

WORKERS' Power

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Workers' Defense Blocks Racists

DETROIT — Union members have come to the defense of a black family, victims of a wave of terror and violence aimed at driving them out of a white neighborhood.

Since Maytroit Richards and her six children moved into their new home in Northwest Detroit, bricks have been thrown through windows and racial epithets scrawled on walls. Repeated phone calls to the police department and its residential harassment squad had no results.

The NAACP and several unions, after learning of the violence, stepped in, organizing around-the-clock protection for the family. Most of the volunteers were trade unionists, including members of the United Auto Workers.

Volunteers stayed in the house overnight, and others kept it under constant surveillance. Union members also

repaired over \$400 worth of damage to the home.

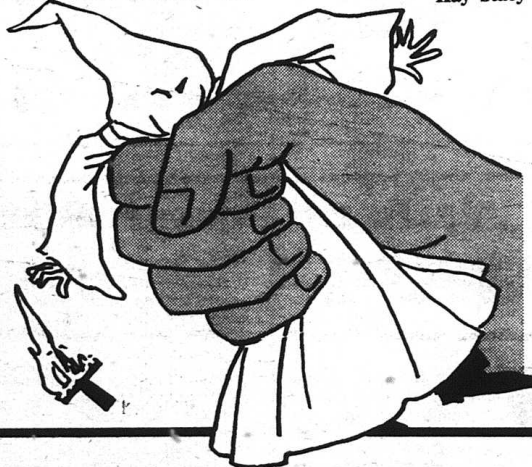
Harassment of black families in white neighborhoods is nothing new. What's different here is that working people organized to defend the victims. That's the way to stop it.

The NAACP's and the unions' action in this instance have shown that when the government refuses to protect victims of racism, working people and black people can organize protection themselves. And do a better job of it.

In this case, the chief of police was so embarrassed that he talked the unionists into ending their vigil, promising that the police would guarantee protection. The very next day, another round of bricks was pitched through the family's window.

A group of black Vietnam Vets have now taken over the family's defense. ■

Kay Stacy



WHAT ARE THEY WAITING FOR?

Who's on first?
Leon Jaworski or the House Judiciary Committee?
Sirica, the Supreme Court or Walter Cronkite?

It becomes more absurd with each edition of the evening news.

One day Nixon's top aides finally come to trial.

The next day it appears they may actually go free -- because Nixon won't turn over some tapes.

A confrontation of powerful political institutions -- the Presidency and the Supreme Court -- ticks away like a bomb. And no one seems capable of dislodging this creep from office, even though most everyone wants him out.

Why can't America's tiny but enormously powerful ruling elite assert itself? The big banks and corporations in some way own almost everyone involved -- from Congress to the press to the courts.

Why can't they get Nixon out, and on their own terms?

Mostly the answer is that the way Nixon is dumped means a lot.

What would happen if Nixon were thrown out for the "immorality" everyone is screaming about -- the deleted expletives, the inaudibles, the gaps, or the general "shabby, immoral and degrading performance" which his conservative friends were so horrified to see coming into the open?

If one President is impeached for using foul language, what might happen to future Presidents accused of crimes like dropping bombs



on hundreds of thousands of civilians in unpopular wars?

With Nixon's demise as a precedent, it would be a whole lot easier to build a movement to dump that President too.

This line of reasoning is exactly what America's power brokers want to eliminate.

This system cannot and will not impeach Nixon for his real crimes. Not for being a mass murderer in Vietnam. Not for his violent campaign to destroy the black liberation struggle.

Certainly not for his "legal" favoritism towards Big Business -- from the Big Three to ITT to the oil cartel.

But since Nixon's administration is a totally discredited hulk, he must go. And that powerful elite

will make sure it is because of his personal corruption. of federal agencies and obstruction of justice.

But the underlying ability of a President to wage wars, slash working peoples' living standards, dismantle anti-poverty programs, and generally let the country go to rot will remain intact.

Thus the farce of Nixon's administration drags on endlessly.

The spotlight shifts from courtrooms to "hallowed halls," while the legalistic indictment of Nixon's individual sins is catalogued.

The capitalist political system establishment is dragging out Watergate for one reason: to make sure their system of exploitation and imperialism continues. ■

New Arms Race Explodes

p.12



What We Think

BLOODY SLA MANHUNT

California police and the FBI are waging an all-out manhunt for the three supposed survivors of the Symbionese Liberation Army. After the hideous massacre of six SLA members at their hideout in Los Angeles three weeks ago, it appears that the police do not expect, or intend, any SLAers to be captured alive.

There are many questions which will never be answered once the SLA is totally liquidated. Perhaps certain police or state officials would sooner leave them unanswered. Was Donald deFreeze ("Field Marshall Cinque") at any time a police agent? What did the police know about the SLA before the chain of events that began with the Patricia Hearst kidnapping? What led Hearst to apparently unite with her supposed captors?

Whatever truth may lie at the bottom of this tangle, one other thing is clear. The massive display of uncontrolled firepower and violence unleashed against alleged SLA members - and against the whole neighborhood where they were hiding out - is meant to provide an example of what this capitalist state will turn loose against any movement attempting to change the structure of power in this society.

The program and methods of the SLA - individual assassinations, spectacular kidnappings and bank robberies - had no possibility of changing anything in this society, let alone organizing a movement for revolution. From what is known of its public statements and activity, the SLA appeared to be more of a disoriented cult than a political organization. But the incredibly massive police campaign - one of the largest in history - against this small group is intended to create a climate for more murders of black liberation fighters like Fred Hampton, more Kent State killings, more Zebra-style roundups and searches.

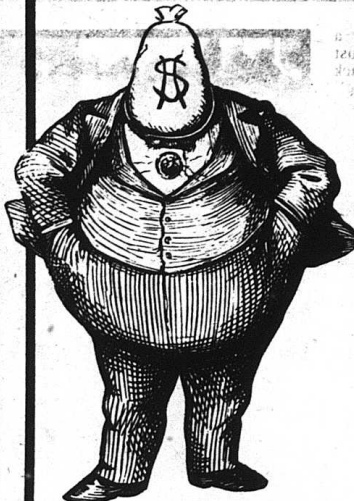
SLA members - whether or not they had even been charged with anything - were publically tried and convicted by the statements of LA Police Department and FBI officials and Attorney General William Saxbe. They were then tracked down, pinned down with withering firepower and roasted on live television as hundreds of gleeful police and fire officers stood by.

Compare this with the treatment received by Richard Nixon, whose crimes - from mass murder to bribery to obstruction of justice - are recorded on tape. He continues his life of luxury in the White House, delays his trial endlessly - and when he leaves, odds are he'll never spend a night in jail. Or Lieutenant William Calley, who ordered Vietnamese villagers machine-gunned in a ditch at My Lai and will walk away completely free less than six months from now. That is what capitalist justice is all about.

For revolutionaries, the deaths of the SLA members represent a real tragedy. Their actions showed they thought they were making a revolution, and that they were willing to make any sacrifice to fight oppression in this society. Yet their lives were wasted in a useless shootout, a police massacre which turned into a disgusting mass media spectacle, instead of being spent in the struggle to build a revolutionary workers' movement.

This slaughter should also be a bitter lesson to radicals who glorified and applauded the SLA and its strategy. The SLA's course of individual terrorism, of substitutionism, leads only to destruction. Those who sympathized with this course have only two choices. The first is to give up the fight - to sink into apathy in the face of defeat. The second is to abandon the methods of individual terrorism, to enter the struggle to build a revolutionary socialist party out of the day to day struggles of the working class in this country.

WON'T YOU LET ME TAKE YOU ON A SEA CRUISE



Have you ever wondered how it is big business is able to win the support and cooperation of legislators and public officials elected primarily with the votes of working people? How it is virtually all public officials in this country are more ready to listen and respond to businessmen than to working people?

The answer is, quite simply and directly: they buy them.

While there are other considerations, just like everything else in this profit-oriented economy, your money is the most important.

Watergate shows this in the most blatant form - even at the very top, in the glare of national publicity, buying a politician can be as simple as cash under the table.

Another example occurred recently in Detroit. This one was legal. It shows one of the many, many ways to buy a politician, even if the politician is honest enough or worried enough about his career to refuse to do anything illegal.

On April 27, fifty to seventy

Detroit and Michigan public officials left for a cruise in the Caribbean - paid for by the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce.

Included on the trip were Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit and three of his top advisors, five of the nine members of Detroit's Common Council, the City Clerk, the Wayne County (Detroit) Public Prosecutor, the Sheriff, the Treasurer, and a Recorder's Court Judge.

From the state capital, about 37 state senators and representatives made the trip.

The cruise is an annual affair, costing the Chamber of Commerce between \$400 and \$800 per person.

It's not likely that the Chamber makes any specific demands on those who go on the trip. That might be illegal. But it's also unlikely that the legislators, the city councilmen, the mayor, and the other officials will forget very quickly who paid for it all.

David Katz

King Is No Checkers

Nixon's popularity has slipped so low, even his dog now shuns him.

The Nixon's Irish Setter, King Timahoe, has to be lured into the President's presence.

The dog loves aniseed, and, incredibly, Nixon's aides actually sprinkle the stuff on the President.

After Nixon is so annoyed, and the photographers have their cameras ready, the dog is let in.

Timahoe, who appears to be somewhat of a junky, then hurls himself at Nixon, fawning and licking his clothes.

It all passes as a touching picture of canine loyalty for the benefit of the press and other observers.

Wonder what he uses on Gerald Ford. ■



International Socialism 68

British Miners, Bill Message; Ireland, Mike Miller; The Comintern, Duncan Hallas; Women's Consciousness, Kath Ennis.

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Lobbying—Dead End For Black Workers

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) held its third annual convention in Detroit last month.

The need for a national organization of black workers is apparent. Black people bear the brunt of political and economic crisis in the United States today.

Unemployment in the black community has reached epidemic proportions. "Sacrifice" throughout the energy crisis meant colder homes, higher prices, less travel and loss of jobs for black, working and poor people - and increased financial dividends for others.

Three million blacks make up 15 percent of the US trade union membership. Only a few hold top union offices.

Some unions, like the United Auto Workers, pay lip service to the need to confront and eliminate racist practices in plants, offices - and union halls.

Others ignore it. The Teamsters and the Steelworkers, both with significant black memberships, have no blacks on their executive boards. The AFL-CIO has two out of 35.

Nixon's attempt to solve US economic ills through decreased federal spending has slashed already inadequate minimal social services and relief programs.

A militant organization of black unionists could begin the difficult task of rebuilding the struggle of black people for equality and freedom.

How does the CBTU match up against this potential?

LOBBYING

The CBTU was originally formed during the 1972 Presidential campaign when AFL-CIO leader George Meany refused to support George McGovern, the Democratic candidate.

In its two years of existence the CBTU has remained largely an organization of labor officials, failing to attract many black rank and file trade unionists.

On every important question before the black community and black trade unionists in the last year, the CBTU's tack has been appealing to Congress or the traditional trade union leadership for redress.

Its activities, by and large, focus on Congressional and government lobbying. Like PUSH headed by Jesse Jackson, and the Congressional Black Caucus, it is identified with the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party.

The CBTU's response to the unemployment devastating the black community was to submit testimony to a House of Representatives Committee.

On the current scandal of political corruption and Nixon's impeachment, the CBTU called on the House Judiciary Committee to speed things up. No criticism was made of the passive behavior of the Democratic Party.

The CBTU's position on black leadership in the trade union

movement is far from leading a fight on the racist practices of most trade unions. It only urges its black members to try to "participate" more - in other words, to put a few more liberal black faces in official positions.

PRESSURE GROUP

The CBTU is a black pressure group, hostile to George Meany's brand of politics and willing to press for certain concessions. Opening up the trade union leadership to more black officials is an example.

The CBTU believes that, in addition to advancing their own careers, this kind of advance would provide greater leverage for them to pressure for other reforms.

But the Coalition will not organize a militant attack on American racism. As presently constituted, the CBTU is not the national black trade union organization that is needed today.

Similar organizations have existed in the past, most recently the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) in the 1960s. The NALC, however, died because, like the CBTU, it existed only as a pressure group, presenting no real threat to the white-dominated establishment union leadership.

A number of good and important resolutions came before the third



One thousand three hundred trade unionists attended third Coalition Convention in Detroit.

Coalition convention this year. Among them were:

- Opposition to Albert Shanker and his racism in the American Federation of Teachers;
- Support for the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, a black-led union Nixon is

determined to destroy;

- A resolution to extend the strength of the trade union movement into community action by calling for workers' councils to organize, particularly in large city ghetto areas.

Many of these excellent reso-

lutions were supported by the Coalition. But to make them real would mean large-scale organization of black people within the trade union movement and the black community.

This would require genuinely independent politics in the interests of the black community, and a break from the liberal pressure-group lobbying strategy to which CBTU is committed.

The Coalition's track record shows it is unwilling and unable to take those independent steps.

Most of the Coalition's members were elected in the wake of the 1960's black liberation movement. They weren't its leaders; they were its hangers-on.

This distinctive difference does not, however, prevent them from wrapping themselves in the movement's memory:

"The confluence of Malcolm and Martin Luther King's ideas can be realized in a recently formed organization," their Bulletin asserts. "... indeed CBTU was initially formed to endorse Senator McGovern."

Quite a bit different than Malcolm X's belief - that a successful black liberation movement would begin by rejecting the conservatism, racism, and commitment to capitalism of the Democratic Party.

Kay Stacy

India Joins Nuclear Family

In the midst of Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi's drive to force railwaymen to accept starvation wages (see p. 4), her government proudly announced that India has joined the "nuclear club."

India's first nuclear bomb explosion cost something like \$3 billion. Workers and peasants may starve, but no expense is spared to put means of mass destruction into the hands of India's generals. While Gandhi pledges herself to peace, military figures are looking to extend their domination over all South Asia, and toward a possible future war against Iran over the Indian Ocean.

Besides long-term strategic goals, the bomb also serves the immediate needs of Gandhi's regime by creating a short-term outburst of patriotic enthusiasm among masses of Indian people.

The regime is presenting the explosion as a giant stride toward overcoming India's poverty and underdevelopment - although the desperate position of the population rapidly worsens.

The hypocrisy of India's government in presenting its nu-

clear explosion as a tool for achieving peace and prosperity is matched only by the arrogance of the Western governments.

The government of Canada, which provided India with much of the aid needed for nuclear development, expressed "surprise" that its nuclear assistance had been used to produce a bomb!

US leaders also indicated their "concern" that the addition of India to the countries known to possess the bomb would be another "unsettling factor" in world affairs. They choose to ignore the fact that the giant imperialist superpowers - the United States and its Stalinist rival, the Soviet Union - are the ones who have launched, developed and accelerated the world arms race to its present terrifying level.

While India's starving people pay the price for their government's own great-power ambitions, the super-powers and their social systems - capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism - are confronting mankind with the real danger of destruction.



Atomic research center near Bombay

Starving child in India

WORLD IN CRISIS



ARMY REGIME FACES CRISIS



Portugal

"It is not by way of anarchy, economic chaos, disorder and unemployment that we build the Portugal of the future."

"Counterrevolutionary forces that indulge in left-wing phraseology are intent on creating a rift between the people and the armed forces."

Are these the voices of Portugal's right wing President, Antonio de Spínola? Or are they the leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party?

Answer: they're both. Spínola and the officials of the CP in the unions and the government are outdoing each other trying to put an end to the spread of working class struggle throughout the country.

Meanwhile, the military men of the Armed Forces Movement who hand-picked the figures in the new Provisional Government are expressing growing alarm over the strike wave, and threatening to crush it forcibly if the government parties allow it to continue.

Communist Party leaders have been working overtime persuading miners, metal and transit workers to return to work and to strike to defend themselves only "in a responsible way."

Bakery workers who earn \$3 a night are the latest to go on strike in the face of these warnings and threats. After years during which strikes were banned and workers' organizations ruthlessly crushed, they are now taking the struggle for dignity and decent lives into their own hands.

Many of the figures in the new government cannot hope to win much support from workers, or from rank and file radical soldiers. One example is Prime Minister Adelino Carlos, a 69-year-old "liberal establishment figure" greeted with relief by bankers and industrialists.

Another is Defense Minister and former Army Chief of Staff Costa Gomes, a general regarded as "sound" by US and European military chiefs. Gomes is trying to negotiate a peaceful military sur-

render by black national liberation forces in Angola; Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau in return for "autonomy" under Portuguese capitalist rule.

Controlling the working class is where the Socialist and Communist Parties come in.

The SP has been given five positions in the government. Its leader Mario Soares is Foreign Secretary. His mission has been to negotiate with other European governments for Portuguese membership in the Common Market.

Soares has also been helping Gomes line up political contacts in Europe with representatives of the independence movement in Guinea-Bissau.

The Communist Party has two positions - its general secretary Alvaro Cunhal is a cabinet minister with no specific title in charge of labor affairs, and Alvelino Gonsalves is the Minister of Labor. The CP, which has a strong union base and is known by the workers as an anti-capitalist party, is specifically in charge of keeping them in line.

The CP newspaper AVANTE puts it this way: "The most urgent tasks at the moment for Portugal are the unity between Communists, Socialists, Catholics, Liberals and others, the unity of all those who oppose the return of tyranny and oppression."

What this means in straight language is that strikes are upsetting the honeymoon between the CP and the generals!

At this point, the provisional government is playing for time. If this government loses the African colonies, or if the strike wave spreads out of control, the glowing phrases of "anti-fascist unity" will disappear as Portugal's capitalists organize a brutal counteroffensive against their own workers.

The working class faces disaster if it is not organized and prepared for this assault in time. But the very existence of unnamed forces which the Communist Party (along with Spínola, a fighter for Franco and Hitler) denounces as "ultraleft counterrevolutionaries" indicates the possibility of Portuguese workers building their own revolutionary party in opposition to the CP.

Such a party could lead a second revolution - a revolution that would sweep away Spínola and his allies.

Israel On Top In Mideast Truce



Henry Kissinger's "historic agreement" to separate Israeli and Syrian troops leaves Israel in control of almost all the territory seized from Syria in the 1967 war.

The Syrian-Israeli settlement is only an extension of the previous deal arranged by Kissinger between the Israeli and Egyptian governments, in which the Arab states gave away most of the gains of their partial victory in the war of October 1973.

It seems clear that the Syrian regime, under tremendous pres-

sure from both the US and the government of Anwar el-Sadat in Egypt which has firmly allied to the US ever since the recent war, virtually abandoned its military-political goal of recapturing the Golan Heights territory. The only concession that the Syrian government will be able to present to its people is the return of the city of Kuneitra.

It is also likely that Israel's new government will be stabilized, at least temporarily, by the favorable settlement it has achieved. The agreement protects the security of the Zionist outposts and settlements built on the Arab territories stolen in 1967.

A fuller analysis of the troop withdrawals and their meaning will be included in our next issue. ■

Rail Strike Defeated



The strike of railroad workers in India has ended in defeat. The massive strikebreaking campaign waged by the government of Indira Gandhi ended in success when jailed union leaders ordered their members back to work.

Despite the fantastic militancy and solidarity that rank and file railroad workers maintained throughout the three-week strike, their union leaders clearly were unprepared for the wave of arrests - well over 20,000 - and were unable to effectively resist.

The railroad workers, who work a twelve-hour day and have not had their pay (starting at about \$7 a week) increased for two years, were singled out as an "example" by ruling Congress Party bosses. To smash their strike the army, police and state bureaucracy were

mobilized in an all-out offensive. The police have run amok in working class areas. There are beatings and shootings on a massive scale every day.

The government moved troops into key rail stations, fired thousands of strikers, put others on summary trial, and issued mass eviction orders to strikers living in railroad housing.

Without leadership, the railwaymen waged a magnificent struggle, staging a one-day general strike - the first in India's history.

What happened in this strike is a sign of what lies ahead for other workers in India - most immediately the central government employees, mail and telegraph and electrical workers whose wage demands are coming up.

The options and room for maneuver are narrowing for both workers and capitalists in India, which is not only one of the poorest countries in the world but also one of the hardest hit by inflation. The jump in food and oil prices over the last year has practically

wiped out the reserves of foreign currency. Domestic inflation has reached 25 percent.

But not all Indians are poor. Some are comfortable businessmen and bureaucrats living in air-conditioned luxury in the midst of starvation. Some are prosperous farmers who have benefited from the American-financed "green revolution," the introduction of high-yield crops.

This wealthy minority controls Gandhi's Congress Party government. They are determined to make the town workers and the poor peasants pay the whole price for the entire economic crisis.

It may not be long, however, before the generals move to elbow aside the hopelessly corrupt government and try to seize power directly. Meanwhile, the railway strike shows that the working class in one of the world's largest countries has begun to move.

Socialist revolution or military dictatorship are the choices for India. The day of decision is not far off. ■

MINE MILITANTS MAY

The expiration of the United Mine Workers national contract, now set for November, could set in motion a struggle that might open a new floodgate of militancy throughout the labor movement.

It is still too early to say, but there is certainly a chance that rank and file miners could win a clear victory - if they organize their strength for the coming battle.

The leadership of the United Mine Workers under Arnold Miller has been tossed back and forth among three poles of power: the employers, Miller's allies in the United Auto Workers (UAW) and United Steel Workers (USW) bureaucracies, and the ranks of the UMW.

The employers, of course, include many big oil, steel and utility companies. Some 55 percent of total coal production is owned by such companies.

For all practical purposes these employers include the US government - such as it is these days - as one of their wholly owned subsidiaries.

The major goal of this group is to weaken the existing mine health and safety laws and contract provisions, and to prevent any improvement in these areas in the new contract.

The bosses, like the union, believe that there will be a sellers' market for coal this year and from now on. Thus they have waged a vigorous campaign to get the government to prevent a strike, and to put the blame on the UMW for any increases in the price of coal.

In January, UMW President Miller wrote to the employers' association, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) requesting early negotiations and a peaceful solution. But this proposal died when the companies and the union could not agree on a basis for early bargaining.

MANEUVERING

When the West Virginia miners walked out in March over the gas shortage, the UMW leaders once again responded to employer-government pressure and sent union representatives to the coal fields to tell everyone to go back to work.

The miners did not go back to work, however, and the UMW leaders seem to have thrown up their hands. Aside from pleading, they put no really heavy pressure on the West Virginia miners to end their strike.

This indicates that Miller will not really make an all-out fight to force the ranks into line - not yet.

In late March, the government attempted another maneuver to get the UMW into early supervised bargaining and to avoid a strike in the fall. Without informing the union, the Cost of Living Council negotiated with the BCOA to call in the Federal Mediation and Con-

ciliation Service - a government agency specializing in ramming rotten contracts down unions' throats - to supervise negotiations.

When the union got wind of this, Miller protested and quite correctly refused to participate in any such talks - though perhaps more out of hurt feelings than class struggle unionism.

The pressure from the employers and the government will continue to be strong for a peaceful settlement. Current speculation, by inside dopesters of the Bureau of National Affairs, is that the employers will go for a settlement of the size of the recent steel settlement - which they regard as "generous"!

Many industry and labor officials are said to believe that such a settlement - which the employers regard as a 35-40 percent increase in total labor costs over three years - would be large by traditional UMW standards.

In American labor contract bargaining, much of what appears to be big differences across the bargaining table is simply disagreements about the price tag on specific items like wages, working conditions or benefits - not about the final size of the total package. The CLC-BCOA plan seems to be to offer the UMW a 35-40 percent, three-year deal and let Miller take responsibility for slicing it up.

STEEL PATTERN?

Part of the reason for speculation about a settlement based on the steel package, and meant to buy peace from Miller, is that the steel companies themselves play a big role in the BCOA.

Furthermore, the stabilizing effects of the no-strike deal in steel, and the recent expansion of steel production, could be undermined by a strike in coal.

The three-week West Virginia strike over gas rationing closed down several steel mills, and according to a Nixon administration spokesman: "We were within a few days of shutting down the entire steel industry." So a coal strike in November could hurt the steel companies, both at home and internationally.

What this means is that the miners should be in a strong bargaining position. But another factor in this is the bureaucracy in the auto and steel unions. It is quite possible that Woodcock of the UAW, and "no-strike" Abel of the Steel Workers, are active movers in trying to get Miller to buy a steel-type settlement.

UMW leaders have reportedly been consulting with Abel, and getting "assistance" in bargaining strategy and tactics from Leonard Woodcock at the UAW's educational center in Black Lake, Michigan. (Rank and file auto and steel workers could tell their brothers in the mines plenty about what kind of

sellout contracts come from this type of "assistance.")

For the miners to settle for a package of roughly the same size as the steel workers will not mean, however, that they will settle for a contract that looks the same.

The issues in the much more backward coal industry are different. The major ones are sick pay, pensions, full-time safety committeemen, and to some degree wages. This feeling is shared both by union leaders and militant miners.

The companies resist sick pay because they fear it will worsen an already serious absentee problem. The union's pension demand would triple the employers' contributions per ton - from \$85 to \$240.

The BCOA will also resist the full-time safety committeemen, for fear they will shut down the mines - which are extremely unsafe and dangerously neglected - even more often than now.

The BCOA is willing, however, to dicker over how the pie will be sliced. This is indicated by their introduction of a new bargaining team.

In place of the old tough-talking industry officials, the new team will have trained industrial relations men - negotiators trained more in how to slice the pie than fight over its size.

RANK AND FILE

Virtually all sides concerned - the government, the coal bosses, and the UMW leadership's "friends" in the auto and steel union bureaucracies - expect Arnold Miller and his bargaining team to be indecisive on all fronts.

Only one thing seems clear: Miller will not attempt to sell the miners a settlement he knows they won't buy.

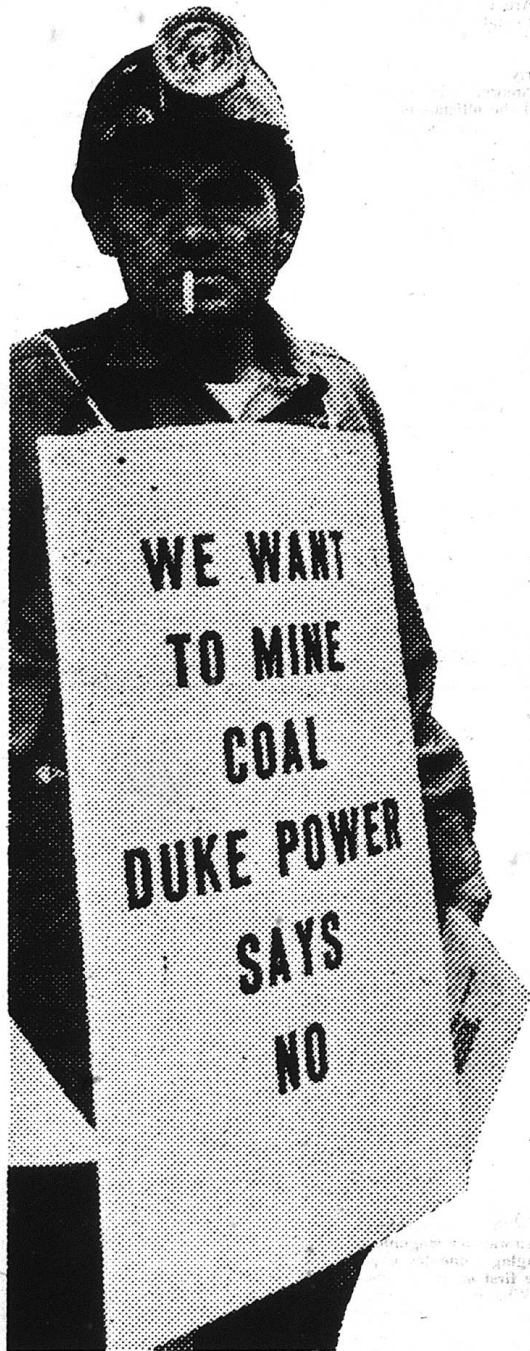
Contract ratification in the UMW allows for a certain amount of "selling" at the District Conference (where local leaders meet to discuss the agreement before they recommend ratification to their members), but the demands and the terms required to meet them are too simple and clear to allow for any real bull-doing.

The likelihood of a UMW strike and of any real breakthrough of a national sort - which isolated militants in other industries could see and take inspiration from - depends mostly on the ranks.

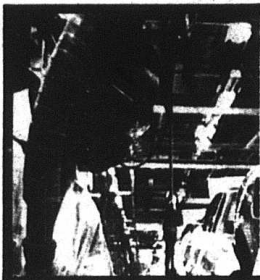
By all indications miners are in a fighting mood. The March strike in West Virginia was, of course, a clear indication. Everyone expects a strike and a good settlement.

The miners are highly conscious of their newly won right to vote on the contract and would surely reject a contract they considered inadequate. If they do reject a settlement, or win a good one in the first place, it will clearly have been the work of the ranks. ■

Brian Mackenzie



SET LABOR'S PACE



labor briefs

Rank and file members and stewards of CWA Local 1101 (New York City) have forced the 1101 Executive Board to give up its plan to ban stewards' newsletters. Local 1101 Vice President Dennis Serrette said the ban was originally imposed because the content of stewards' publications was not always consistent with the policy of the local. But many stewards made it clear they would ignore the order, forcing the Executive Board to change its mind.

United Action, a rank and file group in the local, called this an important victory and said that the newsletter ban had been an attempt to hide the leadership's lack of preparation for the up-coming contract fight. The Local 1101 leadership has rejected all proposals for rank and file involvement in the contract fight and has done nothing to counter the likelihood of a sell-out in the national negotiations.

The **United Mine Workers** union has won its first contracts in its **Eastern Kentucky organizing drive**. Two Pike County operators have signed agreements with the union, covering about 55 miners. In Harlan County, the UMW won a representation election at the Helen Ann Coal Company, although it lost an election at another small company, V&C Coal Co.

Meanwhile, the critical **Brookside strike** continues. The UMW recently disclosed evidence that the Eastover Mining Co. and the Southern Labor Union (a company union) have tried to pay miners \$5000 to get them to return to work.

Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, is demanding that its members' wages be increased to make up for the wage cut ordered by the Cost of Living Council last November. East coast longshoremen recently won a 15c pay raise to make up for the wages they were denied in 1972 (although the 15c is not retroactive), and west coast dockers earlier won a 30c increase for the same reason.

The strike of **UAW Local 417** reported in **Workers' Power #97** is over, but much of the largely female work force is unhappy over the wage settlement and disgusted with the heavy-handed way the UAW leadership got it ratified. The wage increases still leave Local 417 members \$2 an hour behind other UAW members doing similar work in larger shops.

Five hundred workers at the Fremont, Michigan Gerber Products Co. went on strike recently in solidarity with Gerber employees in Asheville, North Carolina who have been on the picket line since April 1. Strikers from Asheville had set up a picket line which the Fremont workers respected.

Eastern Airlines mechanics have rejected a tentative contract negotiated between the airline and their union, the International Association of Machinists. The Eastern contract is similar to one recently accepted by United Air Lines mechanics. The United mechanics, however, had turned down the first contract their leadership negotiated. The rejected Eastern contract called for a 16.5% wage increase over 28 months, plus a maximum of 3% more in cost-of-living over that period.

The New York City Council defeated a civil rights bill which would have banned discrimination against homosexuals in hiring, housing, or public accommodations. Opposition to the bill was led by the Catholic Archdiocese of New York which called it a threat to family life.

AFSCME Local 1888 in Jackson, Mississippi has rejected a plan under which the city would pay black workers \$200,000 to make up for past racial discrimination. Lushes Walker, black president of the local, pointed out that the city actually owes black workers \$11 million in back pay to make up for discrimination.

Statistics from the **Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW)** show that women make up 20% of the total union membership in the US, but hold only 5% of the top leadership positions. But **George Meany** says it's not his concern. If women hold so few leadership positions, he said recently, "perhaps members don't want to elect them."

What's happening where you work? Send items for this column to: Labor Editor, Workers' Power, 14131 Woodward Avenue, Highland park, Michigan 48203.

Unions Must Fight Racist Border Laws



Southern garment worker

Immigration is an issue vital to any union fight in the Southwestern United States. Illegal immigrants are being used as scabs in the fields against the United Farm Workers, in factories against the United Rubber Workers at R&G Sloane, and in sweatshops against garment unions.

There are several bills before Congress now dealing with immigration and illegal aliens. All of them, whether sponsored by Nixon and Rodino or Teddy Kennedy tighten quotas and create longer waits from the time of application to actual immigration.

"LA MIGRA" RAIDS

As a result of current laws the number of illegal immigrants, workers without documents, has risen enormously in the last five years.

It is now estimated that there are between one million to one and a half million "illegals" in the United States today. This rise in numbers is in the face of tremendous increases in deportations.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, "la migra," has resorted to dragnet raids through barrios, fields and factories to pick up "illegals" and any Chicano who looks like an illegal.

Against this background of police state tactics union struggles in the Southwest are fought. Illegals are hired by labor contractors in Mexico and smuggled into this country in the trunks of cars to work for incredibly low pay.

Because of fear of deportation, "illegals" must accept almost any job and working conditions. Whenever part of the work force must work under conditions like this, it weakens the ability of all workers to defend their living and working standards.

Workers without documents are also used in direct attacks upon unions like the UFW when they are brought in as scabs. Employers are able to call up a labor contractor and order up scabs at low wages whenever they want.

The growers and their Teamster allies have done this against the UFW, Willie Farah did this against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Susquehanna Corporation has done this against the United Rubber Workers in Los Angeles.

PENNY ANTE FINES

George Meany, Peter Rodino and Teddy Kennedy want to keep illegals out of this country by holding employers responsible for not hiring them. However, under the terms of their bills, employers will be slapped with tiny \$500 fines for violation of the law, just like the anti-pollution and work safety laws where fines are ridiculously low.

Employers can avoid these fines if the worker signs a statement that he or she is a legal immigrant.

Workers with or without documents leave Mexico because of its poverty. US capitalists control the Mexican economy and keep wages low and jobs scarce.

As a result of US imperialism Mexicans are forced by economic necessity to seek jobs wherever and however they can. They are forced to leave their families and culture, to emigrate to the United States where they must live in constant fear, as if they were criminals.

Big business welcomes workers without documents into the United States. Whenever "illegals" try to organize against rotten conditions, they can be deported.

Business recognizes national boundaries when they keep wages

down. Unions must ignore these boundaries altogether, and defend the rights of all workers regardless of their status with the Immigration Department.

Instead of trying to deport illegal immigrant workers, American unions should be actively fighting to protect their rights. From immigration papers to substandard wages, all forms of oppression of immigrant workers should be fought by the working class movement.

Employers are able to use workers without papers as a tool against US unions only because these workers suffer discrimination and deportation. So long as the government is allowed to arbitrarily round up and deport them, employers will also be able to recruit them as underpaid scabs - while the government conveniently looks the other way when it wants.

Only the solidarity and organized strength of the working class - not the pro-business politicians with their protectionist laws supported by rotten officials like George Meany - can solve the problems posed by "illegals" in the fields.

Workers without documents in the US have to be organized into the union movement with full democratic and union rights, guaranteed and defended by the union and its membership.

This does not mean that unions should accept scabbing. Unions must deal with workers who are scabbing, "legally" or "illegally," as strikebreakers. At the same time, they must offer to defend these workers if they come out on strike.

Unfortunately, most unions, including the UFW, can't do this because they require all members to have their immigration papers in order before they can join.

The people who recruit scabs should be stopped. Labor contractors and the labor contracting system have to be abolished. All hiring should be done through union hiring halls.

In some areas the labor movement has been strong enough to have laws and ordinances passed which prohibit the importation of scabs from out of the state or out of the city. The union movement should push for laws which outlaw scabbing altogether.

Mexicans, whether they work north or south of the border, are victims of US imperialism. It is in the interests of workers in this country to defend them from "la migra," the bosses' Immigration and Naturalization Service.

While that arm of the government exists, one and a half million workers in the US will be without rights, and the entire working class will be weakened.



Farmworkers' Union organizers

Dugan Wheeler

CLUW DEFENDS FIRED WORKER

The Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is fighting the firing of Vanita Staton, an employee of the telephone company.

Staton's supervisor at AT&T Longlines, a man named Dorsey, didn't like her much: "She grew up in an all black neighborhood and I grew up in an all white one," he explained. So he gave her enough work for 2½ people, and after three months, when all the CWA stewards were out of the building, he fired her.

Jim Irvine of CWA Local 4350 called upon the members to show their support of Staton. All 250 workers walked out in protest of this racist firing.

The CWA has filed a grievance against Dorsey, and Sta-

ton has filed a complaint against the phone company with the Ohio Human Rights Commission.

Vanita Staton attended the May meeting of Cleveland CLUW, where she talked about her situation. CLUW unanimously sent resolutions of support for her to the CWA, the state AFL-CIO, UAW, and IBT, as well as to Dorsey and AT&T. CLUW is planning a demonstration in support of her.

Staton said she thought CLUW was "going to be a pretty good organization. A lot of people will join once they hear of it." She said that the women she worked with would especially like to join a group that fights for women workers.

Celia Emerson

ANIZE THE GANIZED



Vanita Staton tells Cleveland CLUW about firing.



**Boycott
Grapes,
Lettuce, and
Gallo Wine!**

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?



Kim Moody

"Too Much" Democracy?

The leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW) are going to ask that union's Constitutional Convention to extend the term of office of UAW International officers from the present two years to three years.

Such a move would, of course, be a further blow to whatever shreds of real democracy remain in the UAW.

It would be just one more means of keeping the rank and file isolated from power in the union. It will also mean that in 1976, there will be no new President under pressure to strike over the next contract.

It is reported that the UAW's Executive Board was divided on whether to make this move at this year's convention. But according to one Executive Board member, the only reason they hesitated to push for the three-year term is that it might make the ranks angry - that is, angrier.

This UAW officer said, "You have to wonder if young members wouldn't look on it as the Establishment trying to extend its term of office." They, and older members as well, might just think that after all!

This same officer got even more shocking and suggested that "any time you extend the officers' terms it looks like you are trying to entrench a bureaucracy." No kidding?

That, of course, is just what they are trying to do. The bureaucracy of the UAW, and many other unions, is under increasing attack from a rank and file that is fed up with sell-outs and contracts that leave them behind inflation, victimized by speed-up, faced with unemployment.

The Ford skilled workers rejection of the contract was one example of a growing rank and file dissatisfaction; the recent "Dump Woodcock" slates for convention delegates was another.

Now the UAW bureaucrats want to protect themselves. But its not just their jobs they want to protect - it's their whole way of functioning.

These bureaucrats believe that frequent elections and "too much" democracy, to use Steel Worker President I.W. Abel's indelicate phrase, create instability. With elections coming up, they say, even "responsible" (that is, phoney) union leaders are likely to call a strike to win popularity.

They are saying that if they have elections too often they can't continue to get lousy settlements without a strike. After all, their theory goes, collective bargaining is a complex affair and should be conducted by experts in a calm and reasonable atmosphere.

If they aren't the least bit democratically responsible to the ranks, they can just calmly work it all out with their good friends in management.

For the ranks, however, the purpose of a union is not to create a calm atmosphere, but to win better working and living conditions.

Unions were formed, it should be remembered, because the employers, the capitalists, were unwilling to give these things. The workers formed unions to fight these bosses and force them to grant wage increases and other improvements.

As its very name implies, a union is the banding together of workers so they can more effectively wage this fight against the capitalists they work for.

From a socialist viewpoint, unions are the organizations of the most basic aspect of the class struggle. Democracy is essential to unionism, as it is to socialism itself, because it is the only way the masses of workers can effectively work together as a collective body.

Leaders, of course, are needed and the union must have certain kinds of resources. But there is no reason why the leaders should be paid enormous salaries, have

elegant offices, or - what is most important - have any power over and against the workers.

It is these things that make today's union leaders ineffective at winning things for the ranks. Indeed, their long-standing fight to perpetuate their power has drained them of any desire they may ever have had to win what the workers need.

From the point of view of union members, union democracy is a practical matter of dollars and cents, of better working conditions, of a measure of control over their lives.

Today's union leaders are, with few exceptions, so rotten and so wedded to the needs of the capitalists that the greatest single blow for democracy would be to get rid of them. But because they do have a lot of power, that will take a mass movement and some time.

In the meantime it is important to resist every attempt the bureaucrats make to further destroy democracy or to enhance their power over the ranks.

The fight for democracy is one aspect of the fight for unions that will truly represent the workers - for class struggle unions. This fight is one way that the rank and file movement of the UAW, or any other union, can build itself.

Like the fight for democracy, the building of a strong rank and file movement is a process that has already started. The defeat of the three-year term proposal in the UAW can help give that movement self-confidence. ■



"Liberal" Unionism - The Road To Failure

The United Auto Workers is a union in full retreat.

The glitter of the 24th UAW Constitutional Convention, the parade of speakers who will honor the UAW leaders as America's most far-sighted, liberal and progressive labor statesmen, the expense accounts of delegates flown first class to Los Angeles for a week of wild partying, will be unable to hide the decay that has set in to this union.

UNION SOLIDARITY

For over 20 years, while American capitalism enjoyed enormous prosperity, the UAW prided itself on setting the pace for American labor. It won economic gains which raised the living standards of its members.

When it was first organized in the mass sit-down strikes of the 1930's, the UAW stood for more than simply economic improvements.

The UAW represented a struggle for solidarity among all working people, for massive campaigns to organize the unorganized, and for social justice.

In the late 1940's and '50's, most of these ideas disappeared. The UAW leadership became part of the comfortable, conservative, super-patriotic and red-baiting American labor establishment.

For many years, however, this entrenched officialdom in the UAW has found it useful to point to its past traditions of struggle to gain support from more militant workers

and from the black liberation movement.

It was typical, for example, that the late UAW President Walter Reuther put himself at the head of the mass Civil Rights march on Washington in 1963.

But it was also typical that when black workers began organizing in his own union in radical organizations like DRUM a few years later, Reuther resorted to every dirty tactic to wipe them out.

Still, to many people in the labor movement, the UAW leadership represents "the left wing of the American trade union movement," and an alternative to right-wingers like George Meany.

To justify this image, UAW leaders and their supporters can point to the UAW's verbal opposition to the Vietnam War policies of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, which Meany supported, or to the UAW's support of the newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women, headed by International Vice President Olga Madar.

COMPANY ATTACK

Supporters of the UAW officialdom also point to contract gains like the cost of living escalator clauses and supplemental unemployment benefits won in past contracts.

Within the American working class, auto workers have in fact enjoyed a relatively high and protected standard of living, enhancing the reputation of the UAW

leadership and cushioning it against opposition.

The more comfortable wage gains were won, of course, at the expense of working conditions - which the UAW bureaucracy has consistently traded away.

The racially "progressive" image held fast for years - despite the maintenance of a lily-white skilled trades.

Today, however, even the prosperity of auto workers has eroded. For the last seven or eight years auto workers have been barely hanging on, without making any new wage gains. Only working 10, 20 or more hours of killing overtime every week helped maintain this position.

Now, with 100,000 Big Three auto workers on indefinite layoff, the failure of the policies of the UAW is coming out into the open. The UAW has failed to even try to protect its members from the capitalists' inflationary recession.

When it comes to protecting the working and living standards won in struggle by the rank and file - let alone making any new gains - the present UAW leadership is as complete and total a failure as George Meany.

FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP

The crisis of the United Auto Workers illustrates the complete failure of all wings of the trade union leadership in this country. The so-called "left"-wing leaders of the unions today share a common position with George Meany: They are tied to maintaining the position of the American capitalist economy. They are dead set against challenging it.

To change the UAW means more than replacing a few faces at the top, or wholesale changes at the local official level. It will require the organization of a new rank and file auto workers' movement in the UAW - a movement which is not afraid to challenge either the union leaders or the corporations, because it is committed to fighting for the needs of the workers rather than protecting the bosses' profits.

A look at the real issues facing auto workers and their union today helps to show what kinds of problems a rank and file movement will have to face.

David Finkel

United Auto Worker conventions used to debate the most important issues facing working people.

At the 24th UAW Constitutional Convention, however, the real issues before auto workers will not even be allowed to come to the floor.

The official leadership of this union has absolutely no proposals to fight the rampage of speedup and layoffs that have hit the auto industry.

Over 100,000 employees of the Big Three are walking the streets on indefinite layoffs. Many will never be back.

While Woodcock and Company smugly collect their dues from the UAW's declining membership, the union in the plants has practically ceased to exist.

Stewards and committeemen who attempt to resist the companies' practices are regularly threatened and, more and more often, fired. The International gives its members and stewards no support.

TERM OF OFFICE

In fact, the only idea this leadership has come up with is to increase the term of office for elected officials from two to three years.

Today rank and file union members see their elected officials little better than once every two years - at election time. Changing this to three years is the exact opposite of what's needed.

This maneuver is designed to do several things:

First of all, it ties local officials even closer to the International machine.

Second, the UAW has become a graveyard of ex-officers, elected on reform platforms, but quickly becoming indistinguishable from their predecessors. With the new proposal there will be 33% fewer elections.

Third, it would assure there will be no new top officials at the time of a new contract - 1976. Nobody has to prove anything, no reason to call a strike.

The UAW leadership is very far-sighted when it comes to protecting its own hold on office. It is blind only to the desperate conditions facing employed and unemployed auto workers.

UNION DEMOCRACY

There are, however, some issues to be raised by delegates who want to take care of business. One of them is union democracy.

Last fall, the UAW International Executive Board announced it was accepting the Ford contract despite its rejection by Ford skilled workers. According to Woodcock they "just didn't understand it."

They took away the minimal right of the membership to reject or accept a contract.

Woodcock went further when he announced in December that the Executive Board had the power and responsibility to approve any contract they thought was good - even against a rejection by production workers.

Without rank and file control



Extravagant glitter of Woodcock's C

Conve '74: Un Demo Key Is



...can't hide reality



1937 sit-down strike: A tradition UAW bureaucrats live off, but betray.

EDUP, LAYOFFS MOUNT



Woodcock's Convention....

Convention Union Bureaucracy Issue



Reality of speed-up and unemployment.

over contract acceptance, there is a guaranteed sell-out - strike or no strike - in 1976. But even more, there must be workers' control over the whole negotiation process. The bargaining must be handled by those directly responsible to the membership.

The ranks must see the contract long enough in advance of the vote to be able to form independent judgements on it. And the vote of the membership must be final.

REJOINING THE AFL-CIO

A split has occurred on the International Executive Board over the question of AFL-CIO reaffiliation. Woodcock and others are for it, while Emil Mazey opposes the move.

There are no principled differences between the UAW and the AFL-CIO. Woodcock's desire to rejoin is not to fight within the giant labor federation to make it more progressive - it is to cover the rightward drift of the UAW.

The major reason for leaving the AFL-CIO was its undemocratic administration, but there were other charges: failure to organize the unorganized; failure to develop good relations with communities; failure to develop good relations with the rest of the world labor movement.

The AFL-CIO has gotten no better, Mazey's reason for not wanting to rejoin. What Mazey leaves out is that the UAW has traveled the same path.

Its lack of democracy is shown by its refusal to recognize a contract rejection.

It has no better record than the AFL-CIO in organizing the unorganized.

In developing better relations with the world labor movement, Woodcock's only solution to the "energy crisis" was to slap import quotas on foreign cars - throwing foreign auto workers out of work.

Finally, as the UNC has pointed out, "While Meany can boast that he never walked a picket line, we doubt that he can match the boasts of the UAW leadership which organized its own goon squad to break the picketline of its own members at the Mack Ave. Chrysler plant and physically assault its rank and file."

ISRAELI BONDS

Finally, some delegates will raise a resolution that the UAW dump its Israeli bonds.

This issue reached prominence last fall when Arab workers from Dodge Main (Local 3) and several other Detroit area plants took off work to protest Woodcock receiving a B'nai B'rith humanitarian award.

Woodcock's ties to American capitalism extend to its imperialist support for Israel's expansion and occupation of Arab territories. Getting rid of the pro-imperialist politics of the present UAW leadership must be tied to dumping its bureaucratic sellouts of American black, white and Arab auto workers.

Dotty Grant

"...the interests of the employers and the workers remain diametrically opposed. We have given up our struggle against the employers but the employers have not ceased their class struggle against us..." 1943 UAW debate on the World War II no-strike pledge.

Emil Mazey, now UAW Secretary-Treasurer, summed up the union's situation thirty years ago with those words. Today, they are still an accurate description of the union.

Quite a bit has changed, Mazey and all the others on the International Executive Board no longer see fundamental differences between themselves and the corporations.

But Mazey was right to talk of the class struggle - the fight between the working class and the ruling class. Today it is as clear as ever.

Conditions in the plants have gotten much worse since the contract took effect less than one year ago.

All plants in the Detroit area are suffering from some combination of speed-up, harassment and increased "quality checks."

At the Cadillac plant it's speed-up. At Dodge Main it's speed-up and harassment.

At Jefferson Assembly it was laying people off and then increasing the work loads of those left.

At Chevy Gear and Axle it's harassment and layoffs while some parts of the complex work long hours of overtime. At Lynch Road Assembly workers are being fired for petty rule violations.

It is indeed the case that the "employers have not ceased their class struggle" against UAW members. Last fall, auto workers continued their side of the struggle.

RANKS FIGHT BACK

In many parts of the country walkouts over heat or in-plant conditions took place prior to the contract expiration. In Detroit Chrysler plants three strikes occurred over racist supervision and health and safety matters.

All these strikes were organized and led by the ranks. The UAW top leadership wanted no part of any militant strike movement prior to contract negotiations. In fact, they went so far as to use a goon squad to break one strike.

When the bargaining was done and the Ford skilled trades rejected the offer, the bureaucracy overruled them.

The list goes on. From no local agreements at many plants, to inadequate SUB Funds that UAW Vice President Bluestone says were never designed for high lay-offs, to a skilled trades that is virtually all white - the entire UAW leadership has shown which side it's on.

OPPOSITION GROWS

It is not - as Mazey said in '43 - that the leadership has given up the struggle. They have joined the other side.

The increased need for strong leadership now meant the Woodcock team faced more militant and more political opposition in the

UAW Heads Can't Halt Class Struggle

recent convention delegates election than for quite some time.

This year there were more candidates committed to breaking the friendship between the companies and the union - committed to the class struggle.

It is out of the strikes last fall, out of the effort to defeat the contract, and from the more militant and political opposition delegate slates that a movement must be built.

Strikers in plant after plant have learned that the companies, the government, and the union leaders' roadblocks can't be beaten in isolation. There must be more communication among union oppositionists.

There are differences of opinion between Woodcock and the so-called left like Fraser or Mazey. But the UAW bureaucracy has shown they can still unite for such things as the Mack goon squad. There are only differences within a commonly held view that the class struggle doesn't exist.

END OF "LABOR PEACE"

Because of this, the UAW leadership is firmly committed to a policy of not organizing the rank and file of the union.

To do so would mean two things. It would mean breaking the labor peace established after long years

of selling out the membership's needs - a peace that helps insure company support for their jobs in the bureaucracy.

And organizing the mass of auto workers for a fight against the Big Three would open up the possibility of unleashing them against the leadership itself.

As long as this is the case, the bureaucracy will remain an obstacle to the conduct of a fight for the workers' needs. They must be overturned if a successful struggle is to be made.

Right now the opposition movement in the UAW is small. But everything will change as the workers are caught in the crunch between the corporations trying to maintain their profits and the bureaucrats scrambling to appease them.

The job for UAW militants in the next few years is building an opposition movement that can fight for power in the union. It must be an opposition committed to leading the workers' side of the class struggle.

Despite all the phoney phrases and puny gains the bureaucrats toss at the rank and file, they cannot hide for very long the existence of the class struggle.

Bill Hastings



Auto militants demonstrate at 1973 sit-down broken by UAW goon squad.

What's Happening

[The general strike organized by the Protestant Ulster Workers Council which paralyzed Northern Ireland has ended with the collapse of the provincial government.

British troops, sent in to guard fuel supplies and to try to shore up the government, totally failed to break the strike which apparently enjoyed total support from the dominant Protestant community.

The government which resigned last Tuesday was called a "power-sharing" council, consisting of Catholic and Protestant middle-class politicians. When this council was set up it was hailed by the media in both Britain and the United States as a "historic step toward harmony" between the Protestant and Catholic communities.

Most Protestants, however, felt that this arrangement would lead to the end of their privileged position. The Catholics, who have fought heroic battles for civil rights and independence from Britain but have no effective political leadership, also saw nothing to be gained from supporting the middle-class government.

It is now expected that the government's collapse may lead to another period of direct British rule of Northern Ireland. The accompanying article shows, among other things, that this "solution" is also a dead end.

The author, Eamonn McCann, is an Irish revolutionary socialist and has many years experience in the struggle for freedom in Ireland.]

The Protestant general strike in Belfast seems to have been organized by rank and file workers against the government and their official union leaders. Shouldn't socialists have supported it?

The answer is no. The leaders of

In Northern Ireland



Protestant workers strike to deny Catholic civil and political rights.

the strike are out for a return to the old-style regime of Protestant supremacy in northern Ireland, with discrimination against Catholics in jobs and housing and the Catholic community in general held in subjection.

Socialists no more support this strike than we would support a strike by whites against black workers.

But the strikers said they simply want a new election for the Northern Ireland Assembly. Surely this is a reasonable, democratic demand?

In fact, there is nothing democratic about it. The strikers calculated that an election now would return a bloc of right wing Protestant politicians who could then arrange the denial of democracy to

Catholics.

The British government and their troops are against the strike and tried to break it. So are they on the democratic side here?

Not at all, when you look at the roots of the problem. Britain helped create and develop Protestant sectarianism. It was the British government which set up the state ruled by Protestants in the first

place, in order to protect British investments there.

In the early stages, Britain armed Protestant extremists so that they could terrorize Catholic workers into accepting the state.

As a result, Catholics were second-class citizens for nearly 50 years. In the city of Derry, for example, the two-thirds Catholic majority was never allowed to elect a Catholic council.

Catholic workers were kept out of jobs in the shipyard and many engineering factories, and so on. When they protested this Catholics were simply beaten down - often by the Protestant police force called B-specials, who had been established for this purpose by an act of the British Parliament.

TIMES CHANGE?

But now, we are told, times have changed. Surely in recent times the British Government has been trying to bring the two sides together, and the troops have been stopping them from killing each other!

That's what the press is telling us. It is true that the British government has withdrawn its whole-hearted support for the old structure of Protestant rule. This is not for democratic reasons, but rather because massive new British investment in the south of Ireland (the independent Irish Republic) makes it necessary for British capitalism to balance between the two communities.

Even then, British strategy in Northern Ireland has not really been an even one. Almost all the nearly 600 people imprisoned without trial under Britain's "internment" policy are Catholics despite the proven existence of right-wing Protestant terror groups.

In fact, British soldiers have been known to join with these terror groups in their attacks on Catholics.

Or take a look at the deployment of British troops in Belfast. In Catholic areas - like Andersontown or Ballymurphy - the troops are in saturation strength, houses are searched and people detained and roughed up night after night.

In Protestant areas the troops are hardly seen. And that is one of the main reasons the right-wing organizations have been able to build up their strength, get arms and so on.

But if British troops go in now, to protect people defying the Protestant strike leaders and clean up the Protestant private armies, won't socialists now have to support them? If the troops leave now, won't all hell break out?

The best thing Britain can do is get out. Many people in Northern Ireland, mostly Catholic workers, have been living through hell for the last three years anyway - one of the reasons being the troops' presence.

IRELAND'S FUTURE

If the troops left the trouble would not stop immediately, of course. But one thing is certain: as long as they stay there the trouble will go on.

So what is the way forward?

If the British troops get out, it will at least create the conditions

[continued on page 15]

ITALIAN WORKERS FIGHT FASCIST TERROR



Workers attacking fascist headquarters after killings.

A bomb planted by fascist terrorists killed six people and wounded over 100 others at a march in Brescia, an industrial city in northern Italy. The march was called to oppose the growing wave of fascist violence, which has spread along with the deepening economic and political crisis in Italy.

While government officials issued official statements deploring this right-wing atrocity, Italian workers took matters into their own hands with direct action. A totally effective four-hour general strike shut down the country the morning of May 29. Hundreds of thousands marched in mass protest demonstrations in Rome, Turin, Milan and other cities.

There were attacks on the offices of the largest neo-fascist organization, known as the Italian Social Movement. The police, who have done little or nothing to stop fascists from organizing and murdering work-

ers, broke up these attacks with teargas.

The response to the murderous bomb assault in Brescia may mark a step forward for the Italian working class. What is needed now is a massive organizing campaign to defend the working class and its rights from both the fascists and the police.

Workers' defense guards must be organized to protect every strike, every demonstration and every working class community against these strike-breakers and thugs.

Simply demonstrating against the fascist murderers will not be enough. The fascist gangs - who are not isolated lunatics, but part of the backbone of the industrialists' anti-labor onslaught in Italy - must be driven off the streets. The mass organizations of the Italian workers have the power to do this - if they use it now. ■

WALLS AND BARS

Struggle In The Prisons



Mail Drop Harassment

[The right of prisoners to send and receive mail uncensored is undeniable. Yet this simple access to the outside world is denied in prison after prison.

Obstruction of mails by prisons has been under attack by various prisoner rights groups across the country.

The following article, written by a member of the Leavenworth Seven, is a discussion of how this harassment can be particularly used against prisoners who organize against the racist oppression they face behind bars.]

The only reason wardens continue to refuse prisoners their First Amendment right to send sealed

letters out to family and friends is to hide the true conditions that exist inside the prisons.

Many things done under the guise of "security" are aimed at stultifying any and all types of communication.

LETTER SHREDDER

An aware prisoner becomes the victim of the mail "rip-off" or "transfer." His name is often added to the "hot sheet," and the prisoner becomes the victim of every pre-planned enmass lock-up.

One prisoner comes to mind when I think of the wholesale rip-off of mail at Leavenworth.

This prisoner would write to his son only to have the out-going letter routed to the case worker, who in turn would place the letter in the paper shredder. The prisoner kept writing.

Unknown to the prisoner his son's incoming mail was also receiving the paper shredder treatment, until someone on the prison staff goofed. A letter was returned to the son with a notation "Not An Approved Correspondent."

The son immediately sent a letter back via Registered Mail, Return Receipt Requested, Deliver to Addressee Only.

The postal department sent their agent to the prison with this letter and had the prisoner called to the front gate to sign.

After receiving assurances the letter would be given to him after being searched for contraband, the prisoner signed. The guard snatched the letter. When the prisoner objected he was threatened with the "hole."

The prisoner wrote to Senators and applied to Administrative Relief of the Bureau of Prisons, all

to no avail. When the prisoner wrote an answer to his son's letter, sent via Certified Mail, Return Receipt Requested, the mail never left the prison.

The prisoner was placed on court-call because he dared to complain of the prison mail rip-off. One of his letters was presented to a federal court to try to prove the prisoner had "explosive feeling towards authority" because he questioned the mail policy.

The prisoner's mail then began to be routed to the "Out to Court" slot, where mail remains undelivered for months.

MAIL "LOST"

Next it was re-routed to various department heads and became lost in desk drawers for weeks or months.

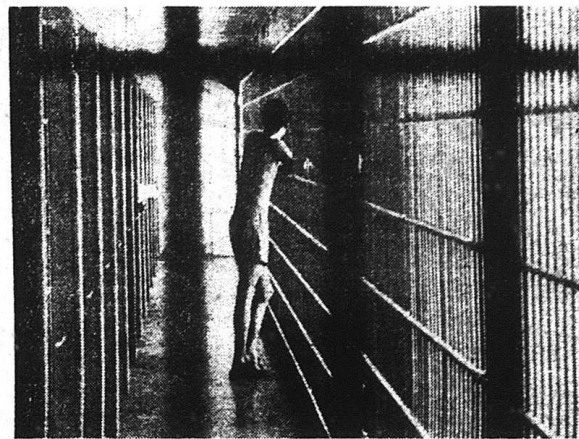
When the policy was questioned the prisoner was told, "No one thought your mail was important enough to give to you."

Prison wardens are damn well aware that communications are the key to the arch that holds the prisons in the never-ending position of producing failures. This in turn allows the keepers to expand because of growing prison populations.

The prisoner mentioned in this article is the author. He can no longer write to his son. The son passed away last year, the victim of cancer.

The prisoner has received notice from the parole board he will continue as prisoner until the expiration of his sentence. ■

John P. Alkes
Leavenworth, Kansas



General Motors Forces Fleetwood Strike

by John W. Anderson,
Retired President, UAW
Local 15

[Last fall the leadership of the United Auto Workers adopted a new strategy for contract negotiations with the Big Three auto companies.

In earlier years, local supplemental contracts were usually settled right after the national contract. If there was a national strike, individual locals would stay out after the national settlement until the local agreement was signed as well.

If there was no national strike, there would usually be a large number of local disputes.

Last year, though, the UAW leadership put an end to all that. UAW president Leonard Woodcock said he wanted to avoid interrupting auto production. And so he withheld permission for locals to strike. The locals were allowed to take on the power of GM, Ford, or Chrysler only one at a time, thus fundamentally weakening their bargaining ability.

The accompanying article shows

what that policy has meant to the workers at Detroit's Fleetwood plant, UAW Local 15. The author, now retired, is the former president of Local 15.]

DETROIT — The workers at the Fleetwood Fisher Body plant, members of Local 15, took a strike vote in October 1973. The strike wasn't called until May 13, 1974. It was ended two weeks later on May 26th, only two weeks before the plant will close for model change.

As a result of the fuel crisis the sale of Cadillacs took a sharp drop, resulting in the laying off of 1,500 workers. The other 4,000 were on short work weeks. In this situation Fleetwood management found it easy to stall negotiations on a local agreement and production standards.

"GOOD LABOR RELATIONS"

The Local leadership failed to keep the membership informed on the real situation in the plant. "Good labor relations," as practiced by the International Union, were followed by the officers of Local 15. They neither did nor said anything that might offend Fleetwood management.

In March when the Arab oil boycott ended, Cadillac sales made a quick recovery. The press reported that Fleetwood would call back 600 workers. The line speed was

increased from 48 to 58 jobs per hour.

On the basis of this increase in line speed, the Shop Committee indicated that 670 people should have been called back. Two months later, when the strike was called, there were only 359 of the 600 reported by the press actually on the job.

LINE SPEED UP

A few days prior to the strike Fleetwood management announced the line speed would be increased to 61 bodies per hour.

I spoke to one of the old timers on the polishing line. He told me that manpower on his operation

had been cut by 50 percent.

Speedup was widespread throughout the plant. Management forced the Union leadership to call the strike.

The strike wasn't a costly one for General Motors. With a continuing threat of a gas shortage and its increase in price, the Cadillac has lost some of its sales appeal.

During the strike there were no picket lines worth mentioning; no membership meetings were called. None had been held during the six months prior to the strike to inform the workers of the problems in the plant, or to build the morale of the workers.

No effort was made by the Local leadership to involve the membership in any union activity.

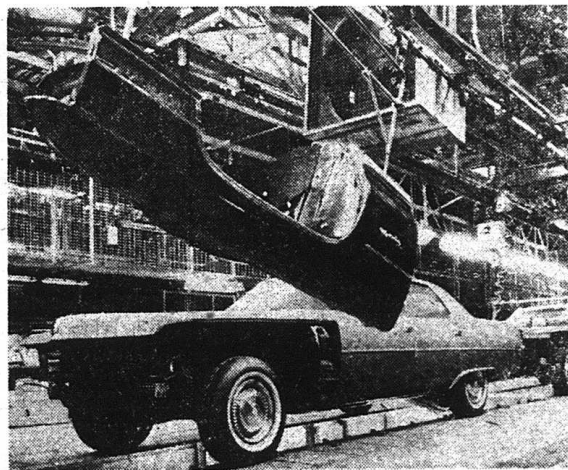
LOCAL SELLOUT

The strike was a cut and dried affair. Everyone knew in advance the strike would only last two weeks.

When the Agreement was reached, President Joe Gaston, speaking to television cameramen said the company had agreed to add more than 300 people to the work force. He said nothing about the Local agreement they were also to have negotiated.

The workers at Fleetwood must be skeptical about any agreement reached with Fleetwood management, for management has a reputation for violating agreements with the Union. They are always chiseling on manpower.

With only six weeks before model change the company doesn't have to fear another strike. They can rely on the Shop Committee to help them get maximum production from the men and women who pay from \$10.00 to \$15.00 per month dues. ■



Cadillac Assembly line idled by strike.

Behind The Nuclear Arms Race

The arms race has been seen as something fairly remote by most people in recent years. It has seemed that the days were long since past when the two superpowers were likely at the drop of a switch to set humanity on a course leading to nuclear destruction.

Yet the decision of the American government to push for a record peacetime arms budget, and the announcement that the Russians have tested giant new SS-19 missiles, have shown that the arms race is far from dead.

Indeed, recent developments mean that the world is on the road to a new stage in arms escalation, more dangerous and more terrifying than any we have yet seen.

There was a decline in the likelihood of nuclear war in the 1960s. But not because there was any reduction in the means of destruction at the disposal of the great powers.

The missile stocks of both the Russians and the Americans grew continually during that period, and the Chinese began to enter the field, in a limited way, for the first time.

There was, however, a "balance of terror" which made it unlikely that either of the two major powers would deliberately start a war. Each knew that its rival had sufficient arms to retaliate in kind if attacked.

This "second strike capacity" (as the experts called it) ensured that any war would devastate both powers equally whoever attacked first and reduced the temptation for either of them to do so.

In 1970, however, a new factor entered the situation. The US government decided to deploy Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM's) - weapons meant to explode enemy missiles before they reached their target.

This decision threatened to undermine the basis of East-West military stability.

If ABM systems worked, the power that started a war would be in a position to win it by preventing enemy missiles launched in retaliation from reaching their destination. It would be able to destroy the enemy without being destroyed itself - but only if it struck first. "Second strike capacity" would be superseded by "first strike capacity."

Once the decision to go ahead with ABM construction had been taken, the pressure on both powers to increase the scale of their missile armory increased sharply.

As Mike Kidron pointed out at the time, "since the cheapest and most effective way to neutralize a missile defense is to overwhelm it, any ABM deployment, however feeble and rudimentary, presents an irresistible argument to the other side to multiply hugely its strike force."

"It can do so by increasing its missile armory, as the Russians have been doing since 1966. More significantly it can do it - as both sides are - by arming its missiles with Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs) and other devices to amplify their effect." [from WESTERN CAPITALISM SINCE THE WAR].

A single MIRVed missile carries several war-heads, which separate and head for different targets as it approaches the destination.

The construction of ABM systems and the proliferation of MIRVs has made obsolete the old "second strike" strategy. The US government has found the idea of a "first strike" strategy, of developing the arms needed for a pre-emptive attack which would prevent Russian retaliation, increasingly attractive.

ARMS SPENDING UPSURGE

Withdrawal from Vietnam should have enabled the US to cut its defense budget without in any

way reducing its ability to fight a nuclear war. But the defense budget is actually increasing.

Next year sees America's biggest military expenditure since the closing year of World War II. It is increasing by 7½% on the 1974 figure to a record 85.8 billion dollars - equivalent to two-thirds of Britain's total national income.

What is more, the proportion of the spending which is on strategic arms (long range bombers, missiles, nuclear submarines, and so on) has gone up. The running down of the war in South-East Asia has clearly been used as an opportunity to increase significantly America's offensive capacity.

All this has taken place behind a smokescreen of White House and Pentagon verbiage. American missiles are already far more accurate than Russian ones and, what is more, considerably more numerous.

The Russians compensate for the inaccuracy of their missiles by equipping each one with a far larger warhead, but even so, an American 50 kiloton warhead right on target does far more damage than a Russian warhead, 20 times larger, that misses by a couple of miles.

What the US government and Defense Secretary James Schlesinger want is a first-strike capability, the ability to destroy Russia

with no retaliation, which among other things means having a larger number of more accurate missiles, carrying a total payload equivalent to the Russians' total nuclear payload.

But trying for a first strike capability is a desperate gamble. Even with a much higher level of military expenditure than that currently planned, the US might not be successful. Neither side has as yet found a guaranteed method for destroying the other's missile submarines, and the ABMs are not likely to prove completely effective against MIRVed missiles.

The US government is therefore spending large amounts in an attempt to develop an anti-submarine system. The US Navy alone is spending 2.5 billion dollars a year on anti-submarine research.

At the same time it is hedging its bets by spending an even larger amount on its own second-strike forces. The old fleet of submarines carrying Polaris missiles are being converted to carry the new "Poseidon" missiles.

Poseidon is a MIRV missile; each one carries ten separate warheads, and each submarine carries sixteen missiles. Part of the 1975 increase in defense spending is to convert a further four Polaris submarines to bring the total number of Poseidon submarines up to twenty-six.

By 1975 the US Navy will have a

submarine fleet capable of launching just under 4,500 nuclear warheads.

Of course, Poseidon warheads are much smaller than Polaris ones, only 50 kilotons as against one megaton. But 50 kilotons is more than double the size of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Even Poseidon is recognized as only a stopgap measure, as it is to be superseded by the Trident submarine now under construction.

Each Trident submarine is to carry 24 missiles. These missiles are each to have 17 independently targeted warheads (making more than double the number of warheads that the Poseidon can carry).

Each Trident is now estimated at 1.3 billion dollars, without allowing for any cost overruns. This makes it the most expensive weapon ever developed.

But the bulk of US strategic expenditure continues to be on land and air-based weapons: missiles in "hard" (defended and underground) silos, bombers, and missile-carrying aircraft.

In 1975 increased expenditure is planned for new types of weapons, including the so-called MaRV (Maneuverable Re-entry Vehicle) which could be re-targeted while in flight and would be an important part of any first-strike arsenal.

A further 500 million dollars is also set aside for the massive B-1 bomber currently under development.

The B-1 is planned as the centerpiece of the US Air Force for the 1980's; each is to carry four one-megaton bombs and twenty short-range air-to-surface missiles (SRAMs) equipped with 200 kiloton nuclear warheads. The USAF hopes to have 250 B-1s by the end of the decade.

INCREASED INSTABILITY

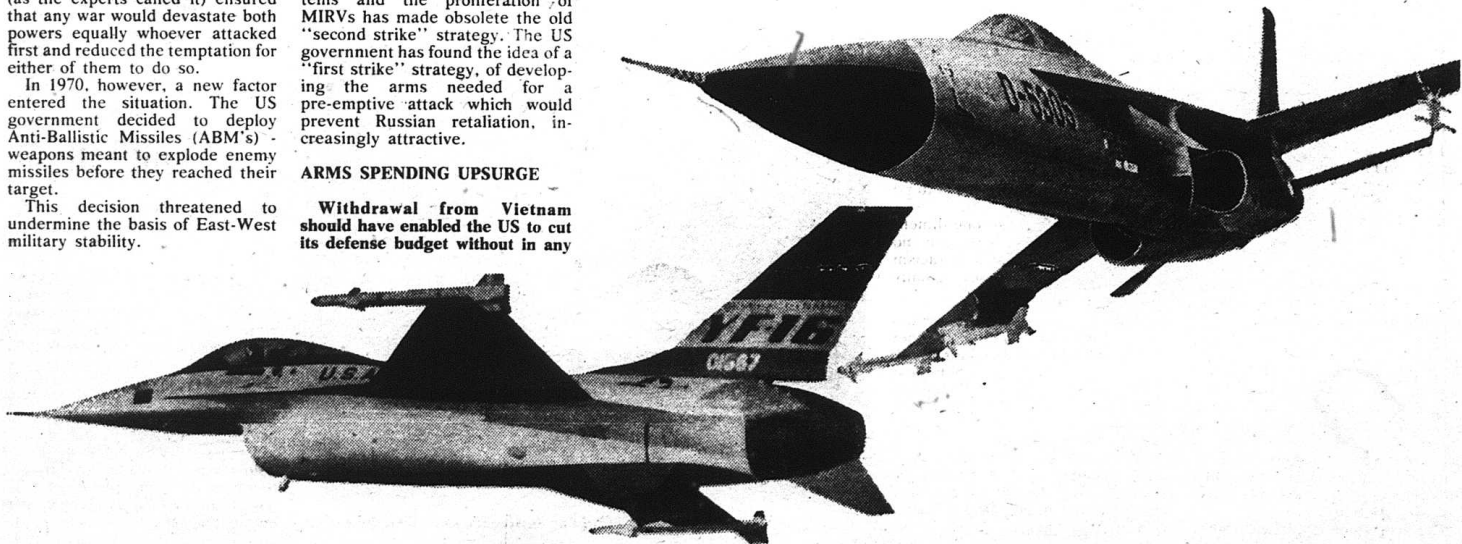
The impact of these new arms programs internationally is easy to predict. They will decrease the chances of detente between East and West and they will increase global insecurity by making nuclear war (perhaps on a limited scale) more likely.

International relations at a superpower level will become more strained, and this is sure to permeate down to the relations of smaller states.

Arms expenditure by the US and USSR is likely to increase even more.

The military planners on each side will argue, with some truth,

[continued on page 14]



reviews

T.V.

Truckers In Tandem

"In Tandem" is a new TV show about two independent truckers. No doubt it is an attempt to cash in on all the publicity about the truckers and last winter's blockades.

"In Tandem" has some real points in its favor. Mainly, it is one of those rare shows where you see people actually working.

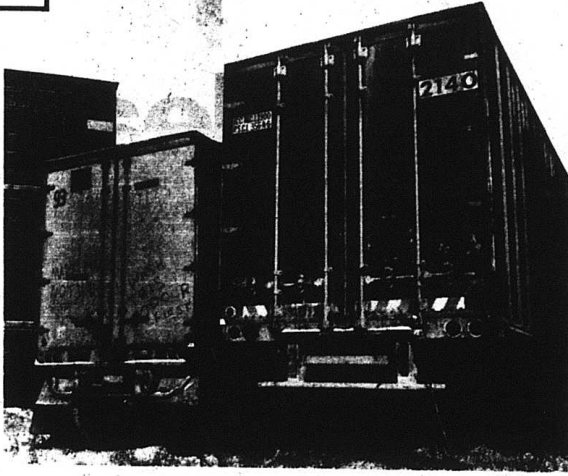
Based on most TV programs, you'd think America was a nation of cops, doctors and lawyers. Even Archie Bunker, worker as anti-hero, makes his wisecracks at home. "In Tandem" captures some of the noise and tension of driving a truck.

Of course it is all hammed up for TV with skids and crumbling bridges every ten minutes. What is harder to capture is the relentless pressure.

Truckers are always in a hurry, driving two blocks ahead, trying to keep up speed and miss the drunks and amateurs who stop without warning and make right turns from the center lane.

The two stars of "In Tandem" are a generation apart. Sonny is the older of the two. He owns his own rig, has a son who was just killed in Vietnam and swears that the only thing he believes in is money.

Sonny will do anything if the price is right. In the great Hollywood tradition he's a tough guy



with a heart of gold. The first episode shows him willing to lose lots of money and risk his life rather than go back on his word.

The younger guy, Will Chandler is a law school graduate (who likes to discuss philosophy and literature), a Vietnam Vet who spent most of his tour in the stockade for refusing to fight because he didn't believe in the war. In the first scene he loses his brakes, almost wrecks

his rig and finally walks away from his job in disgust.

Chandler and Sonny meet in a cafe. Will needs a ride and Sonny tells him to wait an hour so he can screw the waitress. This is a bit of gratuitous sexism to beef up the ratings, and presumably the first installment on the myth of the trucker as the great American stud.

Finally, things get underway and it looks like a beautiful friendship

that could last two or three TV seasons.

Trucking is an odd-ball among industries because there are thousands of independents working alongside a very strong union - the Teamsters. Some of the independents belong to the union but complain they get no service for their dues.

They certainly didn't get much during the blockades when Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons told everybody to go back to work for nothing but a promise.

ANTI-UNION

Teamsters call the owner-operators gypos and complain that they cut rates, go through picket lines and steal jobs from union drivers. "In Tandem" uses this conflict to fulfill its violence quota, and takes its stand solidly against the union.

Early in the show, Sonny and Will drive up to a dock and four hoody-looking types (no doubt, card-carrying Teamsters) tell them the place is off-limits. In other words, if you don't have a union card, don't unload here. Sonny pulls a gun on them and makes a speech about how this is a free enterprise country and that means he'll do anything he can get paid for.

This beef about the dock being

off-limits is a real one and one of the main reasons why many owner-operators keep paying dues. But the closed shop is a legitimate trade union demand and Sonny and Will don't have the right to undermine wages or working conditions which union members have won by united action.

All of the highfaluting talk (which usually sounds like a college bull session) about gypsies on wheels and sailing the open road is nothing more than anti-labor romanticism. They want to picture truckers as the new romantic heroes, with a girl in every truck stop, fighting the forces of evil at every turn.

The idea of the glamorous trucker won't wash with collective action and so our hero is anti-union to the core. Can you picture the Lone Raker with a union card?

The fact is that 90% of the owner-operators go broke within two years. The others work long hours, run overweight, get cheated by the brokers, overcharged at truck stops and 1600 were killed in accidents last year.

More than likely the trucker has kidney troubles or ulcers. Making those truck payments every month is no TV serial. TV has yet to make an honest show about working people and their lives. ■

Dan Sapir

movies

Thomasine & Bushrod

"Thomasine and Bushrod" is billed as "the black Bonnie and Clyde." It is the story of two young lovers who make their living robbing banks in the early 1900's in Texas.

Though the film is entertaining, funny, and well-photographed, it does not distinguish itself from the usual black or white film in its poor choice of heroes and messages.

Thomasine and Bushrod enjoy their reputation as desperadoes and continue on the dangerous path of "bucking the white establishment" more out of sense of adventure than as a way to strike it rich.

Bushrod especially has no desire for the money, which he gives away to poor people of the surrounding area. During their wild and frolicking escapades, they meet up with a West Indian. Jomo, with a similar reputation, and the three become "family" to each other.

On several occasions, after robbing a bank, the outlaw couple whiz through a small community of poor folks, distribute bags of money, and disappear again.

Inevitably, "law and order" catches up with them. Jomo is dropped into a pit of snakes when he refuses to rat on Thomasine and Bushrod, who are viciously gunned down in the street.

Thomasine, who is first seen to

be a strong-willed and defiant woman, is reduced to putty in Bushrod's hand. Although she argues violently for her own way, when Bushrod literally slaps her down, she becomes a scared little girl who crawls to him for forgiveness and acceptance.

Alone she is strong, but with him she steps back into the traditional subservient woman's role, as well as assuming all the household duties.

Though Thomasine and Bushrod are known as "friends of Indians, Mexicans, Negroes, poor whites, and other colored peoples," all white figures who actually appear in this film are the law officers, the bankers and the storekeepers - all nasty rotten to the core, as is to be expected.

Leaving aside these one-dimensional portrayals, there are no serious efforts to deal with racism or social relations as they actually exist.

The film is lively and entertaining, but follows the lead of other current films, black and white, with its flat portrayals and meaningless messages. As a black cowboy movie, it is fun and different, but go to see it with an image of what such a movie could be. ■

Susan Ellis





NEW YORK (LNS) — In a survey of visitors to Madame Tussaud's wax museum in London, President Nixon headed the list as the person the visitors "hate and fear" the most for the second year in a row.

Following Nixon on the list were Adolf Hitler and Jack the Ripper. According to the New York Times, about half the visitors to Madame Tussauds are from overseas, many from the United States.

A FUNGUS AMONG US

First the US Army made 70 tons of a deadly biological substance that destroys wheat. Next it buried it in the Rocky Mountains.

Then it forgot where. Now it can't find it. The substance in question, nearly 150,000 pounds of a biological warfare fungus developed by the Pentagon, attacks wheat crops.

The barbarity of developing a chemical which will destroy a basic food crop while hundreds of thousands of people have suffered and died from malnutrition and its effects speaks for itself.

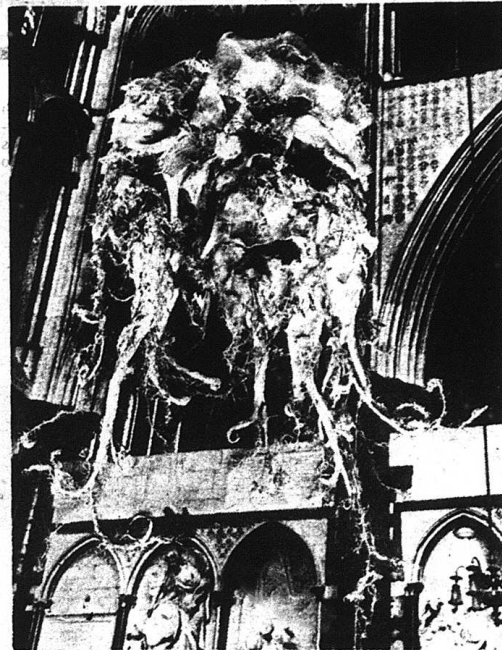
In the meantime the Army announced it has the burial site narrowed down to about 30 acres of land east of Denver, adding it is not positive about the location yet.

Needless to say, farmers in the area are upset.

The Rocky Mountain Farmers Union said it will file a formal protest against the Army's carelessness in not keeping records of the burial areas.

Said John Stencel of the Farmers Union: "It's rather appalling to bury it and not know where."

Criminal is closer to the word.



Nuclear Arms Race

[continued from page 12]

that to threaten the other side with the beginnings of a first strike capability, without finishing the job, is worse than having no first strike capability at all.

The current hard core of strategic spending will come to be regarded at best as an irreducible minimum, at worst - woefully inadequate.

The high stakes of direct conflict between East and West will lead to increased indirect conflict. The South Asia region, for example, may well become the Middle East of the seventies, as Russia arms India, the US arms Pakistan and Iran, and both increasingly make their presence felt in the Indian Ocean.

Direct conflicts cannot be ruled out either. As Russia steps up its naval patrols the US is expanding its facilities too. In 1975 the US is to spend 23 million dollars expanding its naval base on the British island of Diego Garcia.

The increased American and Russian tensions will force up arms expenditure elsewhere. The consequences will be particularly burdensome for the weak economies of third world countries.

Instead of being able to cut their arms spending so as to aid economic development, the trend is going to be quite the other way. Their arms competitions with each other, and their participation in the military rivalry of the great powers,

is going to make it still more difficult for them to break out of backwardness.

WORLD ECONOMY

The cost of these programs on the US economy is also likely to be high.

In the first place, arms spending is inflationary. The wages paid in the arms industry inject into the economy a large amount of purchasing power without creating any consumer goods for which it can be exchanged, and this is irrepressibly inflationary.

In the past this was compensated for by the "spin-off" from arms production, advances in technology

that could be applied to civilian industry, reducing its costs and increasing its productivity. So military spending partly paid for itself through its side effects.

But as military technology has become more and more specialized, its usefulness to the rest of industry has declined. The computers that IBM develops for programming and reprogramming missile guidance systems (a job that once took 36 hours and now only takes 20 minutes) have remarkably few uses for civilian industry.

The result is that military spending is much more inflationary than that of the past.

Furthermore, while new arms production will create some jobs -

mostly for skilled labor - it will do nothing to alleviate overall unemployment (expected to rise one and a half million to a six million total this year).

Above all it will leave untouched regional and ethnic pockets of unemployment. Most skilled workers are white and most black workers are unskilled, while the arms industries are concentrated in certain states (most importantly Florida, California and Massachusetts).

Unemployment is hard to alleviate in an economy that is devoted more and more to the production of waste.

So the US arms expenditure is adding another vital twist to the inflationary spiral and allowing unemployment to climb.

The ramifications of this increased instability cannot be confined to the US itself.

International trade and the multinational companies will ensure that increased inflation in the US is matched by increased inflation elsewhere.

And the US government will do its utmost to make others pay the cost of dealing with its problems - attempting to lever them to increase their own arms spending (witness the increase in the British arms budget this year), and trying to impose on them its solutions to problems facing all the western economies (as with the "energy crisis").

Within the Russian bloc, the effects of escalating arms spending are likely to be just as important. The failure of the harvest last year showed how catastrophic can be the long term effects of diverting resources from agricultural and consumer goods investment to heavy industry and arms.

For a Russian ruling class trying desperately to find the resources to buy off some at least of the discontent within the working class, the economic impact of the new arms race can be devastating.

Yet neither the American nor the Russian ruling class dare drop out of the race. The first to do would risk the other forging ahead until it was able to impose its terms over issues of vital political and economic importance.

What is more, within each ruling class are very powerful interests which rejoice in the new arms race. In the US there are the major US corporations involved in arms production and the huge chunk of the state bureaucracy based upon the Pentagon; in Russia there are the bureaucrats who run the military machine, heavy industry and arms production.

Those who preside over the rival "military-industrial complexes" gain in power and prestige compared to the rest of their respective ruling class every time there is increased arms expenditure.

Each has an interest in heightening the scale of international rivalry by inflating the scale of armaments of the rival power, so pressuring the rest of its own ruling class to release more resources for arms.

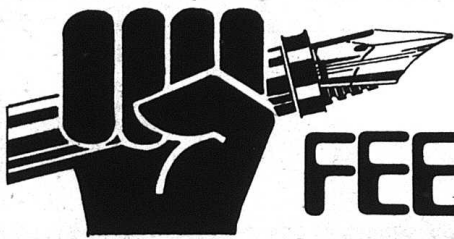
As the ruling classes of East and West are driven to engage in ever more massive arms programs, the level of international tension is bound to rise and with it the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

But class antagonisms within each society will also become more intense. The key question is whether they explode before the bombs do. The next few years are going to see the alternatives of socialism or barbarism posed as never before.

Dennis Childs



Defense Secretary Schlesinger trying out a new tank.



FEEDBACK

Anarchist Unions In Spain

The article in the recent **Workers' Power** on the Spanish Revolution is the most disgusting thing I have ever seen in your paper. You devote a full page to this issue and never mention the anarchists once, despite the fact that a clear majority of the organized workers were in the anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT.

You neglect to mention the years of patient organizing and education by thousands of anarchist workers, much less the scores of insurrections over the previous fifty years that had tried to establish "libertarian communism."

Under the heading "Workers' Control" you have one phrase about workers' control, but don't mention the creation of libertarian collectives (which are now well documented in English in **The Anarchist Collective, 1936-39: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution**, ed. by Sam Dolgoff) which were the great constructive achievements of the revolution.

This is similar to writing an article on the Russian Revolution and neglecting to mention the soviets. For a group concerned about the "Stalinist falsification of history," I find this performance disgusting.

If you wish to honestly write about the Spanish revolution, you

must write about the Spanish anarchists with all their weaknesses and strengths, their hopes and aspirations. I hope you do better in the future.

There are many sources in English; the best all around is **The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain**, by Broue and Temine, MIT Press.

Stephen Soldz
Cambridge, Mass.

LIBERALS WITH BOMBS

Derek Briscoe ("Feedback," WP #96) is of course right when he says that socialists defend those who violently express their class hatred for the bosses, even when we disagree with the acts of individual terror or frustrated violence which they may commit.

He is, however, wrong to so unequivocally link our attitude to the SLA with this tradition.

With few exceptions, what has become publicly known about the SLA members indicates that none of them were more than marginally active in the radical mass movements. Their background is that of social workers, childcare assistants, prison visitors, and other types of do-gooders.

They are frustrated middle-class philanthropists looking for a bigger scale for their charitable activities, rather than workers or revolutionaries who've had all they can take.

Lenin's characterization of individual terrorists as "liberals with bombs" was never illustrated better!

While I'm writing, let me congratulate you on the attractive appearance of the new logo and layout. I have, however, one violent stylistic objection to #96 - to the phrase in the centerfold "building a Revolutionary Party." This quasi-religious capitalization of "the Party" (like "the Lord") should have no place in our paper.

Tom Condit
Berkeley, California

Workers' Power wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper - and what you don't. What you think of the political ideas we present, and your comments on problems facing working people. But please be brief.

International Socialism

The following back issues of the British I.S. Journal, International Socialism, are available in limited quantity through the I.S. Book Service: 61 60 59 58 57 56 55 54 52 51 50 49 47 45 75c each postpaid.

Northern Ireland

[continued from page 10]

for the people of Ireland, North and south, to work out their own future free from outside interference. Which, of course, they have every right to do.

In that situation it is likely that the Protestants fighting to maintain their own rule over the Catholics would split, once the Protestants lost the British backing which they have come to expect as their right.

IRISH RIGHT TO UNITY

The basic point is that the development of working class politics in Ireland is desperately difficult while the National Question - Britain's rule over Northern Ireland - is still unsolved.

This means that the right of the Irish people to the independence and unity of their country is denied by a combination of the British ruling class, intent on protecting its investments, and Protestant sectarianism, intent on maintaining

the domination of one community over the other.

The tragedy of the strike in Northern Ireland is that workers have demonstrated dramatically their power to change society. They have done it not in the cause of progress, but of reaction.

That kind of strength, brought to bear in a situation where Britain's

presence were no more than a legacy, could transform Ireland to the betterment of all its workers, Catholics and Protestant.

It is with the aim of using this strength for that purpose that socialists must continue the fight to get the British Army out. ■

Eamonn McCann



International Socialists

We stand for:

• **International Socialism:** the replacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

• **Workers' Power** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank-and-file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight - independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties - toward a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

• **The liberation of all oppressed groups:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination - an end to all racial and sexual oppression - the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

• **World-wide opposition to imperialism and exploitation:** for the self-determination of all peoples - for an end to US domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power - for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes - for workers' power East and West to build international socialism.

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STEEL RANKS ORGANIZE



CHICAGO — One hundred members of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) met here over Memorial Day weekend. As Ed Mann, president of Local 1462 at Youngstown, Ohio, stated, it was the first such gathering of its size of rank and file members in opposition to the International leadership since the Dues Protest Movements of the 1950s.

Represented at the conference were the Rank and File Team (RAFT), Steelworkers for Equality, the Ad-Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, and a number of groups from individual USWA locals.

The two major issues in the Steelworkers union at this time are the Experimental Negotiating

Agreement (ENA) and the Discrimination Consent Decree. The ENA - the no-strike deal negotiated by USWA President I.W. Abel over the heads of the members - has been extended to 1980. It guarantees declining real wages, speed-up, and deteriorating working conditions.

Similarly, the Consent Decree on discrimination in the steel industry was worked out by the white union leadership, the government, and the companies, with no voice by black, Latin, or women union members. Its major purpose is to get the steel companies off the hook as cheaply as possible for their racist hiring and promotion practices.

In each case, the rank and file members, especially the minorities, are hurt.

There was tremendous enthusiasm at the conference. This was reinforced by hearing reports from various parts of the country.

Representatives of the Steelworkers For Equality, from Baltimore, for example, were present. Last January they joined with over 100 coke plant workers from the Sparrows Point Bethlehem Steel plant who left work and forced their way into a union conference in Washington to present their case.

The Chicago conference passed strong resolutions, such as a demand that the ENA and the Consent Decree be scrapped. These are to be raised at local union meetings and, if possible, at the International Convention at Atlantic City in September.

NATIONAL OPPOSITION

Some preliminary plans were also made to organize delegates and rank and file members ahead of time for the Convention.

The situation in the Steelworkers union makes a national opposition to the Abel leadership particularly important. The number one problem is re-gaining the right to strike, and that will require a national movement.

This conference was just a first step, but an important first step which must be followed up.

The participants at the conference agreed to meet again on August 17 in Chicago to finalize plans for the coming Convention.

For more information, write: District 31 Right to Strike Committee, Box 801, Hammond, Indiana 46325; or RAFT, Box 2221, Youngstown, Ohio 44504.

Vince MacDougal

Machinists Say: Dump Nixon Now

A poll of its membership taken by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) shows that US workers are becoming "dangerously" disenchanted with the government, according to IAM President Floyd Smith.

Of those responding, only 8.7 percent were willing to defend Nixon, while almost three-quarters thought he should resign or be impeached.

As for wage-price controls, 27 percent said controls had led to higher prices while 60 percent believed controls had held down wages while allowing prices to rise. Only 10.7 percent defended Nixon's economic program.

These results, according to Smith, are disturbing: "Never before have I known machinists and mechanics to be so distrustful of so many of our leaders in both the legislative and executive branches. They are becoming convinced that their government is rigged for the benefit of

the multinational corporations and the richest families."

What Smith finds disturbing is simply that IAM members understand reality - that the government is not neutral, but is on the other side. Smith's concern is to cover up this reality.

"This disenchantment could become dangerous," he recently said. "Our only hope lies in Congress."

Smith's hope may lie in Congress. IAM members, however, have had more realistic ideas than this. In 1966, during a five-week strike that smashed President Johnson's attempt at wage restraints, the four largest IAM airline mechanics' locals on the west coast demanded of the leadership of the labor movement that "immediate action be taken to form a third political party that will serve the best interests of labor."

Jim Woodward



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