, as do em-  
ployment prospects. Crime and  
pollution continue to rise.*

Similarly Kenneth Gibson,  
mayor of Newark for three years,  
did not allow his black skin to  
prevent him from using the  
courts and jails against striking  
teachers in 1970.

Nor did it prevent him from  
using the racist police force  
against his ex-political ally,  
Imamu Baraka, this year.

## Democrats and the System

Detroit is a black town,  
whose problems affect its black  
citizens first and hardest. *Were  
it not for the racism built into  
this system, Detroit would have  
had a black mayor long ago.*

But black mayors, acting  
within established political  
channels, have played a role of  
propping up this racist capital-  
ist system, rather than attacking  
it.

Carl Stokes, mayor of Cleve-  
land for two terms, clearly main-  
tains in his recent autobiography  
that he was backed by the Cleve-



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land businessmen because he  
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ing the masses of blacks quiet,  
inactive and humble.

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Hatcher, Gibson and Young to  
keep people looking up to the  
Democratic Party, to keep legiti-  
mate the two-party system.

It is the capitalist system  
that breeds unemployment, dis-  
crimination, crime and urban  
decay. It is these conditions,  
and the white reaction to them,  
that provide the basis for the  
racist law-and-order campaigns  
of John Nichols, Tony Rizzo  
of Philadelphia, and ex-Vice  
President Spiro Agnew.

White workers who support  
these kind of candidates out of  
racial fears are cutting their own  
throats. White workers have to  
break with their racist fears and  
realize who their class enemies  
and allies are, if there is to be a  
real alternative to the dirty gut-  
ter-type politics that mark Amer-  
ican politics today.

## Lesser Evilism

Young and other liberals, on  
the other hand, by seeming to  
offer a legitimate alternative,  
keep that system going. Cole-  
man Young clearly represents a  
"lesser evil" than the racist pig  
brutality of John Nichols.

Similarly, Lyndon Johnson  
also appeared to represent a  
lesser evil than "bomb Hanoi"  
Barry Goldwater in 1968.

But acceptance of this "less-  
er evil" means accepting the

two-party system that makes  
America look democratic while  
in reality maintaining unemploy-  
ment, poverty and racism.

Every time that acceptance  
of two-party politics goes on,  
then the real problems facing  
working people, blacks, Latinos  
and other minorities systemati-  
cally discriminated against in  
this society are untouched.

Instead discontent becomes  
channeled into the Democratic  
Party, to be sold out once more.

## Less Talk, More Action

Demands should be placed  
upon Coleman Young, and  
others of his ilk, to take on the  
corporate power of America.  
We should demand that he call  
for the end of police brutality  
in the black community, and  
make that real by organizing  
and leading blacks to defend  
themselves.

We should demand of Cole-  
man Young that he tax corpo-  
rate profits to the hilt to pay  
for new and better housing for  
black people, the poor, the old,  
for all working people.

We should demand of Cole-  
man Young that he reject and  
renounce his statement in the  
*Detroit Free Press* that Orville  
Hubbard of Dearborn, Michi-  
gan, an all-white suburb, and  
Daley, with his corruption-  
ridden city machine, are his  
models as mayors that "get the  
job done."

We should demand of Cole-  
man Young that he use some of

those corporate monies to re-  
build the schools, pay teachers  
an adequate wage and turn con-  
trol of the school system over  
to the students, the teachers  
and the parents.

## Build a Workers Party

But we should not just sit  
back and make those demands  
and wait to see what happens.  
Black and white workers must  
organize their own independent  
workers' party, opposing the  
capitalist parties, to fight for  
control of society and shape it  
to fulfill their needs.

Hatcher, Stokes, Gibson and  
others have proven that they are  
incapable of that job. It is only  
our organization and our unity  
in struggle that can solve the cri-  
sis in American society today. ■



## BLACK LIBERAL FIGHTS EX-TOP COP FOR MAYOR

The Detroit mayoral primary results provided the politicians, pollsters and bookies with several surprises.

The top-vote getter was no surprise. John Nichols, white ex-Police Commissioner, ran a law-and-order-campaign -- and, equally unsurprisingly, received most of the white votes in this racially almost evenly divided industrial city.

The first surprise came with the second-place winner, Coleman Young, black Democratic State Senator, who got a very late start in campaigning due to court cases over his Senate position and possible conflict of interest.

The second surprise for the pollsters was the extremely poor showing of Mel Ravitz, a longtime liberal city politician, and present president of the city's Common Council.

Ravitz had launched an early campaign aimed at a bi-racial electoral base, with a liberal-moderate program for betterment of city life, small reforms in the police department, and stream-lining of city services. He ran a very weak third.

Young, campaigning on a somewhat broader reform pro-



John Nichols



Coleman Young

gram than any of the other candidates, and having a long history of involvement in the labor movement in this heavily working class town, came from behind and captured almost all of the votes cast in the black precincts.

The depth of racial polarization revealed by the primary results surprised the press, the business community, and, of course, the city officials.

In particular, it appeared to mark the end in Detroit of the ability of white liberals to put

together the traditional black-white working class coalition that has kept the Democratic Party in control of this city's politics for decades.

John Mogk, one of the white liberal-moderate candidates, had heavy backing from the

press. Mel Ravitz had the support of every major union in town.

Republican Ed Bell, the second front-running black, was grudgingly granted some support by the white press because he seemed to be more conservative than Coleman Young.

The rejection by the black electorate of these traditional strategies demonstrated both the extent of anger simmering in the black community, and the belief that Young most closely represents the demands, needs and feelings of the majority of black people in Detroit.

It marked the end of white liberal Democratic control over Detroit. What replaces this, however, should Young win the election, is simply black liberal politics, with the window-dressing of a black office-holder rather than a white.

Detroit needs a black radical mayor. It needs a mayor that is willing to fight the corporations that control this city -- mainly the Big Three auto companies -- to force them to pay for the destruction they heap on the city: the pollution from the inner-city plants; the con-

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## Nixon's "Tricks" Rig Election

Leaving the time-bomb of the Nixon tapes quietly ticking in the background, the "Senate Select Watergate Committee" has moved on to a much less explosive issue -- the run of the mill "dirty tricks" played on the Democratic politicians by paid Republican agents in 1972.

Compared to the Agnew scandal, the results were fairly dull. Perhaps deliberately so. Most of the interest centered around the personalities of ace saboteur Donald Segretti and

his two hired hands, Martin Kelly and Robert Benz: slick, well-dressed middle class thugs cut from the same Watergate mold as John Dean, Jeb Magruder and other now-famous household names.

Most of the capers described to the Committee were small-time penny-ante practical jokes. Hiring a woman to run nude in front of Muskie headquarters, planting stink bombs, sending out phony invitations to a non-existent Muskie banquet, and other small-time stuff hardly matched the high standards set by Nixon's "Plumbers" unit. One of the other tricks was

a little more clever. Segretti placed ads in newspapers reading "Sen. Muskie, would you accept a Jewish running mate?" and "Sincere gentleman seeks running mate, White Preferred . . . Contact E. Muskie" after Muskie had stated that "the time is not right" for a black Vice-President.

Since these ads did not involve fraud or misrepresentation, it's hard to see why they qualify as "dirty tricks." One can easily understand, though, why Muskie, his fellow Democrats and the white political power structure as a whole

found them in somewhat bad taste.

Especially since Chairman Sam Ervin, new liberal hero and noble Defender of the Constitution, has taken so much delight in spinning those homey, folksy tales about his days as a simple country lawyer in small courthouses in the South (with black people sitting in the back).

Politically, the most important of the "dirty tricks" played by Segretti and his gangsters were those which sought to make hay out of Muskie's pro-bussing stand. Segretti had posters printed up in the name

of a phony "Mothers Backing Muskie Committee" reading "Help Muskie Support Bussing More Children Now."

This maneuver was not an isolated ploy. It was part and parcel of the larger, "legitimate" side of Nixon's campaign, which played up to the most racist forces among the white population and capitalized heavily on the white racial fears stirred up by the bussing controversy.

In capitalist politics, the distinction between "dirty" and "clean" election practices is an arbitrary one. Under this capitalist "democracy," it was "dir-

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